

**Ethnic Elites, Propaganda, Recruiting and Intelligence in
German-Canadian Ontario, 1914-1918**

by © Curtis B. Robinson a thesis submitted to the School of Graduate Studies in
partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

PhD History

Memorial University of Newfoundland

March 2019

St. John's Newfoundland and Labrador

A Special Dedication in
Memory of two friends and mentors

Dr. Darren Christopher Hynes
1963-2014

and

Christine Watmore
1934-2016

Abstract

This case study provides the basis for a potential linking of the work of Marxist intelligence historians and the disciples of the insecurity state thesis. The rise of “Reasoning otherwise” as described by Ian McKay, refers to the erosion of the liberal order on the part of Canadian socialists in the early part of the twentieth century. This process was speeded up in direct response to the wartime economy which through state intervention also saw the undermining of the liberal principles of free market economics and manpower management. The rise of the insecurity state was part of the state’s move away from the foundational liberal order. Ultimately the insecurity state’s existence depended upon the growth of industrial capitalism in Canada and directly related to the evolution in reasoning otherwise. It was in the heavily populated and ethnically diverse urban centres where state fears about the growth of unions and the spread of communist revolutionary ideas, as well as other causes of civil unrest, originated. It was these areas that warranted, in the eyes of the Department of Militia and Defence, the deployment of intelligence officers, watchers, and infiltrators. In parts of Canada where industrialization had not produced the same social tensions, there was less need to develop a new level of security. Berlin, Ontario, within Military District 1, a centre of German settlement for the previous century, was not a large industrial centre and therefore, had not evolved to the same level of class or ethnic diversity and segregation. Here the insecurity state had yet to develop as a mechanism of social control in response to industrial urbanization, and the war as it had in Toronto or Military District 2 more generally. The small scale of Berlin, with community organizations, well established local leaders and emphasis on municipal power as a means of negotiating the individual and the collective, proved a sufficiently coherent basis for intelligence gathering. Here, there was no the need to take the drastic wartime measures in the name of security required in Toronto and Winnipeg and Montreal.

Terrorism - “Schrecklichkeit” – has always formed a part, not only of German military inclination, but of German military policy.

-James W. Gerard



Ernest Denton, Rescue of the Kaiser's Bust in Victoria Park, August 1914 (Source: Kitchener Public Library, Waterloo Historical Society photograph collection PO09302)



Ernest Denton, 118th Battalion Soldiers in Victoria Park (Source: Kitchener Public Library, Waterloo Historical Society photograph collection PO10396)

Table of Contents

List of Figures and Illustrations.....	viii
List of Abbreviations.....	x
List of Appendices.....	xi
Acknowledgments.....	xii
Introduction.....	15
Part I	
Chapter 1.....	46
Preserving the German in Ontario before 1914	
Industrialization and the Rise of the Ethnic Elite — Liberalism and the Urban Landscape of Berlin — German Language Instruction and the Ethnic Elite —The <i>Berliner Journal</i> — German Preservation in the Historical Narrative — Conclusion	
Chapter 2.....	88
The Berlin and Ontario German Image War	
The Sinking of the <i>Lusitania</i> and its Repercussions — From Berlin to Kitchener — German Language Suppression in Schools and the Press — Elections and Bayonets — Conclusion	
Chapter 3.....	126
Berlin for King and Empire	
The Concordia Club Raid and a Call on Rev. Tappert — The Recruitment Issue — Geo-Mapping a Battalion — Rejected Volunteers — Desertion — Conscription — Conclusion	

Part II

Chapter 4.....196

German Operatives in Canada and the United States

The von der Goltz Defection — 11 Bridge Street — Watching the Docks and Shipping —
“Mr. Speaker the Building is on Fire!” — Preparations for Attack in Southern Ontario —
Enemy Aliens as Alien Sympathizers? — Conclusion

Chapter 5.....229

Canadian Intelligence and the Perceived German Enemy

Background and the Corps of Guides — Military District 2: Central Ontario/Toronto —
Censorship in MD2 — Spies, Sympathisers and Suspicions in MD2 — Enemy Aliens in
the Battalions of MD2 — Military District 1: Gap or Substitution? — Censorship in MD1
— Spies, Sympathisers and Suspicions in MD2 — Enemy Aliens in the 118th OS
Battalion of MD1 — Conclusion

Conclusion.....269

Bibliography.....282

Appendices.....304

List of Figures and Illustrations

“Rescue of the Kaiser’s Bust in Victoria Park, August 1919 - v

“118th Battalion Soldiers in Victoria Park” - v

Figure 1.1 Lang Tanning Company - 54

Figure 1.2 Kaufman Footwear - 54

Figure 1.3 Dominion Tire Factory - 55

Figure 1.4 Nationality by Wards - 57

Figure 1.5 Ethnic Levels in Upper Employment - 57

Figure 1.6 “Map of Part of the Town of Berlin” - 60

Figure 1.7 “Town of Berlin” - 61

Figure 1.8 “Busy Berlin” - 63

Figure 1.9 North Ward - 65

Figure 1.10 City Plan for Greater Berlin - 66

Figure 1.11 Rittinger & Motz Business Card -77

Figure 1.12 Rittinger & Motz Printing Office – 77

Figure 1.13 *Berliner Journal* Subscriptions - 77

Figure 1.14 Caspar David Frederich, Abbey in the Oakwoods, 1809-1810 - 80

Figure 1.14 Prominent Homes of Berlin - 84

Figure 2.1 Kaiser Wilhelm Bust in Victoria Park, 1912 - 88

Figure 2.2 Peace Memorial, Victoria Park, 1996 - 88

Figure 2.3 Edwin Lutyens design for the Cenotaph, Whitehall, 1919 - 123

- Figure 2.4** Kitchener/Waterloo Cenotaph, 1929 - 123
- Figure 3.1** *Berlin Daily Telegraph* 118 Battalion CEF - 144
- Figure 3.2** *Berlin News-Record* 118 Battalion CEF - 144
- Figure 3.3** *Berliner Journal* “There are Three Classes of Men” - 145
- Figure 3.4** Berlin Ontario: 118th Overseas Battalion Recruitment by Address, 1916 - 156
- Figure 3.5** Distribution of British and Ontario Born Recruits - 158
- Figure 3.6** Languages Spoken by Berlin/Waterloo Born Recruits - 160
- Figure 3.7** Foreign Born Recruits - 161
- Figure 3.8** Attestation Paper, private Edwin Finch - 168
- Figure 3.9** Attestation Paper, private Peter Rosenberg - 169
- Figure 3.10** Attestation Paper, Walter Scharlach - 175
- Figure 3.11** Attestation Paper, Oscar Scharlach - 175
- Figure 3.12** Scharlach Family - 175
- Figure 3.13** Deserters by Place of Birth - 179
- Figure 3.14** Distribution of Deserters - 181
- Figure 3.15** Distribution of Casualties of the former 118th - 193
- Figure 4.1** Map drawn September 30, 1914 - 210
- Figure 4.2** Bridge 12, Port Robinson - 211
- Figure 5.1** Ontario Military Districts - 233

List of Abbreviations

AAG	Assistant Adjutant General
ADMI	Assistant Director of Military Intelligence
BDT	<i>Berlin Daily Telegraph</i>
BEF	British Expeditionary Force
BNR	<i>Berlin News Record</i>
CEF	Canadian Expeditionary Force
CFWWRF	Canadian First World War Internment Recognition Fund
CHA	Canadian Historical Association
CI	Counter Intelligence (Canadian Corps)
CO	Commanding Officer
COG	Corps of Guides
CPR	Canadian Pacific Railway
DIO	District Intelligence Officer
GSO	General Staff Officer
GOC	General Officer Commanding
HOC	House of Commons
KPL	Kitchener Public Library
KV	Records of the Security Service, National Archives (KEW)
LAC	Library Archives Canada (Formerly PAC, Public Archives Canada)
LCMSDS	Laurier Centre for Military, Strategic, and Disarmament Studies
MD	Military District
MIS	Military Intelligence, Section 5
MP	Member of Parliament
NCO	Non-Commissioned Officer
OC	Officer Commanding
OPP	Ontario Provincial Police
OS	Overseas
PC	Privy Council
RG	Records Group
RCMP	Royal Canadian Mounted Police
RNWMP	Royal Northwest Mounted Police
UWL	University of Waterloo
WHS	Waterloo Historical Society

List of Appendices

- Appendix A** Canadian Forces Stationed in MD1 in event of a Raid - 304
- Appendix B** Orders to Appoint a Divisional/District Intelligence Officer - 305
- Appendix C** List of Internment Stations (or camps) in Ontario - 306
- Appendix D** Reported Desertions, 118th OS Battalion - 307
- Appendix E** Casualties from Berlin/Kitchener - 310
- Appendix F** The Concordia Club Raid Hearing - 313
- Company Sergeant-Major Woodrow - 316
 - Company Sgt-Major Blood - 319
 - Corp. Brennan - 328
 - Sgt. P. Hayward - 331
 - Sgt. Deal - 334
 - Sgt. Bowden - 339
 - Sgt. Pawsen - 340
 - Sgt-Major Gillespie - 341
 - Corp. Wilkins - 342
 - Pte. P. Quinn - 344
 - Lance-Corp. Gough - 346
 - Pte. Williamson - 350
 - Pte. Morneau - 352
 - Machine Gun Section - 355
 - Provost Sgt. W Caswell - 355
 - Signatures - 356

Acknowledgements

I first owe a debt to the late Dr. Darren Hynes. I was just his TA to begin with but over time he became a sounding board and very much a mentor and inspiration. He rekindled my old interest in western philosophy, religious studies and art history that had drifted from my radar since starting grad school. I was told in confidence about his battle with cancer but it still came as a shock when I received the news that he had passed away.

I wish to thank Dr. Mark Humphries, the current director of the Laurier Centre for Military Strategic and Disarmament Studies for steering this project at its inception before his departure from Memorial University. I would like to give my deepest thanks to Dr. Robert Sweeny for stepping in and taking over the supervision of this thesis. I will never forget our conversation about our apparent lack of compatibility when he said “I will have to learn about intelligence history!” to which I replied “I will have to learn quantitative methods!”

Those quantitative methods and his expertise in Arc and QGIS would prove invaluable for the third chapter. Robert was also a huge help with completing my comprehensive exam process and introducing me to avenues of Canadian historiography which had not appeared in my previous readings. I would also like to thank him and Dr. Valerie Burton for their friendship and moral support.

I owe a debt of gratitude to my comprehensive supervisors Dr. Sean Cadigan and Dr. Lucian Ashworth who challenged me in a number of fields, epistemologies, and disciplines which I felt significantly improved my perspectives in this and other projects. Sean’s knowledge of the disciples of Marx and of the *Annales* School, helped me

comprehend how social historians can use legal documents, which is at the core of my use of intelligence and police records. Lucian's knowledge of political science, which translated for me into understanding the distribution of knowledge and social constructs in the early twentieth century vitally informed the first half of this study. I wish to thank my thesis examiners Andrew Parnaby, Kurt Korneski and Justin Fantauzzo. Their feedback, particularly on clarifying the distinction between "liberalism" and "liberal order" has proven most helpful and they were kind enough to assist me with the tedious task of copyediting. I would also like to thank Dr. Gerhard Bassler, who took time out of his retirement to discuss my interest and research directions and help me to sort out the symbiotic relationship between class and ethnicity. I really enjoyed our conversations.

I owe a debt to the archivists and librarians who assisted me since the beginning of this project. At Library Archives Canada I would first like to mention that the security personnel at the front desk are absolutely outstanding. I would like to thank archivists Mathieu Sabourin and Martin Ruddy for their help upstairs and online. At the Doris Lewis Rare Book Room at the University of Waterloo Library, I would like to thank Jessica Blackwell and Martha Lauzon as well as Nick Richbell for their assistance and for putting up with a bombardment of questions and requests. Lastly, I would like to thank Rych Mills of the Waterloo Historical Society. His encyclopedic knowledge of the history of the region was invaluable, including his input on Rittinger & Motz and the fire that destroyed the Pavilion in Victoria Park.

Research trips to Ottawa, Toronto, London and Kitchener Waterloo were partially funded by Memorial University Scholarship in Arts and the rest by money earned through

various Teaching Assistantships, Per-Course appointments, and part time work in Music and sound engineering. This research was conducted without the aid of external funding.

C.B.R.

Introduction

Although their number is not as large as it should be, they have acquired a good position, particularly in our province. The German-Canadians are loyal subjects of the British crown and no one will hold it against them if they keep the old country in their hearts

—L.J. Breithaupt¹

For the people of German ancestry, the people of Germany were not their enemies, the country was.

—Mrs. Grace Cressman²

In the immediate aftermath of the Great War, the *Waterloo Historical Society* published a brochure highlighting Berlin Ontario's participation in the war effort and paying tribute to the brave men who had left Berlin for the Western Front and never returned.³ In the years since the collective memory of the war in Kitchener/Waterloo is that of a dark chapter in the history of the community and popular/public history has contributed to this perception.

This is evident in oral history projects conducted years after the events. The subjects interviewed recalled everything from a coal shortage, to the debate over renaming of the city, to the conduct of the 118th Overseas Battalion raised in Berlin, North Waterloo and the surrounding area. Reminiscences of the behaviour of the battalion range from drunkenness to property damage. Soldiers painted graffiti on George

¹ Quoted in Kellie Johnston, “No one will hold it against them if they keep the old country in their hearts’ The Breithaupt Family Resistance to Anti-German Sentiment in Berlin Ontario, 1914-1916 *Waterloo Historical Society* 102 (2014): 58. Hereafter *WHS*.

² Kitchener Public Library, Central Grace Schmidt Room, Mrs. Grace Cressman, quoted in Robert Douglas et al. “Oral History of Waterloo County, World War 1 in Waterloo County” (Wilfred Laurier University, 1975) 2.

³ *Peace Souvenir: Activities of Waterloo County in the Great War, 1914-1918* (Kitchener: Kitchener Daily Telegraph, 1919) and W.H. Breithaupt “Presidents Address” *WHS* 6 (1918), 11.

Lang's house because he was German, stormed pulpits, raided German clubs, bullied Lutheran pastors, and threatened men that "they'd knock your bloody hat off" if they looked eligible for service but had not signed up.⁴ In these oral history projects, nearly everyone remembered the anti-German sentiment but other than the better known incidents involving the 118th, nobody recalled, or at the least they were not recorded, how it affected everyday life. The only specifics mentioned related to wartime rationing of food and coal or, for those who served, the lice infestation in the trenches.⁵

Other events that occurred in Berlin coupled with the behaviour of the men of the local battalion became part of a debate over the loyalty of the city. Was this ancestral German city loyal to the cause? Framing the history of Berlin/Kitchener under this debate has created a uniform orthodox narrative. In the opening month of the war, the bust of Kaiser Wilhelm I in Victoria Park would be torn down by vandals and thrown into the lake.⁶ Soon thereafter, the bust was recovered and placed in the care of the German Concordia Club. Two years later in the winter of 1916, the Concordia Club was ransacked, the bust found, taken away, and was never seen again. Later that same month, the German pastor Tappert was taken from his home by the same soldiers and beaten. As the war dragged on, the story was that simply being German meant cooperation with the enemy.

The 118th Battalion proved unable to recruit the required 1100 men, and accusations against the people of Berlin of harbouring German reservists and spies was common. To counter the perceived German threat, German language instruction in

⁴ Douglas et al. Miss Ruby Fischer, Mr. Snyder, Mr. Shaeffer.

⁵ *Ibid*, Mr. Allan Wagner, and Mrs. Shuh.

⁶ Wilhelm I was the first Emperor of unified Germany.

Berlin was outlawed, German language newspapers were initially censored and then banned, Germans-Canadians who had not become naturalized before 1902 were stripped of their voting rights, and the name of Berlin was changed to Kitchener.

Regional and Propaganda Historiography

The question of loyalty discussed in period newspapers and literature frames these events as the result *only* of the city's German ancestry while ignoring broader history and historiography of the Great War. By contrast, this study will address a wider range of issues. The limited studies on Berlin's history during the war, are preoccupied by the loyalty question and related literature concerns the effects of wartime propaganda on newspaper debates and censorship in Berlin and Canada.⁷ From the vast literature on Canadian society at the beginning of the twentieth century, this thesis combines two relatively recent contributions to offer a new understanding of how Canadian society was changed by the war. These theories are Ian McKay's liberal order framework and Wesley Wark's insecurity state. I argue that Canada was moving away from the liberal order upon which the country was founded as it became increasingly subject to the concerns of the insecurity state. This was not a uniform process and so how exactly the liberal order changed in Southwestern Ontario rather than loyalty is the over-riding question.

This is a social history of intelligence seeking to understand intelligence gathering in Canada during the war through an understanding of Canadian society and its

⁷ See for example W.R. Chadwick *The Battle for Berlin Ontario: An Historical Drama* (Waterloo: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 1992). This study reads in the style of a satire with colourful social commentary and treating the historical figures of Berlin as characters in a play. In fact, the book was intended to be a play which first required the back story.

relationship to intelligence gathering. Canada has had the good fortune of advancing the field of intelligence history beyond that of Great Britain (and the United States) by incubating social history of intelligence through the works of a number of political scientists, political economists and Marxist historians. This study asks, how did Canada's insecurity state evolve? Did the growing intelligence community fit within the principles upon which the country was founded? Furthermore, how did this ever-increasing apparatus of intelligence deal with the supposed threat to Canadian security posed by the German element which has been so villainized in the orthodox narrative of Berlin Ontario during the war?

The standard work on the subject is Jeffrey A. Keshen's *Propaganda and Censorship*.⁸ Keshen combed the records of the Secretary of State and the papers of the Chief Press Censor Lieut-Col. Ernest J. Chambers and found the censor's office disturbingly vigilant in ensuring Anglo-imperial conformity in "what was fit to print."⁹ This creates an image of a strong centralized means of controlling public information which would, for other scholars, prove fruitful for explaining wartime rioting. Keshen argued that censorship resulted in Canadians becoming so detached from reality that it contributed to the inability of returning soldiers to adapt to civilian life.¹⁰ Berlin Ontario, in Keshen's account, was a hotbed of property damage and rioting caused by accusations

⁸Jeffrey A. Keshen, *Propaganda and Censorship During Canada's Great War*, (Edmonton: The University of Alberta Press, 1996). Other studies worth mentioning are Jeffrey A. Keshen "All the News that was fit to Print: Ernest J. Chambers and Information Control in Canada, 1914-1919" *Canadian Historical Review* 73 no. 3 (1992): 315-343 Peter Buitenhuis, *The Great War of Words: British, American and Canadian Propaganda and Fiction, 1914-1933* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1987) a more general overview, and a fascinating international and temporal study is Robert Darton, *Censors at Work: How States Shaped Literature* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company Inc., 2014).

⁹ Keshen, *Propaganda and Censorship*, xiv.

¹⁰ *Ibid*, xv.

of disloyalty by German Canadians becoming the norm.¹¹ One result was the censorship of Berlin's German language newspaper, the *Berliner Journal* which he argues was assisted by accusations of disloyalty from A.C. Laut of the *London Advertiser*, and the Great War Veterans' Association.¹²

Likewise, Patricia P. McKegney's study of wartime Berlin demonstrated that the English-language newspapers, having received censored wartime news, actively participated in an imperial propaganda campaign against all things German.¹³ According to her, this ultimately shaped the experience of war in Berlin. This lens offered a rare opportunity to observe the effects of an imperial image of the war and its goals on the hearts and minds of Canadians, with a far greater potential for the study of wartime propaganda than permitted by Keshen's classic account. Unfortunately, McKegney relied exclusively on local sources (with special emphasis on the *Berlin News-Record* and minimal use of the *Daily Telegraph* or the *Berliner Journal*) without connecting them directly to the mechanisms of British propaganda and so produced a chronicle of the events that occurred in Berlin during the war, rather than an analysis of the impact of British propaganda on such events.¹⁴ She argued that the propaganda efforts failed in Berlin because the Germans had not been convinced of the just cause of the British/Canadian war effort.

The question remains, how did the strong censorship program in Ottawa affect ethnic relations in Canada? Historians have looked beyond the confines of Berlin to

¹¹ *Ibid*, 7-8.

¹² *Ibid*, 82-83. The GWVA was Canada's most influential association of Veterans and later merged with other groups to form the Royal Canadian Legion.

¹³ Patricia P. McKegney, *The Kaiser's Bust: A Study of War-Time Propaganda in Berlin Ontario, 1914-1918* (Wellesley: Bamberg Press, 1991), 191-192.

¹⁴ *Ibid*, 91.

other centres with substantial German ancestry. Peter Moogk, described a shift of demonization from the Chinese to the Germans in the city of Vancouver. Like McKegney, Moogk suggests that the trigger for this shift was the propaganda campaign of 1915. While the Canadians were fighting the German Army in Flanders, a tale of a crucified soldier reached the Vancouver press, when combined with the coverage of the sinking of the *Lusitania* in May, created a narrative that this was a war not against the German Kaiser and Prussian militarism, but against the German, the barbaric Hun of the propaganda poster.¹⁵ In Winnipeg, historian Art Grenke described the German community as anxious to remain under the radar as ethnic and class tensions were accelerated by wartime manpower management in the city of strong British identity. Strikes would be blamed on the greed of aliens who used wartime labour shortages to undercut the English workforce. At the same time, there was an element within Winnipeg that proved a liability. He said the German language newspaper *Der Nordwestern*, favoured the German narrative of the war over the English, and occasionally reprinted German propaganda that originated in German-American papers.¹⁶ Before the end of the war, it was shut down by the Chief Press Censor.¹⁷ Although the legitimacy of accusations of sympathy with the enemy remains questionable, Grenke did successfully demonstrate the effects of wartime propaganda on the local population. By the time of the General Strike of 1919, elements within Winnipeg's establishment had been convinced that it was all the fault of the foreigners.

¹⁵ See Peter Moogk "Uncovering the Enemy Within: British Columbians and the German Menace" *BC Studies* 182 (Summer 2014): 45-72.

¹⁶ Art Grenke, "The German Community of Winnipeg and the English-Canadian Response to World War I" *Canadian Ethnic Studies/Etudes Ethniques au Canada* 20, no. 1 (1988): 25-29.

¹⁷ *Ibid*, 33 and Keshen, *Propaganda and Censorship*, 83.

When discussing the history of German-Canadians it is impossible to ignore the contributions of Heinz Lehmann and Gerhard P. Bassler. Bassler translated and compiled the classic work by Lehmann *The German Canadians*.¹⁸ Through extensive archival research, Lehmann chronicled the experiences of German immigrants across Canada from before the British conquest of New France to before the Second World War. His focus was on the shared experience, rather than the culture or languages of the German-Canadians and for good reason. Given the political climate of the Germany in which Lehmann lived, he chose not to discuss German culture or society as belonging to a people or *volk* as he did not wish to become associated with the use of this concept by right-wing nationalists of the 1930s.¹⁹

Hostility towards people of German ancestry was a shared experience throughout the Empire and Bassler would go on to write on the German experience in Newfoundland. While German-Newfoundlanders posed no threat to the security of the island or its people, the government and communities of Newfoundland handled the stresses of total war by creating a German scapegoat.²⁰ The result was a campaign that all but destroyed any sense of a local German culture and identity.

These themes also played out in the examination of the Australian home front in Gerhard Fischer's *Enemy Aliens*. Though the distinction between alien and citizen is at times lacking, Fischer's description shows some similarities to Canada in the experience of the ethnic German population. Working from Michael McKernan, he described

¹⁸ Originally five books, the remnants that survived were translated and compiled into one collection, with the research re-examined and verified, by Gerhard P. Bassler See Editor-Translator's note, Heinz Lehmann, *The German Canadians, 1750-1937: Immigration, Settlement & Culture* translated by Gerhard P. Bassler (St. John's: Jespersion Press, 1986), xxi-xxii.

¹⁹ See Gerhard P. Bassler "Heinz Lehmann and German Canadian History" in Lehmann, xx-xxxi.

²⁰ Gerhard P. Bassler. *Vikings to U-Boats: The German Experience in Newfoundland and Labrador* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2006), 144-145.

German-Australians as having worked to establish themselves as part of Australian society, and yet wartime hysteria, Irish nationalism and the rise of radical labour would propel a new perception and fear of what it meant to be an outsider.²¹ One prominent German community was Eudunda in Australia's Military District 4 which, throughout the war, would be kept under the close observation of intelligence officer Captain Woodcock.²² This was a direct response to rumours that circulated about the intent of the German community and unconfirmed reports of saboteurs and German army recruiting officers wandering the streets of Eudunda.

The power and influence of rumour on issues of national security demonstrates that propaganda is only a portion of the history of othering in Canada during the war. The historian is required to view Berlin, Ontario's experience in the wider historical context of Canada's national development and the struggles for hegemony within the ethnic and class structures already in place. It is also necessary to consider the various means by which the Canadian state attempted to deal with the perceived German threat to Canada. Such a combination provides a better lens to view the treatment of German Canadians in Berlin and the rest of Ontario or even Canada as a whole.

Class, Ethnicity, Power and Regional History

Regional history in the Canadian tradition has meant the insertion into Canadian historiography of the local customs, values, and identities previously neglected in the

²¹ Gerhard Fischer, *Enemy Aliens: Internment and the Homefront Experience in Australia, 1914-1920* (Queensland: University of Queensland Press, 1989), 63-64 and Michael McKernan, *The Australian People and the Great War* (Melbourne: Nelson, 1980), 177.

²² *Ibid*, 66-67.

grand narrative of national development.²³ This older narrative focused exclusively on high politics of national development, environmental determinism, “great men”, economics and the goods being produced, while the shift to regional history meant recognizing the agency of everyone outside the metropolitan centres.²⁴ Since the 1960s, as part of what Dirk Hoerder has called the decolonization of Canadian society,²⁵ the focus shifted to the histories of working men and expanded to include women and immigrants in both cities and on Canada’s frontiers. Regional historians critiqued the geographical determinism of Canadian historiography and challenged as Eurocentric the reduction of their regions to mere hinterlands.²⁶

Canadian regional histories decentralizing the metropolitan have yielded promising avenues of further research. Robert Rutherford’s *Hometown Horizons*, explored how the war was experienced at the local level from outside the predominant imperial narrative. Ottawa and the war in Europe were worlds away for the people of the three communities he examined. By considering their lived experiences as central, Rutherford’s interpretation challenged the grander narratives that have dominated

²³ This was the legacy in Canadian historiography of sectionalism stemming from American historians such as Turner and the Beards. Innis outright rejected the principles of sectionalism in the conclusion of *The Fur Trade in Canada* yet the agency of geography in the course of Canadian history endured through an economic lens. See Harold A. Innis, *The Fur Trade in Canada: An Introduction to Canadian Economic History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1962), 383-385 and Donald Creighton, *The Empire of the St. Lawrence* (Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada Limited, 1970), 19-21. Innis himself suffered from what we would now call PTSD from his service as a signalman in the Great War.

²⁴ This evolved out of William Morton’s breaking of the historical tradition of the imperialist Laurentian thesis. See Carl Berger, *The Writing of Canadian History: Aspects of English-Canadian Historical Writing: 1900 to 1970* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1976), 241-242.

²⁵ See Dirk Hoerder, “Towards a History of Canadians: Transcultural Human Agency as Seen Through Economic Behaviour, Community Formation, and Societal Institutions” *Histoire Sociale/Social History* 38, no. 76 (2005): 434-435.

²⁶ For an overview see Gregory S. Kealey “Introduction” *The Canadian Journal of Sociology/Cahiers canadiens de sociologie* 13, no. 2 (1988), 3-5 and P.A. Buchner “Acadiensis II” *Acadiensis* I (1971): 3-9.

Canadian wartime historiography.²⁷ Unfortunately, Rutherford's greatest strength was also a significant handicap. For example, when discussing the demonization of enemy aliens, he could not draw direct connections between the occurrences in his three towns because the theme was three very different towns in three different parts of the country. Nor could he logically connect perceptions between the communities of Lethbridge, Guelph, and Trois-Rivières beyond a shared set of experiences of fear and xenophobia.²⁸

It remains an historical problem whether events in one community, or misrepresentation of said events, could be causally connected to views in another. This is important considering the role of organizations like the Canadian Press, the national news agency, and the effectiveness of the Chief Press Censor described by Keshen. Such shared reporting meant national news was presented in the same light across English-speaking Canada. Strict wartime censorship of dissident publications further solidified these national narratives. Therefore, any story coming out of Toronto or Ottawa of enemy alien activities or anti-German or Austrian rhetoric would be reported in exactly the same manner in the pages of local newspapers via the Canadian Press. Suddenly the smaller community, while still predominantly influenced by local dynamics of class race/ethnicity and gender was drawn into a national/imperial experience.

To understand how ideas and perceptions spread through the community, the wider historiography is useful. Before the events in Berlin can be understood, the historian must also understand the recent evolution of Canadian capitalism that came to

²⁷ Robert Rutherford, *Hometown Horizons: Local Responses to Canada's Great War* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2004), xiii.

²⁸ See for example *ibid*, 119-120.

define “The Nation Transformed.” and how with it, the perception and control of ethnic relations during the Great War were managed in Ontario.

Liberalism and the Canadian Transformation

Following the publication of the centennial series of Canadian history, Canadian historians generally consider the period 1896-1921 as an age of transformation.²⁹ The debate has been over the precise nature of this transformation. The Great War did not occur within a vacuum which is precisely the reason it was written as part of the story of this wider transition. By 1914, the old order established under Confederation was already beginning to see significant challenges brought forth by urbanization, industrialization, and growing ethnic-based, nativist, tensions between the various groups in Canada, especially French Catholics and English Protestants.

The founding principle of Confederation was, above all else, a top-down liberal revolution. It should come as no surprise as the transition into capitalism in the western world is synonymous with liberal democratic societies, where economic values become distinct from the social. In liberal society, individuals, in theory, are free to pursue their own interests, to participate in an open labour market, to practice their own religion, and to partake in their own cultural practices. This particular form of free market capitalism is rooted in individualism and property rights and is dependent on a relatively small state based on an inclusive political system involving free and open debate. In Canada, these

²⁹ See Robert Craig Brown and Ramsay Cook, *Canada, 1896-1921: A Nation Transformed* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart Inc., 1974) and Mariana Valverde, *The Age of Light, Soap and Water: Moral Reform in English Canada* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart Inc., 1991) 15.

political values were based on British constitutional Whig traditions dating back to the Glorious Revolution that overthrew James II.³⁰

There were obvious exclusions from the rights of the liberal political system based on gender and ethnicity but these were tied more to liberal values. Property rights were the basis for free market individualism and they would serve as basis for exclusion, othering and demonization. The result would be the destruction of cultures in Canada that were not based on liberal concepts of private property including, most notably, First Nations.³¹

Utilizing Fernande Roy and C.B. Macpherson, historian Ian McKay defined the accepted individual as a male who, within his own private life, is by design free to self-regulate personal activities without state intervention.³² This is what Macpherson had defined as possessive individualism. Possessive individualism meant commodifying an individual's personal capacity and skillsets (and by extension freedom) for consumption in the open market.³³ Property should be understood as not a tangible thing as it is written on a deed, a lot and the building standing on it, property meant rights: property in life and liberty.³⁴

³⁰ Ian McKay "Canada as a Long Liberal Revolution: On Writing the History of Actually Existing Canadian Liberalisms, 1840-1940s" *Liberalism and Hegemony: Debating the Canadian Liberal Revolution* edited by Jean-Francois Constant and Michel Ducharme (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010), 356-357.

³¹ See *Ibid*, 382-383. In discussion with Andrew Parnaby, the "who's in and who's out" debate over Canada's adoption of a liberal economy and society is an important one and there were clearly limits on the strict adherence to the adoption of the principles of possessive individualism as a measure of inclusion because of its relationship to "ethnic" based othering and the relatively new influence of Spenceresque social Darwinism on Canadian imperialists. See Andrew Parnaby, "Doctoral Thesis Re-Examination Report" Memorial University of Newfoundland, January 14, 2019, 2.

³² McKay, *Rebels, Reds and Radicals*, 59.

³³ C.B. Macpherson, *The Political Theory of Possessive Individualism: Hobbes to Locke* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962), 3.

³⁴ C.B. Macpherson (ed), "Preface" *Property: Mainstream and Critical Positions* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013), vi-vii.

An ongoing conversation about the origins in mid-nineteenth century Canada of the liberal order is relevant here. It has drawn distinctions between liberal values and the liberal order that Canada would adopt. In McKay's original framework, the imposition of the liberal order was a top-down affair accomplished by a class and ethnically homogenous group of men. Robert Sweeny in his study of industrialization of Montreal critiqued this aspect of the framework as simultaneously too broad and too narrow because it had failed to account for the broad appeal of nineteenth century liberalism that cut across class and ethnic lines.³⁵ Put simply, the continued popular appeal of liberal values shaped how and where the liberal order in the early twentieth century would change. In Berlin during the Great War, this tension between values and order proved to be significant.

Much has been said about the relationship between liberal hegemony and class-based hegemony. If anything, liberalism served to reaffirm the dominance of the bourgeois class in Canada and elsewhere. It would also serve the interest of Canada's wealthy middle class who would rise to dominate municipal politics. In Berlin, the establishment of industry would give rise to a German "ethnic elite."³⁶ Aya Fujiwara, in her study of the formation of multiculturalism in Canada, argued that it was such ethnic elites who were able to use their prominent positions to mold their respective ethnic groups and their relationship to the wider society. Furthermore, their relationships are

³⁵ See Sweeny, 324-326. Ian McKay et al., "MacDonald Prize Roundtable on *Why Did We Choose to Industrialize?*" *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association*, 28 no 3 (2017): 90-113.

³⁶ For a defining characteristic is inequality in freedom of choice as a product of wealth accumulation. It represented a significant transition from societies based on authoritarian allocation of work and reward to impersonal allocation of work based on market value of labour. C.B. Macpherson, *The Real World of Democracy* (Concord: House of Anansi Press Ltd., 1992), 7.

what defines an ethnic identity beyond a common language, religion or culture.³⁷ There is also an inherently gendered dynamic to ethnic elitism. As the liberal subject was male by default, the liberal order reinforced patriarchy.³⁸ In Joy Parr's classic *Gender of Breadwinners*, she saw gender and class as inseparable in social existence. Daniel Knechtel, son of a German immigrant and the largest employer in Hamburg, Ontario had crafted himself as the epitome of Christian masculinity, in spite of not siring any children.³⁹ It was factory-based paternalism.

Paternalism, masculinity, class and ethnic identity are also the basis for the studies of Berlin's ethnic elite by Barbara Lorenzkowski. In *Sounds of Ethnicity*, (based on her Pierre Laberge prize winning thesis) she examined the folklore, dialects, and the process of "myth making" in the German communities of Buffalo, New York, and Berlin Ontario by using sound as a category of analysis. It had already been established that a number of dialects existed in Berlin and Waterloo County ranging from *hoch Deutsch* to Pennsylvania German. *Hoch Deutsch* was championed, as it was in Germany, by the urban middle-class. The Amish communities in Wellesley, originating from Bavaria and Alsace, brought their own *Alsatian* and other forms of "upper German" while Pennsylvania German survived among the more conservative Mennonite groups.⁴⁰ For Lorenzkowski, this meant a great deal for culture and the effects of language protectionism in the region. Working from the ideas of Jonathan Zimmerman, she argued

³⁷ Aya Fujiwara, *Ethnic Elites and Canadian Identity: Japanese, Ukrainians and Scots, 1919-1971* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2012), 158.

³⁸ For a discussion see Adele Perry "Women, Racialized People and the Making of the Liberal Order in Northern North America" *Liberalism and Hegemony*, 274-279 in his reconsideration, he had not considered the effects of the uneven evolution of capitalism that defined the parameters of the liberal order.

³⁹ See Joy Parr, *The Gender of Breadwinners: Women, Men, and Change in Two Industrial Towns, 1880-1950* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), 140-141 and 232-239.

⁴⁰ Kathryn Burrige "Pennsylvania-German Dialect: A Localized Study within a part of Waterloo County" *Canadian-German Folklore* 11 (1989): 5-6.

that language was not a marker of ethnic identity, in the pure sense of the protectionist rhetoric of the German community, but a marker of a unique local hybrid identity.⁴¹ Thus her intermediary between the German communities was not the language, music, or other cultural staples, it was the romanticized *volk* they aspired to but could never achieve. This theme is also present in her studies of German schooling in the region.⁴²

It is no coincidence that the men of Berlin, of German descent, who fought against the forces of cultural assimilation before 1914 and fought the smear campaigns against the Germans during the war, were part of a well-established and close-knit, sometimes intermarried, middle-class ruling elite, or “ethnic elite” in Berlin. They were factory owners, newspapermen, school administrators, even politicians and legal professionals. These men used their positions in the community to form organizations including a shadow schoolboard, to protect German language education, (the *schulverein*) the Waterloo Historical Society, to take control of the historical narrative of the region, and later the Citizens League, to fight the decision to rename their city. Their position and their right to protect their cultural heritage were enshrined in the philosophical underpinnings of property rights in Canada’s liberal order. Individuals in a liberal society were by definition free to choose (and live by) their own religion, speak their own language and practice their own culture.⁴³ They were also free to form organizations within the municipal regime to further safeguard such freedoms.

⁴¹ Barbara Lorezkowski, *Sounds of Ethnicity: Listening to German North America, 1850-1914* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2010), 45-47.

⁴² Barbara Lorezkowski, “Languages of Ethnicity: Teaching German in Waterloo County’s Schools, 1850-1915” *Histoire Sociale/Social History* 41, no. 81 (2008), 1-39.

⁴³ Macpherson, *The Real World of Democracy*, 6.

Individualism and Cultural Belonging

Ethnically-based organizations may appear to make little sense in a society that promotes possessive individualism. McKay himself described the liberal order as “cold” because of the centrality of individualism. In a fundamental sense, this emphasis ignores the instinctual need of human beings, as social animals, to feel a sense of belonging leaving Canadians wanting in the search for community ties.⁴⁴

Community ties can also be considered under a different lens: social control and class formation. In the influential study on the formation of the English middle-class R.J. Morris demonstrated that through municipal politics and just as importantly (if not more so) voluntary organizations, an identifiable and coherent middle class could define morality in the community as a means of social control of the labour force⁴⁵ This was essential as the middle class itself was divided by religion and political loyalties. His examples, discussed at length in the second half of the study, include the formation of the town mission gardens, music associations, and education boards. Thus, activities and associations formed in the name of community were closely tied to the interests of the middle-class administrators and was the social foundation on which their class organized itself.

Members of the German ethnic elite found the liberal hegemony of Canada familiar. The first generation of tradesmen and later industrialists to settle in Waterloo County had left lands like Wüttenburg, and Baden which were transitioning from a moral to a liberal economy with the decline of the protective guilds and negotiating state and

⁴⁴ McKay, *Rebels, Reds and Radicals*, 69.

⁴⁵ R.J. Morris, *Class, Sect and Party: The Making of the British Middle Class: Leeds, 1820-50* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990).

municipal power. Michael Schäfer in his study comparing Edinburgh and Leipzig, demonstrated the British tradition had allocated powers between the municipalities and the central state and Germany operated in a different system. The German model was described as “universal competence” meaning the municipal regime was free to yield power that was not specifically allocated to the state.⁴⁶ One result of this negotiation was a disaster in Hamburg. Richard Evans, (in outright rejection of the *Sonderweg* theory of German history of his mentors) began by studying liberalism and the cholera epidemic in Hamburg. His quantitative analysis showed that through a process of continued disenfranchisement similar to Northern England, the German liberal bourgeoisie consolidated its power in Hamburg and created a city with many of the qualities of a liberal order “utopia”, including severe social inequalities, and establishing trade as the city’s most important lifeline.⁴⁷ The cholera epidemic of 1892, would end in disaster for Hamburg. What rendered the city vulnerable was the Hamburg elite’s fear of financial ruin if they cut off trade and enforced a quarantine.

The exact nature of German liberalism was later described by Geoff Eley.⁴⁸ After pointing out the problem in German liberal historiography of the interchangeable use of economic and political definitions of liberalism, Eley argued that the formation of the German national identity was a triumph of contemporary liberalism. Bismarck had brought to Germany the ascendancy of liberal values in the same manner as the founders

⁴⁶ Michael Schäfer “The Challenge of Urban Democracy: Municipal Elites in Edinburgh and Leipzig, 1890-1930” Ralf Roth and Robert Beachy (eds.) *Who Ran the Cities? City Elites and Urban Power Structures in Europe and North America, 1750-1940* (Burlington: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2007), 95.

⁴⁷ Richard J. Evans, *Death In Hamburg: Society and Politics in the Cholera Years, 1830-1910* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), 48-49.

⁴⁸ Geoff Eley “Liberalism, Europe, and the Bourgeoisie, 1860-1914” in *The German Bourgeoisie: Essays on the Social History of the German Middle Class from the Late Eighteenth to the Early Twentieth Century*, edited by David Blackburn and Richard J. Evans (London: Routledge, 1991), 302.

of Canadian confederation. Suddenly, the German bourgeois had been elevated to positions of political and cultural influence at the expense of groups who could not, by design, reap the social and financial benefits of the new order.

The place of community within Canadian liberalism was explored by Michèle Dagenais, in her reflection on local government. This is essentially a clarification on *how* the liberal order actually worked on the front line of introducing liberal hegemony to the peoples of formerly Upper and Lower Canada. The individual, as perceived by the Adam Smith, the father of laissez-faire economics, shared a common interest with the community and therefore could be relied on to promote them.⁴⁹ According to Dagenais the exercise of “peace, order and good government” required on the job training in self-government at the municipal level. Here is the power of the individual at the local level in the liberal experiment:

Citizens could learn to set objectives and rely upon themselves to meet them. In other words, they could learn to govern their own conduct, thus acquiring expertise in public life that could later be applied at other levels, notably when choosing elected representatives.⁵⁰

The power of the municipal is therefore an expression of the power of the individual within the liberal order.

Berlin negotiated this power dynamic with its ethnic elite. While the German (as a construct) had embraced the values of nineteenth century liberalism, being an ethnic group in the centre of Orange Ontario and having an inherent sense of pride in their cultural heritage meant that community organizations were essential. To be German

⁴⁹ Adam Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and the Causes of The Wealth of Nations*, Book I, Ch XI (London: T Nelson and Sons, Paternoster Row, 1887), 106.

⁵⁰ Michèle Dagenais, “The Municipal Territory: A Product of the Liberal Order?” *Liberalism and Hegemony*, 208.

meant belonging to something larger than the individual. The class privilege of the ethnic elite would allow a negotiation here, and since (as in Adam Smith) the individual shared a common interest with the community, any group organization, schools, singing club, historical society, Citizen's League, was ultimately an extension of the interest of the liberal individual in Berlin. This was not dependent on the ethnic elite's privilege, but inherent in the nature of civil society in a liberal order. For historians including R.J. Morris, the liberal values are developed by people organizing themselves into social and cultural organizations primarily on the local level. The Great War would pose a threat to this local dynamic yet simultaneously motivate Berlin's ethnic elite to cling to the founding principles of liberalism as a defence mechanism against external threats to this shared value system and way of life.

Intelligence and Social History

By the end of the Great War, McKay has established that Canada's liberal order was beginning to unravel. Key principles of liberalism had not survived the war or the labour revolt. McKay's *Reasoning Otherwise* describes the critique of liberal principles by Canadian socialists and others on the Canadian left. What is needed is a study of a similar shift away from such principles by the state in its conduct of the war. Thus a measure for the state's attack on the liberal order proposed here is the increasing role of Canada's domestic intelligence to help maintain "order" in the society. There are two distinct schools of thought in intelligence historiography. The first is represented by

official and popular histories that focus on major events and “great men”⁵¹ and the other school consists of social histories of intelligence produced in Canada largely through the efforts of Marxist historians. There is merit to examining the history of counter as well as domestic intelligence despite these separate schools of thought. The efforts of the German military attachés in the United States to cause havoc on the Canadian home front in order to impede the imperial war effort, which are chronicled in official and popular histories, were used to justify the expansion of Canada’s intelligence apparatus. There exists, however, a literature that looks beyond the chronicle, to examine the history through the lens of class and the struggle for hegemony. Here the focus shifts from external threats to the use of state powers, including the use of intelligence officers, to control the population.

The most comprehensive study of Canada’s military intelligence history and capabilities remains S.R. Elliott’s *Scarlett to Green*. Being an official history, it is highly valuable in tracing the command structures as well as official policies and procedures. It is not without its problems. In his efforts to write a grand narrative of the development of the forces, including battlefield reconnaissance, Elliott could only dedicate a small section to domestic intelligence and an even smaller section to the domestic sphere of the

⁵¹ For the classic critique and its background see Herbert Butterfield “Official History: Its Pitfalls and Criteria” *History and Human Relations* (MacMillan, 1952), 182-224 and C.T. McIntire, *Herbert Butterfield: Historian as Dissenter* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 169-171. The official histories consulted here are Christopher Andrew, *The Defence of the Realm: The Authorized History of MI5* (Toronto: Penguin Canada, 2010). In Canada, while new official histories are less popular, older editions remain standard references, see for example Arthur Fortescue Duguid, *Official History of the Canadian Forces in the Great War, 1914-1919* (Ottawa: King’s Printer, 1938) (only volume 1 was completed) and for Canadian intelligence see Major and S.R. Elliot *Scarlett to Green: A History of Intelligence in the Canadian Army, 1903-1963* (Toronto: Canadian Intelligence and Security Association, 1981). For a discussion on their evolution see Chapter 1 of Tim Cook, *Clio’s Warriors: Canadian Historians and the Writing of the World Wars* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2006) Access to classified information is often the motivation for some to become an official historian see Curtis B. Robinson, *Caught Red Starred: The Woolwich Spy-Ring and Stalin’s Naval Rearmament on the Eve of War* (Bloomington: Xlibris, 2011), 20-21.

Great War. Thus, these sections are far from comprehensive. Nowhere are the activities of District Intelligence Officers linked to the instances of sabotage described on the home front.⁵² Additionally, nowhere is it mentioned that intelligence officers had to collaborate with the police forces and civic authorities when investigating potential threats.⁵³ Nor is this collaboration present in either official or unofficial histories of the RCMP, and its predecessor the RNWMP.⁵⁴

When Canadian labour historians examined the struggles of the working class, they discovered that the unions and the radical left were continuously being monitored by Canada's domestic intelligence networks. Suddenly the writing of the history of intelligence need no longer rely on the methodologies of military/official historians and it could now apply the theories and methods of social history. A pioneer in this field is undoubtedly Gregory S. Kealey, a Macdonald-prize winning social historian and founding editor of *Labour/Le Travail*. Searching for sources on radical movements associated with the strike wave of 1919, he began to systematically use access to information requests to obtain period reports from the NWMP, the Dominion Police and the RCMP. Kealey's exposure of the extensive nature of the Canadian state's use of intelligence against the subjects he studied elevated him to one of Canada's leading intelligence historians.⁵⁵ One of his most significant contributions was Kealey's on-going battle with Canada's Security and Intelligence Service for the release of literally mountains of classified materials. He, along with Reg Whitaker and a small army of

⁵² See Elliott, 50-51. The one intelligence officer mentioned is Lt.-Col Burns, 52-53.

⁵³ It is mentioned only as a conflict of duty over internment and later as liaison duty, see *ibid*, 52.

⁵⁴ See for example Lorne Brown and Caroline Brown, *An Unauthorized History of the RCMP* (Toronto: James Lorimer & Company, Publishers, 1978), 34-35.

⁵⁵ It is not surprising that his work in intelligence history and public ridicule of the police state was omitted from the details of his career when he received the Order of Canada in June 2017.

graduate students, compiled and published a massive eight volume series, *R.C.M.P Security Bulletins* spanning the inter-war years. These documents show that the targets of surveillance identified by 1919 remained unchanged for decades. Since this alarming discovery, labour and gender specialists have written on the secret war against progressive movements in Canada: the labour revolts of 1919, One Big Union (OBU), the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), socialists, communists and homosexuals.⁵⁶ This revisionist literature created a more inclusive history that was the antithesis of official histories.⁵⁷

In their 2012 book on the subject, Greg Kealey, Andrew Parnaby and Reg Whitaker, examined the history of the resistance to this political policing. They argue that throughout the last century, the Mounted Police, CSIS and other organizations, were keen to cover up their operations that corresponded to the defence of the hegemonic status quo.⁵⁸ Their analysis revealed the extent of the tactics used to maintain hegemony over Canadian workers and with it, the preservation of Canada's exploitive capitalist

⁵⁶ See for example Gregory S. Kealey "Spymasters, Spies and their Subjects: The RCMP and Canadian State Repression, 1914-39" in "*Whose National Security?*" *Canadian State Surveillance and the Creation of Enemies* edited by Gary Kinsman *et al* (Toronto: Behind the Lines, 2000), Gary Kinsman "'Character Weaknesses' and 'Fruit Machines': Towards an Analysis of Anti-Homosexual Security Campaign in the Canadian Civil Service" *Labour/Le Travail* 35 (Spring, 1995):133-161 A few of these arguments were also reiterated with state surveillance of Irish nationalists since an alliance had been formed between Sinn Féin and OBU see Trevor R.O. Ford "Dreaded Tempest: How The Military Intelligence Branch of the Department of Militia and Defence Conducted Intelligence Operations against One Big Union and Sinn Féin in Montreal, 1920-21" (Masters Thesis: Memorial University of Newfoundland, 2013), 49.

⁵⁷ See "Introduction" *Whose National Security?* 2-4.

⁵⁸ Reg Whitaker, Gregory S. Kealey, and Andrew Parnaby, *Secret Service: Political Policing in Canada from the Fenians to Fortress America* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012) 8-9 and 13. In keeping with the new tradition of public scrutiny, their main goal, was to enrage readers at the actions of their government over and above informing them of their history see Curtis B. Robinson "Review of Reg Whitaker, Gregory S. Kealey, and Andrew Parnaby, *Secret Service: Political Policing in Canada from the Fenians to Fortress America*" (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012) *Canadian Military History* 24, no. 2 (2015): 306-309.

system. These tactics were also contextualized as an evolution in Canada's spying capacity and many of these themes are repeated in the recent *Spying on Canadians*.⁵⁹

Developing simultaneously with this Marxist school, was the interpretive framework that has defined the study and application of social theory in Canadian intelligence for the past twenty years: the "insecurity state" thesis. Wesley K. Wark developed the idea that Canada's security services were shaped by attitudes prevalent in more powerful states, particularly Britain.⁶⁰ In this model, the attention of intelligence officers is diverted from one threat to another based on the fears of the day, whether it be the American Union Army, Fenians, Central Power sympathisers, communists and labour unions, the Japanese, Soviet spies, homosexuals or most recently international terrorism. Wark argues that 1914 marks the beginning of Canada as an insecurity state and this insecurity drove the rapid expansion of its counter-intelligence capabilities during the Great War.⁶¹ In this model, because Canada could rely on Great Britain and the United States, foreign intelligence gathering was not as important to Canadians authorities.⁶²

Insecurity and Reasoning Otherwise

The rapid expansion of military intelligence during the war caused significant changes in offices, duties, personnel, and records management. Unfortunately, in 1920 when the RCMP was created as the central force for national policing, security and counter-intelligence much of the material created during the war by the Corps of Guides,

⁵⁹ Gregory S. Kealey, *Spying on Canadians: The Royal Canadian Mounted Police Security Service and the Origins of the Long Cold War* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2017).

⁶⁰ Wesley K. Wark "Security Intelligence in Canada, 1864-1945: The History of a 'National Insecurity State'" In *Go Spy the Land: Military Intelligence in History* edited by Keith Neilson and B.J.C. McKercher (Westport: Praeger Publishers, 1992), 157.

⁶¹ *Ibid*, 163-166.

⁶² See Wesley K. Wark, "The Evolution of Military Intelligence in Canada" *Armed Forces and Society* 16, no. 1 (1989): 80-81.

the Military Intelligence Branch, the Dominion Police, and the Royal North West Mounted Police was lost. Following the merger, the original case files or *fonds* created in these early years of Canadian intelligence were destroyed and/or broken up.⁶³ Currently, the collections at Library Archives Canada in the Record Group 24 series, labelled Department of National Defence, which includes files inherited by the RCMP, is organized neither by the offices that created them, nor geographically by Military District. The surviving files have been re-compiled by subject and date which leaves the historian with an arduous task of reconstructing the processes and procedures that created the documents.⁶⁴

From what has survived, it is still possible to understand the processes of intelligence gathering, the duties and responsibilities of officers and from there examine how the rise of the insecurity state relates to Canada's founding principles of liberalism. The District Intelligence Officers, recruited from the disbanding Corps of Guides, often had their own agendas based on their white middle-class values.

In the case files, it is clear that Intelligence Officers worked for the Department of Militia and Defence but the delineation between the Department of Militia and Defence and the State Department is also vague. The man in charge of censorship, Ernest Chambers and a number of his deputies were formerly from this department and the Corps of Guides. Censorship and limiting the spread of pro-German propaganda was a concern of both departments and they would be in constant communication. The

⁶³ Kealey has commented that the problems also existed when the PAC (now LAC) inherited the RNWMP, RCMP, and CIB files and it was an ongoing struggle to declassify the material and prevent the destruction of important documents. See Gregory S. Kealey "The Royal Canadian Mounted Police, The Canadian Security Intelligence Service, The Public Archives of Canada, and Access to Information: A Curious Tale" *Labour/Le Travail* 21 (Spring 1988): 199-226.

⁶⁴ This occurred so the RCMP could more efficiently manage newer cases while discarding older distractions in dismissed cases.

intelligence officers also held a great deal of influence over regular army officers. During the process of recruiting men for overseas battalions, the intelligence officers would intervene and make recommendations on who was to be discharged on suspicion of disloyalty. The standard procedure was to discharge non-naturalized men of enemy nationality but sometimes there would be judgement calls made on the part of intelligence officers which unit commanders had to obey.

This was the nature of intelligence in Military District (MD) 2. This raises a question, were the procedures similar in MD 1 and did Canadian Intelligence worry about Berlin Ontario? The answer, as we shall see is no. The responsibilities were passed down almost entirely to local law enforcement depending on resources and priorities of superiors. While it has been suggested that this depended too, on population distribution and the size of the district for which the intelligence officer was responsible, I conclude that there was never an intelligence officer appointed to the district.

The commander of Military District 1, Colonel Shannon, received the same orders as other commanders to appoint an intelligence officer to his district. He would have other priorities. On his own prerogative, he prioritized gathering intelligence in the United States (Michigan) over domestic intelligence despite the fact that his district was a centre of German settlement. The ethnic elites of Berlin had spent the previous decades constructing an image of the German-Canadian community that would come to be perceived differently as the imperial rivalry between Great Britain and Germany escalated into war. Compounded by atrocities in Belgium, the sinking of the *Lusitania*, and low recruitment levels in Berlin, the German would be constructed as a disloyal liability, an enemy of Canada. Oftentimes, words led to violence and vigilantism

described in the oral history accounts. Where in Toronto such a tense situation would be handled by an intelligence officer, instead in Berlin local authorities, newspapermen, and regular army officers would control the situation. Because this kind of “othering” based on ethnicity rather than class and economic values is fundamentally illiberal, the gradual implementing of the insecurity state apparatus, represented a decisive measure in the process of eroding the liberal order on the part of the state in favour of a more centralized strong-arm tactic, of social control. This enables an examination of the home front in a very different lens than was possible in McKegney or Rutherford because it acknowledges the non-linear development of reasoning otherwise as a stage in Canadian history.

I will argue this case study provides the basis for a potential linking of the work of Marxist intelligence historians and the disciples of the insecurity state thesis. “Reasoning otherwise” as described by Ian McKay refers to the erosion of the liberal order on the part of Canadian socialists in the early part of the twentieth century. This was speeded up in direct response to the wartime economy which, through state intervention, also saw the abandonment of the liberal principles of free market economics and manpower management. The rise of the insecurity state was part of the state’s undermining of the liberal order. Ultimately the insecurity state’s existence depended upon the growth of industrial capitalism in Canada and directly related to the evolution in reasoning otherwise. It was in the heavily populated and ethnically diverse urban centres where state fears about the growth of unions and the spread of communist revolutionary ideas, as well as other causes of civil unrest, originated. It was these areas that warranted, in the eyes of the Department of Militia and Defence, the deployment of intelligence officers,

watchers, and infiltrators. In parts of Canada where industrialization had not produced the same social tensions, there was less need to develop a new level of security. Berlin, Ontario, within Military District 1, a centre of German settlement for the previous century, was not a large industrial centre and therefore, had not evolved to the same level of class or ethnic diversity and segregation. Here the insecurity state had yet to develop as a mechanism of social control in response to industrial urbanization, and the war as it had in Toronto or Military District 2 more generally. The small scale of Berlin, with community organizations, well established local leaders and emphasis on municipal power as a means of negotiating the individual and the collective, proved a sufficiently coherent basis for intelligence gathering. Here, there was no the need to abandon the liberal order and to take the drastic wartime measures in the name of security required in Toronto and Winnipeg and Montreal.

Notes on Terminology and Organization

A word on terminology is necessary to conclude. The term “enemy alien” was used during the war to describe non-naturalized, predominantly male, immigrants from the Central Powers.⁶⁵ At the outbreak of the war, thousands rushed to attain their naturalization papers and the rest were forced by law to register or face internment.⁶⁶ In fact, as described by Rutherford, the demonization of the German “enemy alien” expanded beyond the immediate influence of the war. The term was also reapplied in

⁶⁵ There is also an international literature pertaining to the experience of enemy aliens in the British empire. For an introduction of the legislative process and the Alien Act and internment in Great Britain see John Clement Bird “Control of Enemy Alien Civilians in Great Britain, 1914-1918” (PhD Thesis: University of London 1981) See also Panikos Panayi, *Prisoners of Britain: German Civilians and Combatant Internees During the First World War* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012).

⁶⁶ Barbara M. Wilson (ed.) *Ontario and the First World War: 1914-1918: A Collection of Documents* (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1977), lxxi.

some cases to Canadian citizens of German ancestry as a smear tactic. It was not that they were born to a people with which Canada was now at war; it was rather the very nature of their being, their culture, heritage, and inherent character that was now under attack.⁶⁷ Often in English language newspapers in Berlin, the term “enemy alien” was used as a smear for “Canadians of German ancestry” or “German-Canadians.” The latter terms refer to those born in Canada but are descended from German immigrants and settlers and identify themselves as German by ethnicity. Whenever the question of loyalty was introduced into the discourse, being born in Canada seemed to make little difference in the eyes of hardened imperialists, especially during Berlin’s name change debate.

“Ethnicity” and “race” are often used interchangeably because they have similar parameters and applications. Contrary to the language of the time, neither are discussed from a scientific biological perspective by social historians, who instead treat them as social constructs. It is indicative of a label or framework which individuals use to describe a group either from the outside or from within. Conflict theorists, and this includes Marxists and disciples of Foucault, tend to emphasize the importance of negative labelling as an exercise of power on the part of one group over another.

Ethnicity and race are also a means for self-identification with a larger community of people. Sociological models of the internalization of an ethnic identity focus on a learning process referred to as ethnic socialization, which foregrounds reliance on a

⁶⁷ Rutherford, 121, an entire chapter of *Hometown Horizons* was dedicated to this very subject. Kordan would add that the war reinforced rather than established who was friend or foe (or to use Andrew Parnaby’s terminology was “in” or “out”) but rather impressed upon people the idea that the “enemy alien” was “a problem.” Bohdan S. Kordan, *No Free Man: Canada, The Great War, and the Enemy Alien Experience* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2016), 7.

family and community environment in providing the staples of the culture associated with an ethnicity or race.⁶⁸ The majority of works on German-Canadian communities use this framework.

The thesis has been divided into two sections. Part I describes the formation and effectiveness of the liberal order in Berlin and the resultant effects the war had on the German community. Part II describes Canadian intelligence operations and the geographically uneven rise of the insecurity state.

The first chapter contextualizes the region of Waterloo and the Germanic roots of the city of Berlin. A part of this process was the rise of the German ethnic elite and their established narrative of German ancestry and heritage within Canada's liberal order. It is also the story of how these ethnic elites entered the public discourse over the delicate balance between society and the individual and how "collectiveness" functions within an order that emphasises the individual.

The second chapter recalls the history of anti-German sentiments in Berlin and elsewhere in Ontario during the war. It traces the attempts of the ethnic elite to preserve the image of the German-Canadian against the onslaught culminating in the loss of many of the cultural staples of the German community including the German language institutions and even the name of the city. In spite of the shift away from the principles of liberalism and liberal democracy elsewhere in Canada, the chapter also shows that the solutions to the problems in Berlin remained overwhelmingly grounded in nineteenth century liberal traditions.

⁶⁸ Alicia Fedelina Chávez, and Florence Guido-Dibrito "Racial and Ethnic Identity and Development" *New Directions and Continuing Education* 84 (Winter 1999): 42.

The third chapter outlines the history of recruitment in Berlin which was intended to quantifiably “prove” their loyalty to Canada and the Empire. Despite this emphasis on loyalty in Berlin, the effects of the 1916 decline in volunteer recruitment led to an attack by soldiers of the 118th Overseas Battalion on all things German in the community. The empirical quantitative evidence does not support the accusation made against the German community that the low recruitment levels were the result of their disloyalty to Canada and the British empire.

Part II opens with chapter four, which contextualizes the threats posed to Canada by German operatives in the United States that have been presented in popular histories as constituting the “real” threat Canada faced. The insecurity state was dependent upon the duality of the real and perceived threat to national security often relying on allies for guidelines. This is important because the perception of the internal threat is dependent entirely on the fear of external threats. The German operatives in the United States alarmed British and American authorities and the threat to Canada was handled mostly by them. In Military District I, where the insecurity state was yet to evolve and focus the attention of intelligence gathering inwards, Colonel Shannon in Command focused his attention on the United States.

Chapter five directly contrasts the mechanisms of the liberal order with those of the insecurity state. It does so by showing the differences in the handling of dissidence and dissent in Military District I, Southwestern Ontario including Berlin and Military District II, including Toronto. Here we see local authorities and members of the ethnic elites in Berlin doing essentially the same job as Military Intelligence Officers, investigating potential spies and saboteurs, enforcing censorship, and ensuring the

discharge of potentially disloyal enemy aliens from the Canadian Expeditionary Force in two profoundly different ways.

Chapter 1: Preserving the German in Ontario Before 1914

Of the Germans, as a whole it need not hardly be said that they are among our best immigrants. In one sense they are “easily assimilated”, and yet in the long run it would seem as if it is often the others who are Germanized. However this may be, and not withstanding some faults, we welcome the German.

-James S. Woodsworth¹

North America would prove a refuge for religious refugees after the Protestant Reformation in Europe dismantled any illusions of a shared identity under the umbrella of *Christendom*. From this religious conflict would emerge the first group of Germans to immigrate to the United States. They were the Mennonites, descendants of the Anabaptists who gained a foothold in the western provinces of the Holy Roman Empire as well as Switzerland, the Low Countries, and select communities in what is now Poland. Anabaptists suffered the same kinds of persecution as other reform groups since their belief that baptism should take place at mature age was declared a heresy.² Their beliefs also included a more literal interpretation of the Sermon on the Mount.³ This teaching would come to mean pacifism as followers would never take up arms against their enemies, which is still a fundamental teaching among the Mennonites. Leaving

¹ James S. Woodsworth *Strangers Within our Gates: or Coming Canadians* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972), 84, first published in 1909.

² Michael G. Baylor, *The German Reformation and the Peasants War: A Brief History with Documents* (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2012), 30.

³ “But I say unto you, Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you and persecute you.” Matthew 5:44 King James Version.

Central Europe to seek asylum in Great Britain would open the New World to them as a permanent place of refuge from religious persecution.⁴

Later events would scatter the German settlers, as well as the Mennonites, throughout what would become known as British North America. In keeping with their teachings, Mennonites would play no part in the American Revolutionary War and their stay in Pennsylvania would not be affected. For other German settlers of Presbyterian or Lutheran faith the question became one of loyalty. The Revolutionary War would force United Empire Loyalist descendants of German settlers to migrate northwards.⁵ This exodus brought them into the Maritime provinces, as well as the Niagara Region and York in Upper Canada

Further north than the settlements in Niagara, the chain of events that transformed the forests and swamplands of the Grand River into the centre of German settlement was actually an accident that followed a shaky land acquisition deal on the part of Richard Beasley. In fact, historian Heinz Lehmann credits the “dirty deal” with ensuring German domination of the region.⁶ It is also an historical curiosity. Up until then, the vast majority of settlement, and establishment of farming communities, tended not to stray far from the border region or the coasts of Lake Ontario and Lake Erie. In 1796, approximately 94,000 acres of land was purchased indirectly from the Six Nations. Beasley, according to the deed, was not allowed to further subdivide and sell property until he had paid off the mortgage yet financial troubles would compel him to violate the agreement. Anxious to draw settlers into the region, Beasley began selling plots of land

⁴ “The German Reformation” *The Church of England Quarterly Review* Vol. 32 (1852): 299.

⁵ See Ross Fair, “‘Theirs was a Deeper Purpose:’ The Pennsylvania Germans of Ontario and the Craft of the Homemaking Myth” *Canadian Historical Review* 87 no. 4 (2006): 664-665.

⁶ Lehmann, 69.

to Mennonites from Pennsylvania.⁷ Once they learned that Beasley did not technically own the land he was selling, the settlers were concerned about losing everything, including their deposits. In response, the settlers turned to their brethren in Lancaster County Pennsylvania for help. They agreed and convinced of the fertility of the soil in Ontario formed The German Company to purchase the remaining land.⁸ This started another great exodus from the United States into Canada. This time Mennonite pioneers trekked through the woods and hunting trails of Southern Pennsylvania to a swampy region of Upper Canada.⁹

Slowly over the course of the century, the Pennsylvania Mennonite settlers would gradually disperse throughout the countryside and sell their land to incoming German pioneers to the Waterloo region, and the Scottish in Guelph. Some were *Auswanderers* from Germany who needed to find a new market for their skillsets.¹⁰ In spite of the restoration efforts in Germany after the fall of Napoleon, there was a slow abandonment of the old guild system of artisans that controlled prices and trade capacity. Tariffs were being lifted and free market liberalism was beginning to sweep the German domestic

⁷ I.C. Bricker, "The History of Waterloo Township up to 1825" *WHS* 21 & 22 (1934), 86-9. This article also contains a comprehensive list of plot purchases by the settlers.

⁸ Transcripts of the purchases from the six nations and also the purchase by the Germans were reproduced in *WHS* 7 (1919), 84-87 and 87-90 respectively.

⁹ The route was described by I.C. Bricker using period maps and folk stories of the journey see I.C. Bricker "The Trek of the Pennsylvanians to Canada in the Year 1805" *WHS* Vol 22 (1934): 123. Marlene Epp has been pointed out that the literature on Mennonites has been rooted too heavily in folk tradition, mythmaking and trans-national narratives. Marlene Epp, "Pioneers, Refugees, Exiles, and Transnationals: Gendering Diaspora in an Ethno Religious Context" *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association* Vol 12(2001): 138 and 140-141.

¹⁰ "Auswanderer" refers to skilled and semi-skilled migrants, Mack Walker, *Germany and the Emigration, 1816-1885* (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 1964), 47. See question in text.

economy in places like Hamburg, Württemberg, and the Hesse-Darmstadt region¹¹ where the tanners that would settle in Canada originated.

In the 1830s, the first of the new group of German settlers chose Berlin as the name for the small hamlet that emerged. It consisted mostly of log houses on private land, farms, grain and lumber mills, and the earliest roads which were cut through the woods by the landowners. Joseph Schneider, who owned a lumber mill, built one such road from his log home to what is now the intersection of King and Queen Street.¹²

Jacob Hailer was the first German-born pioneer settler to the Waterloo region. He immigrated to Baltimore, Maryland from Baden and in 1833 purchased a plot of Mennonite land. There he built his workshop and began crafting furniture and wagon wheels. Direct immigration from Germany would peak over the next ten years because of events that occurred in Germany. The liberal revolution was slowly eroding the old order in Central Europe, specifically the guild system that regulated German craftsmen, creating an employment crisis, and in the south east states including Baden and Württemberg, the potato crops were failing.¹³

The years 1867 and 1871 would bring further changes to the immigration dynamic. Canada and Germany were now nations and no longer ideas or approximations on a map. Canada's first national government, under Sir John A. Macdonald, would push through an aggressive immigration policy in order to settle the western frontier. While

¹¹ See Theodore S. Hamerow, *Restoration, Revolution, Reaction: Economics and Politics in Germany, 1815-1871* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1958), 27-29 and Waldtraut Elisabeth Vey "The German Immigrants of Waterloo County, 1840-1900" (Master's Thesis University of Western Ontario, 1977), 15-16.

¹² W.B. Utley, "Joseph Schneider: Founder of the City" *WHS* Vol. 17, (1929): 113-115 Schneider Haus has been restored and is now a museum standing on Queen Street Between Schneider Avenue and Schneider Creek. In 2016 transit construction crews working on King Street uncovered the corduroy road from circa 1815 see "Under Uptown Waterloo, 2016" *WHS* Vol. 104 (2016): 194 and back cover.

¹³ Parr, *The Gender of Breadwinners*, 125.

British subjects were the preferred group, for the purposes of agriculture, the Macdonald government was forced to look elsewhere due to the pool of available farmers in Great Britain having been drained by the transitions of enclosure, urbanization and heavy industry. Between 1870 and 1890, the Germans would be considered a viable alternative by Macdonald and his deputy minister John Lowe.¹⁴ While Germans were the third largest immigrant group, it was not an easy trip to Canada. The migration by Germans to Canada often passed through the United States. Steamships ferried immigrants on the Bremen and Hamburg-New York route with regular service provided by the Nord Deutscher Lloyd and Hamburg America Lines. The route to Quebec City, on the other hand, was still dominated by smaller sailing ships at a higher ticket price. Thus, for the many German immigrants whose final destination was Canada the costs were high. This was intentional as Bismarck hoped to limit the number of people leaving Germany by limiting travel opportunities and outlawing advertisements inviting immigration to Canada.

Industrialization and the Rise of the German Ethnic Elite

The story of industrialization in Berlin/Waterloo is very much the story of prominent German immigrant families who came to Canada in the 19th century. Among them were prominent tanners, the Langs and the Breithaupts, but also manufacturers including the Hailers and the Kaufmans. Rounding out this group of community leaders were the families of newspapermen, the Rittingers and the Motzes.

¹⁴ Jonathan Wagner, *A History of Migration from Germany to Canada, 1850-1939* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2006), 76-77.

Reinhold Lang and his son George immigrated to Canada in 1849 from the Weibstadt (Rhineland) Germany and established a tannery on Foundry Street.¹⁵ This original structure burned down in 1853 and the Lang Tannery would relocate to Francis and Charles Street. Reinhold died in 1883 and George inherited the business; under his leadership, the Lang tannery became one of the largest manufacturers of leather in the British Empire.

The Lang's had a competitor from a more politically active family of tanners. The Breithaupt's were Berlin's first family, and prominent members, specifically in the Kreuzberger line, would become community leaders as part of the ethnic elite. In 1843 *Auswanderer* Liborius Breithaupt, a tanner from Allendorf Germany, brought his trade to Buffalo New York and St. Catherine's, Ontario. His son Philip Ludwig "Louis" Breithaupt who inherited the family business would expand the firm into the Waterloo region when in 1853 he married Catherine Hailer.¹⁶ She was the daughter of Jacob Hailer. Additionally, the Breithaupt's also had a hand in land brokerage and mortgages.¹⁷ Much of the land around the tannery in the north ward was purchased in the 1870s as well as portions of King Street.

Together Louis and Catherine had ten children, three born in Buffalo and seven in Berlin. The Breithaupt tannery, which opened in 1857 was built on land obtained from Louis's new father-in-law. He died in 1880 while serving as mayor of Berlin. Of the ten

¹⁵ According to legend, the Langs originally settled in Chicago and walked to Berlin, Glover, 357

¹⁶ As much as this move has been attributed to a string of fires in his American factories, supply and demand, fleeing the American Civil War and family connections, it has also been noted that Berlin offered the added benefit of cultural protection since the Buffalo "melting pot" threatened the German culture and language. Andrew McCauley Thompson, "The Breithaupt's and Breithaupt Leather: Building a Family Business in Berlin Ontario" (PhD Thesis University of Waterloo, 1992), 40.

¹⁷ Chartered Banks were restricted in real estate lending. The literature on private lending in Ontario is severely limited compared to larger firms see *ibid*, 104-105.

children, the eldest son Louis Jacob Breithaupt attended the University of Toronto and continued the family business of tanning and politics. He served as Mayor in 1888, one term as MPP for Waterloo North, School Board chairman, and one-time president of the Board of Trade.¹⁸ The second of the ten, William Henry Breithaupt, was a civil engineer who ran the Berlin and Bridgeport Electric Street Railway and would also serve on the Board of Directors of Victoria Park and be the first President of the Waterloo Historical Society.¹⁹ The third son John Christian Breithaupt was also mayor in 1896 at which time Victoria Park was opened and the new Grand Trunk Railway station built. Erza “Carl” Breithaupt was also a president of the Board of Trade and was manager of the Berlin Gas Company which generated electricity for the city. He was killed in a gas explosion at the plant in 1897.

Tanning was by nature a conservative enterprise in North America. In spite of advances in Europe in chemistry and automation that simplified the process, manufacturing in the hinterland encouraged the maintenance of the traditional tanning process. This involved soaking hides in a lye solution to loosen the hairs followed by a shave and the long process of dunking in a solution of water and oak bark. All that was needed for Berlin’s first tanneries was water and a steady supply of bark and hides from slaughterhouses.²⁰ Put simply, the road to industrialization and mechanization did not come through the tanneries. Instead mechanization would emerge elsewhere in other enterprises. It was however, dependent on the economic privilege enjoyed by the earliest

¹⁸ His son Louis Orville Breithaupt attended the University of Toronto, took over the tannery, served as mayor, MP, and Lieutenant Governor of Ontario in 1952.

¹⁹ KPL Central Grace Schmidt Room T.H. Breithaupt, *Chronicle of the Breithaupt Family* vol II (Hanover, 1903), 4-6.

²⁰ Thompson, 24-26 and Peter Welsh “A Craft that Resisted Change: American Tanning Practices to 1850” *Technology and Culture* 4 (1963): 299-317.

manufacturers, especially after men like the Breithaupts entered the business of land speculation and the municipal regime. The Board of Trade, dominated by the ethnic elite was the force behind industrialization and the ethnic elite of Berlin included other German immigrant families that transformed Berlin into an industrial hub. In fact, Berlin has been referred to as the leather capital, the felt capital, the shoe capital, and furniture capital of Canada. Ulysse Pequegnat, a Swiss watchmaker who left Europe to escape the decline of protective guilds, settled in Berlin in 1874 and his son established the Arthur Pequegnat Clock Company (after a failed attempt to build motorcycles). In addition to his business, Arthur was also superintendent of the Sunday School and a schoolboard chairman.²¹ Cabinetmaker Johan Heinrich Krug and his son Hartman, having emigrated from Hessen, founded Krug Furniture in 1880. The main factory adjacent to the G.T.R. railway station, like the Lang Tannery, could claim to be largest of its time in the British Empire. There was also Emil Vogelsang from Baden Germany who built the Canadian Ivory Button Works on Queen Street before selling the building to Williams Green & Rome in 1884, George Schlee nicknamed “Berlin’s most active builder,” the son of a labourer from Mecklenberg Germany who operated the Walper Hotel on King and Queen Street, and George Rumpel former mayor and the founder of the Rumpel Felt Company whose family came from Saxony. Ethnic elitism, in this case, was an exclusively male enterprise, for the most part, because the public institutions in which the discourse

²¹ See G. Edmond Burrows, *Canadian Clocks and Clockmakers* (Oshawa: Kalabi Enterprises Ltd., 1973), 39-40.

occurred were solely male organizations. Women are highly underrepresented in the public discourse and source material.²²

By 1900, it seemed that leather tanning was a thing of the past to be replaced by synthetics and rubber. Albert L. Breitaupt (the sixth son), along with Jacob Kaufman and Louis Weber opened a plant on Margaret street, adjacent to the Breithaupt tannery, that made rubber boots. Kaufman, along with his son Alvin, also founded the Merchant's Rubber Company on Breithaupt Street and Kaufman footwear at the intersection of King and Francis.²³



Figure 1.1 Lang Tanning Co. 1853
Photo by the author, May 2018



Figure 1.2 Kaufman Footwear, 1908
Photo by the author, May 2018

In 1874, Berlin adopted a factory policy at the behest of council members Reinhold Lang and Conrad Stuebing. It promised a five-year exemption from property taxes and further annual bonuses for building rentals for new businesses.²⁴ Soon the “Dunke block” was built for Berlin’s furniture factories including Hoffman’s and the

²² Audrey Pyée “L’identité des élites canadiennes-allemandes de Berlin (Kitchener) et Waterloo, Ontario, 1880-1914” (Master’s Thesis, York University, 1997), 7-8.

²³ KPL Grace Schmidt Room, Robert A. Glover, *Old Factory Smoke: Berlin Ontario* (Waterloo: University of Waterloo Bookstore: 2013), 330.

²⁴ Uttley, 193.

Simpson-Aldous and Anthes. Free market expansion at an unprecedented pace would transform the manufacturing industry in Berlin. Market power and price fixing through mergers were found in every facet of Canadian industry after the tariffs of 1879.²⁵ In 1907, Jacob Kaufmann sold Merchants Rubber Company to the Canadian Consolidated Rubber Company, the large Montreal based firm. It would not end here. Talmon Rieder, a Berliner working in the Consolidated Rubber Company head office in Montreal, convinced the company to choose Berlin to open the Dominion Tire Factory in its effort to capitalize on the growing demand for automobiles. In July 1912, voters approved a by-law to grant the Canadian Consolidated Rubber Company a long-term fixed assessment in exchange for constructing the largest factory in the city.²⁶ The Dominion Tire Factory opened in 1913 on the Grand Trunk Railway Line. (figure 1.3)

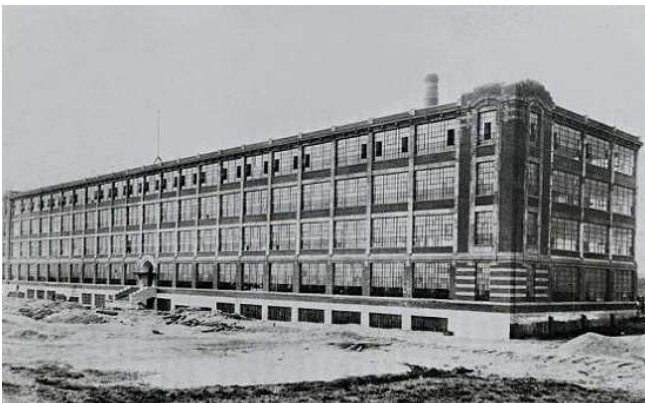


Figure 1.3 Dominion Tire Factory (Source: Berlin's Last Bonus: How Kitchener Became the Rubber Capital of Canada *WHS* 74, 1986)

The power of the ethnic elites in the municipal regime and manufacturing can be seen in the 1911 census records. Berlin's population by heads of household heads by wards (Figure 1:4) shows that the ethnic Germans made up the majority, with the British

²⁵ See R.T. Naylor, *The History of Canadian Business, 1867-1914* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill Queen's University Press, 2006), 184.

²⁶ Elizabeth Bloomfield "Economy, Necessity, Political Reality: Two Panning Efforts in Kitchener-Waterloo, 1912-1925 *Urban History Review* 9, n. 1 (1980): 6.

being second in three wards and the combined eastern European, many of whom may have spoken German, population in second in the other two. The Centre Ward included the downtown around the intersection of King and Queen Street (and where the Merchants Bank was located) and included the historic “Civic Centre Neighbourhood” of affluent Queen Anne style homes. Because of this, the population is lowest of the four wards and is more equally divided between Germans and English. The British represent the largest group in the East Ward of Berlin where mostly new construction sprawled creating a heavily populated area of working-class homes. The British presence is at its lowest in the West Ward adjacent to the commercial centre and the location of the Lang Tannery, Kaufmann Furniture and Victoria Park. The North and West Wards had the greatest concentrations of Eastern Europeans, former subjects of the Austro-Hungarian and Russian empires. The North Ward was dominated by the Breithaupt family ownings including the Tannery and Consolidated Rubber. In earning power (and employment) in Berlin among heads of households, (figure 1:5) the ethnic Germans narrowly dominated the upper level employment categories of manufacturing (62.3%), foremen (61.5%), merchants (58.9%) and “Gentlemen” (62.5%) but slipped below the British in the managerial (39.5%) and professional (43.7%) categories.²⁷ Such positions were not as family oriented and frequently required specialized education. A number of Berlin’s sons (including a Breithaupt) were sent to Toronto for that reason.

²⁷ 1911 Census summaries, KPL Grace Schmidt Room John K. English *Berlin, Ontario-1916*, figure 12.

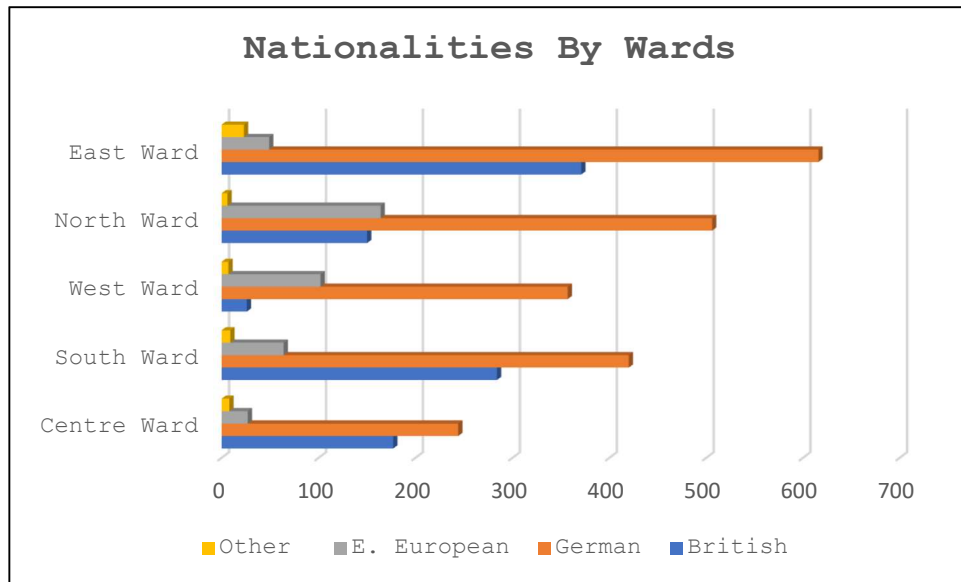


Figure 1.4 Nationalities by Wards (Source: 1911 Census summaries, KPL Grace Schmidt Room & John K. English *Berlin, Ontario-1916*)

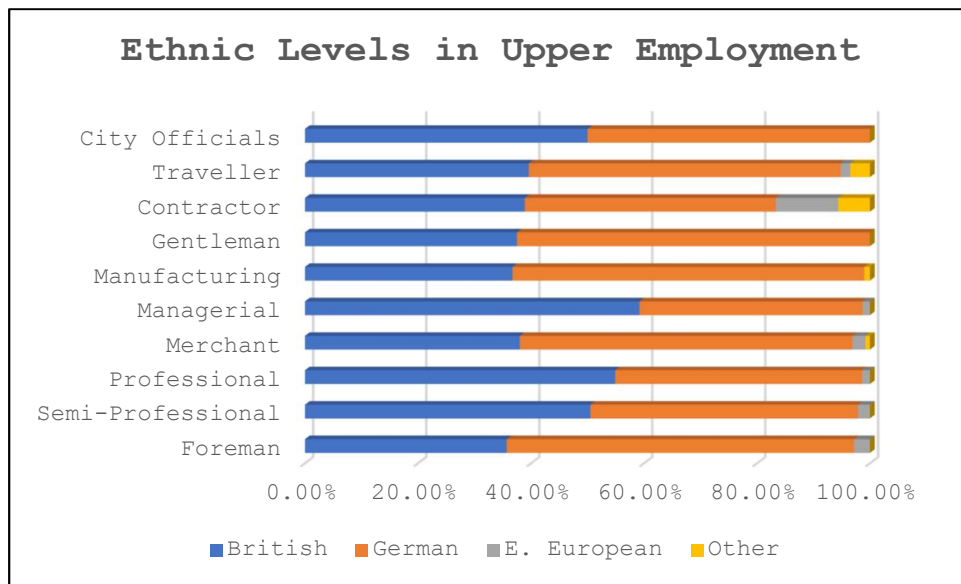


Figure 1.5 Ethnic Levels in Upper Employment (Source: 1911 Census Summaries, KPL Grace Schmidt Room John K. English *Berlin, Ontario-1916*)

The forces behind industrialization in Berlin were dependent also on the protective tariffs of the Macdonald era and the free market economy that was enshrined in the Canadian liberal experiment. The Board of Trade in Berlin and the municipal regime were inseparable. Wages in Berlin were low compared to Hamilton, but the smaller scale of family-owned enterprises ensured more favourable working conditions. In the 1890s, while the Ontario economy had slowed, Berlin prospered. When Prime Minister Charles Tupper arrived on his campaign stop in June 1896, he could not help but notice the enthusiasm for his protectionist economic policies.²⁸ Unlike Hamilton and London whose economies had been suffering, the National Policy was an easy sell in this industrializing city.

Liberalism and the Urban Landscape of Berlin

The 1911 census elevated Berlin to the status of city. Striking a balance between liberty, municipal government and development required negotiation. As argued by Michèle Dagenais, paraphrasing Patrick Joyce, liberal governance while centralizing liberty required regulation of municipal institutions to enshrine a repeatable process across the country.²⁹ City planning, however, was slow in coming to Upper-Canada/Ontario, because of constraints placed on municipal power. Berlin's first roads only needed to connect, one way or another, to Queen Street, which created a plethora of trails, and pathways in and around Schneider house. By the mid-nineteenth century, the whole area had been transformed into a grid.

²⁸ See "The Coming of Age, 1880-1912" in John English and Kenneth McLaughlin, *Kitchener an Illustrated History* (Waterloo: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 1983).

²⁹ Dagenais 211. Patrick Joyce, *The Rule of Freedom: Liberalism and the Modern City* (London: Verso, 2003), 1.

The commercial center surrounding the historic intersection of King Street West and Queen Street North split Berlin's strictly residential areas into one section to the east south east, another section north of Victoria Street and the Grand Trunk Railway Line, and a third small pocket surrounding Victoria Park in the west. Also centered near this historic intersection, and built along the railway lines, was the industrial heart of the city. Railways and the environment were the most influential forces in the shaping of the old city. Older maps such as the 1853-54 lot survey by M.C. Schofield for George John Grange (figure 1.6), show a city sprawling almost exclusively to the northwest around the Grand Trunk towards the current demarcation between Kitchener and Waterloo. Thus, the center of the map, insinuating the center of the city, was the old railway station on Victoria Street. East of Queen Street shows very little development at the time and the Southwest which would become Victoria Park indicated a barrier of unusable swampland and the large Schneider farm. Between 1853 and 1893 the one east-west line became two with the addition of a north-south line. Connecting Berlin to the commercial empire of the St. Lawrence, the Grand Trunk also accelerated Berlin's population growth. While Irish immigrants exploded the populations of neighbouring Guelph, Toronto, and London, Dominion immigration in Quebec saw Berlin as the place to send non-British immigrants.

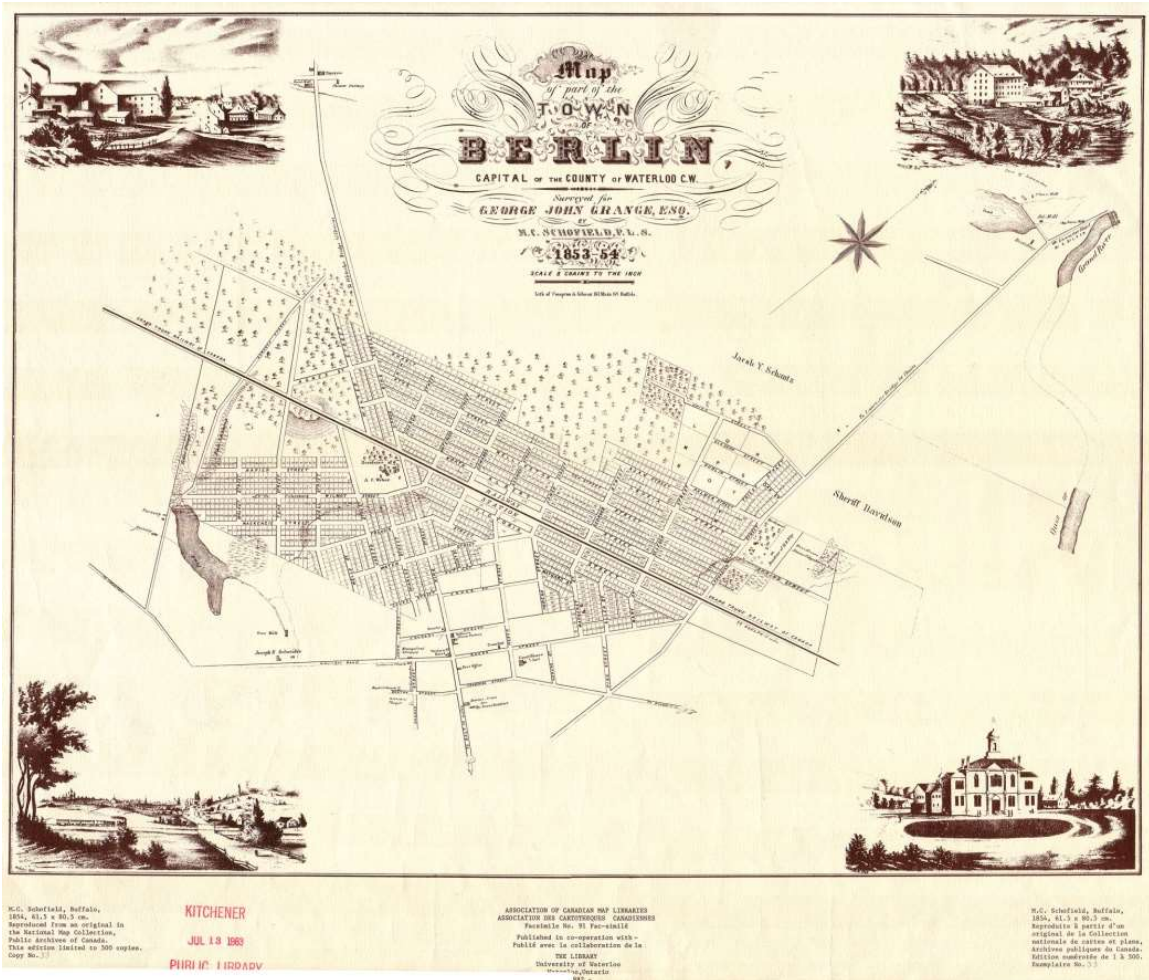


Figure 1.6 “Map of part of the town of Berlin” 1853 (Source: Region of Waterloo)

The first map drawn to showcase the changes industrialization had brought to the region was the 1892 “Town of Berlin” by Toronto Lithograph. More of a bird’s eye view than a map, it was a glimpse of Berlin after the initial industrial boom yet before major reconstructions on King Street and before the creation of Victoria Park. It also predated the pre-war crisis of urban development. Like many maps of this period, the relationship between the urban and “nature” is worth mentioning. Trees are placed in ordered lines within city limits with rows of what appear to be cultured cedars (or possibly poplars) lining the streets surrounding the factories. It was a style choice made to balance the image of Berlin as both small town and industrial hub and negotiate individualism and the collective in a liberal way. Many nineteenth century maps such as this portray the city as standardized, uniform, and meticulously ordered where common identities could be realized.³⁰ Most buildings are portrayed in the same colour scheme and construction even if they were built decades apart and for quite different purposes.

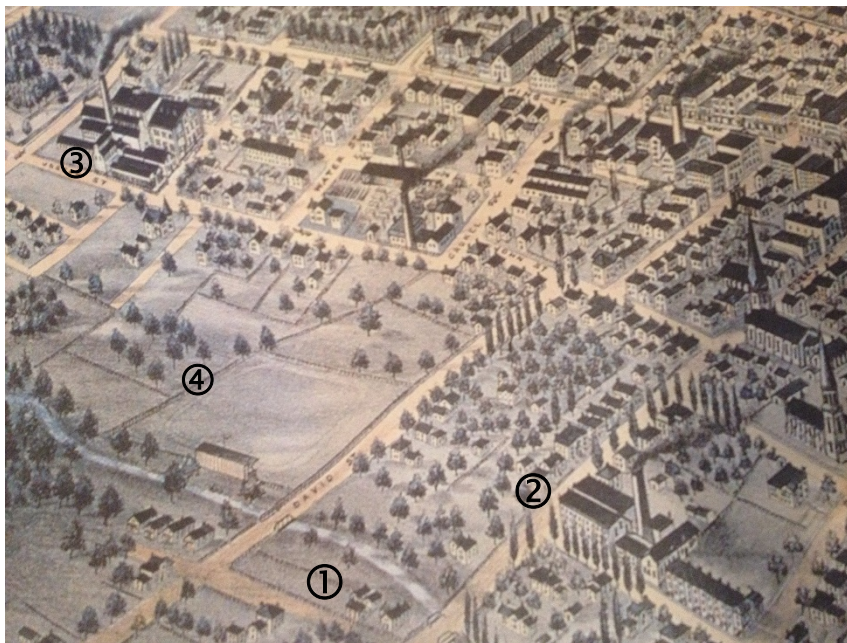


Figure 1.7 “Town of Berlin With Views of Principle Business Buildings” 1892 Detail

1. Schneider Haus
2. Canadian Ivory Buttonworks
-Later Williams Green & Rome
3. Lang Tannery
4. Lot 17, Schneider Farm, Soon to be Victoria Park

³⁰ Joyce, 44-45.

In 1894, after a housing boom in the centre of the city, Town Council bought Schneider's farm, lot 17, and appointed a Board of Park Management. Among the members were August Lang, L.J. Breithaupt, and J.S. Hoffman. The chairman was Karl Müller an artist from Germany who had greater longing for the old country than his fellow board members. The new parkland, name in honour of the Queen, was officially opened on Dominion Day 1896.

In 1924, at the British Empire Exhibition, Thomas Adams and Horace Seymore presented Kitchener/Waterloo as a model for the future of town planning. This was a significant achievement considering the urban landscape demonstrated in the 1912 map "Busy Berlin" by M.S. Boem & Company in Toronto. (figure 1.8)

"Busy Berlin" like its predecessor highlighted the industrial "progress" that had been made transforming a historically Mennonite region of the province into a modern city. Berlin's industries are all highlighted and numbered in red. Clearly visible are the expansion of the railway lines including a new line to Preston, the urban sprawl towards Waterloo and a new housing development project that was in the works to deal with Berlin's housing crisis. Highlighted in red, this project was a variation of wheel and spoke plan on the far side of Victoria Park. It also shows most residential buildings and the results of the building boom on King Street courtesy of money lent by the Breithaupts. In fact, the map is so detailed, the structures of Victoria Park are all labeled including the Kaiser's Bust, the statue of Queen Victoria, the Band Stand, and the Pavilion.

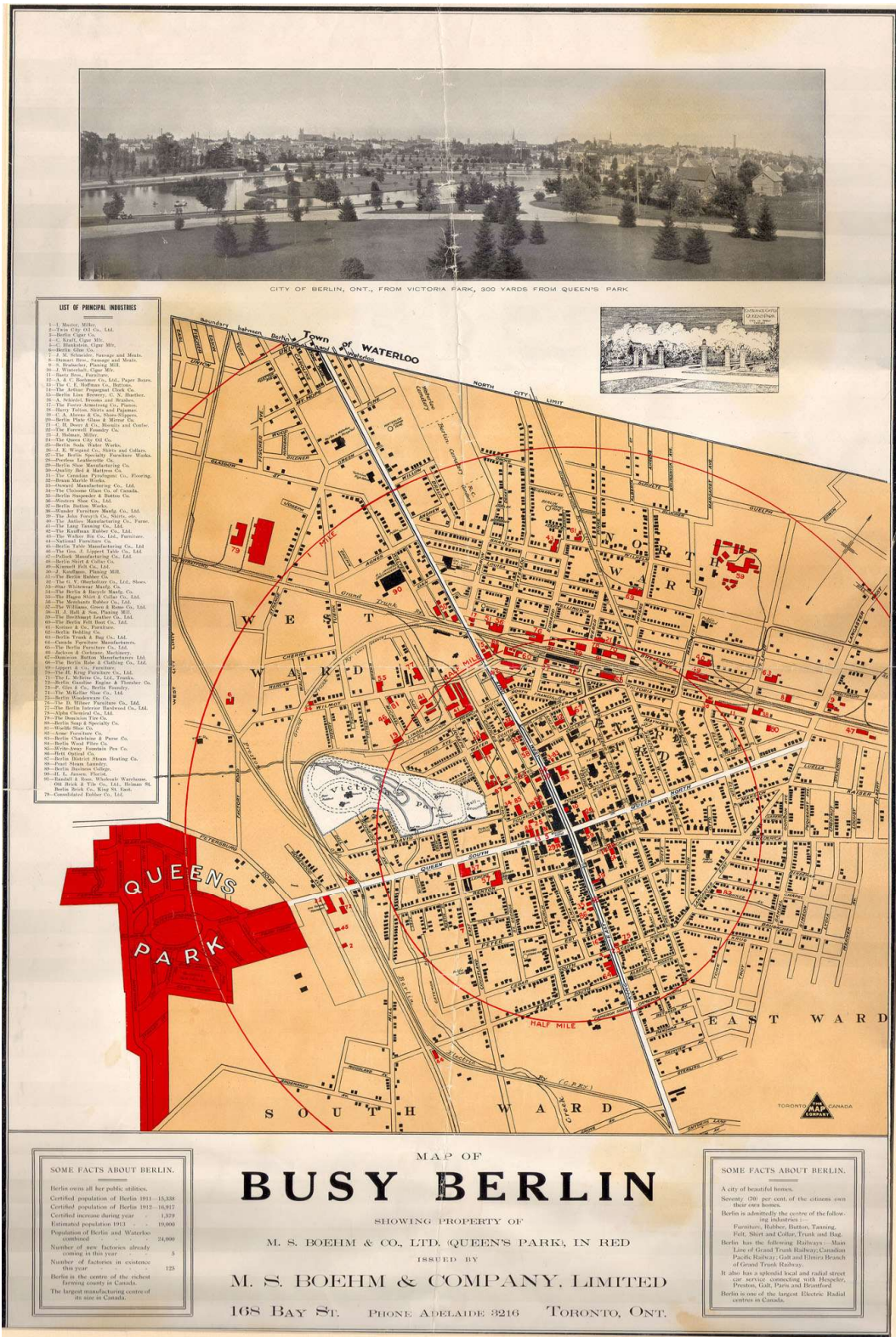


Figure 1.8 "Busy Berlin" (Source: Region of Waterloo)

By 1912, Berlin was facing serious challenges having grown so rapidly. The city was becoming overcrowded, King Street was congested and the street and railway crossings were unsafe for most traffic. Additionally, the automobile was emerging as a competitor for road space and safety for horse drawn carts. The concerns of business owners were put forward to City Hall in November 1912 by none other than W.H. Breithaupt. He argued that King Street's traffic problem was the result of too few connections between the city's individual wards. The North Ward as one example, above Victoria Street and the Grand Trunk Railroad were cut off except for access via King Street in the West and Margaret in the East. King Street was also the *only* way to travel to and from Waterloo. As one solution, he recommended that Blucher Street be widened to create a bypass and ease the traffic flow onto King Street.³¹ By no coincidence, such a project would have improved transportation from the Breithaupt Leather Tannery (on Margaret Street) to King Street West towards Waterloo and increased property values among the family holdings above Victoria Street. (figure 1.9)

Breithaupt, Kaufman and Daniel Detwiler (the man credited with bringing hydro-electricity to Berlin)³² were the loudest voices in Berlin calling for outside planners and in 1914 came the "Leavitt Plan." Their timing, however, was a problem. According to Elizabeth Bloomfield, Berlin was caught between its image of progressive municipal policies and its commitment to keep property taxes low. Large property owners held the advantage in determining property values and zoning and small property owners in the

³¹ "Berlin City Council Minutes" *Berlin Daily Telegraph* November 5, 1912.

³² See Jack Lucas, *Fields of Authority: Special Purpose of Governance in Ontario, 1815-2015* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2016), 48-49. Adam Beck was extremely popular in Berlin as well see H.V. Nelles, *The Politics of Development: Forests, Mines & Hydro Electric Power in Ontario, 1849-1941* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005), 301-303.

business district as well as owners of suburban properties were overwhelmingly opposed given the potential effects on property value.³³ This was especially true since the housing boom had just ended in Berlin.

Figure 1.9 The North Ward Busy Berlin detail. This shows the disconnect caused by the Grand Trunk Railway and the potential of Blucher street, the Breithaupt Leather Tannery is labeled 59 (Source:)



The 1914 Charles W. Leavitt, a New York based firm, plan for Berlin/Waterloo (figure 1.10) reflected Breithaupt's concerns. This plan has a large boulevard circling the old city surrounded by an uncompromising wheel and spoke design for new suburbs. It includes Breithaupt's self-serving idea of transforming Blucher Street into a direct route to Waterloo and a bypass that solved a minor problem in Breithaupt's initial proposal: that the route would have been blocked by Mount Hope Cemetery in which the Breithaupt patriarch, and two brothers, were buried. This was a plan that W.H. Breithaupt staunchly supported and he kept a copy on his office wall. This copy is now part of the collection of the Briethaupt Papers at the University of Waterloo.

³³ Elizabeth Bloomfield "Reshaping the Urban Landscape? Town Planning Efforts in Kitchener/Waterloo, 1912-1926" in Gilbert A. Stetler and Alan F.J. Artibise (eds), *Shaping the Urban Landscape: Aspects of the Canadian City Building Process* (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1982), 295.

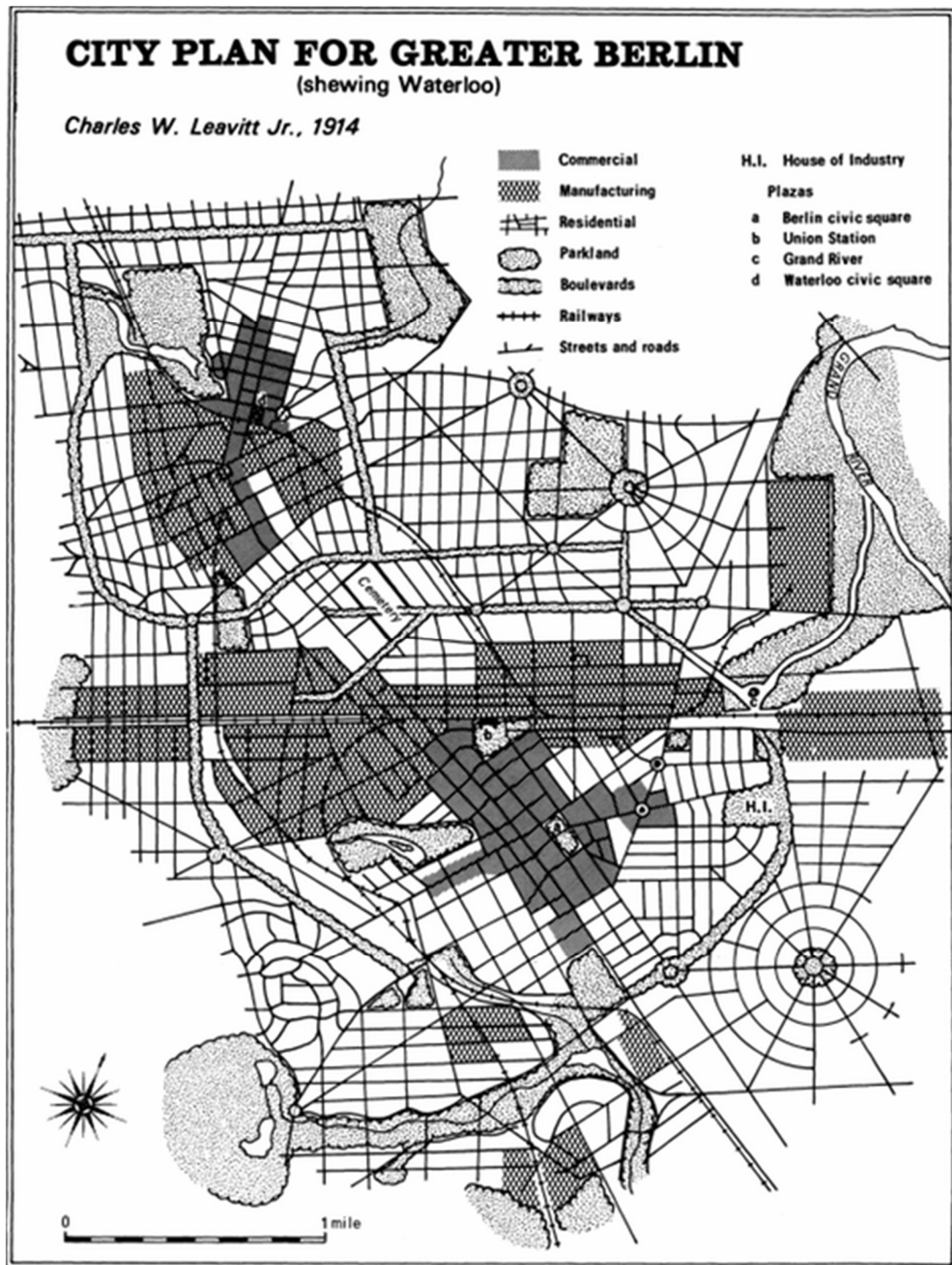


Figure 1.10 Charles W. Leavitt Jr. City Plan For Greater Berlin (Source: UWL Archives, Breithaupt Hewetson Clark Collection)

There was a serious problem with the Leavitt plan, it was too expensive and the municipal power to force the province to recognize the importance of such an endeavor was limited.³⁴ It was not until the passing of the Ontario Planning and Development Act of 1917 that municipal governments had the authority to appoint planning commissions.³⁵ By the time Adams and Seymore presented their plan for the city in 1924, there were no signs at all of the Leavitt influence. In the meantime, city council needed to deal with the housing problem. In February 1914, by-laws were passed outlawing new construction on undeveloped laneways citing the inefficiencies associated with providing city services like water and sewage when the building is erected before the permanent street level is established.³⁶ Additionally the Berlin Housing Company was formed, modeled after a similar organization in Toronto, to buy property and build houses for mechanics and workers.³⁷

Berlin's transformation into an urban industrial hub was both a product and builder of the city's ethnic elite. As the city evolved through industrial expansion and strategic plans of the Board of Trade, the ethnic elite's power and influence was further cemented. This was the product and intent of the allocated powers of the municipal regime.

In Berlin's "age of transition" problems with overcrowding, sanitation, and traffic loomed. The solutions were found in the powers of the ethnic elite and the municipal regime, however, there were external forces at play to contend with. The German identity of the city would face a number of challenges as the governing liberal order came

³⁴ Bloomfield "Reshaping the Urban Landscape?", 271-273.

³⁵ Lucas, 52-53.

³⁶ Elizabeth Bloomfield, "Economy, Necessity, Political Reality", 19.

³⁷ Bloomfield "Reshaping the Urban Landscape?", 271.

under attack. The 1870s brought changes to the education system of Ontario, the German language newspapers began a decline, and it became a task of the ethnic elite to defend “the German” or as some historians have suggested “their German.”

German Language Instruction and the Ethnic Elite

The meaning of language as an indicator or staple of cultural identity in the Waterloo region has been the subject of debate among historians. The debate has taken place in the literature on German language instruction in Waterloo County and in response to Jonathan Zimmerman’s views on language schooling, acquisition and ethnicity. From one perspective, a mother tongue is a signifier of a cultural identity and thus language would have a special place among the defenders of said cultural identity. According to Zimmerman, linguistic power was more complex among immigrant groups. Regional divisions in the old country, Italy and Germany in particular which would not become united entities until 1871, affected any collective efforts at forging a cultural identity in the new world. The Italians, Poles, Germans, and Jews he studied in Chicago fought against Anglicization through language instruction but also against the conservative defenders of standardized languages because they preferred a degree of agency over their own cultural identity through what Zimmerman dubbed “a babel of dialects.”³⁸ Zimmerman’s duality of English-only laws and ethnic leaders denial of immigrant communities the right to define themselves, was applied to language instruction and the German ethnic elite by Barbara Lorenzkowski.³⁹ Her work shows a

³⁸ Jonathan Zimmerman, “Ethnics against Ethnicity: European Immigrants and Foreign-Language Instruction, 1890-1940” *The Journal of American History* 88, no. 4 (2002): 1385-1386.

³⁹ She never uses the term “ethnic elite” but it is heavily implied as a world of class privilege.

debate in Berlin/Waterloo over language instruction and whether or not language was a signifier of German identity.⁴⁰ The ethnic elite battled the anglicization of the school system, and school inspector Thomas Pearce, and an alleged general unwillingness of parents to enroll students in German language classes. Within Canada's liberal order, it would appear that Zimmerman's duality was ultimately a battle over individualism. Liberal hegemony allows an immigrant community to speak its own language and study it in school, however, in Zimmerman's framework, this individual freedom is denied by both the attacker and defender of language education.

Benjamin Bryce sees the power structures differently. In his 2013 article he reinforced the older premise about the importance of language to cultural identity and discussed the changing nature of language schooling as an exercise of state power that centralized the curriculum in Ontario and intentionally undermined bilingual schooling.⁴¹ Lorenzkowski, he said, while providing an intriguing account of ethnicity, did not sufficiently consider the power structures of citizen and state, in this case the German language speakers and the language policies, as an expression of linguistic ideology of the province of Ontario.⁴² This focuses our attention on the illiberal nature of centralized schooling because as the state enlarges itself and undermines both the municipal regime and local schoolboards.

⁴⁰ Barbara Lorenzkowski "Languages of Ethnicity: Teaching German in Waterloo County's Schools, 1850-1915" *Histoire sociale/Social History* 41 no. 81 (2008), 1-89.

⁴¹ Benjamin Bryce, "Linguistic Ideology and State Power: German and English Education in Ontario, 1880-1912" *The Canadian Historical Review*, Vol 94 No. 2 (2013): 207-233.

⁴² *Ibid*, 211.

Instruction in German in Berlin had been a staple of the community since the beginning, long before the first forms of academic regulation.⁴³ Schooling was another dimension of the municipal regime and voluntary society in which the ethnic elites of Berlin participated. Bryce examined the rise of centralized control over core aspects, including textbooks and teachers' certificates by a provincial bureaucracy based in Toronto.⁴⁴ Between 1870 and 1912 the administrative bureaucracy of schooling and the influence of politicians had significantly expanded and Bryce unravels the complexities beyond a clash of central and regional power.

In Ontario, the School Act of 1871 centralized education standards for common schools, rebranded public schools, brought language issues to the forefront in Berlin and Waterloo County. The act empowered the Boards of Trustees to decide if French, German, or other languages should be taught at the request of parents or guardians, however, the primary language of instruction for all core subjects would be English.⁴⁵ For the German schools this came as a significant blow given that the language of the household had been demoted to one class in language instruction rather than the language of the school. With English becoming the standard language of instruction, it was now becoming the language of the public, business and politics in Ontario, making it a language of necessity outside the household *as* the schooling legislation was central to the transformation of Ontario into a unilingual space.

⁴³ This refers to the first Common School Act, 1843 see Thomas Pearce "School History, Waterloo County and Berlin" *WHS* Vol. 2 (1914), 33 and 41-42.

⁴⁴ Bryce, 214.

⁴⁵ Werner Bausenhardt *German Immigration and Assimilation in Ontario, 1783-1918* (New York: Legas, 1989), 88.

New agencies were also created in order to maintain the new standards and Berlin needed to appoint an inspector that answered to the Department of Public Instruction. In June 1871, the editorial page of the German language newspaper *The Berliner Journal* included pleas that the soon to be appointed school inspector should be bilingual in English and German. Instead, Thomas Pearce, from Ireland, was appointed and his grasp of the German language was limited.⁴⁶ Barbara Lorenzkowski, in her examination of language instruction has challenged the orthodoxy that Pearce was on a crusade against German language instruction. His goal, she said, was to increase attendance and build more permanent structures, and as long as the German language instruction did not interfere, he would do no harm.⁴⁷ Still, after 1871 there was serious decline in access and enrolment in German schooling. Both Lorenzkowski and Bryce's statistical reading of Thomas Pearce's reports show that in 1889, for example, the number of "German pupils in Berlin was 745 and only 9% enrolled in German classes."⁴⁸ Bryce also showed that in Berlin there was only one teacher for the 745 "German" students.⁴⁹

There were signs within the community that the German language was in decline. The St. Peter's Lutheran pastor Reinhold von Pirch introduced English language sermons for the first time and was welcomed with so much enthusiasm, extra chairs were needed on Sundays. Likewise, the *Berliner Journal* continuously berated the German/English hybrid language being spoken on the streets. In Lehmann's classic account, the damage was done, German schooling was finished and the collateral damage could be seen in the

⁴⁶ For an overview of the campaign see Lorenzkowski 11-12

⁴⁷ Lorenzkowski, "Languages of Ethnicity" 15-16.

⁴⁸ *Ibid*, 18 and Bryce 226.

⁴⁹ Bryce, 227.

1911 nominal census records.⁵⁰ The story, however, had an epilogue and in the beginning of the twentieth century there was a German language renaissance.

Fearing the effects of exclusively English education, an attempt was made by the German ethnic elite to save German language by adhering to the freedoms they enjoyed under the liberal order. Karl Müller spearheaded a public movement, with the support of the German press and the churches, to create the *Deutscher Schulverein*. Membership also included Rev Boese, Dr. Hoffman and L.J. Breithaupt.⁵¹ The *Schulverein* was designed as a protective alliance amongst the surviving German schools. Within ten years, enrolment was at an all-time high as parents were encouraged to send their children to schools under the banner of the *Schulverein*.⁵² The *Berliner Journal* announced that in six years, enrolment had increased from an alarming 185 in 1900 to 800 by 1906 and these numbers would continue to rise throughout the decade.⁵³ In Bryce's statistics the numbers increased to 1,355 in 1913 and 1,615 by 1915.⁵⁴

Lorenzkowski thought it an interesting twist that the *Berliner Journal* would sympathize with the plight of the French who were scorned for clinging to their mother tongue while the Germans were praised for abandoning theirs.⁵⁵ For Bryce, it was the same debate.⁵⁶ In the summer of 1912 came the first draft of the highly controversial Regulation 17 presented by the protectionist Conservative government of James Whitney. It was drafted in response to the constitutional crisis in Manitoba over French language

⁵⁰ See Lehmann, 75.

⁵¹ They also feared for the state of the German language in Buffalo, Gottliebe Leibbrandt, *Little Paradise: The Saga of the German Canadians of Waterloo County, Ontario, 1800-1975* (Kitchener: Allprint Company Limited, 1980), 97.

⁵² *Ibid*, 89.

⁵³ "Deutscher Schulverein" *Berliner Journal*, December 26, 1906, 6.

⁵⁴ These are based on the *Reports of the Minister*, Bryce, 228.

⁵⁵ Lorenzkowski, *Sounds of Ethnicity*, 58 and "Languages of Ethnicity", 20-21.

⁵⁶ Bryce, 226.

schooling and a fear of the decline of English language instruction in Ontario. At the time, opponents, including Napoléon Belcourt and Henri Bourassa, called it tyrannical and historians have blamed it for Quebec's unwillingness to support the war effort since it equated English Canada to Prussian ethnic nationalism.⁵⁷ Commissions had concluded that English instruction in Ontario's bilingual schools was poor, thus Regulation 17 was drafted by the Ministry of Education to solve the problem. Standards were not met in spelling, grammar, composition, and pronunciation, and they were to become the central focus of the new curriculum.⁵⁸ The focus for historians, for the most part, has been the effect of Regulation 17 on French-English relations, since the intent was to eliminate French schools. Too easy to overlook is the fact that it was an all-encompassing regulation that deprived more linguistic minorities of their rights than just the French. By default, German language education would suffer the same fate as French under the new regulation. German would be limited to one hour per day and only at the request of parents. Fortunately for some the regulation was stalled at Queen's Park, however, in March 1915 the school trustees voted to disband German-languages classes.

The Berliner Journal

The story of German language presses is well known to local historians. It has been written, quite correctly, as a story of gradual decline and amalgamation under a single firm, until the Great War ultimately shut down the German language press. The *Berliner Journal* was owned by Friedrich Rittinger and John Motz, two first generation

⁵⁷ See for example Patrice A. Dutil "Against Isolationism: Napoléon Belcourt, French Canada and 'La grande guerre'" David Mackenzie ed. *Canada and the First World War: Essays in Honor of Robert Craig Brown* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), 97-98.

⁵⁸ Bryce, 218.

Canadians with extensive backgrounds in printing.⁵⁹ John Motz came from Prussia in 1848 and attained naturalization in December 1858.⁶⁰ Rittinger apprenticed at the *Deutsche Canadier* until 1859 when he partnered with Motz. The first issue of the *Berliner Journal* appeared that December. Motz's immigration to Canada was closely tied to another influential family in Berlin. He was married to Helena Vogt and her sister was married to Reinhold Lang, the leather tanner who came to Berlin one year earlier.

In ethnic elites, family was important in maintaining the business, as the founders neared retirement. In his later years, John Motz was also preoccupied with participation in the municipal regime. In 1880, John Motz was made Mayor of Berlin on the sudden passing of Louis Breithaupt. In 1900 he was made honorary sheriff and died in 1911. Frederick Rittinger had died in 1897. Upon the deaths of the founders, Herman Rittinger and William John Motz inherited the firm from their fathers. Herman held the position of technical supervisor and William became the senior editor. During the period of amalgamations at the end of the 19th century the elder Rittinger brother John Adam was brought in from the *Ontario Glocke* (Walkerton) as political editor.⁶¹

The centralization of the German Printing & Publishing Company under the firm of Rittinger & Motz necessitated relocating to larger facilities. Fortunately, the ethnic elites in Berlin were well connected and the firm was able to acquire a new building financed by a \$5000 loan from L.J. Breithaupt.⁶² The building was located at 15 Queen

⁵⁹ Leibbrandt, 154.

⁶⁰ Doris Lewis Rare Book Room University of Waterloo, Motz Family Papers Series 2 File 13 "Motz, John Naturalization Paper"

⁶¹ Kalbfleisch, 103 and W. H. Breithaupt, "President's Address: Waterloo County Newspapers" *WHS* Vol 9 (1921): 153.

⁶² Doris Lewis Rare Book Room University of Waterloo, Motz Family Papers Series 6 File 62 "The German Printing and Publishing Company of Berlin: Indenture with Louis Jacob Breithaupt" May 23, 1906.

Street South and was large enough to print and distribute the *Berliner Journal*, the *Walkerton Glock* and the *Stratford Kolonist*. The partnership of the two Rittinger brothers was cut short when on September 22, 1913 Herman died of complications from cirrhosis of the liver.

The amalgamation was a natural result of the local conditions in which the German language presses operated. The cost of printing in German was higher than in English, and readership of the German language press had been in decline since Confederation directly affecting the publishing firm's finances. With new German immigrants settling in the West rather than in Berlin, there was little hope of a clientele increase unless the entire community could preserve the heritage of the German language, which was becoming ever more problematic in an increasingly industrializing and English environment. Compared to the more moderate liberal *Berliner Journal*, the press most aggressively promoting the German language and culture was the *Deutsch Zeitung*.⁶³ The *Zeitung* devoted its first page exclusively to international events. It catered to internal demand for the promotion of German culture by covering the achievements of notable citizens of German descent, at home and even as far away as Pennsylvania.⁶⁴ Lorenzkowski considered the *Berliner Journal* to be the conservative force behind the preservation of the German language.⁶⁵ While this is true in that it maintained a preference for the purer *hoch Deutsche* over Pennsylvania German or other dialects, *the Journal* was more liberal in comparison to the *Zeitung*. It was also becoming

⁶³ For a time in 1889, The *Zeitung* would disappear after it had cast the German Canadians as outsiders in need of protection, however, it would be resurrected after a merger with the *Canadischer Bauerfreund* of Waterloo County.

⁶⁴ See Herbert Karl Kalbfleisch, *The History of the Pioneer German Language Press of Ontario, 1835-1918* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1968), 83-84.

⁶⁵ Lorenzkowski, *Sounds of Ethnicity*, 22.

more difficult to maintain language standards when readership was divided between Pennsylvania Germans and the European Germans.⁶⁶ The editors of the *Journal* needed to find a proverbial middle ground to survive the onslaught of English Canada. The fact that it outlasted the *Zeitung* is a testament to their foresight. On July 2, 1909, the competition ended when the *Journal* purchased the *Zeitung*.⁶⁷ Politically, the *Zeitung* was a Conservative newspaper with a distinct sympathy for the old country. The *Berliner Journal* by contrast was a Canadian newspaper and politically sympathized with the old Reform Party (and later the Liberal party after it absorbed the Reform Party).⁶⁸ Still, the editors could not help but weigh in on the decline in the German immigration rates to Berlin. During the decline in the 1860s for example a headline read “Wo bist die Immigranten?” (where are the immigrants?).⁶⁹ The *Berliner Journal*, along with a number of English Canadian newspapers, also sympathized with Prussia during the war with France and rejoiced at the victory and return of Alsace Lorraine.⁷⁰

⁶⁶ Kalbfleisch, *The History of the Pioneer German Language Press of Ontario*, 110.

⁶⁷ The *Canadischer Bauernfreund*, and the *Canadisches Volksblatt* were also purchased, Doris Lewis Rare Book Room University of Waterloo, Motz Family Papers, Series 6 File 68 “Rittinger & Motz Amalgamation”

⁶⁸ See Lynn Elizabeth Richardson “A Facile Pen: John Motz and the Berliner Journal, 1859-1911” (Master’s Thesis, University of Waterloo, 1991).

⁶⁹ “Wo bist die Immigranten?” *The Berliner Journal* July 5, 1860, 1.

⁷⁰ Anne Lochte ““We don’t want Kaiser to rule in Ontario’ Franco-Prussian War, German Unification and World War I as Reflected in the Canadian Berliner Journal (1859-1918)” *German Diasporic Experiences: Identity, Migration and Loss*, Mathia Schulze et al (eds.) (Kitchener: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 2008), 108-110.



Figure 1.11 Rittinger & Motz business card showing the new location at 15 Queen Street

(Source: UWL Special Collections, Motz Family Fonds Series 3, File 69)



Figure 1.12 Rittinger & Motz Printing Office, 1889

Left to Right: Leo Keifer, Herman Rittinger, William J. Motz, John Motz, Frederick Rittinger, John Treusch, William Rittinger

(Source: Waterloo Historical Society, KPL P002396)

Year	Subscriptions	Difference (%)
1911	4806	
1912	4480	-6.78%
1913	4314	-3.71%
1914	4419	+2.43%
1915	4029	-8.82%
1916	3986	-1.06%
1917	3451	-13.42%
1918	3198	-7.33%

Figure 1.13 *Berliner Journal* Subscriptions (Source: *Canadian Almanac* (Toronto: Copp, Clark Company, 1911-1919)

Amalgamations brought most German language publications exclusively under Rittinger & Motz and the *Berliner Journal*. The effects would transform the *Journal* from a four-page to a sixteen-page newspaper with a variety of columns, poetry, and advertisements. The front page was devoted to international events or major national news with advertisements occupying the left column. Front page stories would continue on page two followed by local news organized by region: Woolwich, Wellesley, Berlin, Waterloo, and Walkerton. Political news would appear more often on page four. While it might be said to be lacking in overall presentation, because unlike the English language competitors the *Berliner Journal* rarely featured photographs, it made up for in simplicity, readability, and print styling, maintaining the traditional German black script characters instead of modern Roman.

Despite the solution amalgamation offered to alleviate the problem of too few subscribers to warrant multiple German newspapers, by 1910 readership started a slow, but by no means disastrous, decline. Figure 1.13 shows the only year of gain being 1914 as the demand for news from Europe increased. The largest drops occurred in 1915 and in 1917 for which the events of the war cannot be overlooked. 1918 was the newspaper's last year of operation in German as it, and all of Canada's 'foreign' language newspapers, were shut down by the chief press censor.

German Preservation in the Historical Narrative

Bismarck's war with France in 1871 brought German Unification under the King of Prussia and brought, as was interpreted at the time, peace to continental Europe. This

was when the ethnic elites first began the process of attempting to dominate the historical narrative in Berlin Ontario as they organized *Friedenfest* a civic holiday celebrating peace.⁷¹ A.J.P. Taylor noted that Bismarck's rise to power and the subsequent expansion of Prussia, that brought about German Unification, ensured the survival of the military caste system.⁷² For unification, in the words of Bismarck, could not have been accomplished without the military defeat of France, the state with the greatest interest in its prevention.⁷³ And yet, despite serious domestic problems, that worried even Bismarck, German Unification and the speed at which Germany surpassed its neighbours in science, education, and industrial power dominated the image of the German nation internationally.⁷⁴ Speeches delivered at the celebrations in Berlin would promote the image of masculinity that had begun to dominate the social construction of the ethnic German before 1914.

The celebrations of peace in Europe, and at long last a mythical notion of unity of the German speaking peoples, brought German/Prussian cultural symbolism into Berlin Ontario. This required a degree of synthesis between the contemporary, anachronistic, and surviving invented German traditions, for German symbolism and traditions after unification needed to establish the *Kaisereich* as the legitimate heir of the Holy Roman Empire. The first symbol to appear was the oak tree planted in front of the courthouse. The oak tree, while originally a symbol of strength and fertility, was by the 1870s a

⁷¹ Not to be confused with *Sedentag* in Germany.

⁷² A.J.P. Taylor *The Course of German History: A Survey of the Development of German History since 1815* (London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1976), 107-708.

⁷³ See A.J.P Taylor *Bismarck: The Man and the Statesman* (New York: Vintage Books, 1967), 121-122 and Geoffrey Wawro, *The Franco-Prussian War: The German Conquest of France in 1870-1871* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 17-18.

⁷⁴ Paul Kennedy, *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers: Economic Change and Military Conflict from 1500-2000* (New York: Vintage Books, 1989), 187-188.

symbol of Germany as a nation.⁷⁵ This originated in German Romanticist paintings and poetry. In Caspar David Fredrich's painting *Abbey in the Oakwood*, (figure 1.14) for example, the ruins of Eledena Abbey are shown surrounded by oak trees on a cold winter evening. Though stripped of their leaves and most of their branches, the oak trees refuse to die.



Figure 1.14 Caspar David Frederich, *Abbey in the Oakwood*, 1809-1810
oil on canvas 1.1m x 1.17 m
(Source: Alte Nationalgalerie Berlin, Germany)

Oak trees, and oak leaves which had adorned continental architecture and furniture, were the symbol of strength in Romanticist Germany in the aftermath of the ravages of the Napoleonic wars. The abbey may have been destroyed, but vicariously, through the oak trees, Germany lives. Poet Theodor Körner wrote in 1810;

When in joyously bold, deathly sacrifice
Citizens built firm their nations.

⁷⁵ Lorenzkowski, *Sounds of Ethnicity*, 140.

Oh what good does it do to think of past grief?
All are familiar with this pain!
German nation, you most glorious of all,
Your oak trees stand; you have fallen!⁷⁶

The other symbol came on the 25th anniversary of German Unification, with the erection of the bust of Kaiser Wilhelm I in Victoria Park. Having been overshadowed by Bismarck, this was part of a transnational attempt to establish “Wilhelm the Great” as the true force behind German Unification.⁷⁷ The design chosen was a bust by renowned sculpture Reinhold Begas, and ordered for Berlin by Karl Müller, the man who spearheaded the *Schulverein*. It stood on a stone pedestal on the north side of Lake Victoria in the shadow of the massive statue of Queen Victoria. Additionally, two of the Breithaupt brothers had worked with Müller on the project. Louis Jacob was a fellow member of the park board and John Christian was the mayor who authorized the project.⁷⁸ What the bust symbolized would become a matter of public debate during the war, that would continue into the twenty-first century.

As members of the ethnic German elite attempted to maintain a hold on German traditions and language in Berlin, they quickly learned that their mission required attaining a level of control over the discussion of identity. The celebration of *Friedenfest* and the later erection of the bust of the Kaiser in Victoria Park had been public steps towards this goal and the German language newspapers, and the *Schulverein*, continued the conversation in the public sphere. They remained the historical narrative of the

⁷⁶ Theodor Körner “Die Eichen” translated and quoted in Linda Siegel, *Caspar David Friedrich and the age of German Romanticism* (Branden Books, 1978), 75-76.

⁷⁷ The more extensive inventions of traditions through sculpture would occur during the era of Wilhelm II see Eric Hobsbawn, “Mass Producing Traditions: Europe, 1870-1914” *The Invention of Tradition* ed. Eric Hobsbawn and Terrence Ranger (Cambridge University Press, 1983), 273-274.

⁷⁸ Johnston, 56-57.

region which could be utilized to buttress the region's identity and heritage. This required turning to their Germanic roots and emphasising it in the writing of history. It was this line of thought that brought about the founding of the Waterloo Historical Society. Where Ian McKay considered historical societies part of the fabric in the commodification of history, this was a project aligned with what disciples of Foucault would later consider to be an alliance between knowledge and power.⁷⁹ The society even acknowledged this recently by publishing an article by Kellie Johnston who argued that W.H. Breithaupt used the society to highlight the German element of Berlin's history.⁸⁰ The society was founded in 1912 with W.H. Breithaupt as the first president. John Rittinger and William Motz of the *Berliner Journal* were also members and Motz was on the board of directors. He donated a complete collection of the *Journal* dating from 1859 to 1912.⁸¹ Other members included an entire generation of Breithaupts, retired school inspector Thomas Pearce, and Waterloo MP William G. "Billy" Weichel.⁸² The promotional tone of the *WHS* was established in the first annual volume, which appeared in 1913, and President Breithaupt's address:

The Pennsylvania Germans were the founders of Waterloo County and their energy, perseverance and patriotism deserve record in the history of Canada much more than has appeared. Locally, they have, however, been fairly written of...My purpose this evening is to give a brief account of some of the first Germans of European birth, as distinguished from Pennsylvania Germans, who came here, and to whom the County so largely owes its trading and manufacturing development.⁸³

⁷⁹ See Ian McKay and Robin Bates, *In the Province of History: Making of the Public Past in Twentieth Century Nova Scotia* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2010), 8 and 238-239 and Michel Foucault *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (New York: Vintage Books, 1995), 27-28.

⁸⁰ Johnston "“No one will hold it against them”" 56.

⁸¹ William Motz would continue to annually donate a complete set after 1913 "Donations received in 1913" *WHS* 1 (1913), 19. These would later be microfilmed and stored at the Kitchener Public library.

⁸² "Annual Members" *WHS* 2 (1914), 52-53.

⁸³ "President's Address" *WHS* I (1913), 11.

The following year, the defence of German heritage continued with a lengthy article by Thomas Pearce, outlining the history of education in Berlin, which made a point of highlighting the teaching of the German language.⁸⁴ This was a report written by an educator, and published by *Schulverein* insiders promoting the educational standards in Berlin in opposition to accusations in Ontario about the decline of English language education in the province. The outbreak of war in 1914, would add a sense of urgency to the agenda and in that edition, Breithaupt would include in his second Presidential Address a brief statement about the wave of patriotism that was sweeping Berlin and Waterloo County, the massive donations to the Patriotic Fund and men enlisting for overseas service.⁸⁵ Notably absent from the creation of the society and this last attempt to promote Germanism in Berlin was Karl Müller. Fearing their efforts were doomed to failure, in 1910 he had left for Germany and never returned. The German ethnic elites in Berlin, like the Breithaupts and Motz, were left to carry on without him.

The same year as the founding of the *Waterloo Historical Society* came another publication, *Berlin: Celebration of Cityhood*, which was printed by the German Printing & Publishing Company of Rittinger and Motz.⁸⁶ The publishers boldly celebrated the uniqueness of their city as the product of a history of struggle and hardship, as well as a unique product of Saxon and Teutonic cooperation.⁸⁷ It was a snapshot of a newly declared city and among the pages outlining the history of the city, historians will also note the celebration of the culture of male breadwinners. There are tributes to the

⁸⁴ Thomas Pearce "School History, Waterloo County and Berlin", 41-43.

⁸⁵ "President's Address" *WHS* 2 (1914), 16. (14-16)

⁸⁶ It was later reprinted to include street and business directories from the same year. See Paul Tiessen ed. *Berlin Canada: A Self Portrait of Kitchener, Ontario Before World War I* (St. Jacobs: Sand Hills Books, Inc., 1979).

⁸⁷ *Ibid*, 3.

prominent men of Berlin including, to name a few, Adam Beck, the captain of hydro in Ontario, Rittinger and Motz, the Breithaupts, incumbent MP W. G. Weichel, and Harry Dales McKellar a captain in the shoe trade. There are also tributes to school board leaders, mayors, and even blue-collar workers for union advertisements and praises of industrial labour can also be found. Advertisements for finished goods, while serving as a means for funding its publication, also highlight the balance between small town and industrial city. There is a major contrast between, for example, the size and scope of the Lang tannery, and products sold in the quaint butcher shop.

Boasting about the beauty of their city, a nod is given to the architecture in Berlin with emphasis on the Queen Anne style mansions of the prominent families.

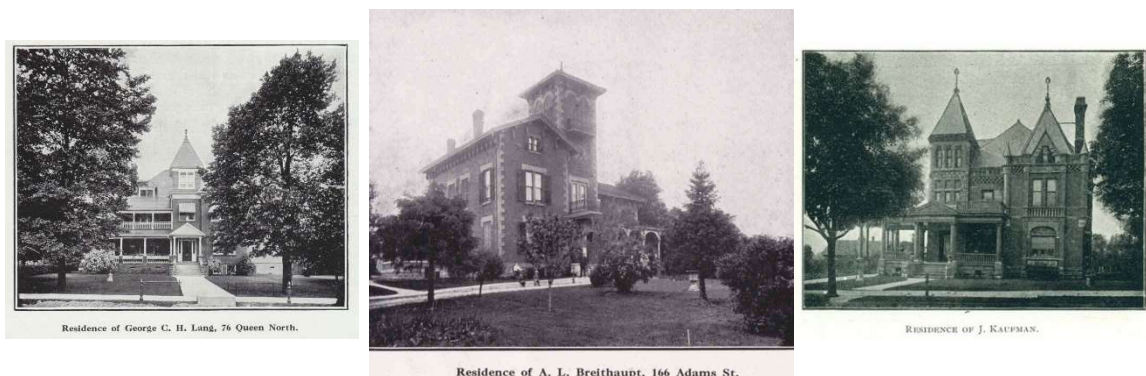


Figure 1.15 Prominent homes of Berlin (Source: Paul Tiessen ed. *Berlin Canada: A Self Portrait of Kitchener, Ontario Before World War I* (St. Jacobs: Sand Hills Books, Inc., 1979)

The Breithaupt mansion at 166 Adams Street, with its extensive grounds and massive central turret, is among the standouts.⁸⁸ Also featured are the homes of George Lang on Queen Street, Karl Kaufman, Karl Muller and even William Motz's more modest family home, on Weber Street.

⁸⁸ *Ibid*, 108. The mansion was demolished in 1965.

These publications and societies were efforts to preserve and celebrate the German heritage of Berlin Ontario. This was a concerted effort on the part of the ethnic elite who helped to develop the city into an industrial centre to bask in their own glory. It was a celebration of German industriousness, culture and civilization. The 1912 commemorative publication, as a historical document, is a crowning example of the praising of the industrial middle-class leaders of the community who benefited from the post-confederation liberal order.

Conclusion

The German character of Berlin Ontario began with the settlement of Pennsylvania German Mennonites and evolved as later immigrants, *Auswanderes*, from Baden Württemberg and Hamburg arrived. These men were skilled tradesmen who brought with them the skills and investment to drive industrialization in the Grand River area. They had left Germany during a period of transition as liberal hegemony created free market conditions in Germany that made it impossible to protect traditional guild regulated industries. Canada, being a settler-pioneer society offered a refuge. Canadian liberal hegemony after Confederation, came when these German tradesmen had already established their enterprises and offered to protect their market interests. It also allowed for a different experience of culture and language than, as portrayed by Lorenzkowski in *Sounds of Ethnicity*, German immigrant communities in the United States. In Canada's liberal order, the German ethnic elites who conformed to a common sense of property ownership and individualism exercised their rights to practice their own religion and speak their own language.

There was a problem. By the time of the Great War, the liberal order was being challenged. Linguistic ideology and the growing power of the provincial and federal states, as well as the establishment of manufacturing conglomerates, was putting a strain on free market enterprise and individual rights of cultural expression. The Education Act, for example, centralized the control of Ontario's school systems, which threatened the teaching of the German language in the region. The locally owned tanneries, button manufactures, shoe and rubber companies while still the economic engine of the ethnic elite, were beginning to be overshadowed by larger national industries like the Montreal based Canadian Consolidated Rubber Company and the Dominion Tire Factory.

Still the ethnic elite operated within the ideologies of the liberal order. The municipal regime, which was at ground level the means of implementing and enforcing the liberal order, was still dominated by the German ethnic elite. As described at length by R.J. Morris, municipal politics and voluntary organizations was the engine of middle class identity and class-based hegemony. The Breithaupt's, the Kaufman's, the Langs, and other descendants of *Auswanderer* continued to hold public offices in city council and the board of trade. City planning was also their domain as it was essential in maintaining or expanding their business interests. The Breithaupt's even engaged in private lending shaping the commercial centre of the city. Voluntary organizations were also an important avenue of class and ethnic based identity politics in Berlin. These include the Berlin Board of Trade, The Board of Directors of Victoria Park, the *schulverein* which brought a renaissance in the study of the German language in Berlin, and the Waterloo Historical Society which aimed to preserve the history and heritage of their society.

The Great War would destroy much of the liberal order and Berlin's ethnic elites would lead the struggle to maintain it. The image of Berlin as a German city would become a liability in the eyes of the rest of the province and men like Motz would personally combat the smear campaigns in his newspapers and in letters to Ottawa and other publishers. The ethnic elite would also combat efforts to paint the city as disloyal and the effort to change the name of the city. The war would also expand the power of the state to control publications, impose linguistic uniformity, and state surveillance of subversives. Berlin would be protected from some of these effects by its size and by its robust defense of the principles of liberalism.

Chapter 2: The Berlin and Ontario German Image War

Public Sentiment in Canada is very anti-German and so to some extent against anything connected with or reminding one of Germany

-L.J. Breithaupt¹

Today in Victoria Park in Kitchener, a marble pedestal stands as a monument to the opening salvo of the war against the German image in Canada, an image that had to be defended by the ethnic elite of Berlin, Ontario. This new pedestal marks the place where the original once stood which held the bust of Kaiser Wilhelm I. The inscription reads:

This new monument honours the history of our city, may it serve in the spirit of the original memorial as we seek peace for all its people for all time.



Figure 2.1 Kaiser Wilhelm Bust in Victoria Park, 1912
(Source: KPL KB1)



Figure 2.2 Peace Memorial, Victoria Park, 1996
(Photo by the author, 2015)

¹ UWL, Doris Lewis Rare Book Room, Breithaupt, Hewetson Clark Collection “L.J. Breithaupt Diaries: 1910-1922”, Thursday February 17, 1916.

On the night of August 21, 1914, the bust, erected as a symbol of unification and peace, became a symbol of Prussian militarism. Wilhelm I, grandfather of the reigning Wilhelm II, capped with the signature spiked helmet, was an obvious target for British imperial sympathizers. It was not a charged emotional reaction to the atrocities committed by the German army during the war, those were yet to come. It was a venting of patriotism and a reaction to the fact that the *Kaisereich* had challenged for some time British imperial dominance on a global scale. It was reported early on, and later confirmed, that Germany had done very little to ease the tensions between the Hapsburgs and the Tsar and launched a pre-emptive attack against Belgium and France. On August 23, 1914 at 1 am, a splash was heard near the bridge in Victoria Park Lake and the men responsible ran off. The next day, with press photographers on hand, the bust was recovered (intact) by police from the shallow water.²

Rather than restore the bust to its pedestal, it was decided out of fear of further vandalism, that the bust be placed in the care of the Concordia Singing Society for safe keeping. Meanwhile the adjacent statue of Queen Victoria was to be guarded should German vandals seek revenge for the destruction of their beloved Kaiser's bust. The next morning the *Berliner Journal* commented;

We can see in this prank a disguised attack on the peaceable German citizens of the country who have helped as much as any group to make Canada a flourishing and prosperous land.³

The men responsible were locals: John Alex Ferguson, Fred Bolton and Allan Smith. Although charges were laid, they were subsequently dropped as the men had enlisted in

² The photograph of the recovery has been dubbed "Berlin/Kitchener's most famous photograph" see Rych Mills, *Victoria Park: 100 Years of a Park & it's People* (Twin City Dwyer Printing Co. Ltd., 1996),20.

³ "Wiederum ein Bubenßud: Kaiserbust im Victoria Park abgerißeu" *Berliner Journal* August 26, 1914, 1.

the 24th Regiment, Grey's Horse, to fight overseas. Two days after the act of vandalism, they left Berlin for Valcartier.⁴ Ferguson would never see Berlin again. He was killed in action in defence of the Ypres Salient on October 30th, 1917.

The *Berliner Journal*, local English newspapers, and the associated defenders of the integrity, civility, and patriotism of German-Canadians were in for a long war. Attacks against their common ancestry would continue within the community and in the larger centres of Toronto and London. In fact, riots and vandalism became so common, that members of the community often had difficulty distinguishing one event from another in later recollections of the war.⁵

This campaign against all things Germans was also a sign of the weakening of the liberal order in Canada. The Great War transformed the relationships between private and public institutions, and state and citizens in Canada's largest cities. This new illiberal way of reasoning otherwise was most apparent where population and industrial labour were hardest to monitor and control. By contrast, Berlin's ethnic elite's response to the tensions of the war was to struggle for the fundamental values of the liberal order: allowing race riots to diffuse themselves; putting the city's name change debate to a vote; electing an anti-conscription independent Liberal candidate in 1917; and continuing to publish German language newspapers throughout the war. While they searched for liberal solutions, most of the attacks on Berlin's German-speaking community, especially the xenophobic slandering, came from places where the liberal order was being supplanted by the logic of the insecurity state.

⁴ McKegney 57.

⁵ For examples see Douglas *et al.* "Oral History of Waterloo County"

The Sinking of the Lusitania and its Repercussions

The year 1915 began with promise for German-Canadians. The initial outbursts against staples of German culture had begun to subside and there were promising developments in Ottawa. Prime Minister Borden appointed W.G. Weichel, Conservative MP of Waterloo North, to comment on the speech from the throne. Weichel took the opportunity to reassure the country of his fellow German-Canadians general disdain for the “curse” of Prussian militarism, while praising German contributions to art, music, science and nation building.⁶

In the spring, events abroad would re-ignite animosity towards all things German. When the *Lusitania* left New York on May 1, 1915, German spy networks reported a cargo of war materials onboard. There was little cause for alarm on board the *Lusitania*. She, and her sister ship *Mauritania*, were the two fastest liners in service, capable of outrunning any U-boat. To avoid any confusion on the part of German submarine commanders that the *Lusitania* was still ferrying passengers, unlike the *Mauritania*, which was now a troopship, the *Lusitania* had been repainted with a large gold stripe. Further precautions were also taken by Captain William Turner: *Lusitania*'s curtains were drawn at night; lifeboats were swung out in advance and passengers were not permitted to smoke on deck.⁷ An American Captain told American readers in a published report that the *Lusitania* had been thoroughly inspected by private detectives for explosives, while passengers had their baggage and passports thoroughly checked at the dock.⁸

⁶ Official Report of the Debates: HOC of the Dominion of Canada, Fifth Session-Twelfth Parliament. Vol. 119 (Ottawa: 1915), 8-9.

⁷ Capt. Frederick D. Ellis *The Tragedy of the Lusitania: Authentic Stories by the Survivors and Eye-Witnesses of the Disaster* (Philadelphia: National Publishing Co, 1915), 171.

⁸ *Ibid*, 175.

Of the 1,257 passengers, British and Canadians represented 944, and Americans numbered 159. Among the notable Canadians were relatives of Timothy Eaton, the founder of Eaton's Department Store. His daughter Josephine Burnside and granddaughter Iris, were planning on visiting relatives in Ireland. Also travelling first class was Allan Barnes of Berlin Ontario. He was the superintendent of the Star Whitewear Company and was traveling to Britain to secure contracts for the manufacturing and shipping of war materials.⁹

On May 7, 1915, U-20 on patrol off the south coast of Ireland, by chance, crossed paths with the liner travelling well below its top speed.¹⁰ At 2:00 pm, Captain Walter Schwieger fired one of his remaining torpedoes which struck the ship in the forward boiler room. The *Lusitania* was critically hit, listed to starboard, and sank in 11 minutes. British and Canadian casualties, counted together in the official report, totaled 584.¹¹ Among them was Iris Burnside, her mother Josephine survived. Barnes was injured but survived and returned to Berlin in July.¹²

In the aftermath of the disaster, the British Admiralty, while denying that the *Lusitania* was carrying war materials, was forced by empirical evidence to admit she was carrying 5,000 cartridge cases.¹³ The front pages of English and German newspapers in Berlin, Ontario all acknowledged reports from Germany that the *Lusitania* was carrying

⁹ "Mr. A.B. Barnes was a Passenger" *BDT* May 7, 1915, 1.

¹⁰ In 1917 as part of the efforts to bolster American support for the war (and officially endorsed by former president Theodore Roosevelt), a sensational version of these events was published in the United States suggesting that German intelligence sent false orders to Captain Turner that sent him into a trap John Price Jones, *America Entangled: The Secret Plotting of German Spies in the United States and the Inside Story of the Sinking of the Lusitania* (New York: A.C. Laut, 1917), 169-173.

¹¹ Cmd 8022, 5.

¹² David Menary *Lusitania: The Waterloo County Connection* (Blue River Press, 2015), 62.

¹³ Cmd 8022 Shipping Casualties (Loss of the Steamship *Lusitania*) "Report of a formal investigation into the circumstances attending to the foundering on 7th May 1915 of the British Steamship 'Lusitania' of Liverpool after being torpedoed off the Old Head of Kinsale, Ireland" (London: His Majesty's Stationary Office, 1915), 6.

war materials, but condemned the attack for its disregard for civilian lives.¹⁴ The *Berliner Journal*, being a weekly, had the good fortune of being able to wait until the 12th to report on the sinking. Other newspapers which reported immediately were full of misleading reports including: “the ship took twelve hours to sink”; “the ship was beached”; “all passengers were saved” and “all passengers were lost.” The night after the disaster, in a special entry at the back of his diary where it would fit, L.J. Breithaupt recorded; “Great indignation is manifested over this horrible ‘murder’ by which Germany and her cause has lost many thousands of sympathizers, and friends.”¹⁵

Breithaupt could not have imagined the repercussions that would follow. The backlash began when Ottawa printed a warning, which appeared in newspapers across the country including the *Berlin News-Record*, that pro-Germans who celebrate the sinking were liable for arrest and internment.¹⁶ Across Canada riots broke out targeting German-Canadians and their businesses. The hardest hit were Montreal, Winnipeg and Victoria where many recent German immigrants had settled. In Victoria, which had lost James Dunsmuir of the 2nd Canadian Mounted Rifles and other residents in the sinking, soldiers and civilians sacked German clubs and businesses starting with the Kaiserhof Hotel Bar.¹⁷ In Ontario, while there were no large-scale riots, several incidents smaller were reported. For weeks after the sinking of the *Lusitania*, the citizens of Berlin, Ontario and the presses, were on high alert. The number of stories peaked as the backlash against

¹⁴ See “Heartrending Scenes as Women and Children Battle for their Lives” *BDT* May 8, 1915, 1, and “Deutsches Tauchboot verfenkt ‘Lusitania’” *Berliner Journal* May 12, 1915, 1. “Tauchboot” (literal translation diving boat) was used in place of “unterseeboot” (underwater boat or U-boat).

¹⁵ UWL Library Doris Lewis Rare Book Room “L.J. Breithaupt Diaries”, 1910-1922, Book 5 of 6, May 7 1915. No one in the oral histories of Waterloo County spoke of the *Lusitania*, or the repercussions, having either neglected to mention it or were not asked.

¹⁶ *BNR* May 12 1915.

¹⁷ Tylor Richards, “(Re-)Imagining Germanness: Victoria’s Germans and the 1915 *Lusitania* Riot” (Masters Thesis, University of Victoria, 2012), 59-62.

“bloody murder” intensified. This prompted the editors of the *Berlin Daily Telegraph* to discuss the issue of loyalty in the community and the nation, and brought wartime hostility towards the Germans closer to home. They argued the Germans of Berlin Ontario were loyal to His Majesty’s government, The *Lusitania* was a horrible crime in the eyes of their community, and if there were any enemy conspirators, they should be jailed or interned. Furthermore, they demanded that their critics produce the names of the disloyal.¹⁸

A fight between Cassel, a British patriot, and Kimpel, a German sympathiser at the Car and Coach Company in Preston made the Berlin papers. Arthur Kimpel had gloated about the strength of the German army and praised the achievement of the U-boat that sank the *Lusitania*. Cassel, who could no longer stand such talk, barged over and decked him.¹⁹ Both men were identified and arrested later in the day. Scenes like this became commonplace and Ontario’s newspapers proved eager to report them.

In Berlin, a boy walking down King Street was described as “looking too much like a German soldier” based entirely on the cut and colour of his outfit. The Chief of Police, George O’Neil, noticed the boy and the nervous glances of onlookers on King Street and pulled him aside.²⁰ The boy was identified as Theodore Hofacker, a recent arrival from Germany who was working as a bank clerk, but whose true ambition was to become a Canadian farmer. The clothes were intended to be farm wear but were cut in a military pattern and included a pair of knee-high boots. Hofacker assured the police chief

¹⁸ “German Citizens Say Alien Enemies are not being Harboured in Berlin” *BDT* May 14, 1915, 1 and 6.

¹⁹ “Pro Germans Rejoiced Over the Murder” *BDT* May 11, 1915, 5.

²⁰ “Outfit was too German” *BDT* May 12, 1915. 1.

he intended no harm and would only wear his German looking outfit within the confines of the farm, away from the public eye.²¹

That very same day, the *Berlin Daily Telegraph* re-printed a letter written by Jack Murdoch to the *Toronto Evening Star* titled “A Canadian.” In it, he attacked Berlin Ontario and all things German. He argued that while brave Canadians were dying, the German clubs of Berlin Ontario were harbouring enemy aliens. He was also worried that since the Home Guard was undermanned and underequipped, it would be easy for enemy aliens to attack Canada’s unguarded homeland.²² Further accusations against Berlin were printed in the nearby community of Galt:

It is stated here that a number of pro-Germans in Berlin the other evening in a club in that city celebrated the sinking of the *Lusitania*, and that there was much jubilation over the catastrophe.²³

The sinking of the *Lusitania* was not the only incident to stoke the fires of anti-German sentiments. On May 12, 1915, within a week of the sinking, the British published *The Bryce Committee Findings: The Report of the Committee of Alleged German Outrages*. This report accused the German army of committing war crimes in Belgium as witnessed by Belgian refugees. Soon every newspaper in Great Britain, Canada, and the United States ran stories of the “rape of Belgium.” At the same time, the story from Ypres of the Canadian soldier crucified with bayonets to a barn door, first reported in April, was gaining momentum. A military investigation found eye-witness testimonies to be conflicting and inconsistent and yet the story survived even among company commanders

²¹ *Ibid*, BDT 4.

²² Jack Murdoch “Does Berlin Harbour Enemies?” *BDT* May 12, 1915, 4.

²³ “A Galt Slander Upon Berlin Ontario” quoted in *BDT* May 15, 1915, 1.

who used the rumor to indoctrinate new soldiers.²⁴ Canadian newspapers reported the story as fact, and it was this image of the uncivilized “Hun”, desecrating religious symbols, that bombarded Canadians that spring.²⁵

Soon, at least one of the names of the “disloyal” would be known, when the press reprinted a shocking story of a threat against the life of Professor Reithdorf. He had been on a speaking tour in early 1915 and on his stop in London, Ontario, he commented that the position of Germans in Canada was extremely difficult but their situation left them little choice but to prove their loyalty to Canada and the empire. Long before the *Lusitania* sinking, in the Reithdorf was quoted in the Berlin newspapers as saying:

For Germans in Canada there is no middle road in this war. They must not be neutral because the land of their fathers is involved. They must give their whole hearted support to the cause of Britain and the allies.²⁶

He then embarked on a personal war of words against a local reverend in Berlin, the German born, pro-Kaiser, Carl Reinhold Tappert of St. Matthews Lutheran Church. Soon thereafter, Reithdorf received death threats from a resident of Berlin for his “slander of the German Kaiser”:

What you say may be true, but you should keep it to yourself, damn you! You are a menace to Germany for you have actually succeeded in turning the heads of many Germans here and in other places, so that today these people think that the cursed British are better than the Germans and they kneel before them. Rev. Mr. XXX [Tappert] does his best to keep his people loyal to Germany and prays. He is a real German, a friend of the Kaiser and has no use for the perfidious English. If you keep on undermining his influence with his people I shall thrust a

²⁴ Tim Cook “Black-Hearted traitors, Crucified Martyrs, and the Leaning Virgin: The Role of Rumor and the Great War Canadian Soldier” in *Finding Common Ground: New Directions in First World War Studies* edited by Jennifer D. Keene and Michael S. Neiberg (Boston: Brill, 2011): 32-33.

²⁵ Keshen, *Propaganda and Censorship*, 14. The debate whether a Canadian soldier was actually crucified is ongoing.

²⁶ L.V. Reithdorf “The Curse of Militarism in Germany” London Ontario, quoted in “No Middle Road for Germans in Canada” *BDT* February 25, 1915, 4.

dagger into your treacherous heart. I shall feel proud to do that. Stop I tell you. Rev. XXX [Tappert] hates you and makes me feel so bitter to you. Keep your mouth shut, will you?

God bless our dear Kaiser. He will win. Do you know what would happen to you in this case? Think it over I tell you. You ought to be killed like a dog.²⁷

Again, Berlin reacted. Why was the letter published in the newspapers as opposed to being turned in to the proper authorities? For that matter, why did the *Berlin Daily Telegraph* publish the contents of the letter given that it would likely threaten the integrity of Berlin's German population? Calls were made before city hall for stricter censorship of the press in Berlin to curtail the largest English newspaper with its "careless publications" that came off as "too British."²⁸ The question of Reverend Tappert's loyalty did become a thorn in the side of Berlin's elite as his sympathies lay with the Kaiser. The day after the sinking, his wife Johanna, a schoolteacher, was attacked by one of her colleagues.²⁹ The next time anti-German hatred exploded on the streets of Berlin, members of the local 118th Overseas Battalion would call on him personally.

In response to the public outcry against the publication of the death threat letter, every day for the remainder of the week, the *Berlin Daily Telegraph* attempted to undo the damage they had caused, by publishing letters and stories of loyal German-Canadians. From Hanover came a long declaration of German-Canadian loyalty penned by J.S. Knechtel of Knechtel Furniture Company, and from Kingston, the story of a naturalized German Canadian who had three sons in the Canadian Expeditionary Force; one of whom was wounded at Langemarck, one was killed in action, and the other was on his way to

²⁷ Quoted in "This German would knife Prof. Reithdorf" *BDT* May 17, 1915, 5.

²⁸ "Newspaper Censorship" *BDT* May 18 1915, 2 and "City Council Unanimously" *BDT* May 18, 1915, 6.

²⁹ Quoted in Chadwick, 82.

the front.³⁰ These were stories designed to fight back against accusations of disloyalty coming from outside the German community in the ongoing image war targeting Berlin and Ontario's Germans.

For the liberal order which denied the primacy of ethnicity, this slandering and othering of German culture, aided by the atrocities committed by Germany, would present a real challenge. German-Canadians, despite having adopted the key values of nineteenth century liberalism, might no longer be protected by the liberal order. Hence the importance for the ethnic elite of Berlin, along with local authorities and civil society to reaffirm what it meant to be a German Canadian within the British Empire, by using the language and methods of liberalism to counter the slander. The shift towards an insecurity state, as evident in the newspaper debates, was well underway outside Berlin and the clash between this reasoning otherwise and one of the last strongholds of the liberal order would be centre stage in the debate over changing the city's name.

From Berlin to Kitchener

In this atmosphere, it soon became apparent that the name Berlin Ontario, specifically the branding "Made in Berlin" was becoming a liability on the domestic market. One week after the sinking of the *Lusitania*, the mayor of Toronto voiced his objections to an electric advertising sign on Young Street. It was promoting a German-Canadian beer, with the made in Berlin Ontario seal. The mayor threatened the owner of the establishment that if he did not remove the sign, the police would do it for him.³¹ If

³⁰ "Are Loyal to Britain" *BDT* May 20, 1915, 4, and "Naturalized German has given three sons" *BDT* May 21, 1915, 1.

³¹ "Orders Sign to be Removed" *Berlin Daily Telegraph* May 14, 1915, 1.

the “made in Berlin” brand was encountering a resistance in the market place to such advertising, it would affect the sale of local goods. The proposed solution was to change the name of the city to a more British sounding name. This would, as supporters of the idea proclaimed, both demonstrate their community was composed of loyal British subjects and solve the problem of a hostile reception in national markets to locally produced goods. English language newspapers, including the *Berlin Daily Telegraph*, first reported on the possibility of a name change for the city on May 27, 1915. They noted, with the sinking of the *Lusitania*, other communities were hesitant to handle goods manufactured in Berlin. The idea was floated by the President of the Board of Trade, William Lohead, who was soon to be commander of Berlin and Waterloo’s 118th Overseas Battalion.³² Two opposing sides formed almost immediately. In the first article on the subject, the owner of the Rose Millinery found favour with the idea of changing the name while the owner of the Western Shoe Company told the *Telegram* that the Germans of Berlin were loyal Canadians and a name change would neither affect patriotism nor extinguish rumors of disloyalty.³³ Interestingly, later oral history interviews would frame the debate entirely as having been a question of heritage, rather than access to markets.³⁴

By the end of 1915, the name change movement had rallied substantial support. In February 1916, a meeting of the British League adopted the following resolution:

³² “Shall Berlin Change its Name?” *BDT* May 27, 1915, 1.

³³ *Ibid*, 4.

³⁴ “The Name Change Berlin to Kitchener” Douglas et al *Oral History of Waterloo County*. One went so far as to say “just mention the name ‘Kitchener’ and you’d have one in the face” Mr. Halman *idem*.

Be it therefore and it is hereby resolved that the City Council be petitioned to take the necessary steps to have the name “Berlin” changed to some other name more in keeping with our national sentiment.³⁵

The list of potential names to replace Berlin was narrowed to six: Bercana, Huronto, Dunard, Hydro City, Renoma, and Agnoleo.³⁶ Soon another sinking would decide the issue. On June 5th, 1916, the cruiser HMS *Hampshire*, on a diplomatic mission to Russia, struck a mine and sank. On board was Herbert Kitchener, the British Secretary of State for War. The front page of the *Berlin Daily Telegraph* was a snapshot of the future of Berlin Ontario. The headline read “Earl Kitchener and Staff Lost,” while the column below, and to the left, reported on a city council meeting discussing the possibility of either changing the name of Berlin or amalgamating with the neighbouring city of Waterloo, as recommended by the Committee of 99.³⁷ This committee was established by city council for the sole purpose of compiling a list of new names to be placed on the ballot. Stories of “Britain’s greatest soldier” continued for the remainder of the week and on June 10th it was suggested that Berlin be re-named in his memory.³⁸ Citing the recent disaster and the public displays of mourning for the loss of Kitchener, it was put to Council by the Committee of 99 that his name would be the most favoured in the community should the decision to change the name be put to a vote.³⁹ The final six names submitted for the plebiscite included none of the previous suggestions, leaving

³⁵ “Resolution Adopted at a Public Meeting in Berlin On” *BNR* February 11, 1916, 1.

³⁶ Liebbrandt, *Little Paradise*, 254.

³⁷ “Question of Amalgamation of Berlin and Waterloo Discussed at Meeting of City Council” *BDT* June 7, 1916, 1.

³⁸ The name Kitchener was floated to replace several Germanic city names within the British Empire, see Stephen Heathorn, *Haig and Kitchener in Twentieth-Century Britain: Remembrance, Representation and Appropriation* (London: Routledge, 2013), 44-45.

³⁹ “Adoption of the name Kitchener” *BDT* June 10, 1916, 4.

only British and Native names; Brock, Kitchener, Corona, Adanac (possibly a joke because it is Canada spelled backwards), Keowana, and Benton.⁴⁰

Class and ethnic pride clashed in this debate. On the one hand, commercial interests pulled a minority of business owners and manufacturers of German descent into the grip of the British League.⁴¹ Chadwick would observe that the British League could easily have been called a subcommittee of Berlin's Board of Trade, more specifically a Board of Trade of British Ancestry.⁴² Their leader was Scottish born William Gibson Cleghorn, a co-owner of the McBride Luggage Company and a city alderman.

On the other side of the debate, were those for whom protection of regional heritage, and all that was good about being of German descent, meant that a name change would be a great disservice. The leaders opposed to the name change formed the Citizen's League which included the firm of Rittinger and Motz, members of the *schulverein*, and the Breithaupt brothers. After W.H. Breithaupt urged the people to vote against the name change, arguing that Berlin was named after the Prussian city that allied itself with the British against Napoleon and not the capital of the *Kaisereich*, the British League went on the offensive. In a lengthy letter to the editors of all the newspapers of Berlin, Cleghorn questioned Breithaupt's patriotism.⁴³ That same day, a column appeared in the *Berliner Journal* reminding readers of the history of the city and the humble origins of the name Berlin.⁴⁴ For readers of other papers, the attack on Breithaupt was vicious. Cleghorn even made the accusation that Breithaupt was a fraudulent voter

⁴⁰ "City Council Submits Six Names to the Electors to Choose From" *BDT* June 22, 1916, 1.

⁴¹ Gerhard P. Bassler, *The German Canadian Mosaic Today and Yesterday: Identities, Roots, and Heritage* (Ottawa: German-Canadian Congress, 1991), 66-67.

⁴² Chadwick, 104.

⁴³ "N. Waterloo Recruiting Committee Replies to W.H. Breithaupt on Changing Berlin's Name" *BDT* March 1, 1916, 1.

⁴⁴ "Der Name unsere Stadt" *Berliner Journal*, March 1, 1916, 1.

because he was not a British subject, an alien, worse an alien of German descent.⁴⁵ Apparently humiliated, Breithaupt withdrew from the debate.

This was the moment when the demonization of the German as an enemy (even enemy alien regardless of citizenship) spread into the ancestral German middle class of Berlin and the fight over what it meant to be a German-Canadian became personal. This was the moment that class privilege could no longer shield a man from a vilifying ethnic construct. By taking a stand for the preservation of a Teutonic name, Breithaupt had made himself a target of the anti-German voices in his country. The Citizen's League having been drawn into the battle over the name change became the front line of defence for not just German culture and integrity in the face of such attacks, but for older liberal understandings of citizenship.

With only a few weeks left before the vote, there came more news from Victoria Park where the Kaiser's bust once stood. The Park Pavilion built in 1902, (and featured prominently in the celebration of cityhood), caught fire on the night of March 24 1916.⁴⁶ Rumours quickly spread that this was the work of an arsonist, which fueled the public debate over the name change. The morning after the fire, footprints were found in the snow and it was discovered that the back door leading into the kitchen had been kicked in. The damage, however, was later determined to have been done by Mr. Strome, who first discovered the fire around 7 o'clock.⁴⁷ He also informed Police Chief O'Neil, and Chief Guenn, that he was sure the fire was incendiary in nature because of the smell,

⁴⁵ Quoted in Chadwick, 73.

⁴⁶ The event was photographed by Dorothy Russel and her albums are available for viewing Victoria Park Historical Committee. Harold Russel "Berlin/Kitchener's Most Famous Fire-A Century Later" *Waterloo Historical Society* 104 (2016): 31

⁴⁷ "Cause of Pavilion Fire At Victoria Park being Investigated" *BDT*, March 25, 1916, 1.

which he thought was either gasoline or coal oil.⁴⁸ If it was an arsonist, then who was it and why? This is a question that Rych Mills, an authority on the history of Victoria Park, has researched for years. Unfortunately, the relevant fire marshal and policing records from Waterloo County and Toronto have not survived. In Mill's account he presents a number of possible motivations. The first suggests an anti-German act because the park's superintendent, Barney Köhler, was a recent German immigrant. The second proposes it was a pro-German act of revenge for the desecration of the Kaiser's bust and in retaliation of the local 118th Overseas Battalion, which was recruiting at the time, using the parklands and the Pavilion for exercises and drilling.⁴⁹ Mills also noted that the stance taken by Berlin's newspapers aligned with their positions on the name change.⁵⁰ The exception was the German language *Berliner Journal*, as William Motz was not about to pit one portion of the population against the other with the plebiscite so close. The cause of the Pavilion fire remains one of the many unsolved mysteries of the Great War, but for historians it is a clear indication that by 1916 the situation was getting out of hand.

Sensing the possibility of disturbances and ill will, the military took precautionary measures. In Kitchener, Lieut. Col. Lohead ordered his men participating in the vote not to mingle with crowds and Military Police would accompany them while in the city. In Galt, a reserve of men of the 122nd battalion was placed on alert under Major Osborne,

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹ Mills, 41-42.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 42.

the Provost Marshall of Military District 1, with a railway car at the ready should a speedy deployment to Kitchener be needed.⁵¹

While it would be easy to say these precautions were taken because of Berlin's heritage, these precautions were the result of the reputation of the 118th for public misdemeanors during the name change referendum. It was hoped these could be avoided during the municipal election. In a letter to the public, Lieut. Col. Lohead addressed the city of Berlin regarding rumours of the roles played by officers and men of the 118th Battalion in the vote on the name change. All reports that they engaged in a campaign of persuasion, intimidation, or violence, he said, were untrue and that their continued presence in the city was to allow eligible men to register and cast their ballots.⁵² In fact, back on May 2nd, 1916, he had asked special permission to delay the movement of the battalion out of the city for that very reason. Additionally, since the name change vote was happening on Victoria Day weekend, there was an added incentive to remain as it was an opportunity to use the holiday to hold one last recruiting event.⁵³ Eight months later the Battalion returned for the municipal election.

It was in this tense atmosphere that the first ballot took place in May 1916. This ballot would decide if the name should be changed, and the result was a turnout of 3,057 and in favour of the dropping of the name Berlin by a difference of 81.⁵⁴ As a gesture to the Empire on May 20th a telegram was sent to King George V that the loyal residents of

⁵¹ LAC RG 24 vol 1256 HQ 593-1-87 "From O.A. Military District No. 1 to Secretary, Militia Council, Ottawa" January 5, 1917.

⁵² LCMSDS, Lohead Fonds File 17, private, WNP Lohead "To the Public of Berlin"

⁵³ LCMSDS, Lohead Fonds File 17, private "W.N.O. Lohead to A.A.G. 1/c Administration" May 2nd, 1916.

⁵⁴ See Alan Rayburn, *Naming Canada: Stories about Canadian Place Names* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), 78-79.

Berlin Ontario had forever cast away the name of the Prussian capital.⁵⁵ The second ballot in June was to decide the new name. Turnout was poor but when the polls closed on June 28, 1916, the final vote saw the name Kitchener narrowly pass Brock, 345 to 335, with 163 ballots spoiled by writing in Berlin.

Voting eligibility was a cause of contention between the Citizens League and the British League. According to Arthur Chadwick, in both the name change vote and the municipal elections, the British League was accused of voter registry tampering. The accepted rule was heads of household were eligible to vote which would amount to approximately 5,000 men but only 892 votes were cast on the second ballot.⁵⁶ This is a significant drop of 2165 (-71%) between ballots. It is impossible to determine how many were actually dis-enfranchised and how many abstained of their own accord, but at least 100 were confirmed purged from the municipal role.⁵⁷

Despite the name change, not everyone was convinced of the loyalty of the people of Kitchener. In Toronto, *The Globe* reported via special dispatch, that the name change was not well received by the editors of the *Berliner Journal*. Supposedly the German newspaper accused the Ontario government of caving in the face of a handful of agitators and had encouraged its readers that the change was temporary. Kitchener would endure for four months when the process would begin to have the name Berlin reinstated. The same article also insinuated that the name change was seen as part of a larger campaign to alienate German-Canadians because it so closely followed the passing of the Ontario

⁵⁵ A copy can be found in LAC RG 25-A-3-a vol 1189 1916-4065.

⁵⁶ Rayburn, 79.

⁵⁷ Chadwick, 153-154.

Temperance Act (prohibition).⁵⁸ Evidently, the German people hated their government, missed their city name, and loved their beer!

For William Motz, this was slander. Within a week, he defiantly wrote *the Globe* complaining it had purposely misrepresented the *Berliner Journal*, and by extension German-Canadians.⁵⁹ While it is true that the German newspapers opposed the name change during the plebiscite, and there was a movement to restore the name, the *Berliner Journal* would leave the matter to the voters. Furthermore, with the Temperance Act becoming synonymous with the war effort, the *Berliner Journal* withdrew its opposition.⁶⁰ For Motz, this meant that the *Globe* intentionally painted him, his news organization, and the community of Kitchener as unpatriotic. To remedy this, he included in his letter, his own background as a graduate of the University of Toronto and the son of a naturalized citizen, and that his newspaper regularly reported on the war as a crusade against Prussian militarism.⁶¹ The fight for the name of the city was lost and soon the struggle for the preservation of the German language in Berlin/Kitchener would end just as badly.

German Language Suppression in Schools and the Press

As seen in the previous chapter, with the passing of Regulation 17, minority language schooling in Ontario had fallen victim to an ethnic essentialism embodied in English language protectionism. The war brought a new dynamic to the language issue.

⁵⁸ “German-Ontarians Resent Change of Name” *The Globe*, August 30, 1916, 5.

⁵⁹ The letter was published “Berliner Journal Disavows Disloyalty” *The Globe*, September 2, 1916, 11.

⁶⁰ See Werner Bausenhardt “The Temperance Movement and the Ontario German-Language Press” in *Proceedings of Symposium VII on German-Canadian Studies*, edited by Peter Liddell and Walter Riedel (Victoria: University of Victoria, 1990), 37.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

Should the language of Canada's enemies be taught in the schools, and should their newspapers be distributed since they could be a source of dissention?

Deutschland Über Alles was removed from school books in Toronto, on the order of the Minister of Education. The melody had been written by Joseph Haydn for the Hapsburg monarchy and the lyrics spoke to the pre-1848 liberal project of German unity and were written by August Hoffmann. English newspapers, on the other hand, dubbed it "the German War song" adding to the 'myth of Langemarck,' where in 1914 during the first battle of Ypres, German soldiers sang it while charging the British lines.⁶² The question of German loyalty was now an issue of public policy directly affecting education.

The Ontario language schooling problem had not been resolved before the outbreak of hostilities. In the summer of 1914, the provincial elections returned the Conservatives to power, the party which had undermined the liberal order by proposing Regulation 17. Soon schools were closing due to financial problems, because their failure to comply with the Regulation meant losing public funds. Furthermore, early enlistment in the Canadian Expeditionary Force siphoned a large number of qualified teachers out of Ontario's school systems. Appeals, in the winter of 1915 that targeted the Regulation (the Belcourt case) were overturned by the Supreme Court of Ontario and Quebec soon joined the discussion. Henri Bourassa condemned the Ontario Government calling them "Prussians" who, while fighting to preserve the Empire were splitting it apart by denying French language education to its own citizens.⁶³ It would ultimately be

⁶² "German Hymn is Expunged from School Books" *BDT* March 18, 1915, 1. The Myth of Langemarck would be exploited by the National Socialists to promote patriotism and sacrifice.

⁶³ Dutil, 104-107.

the French-Canadian clergy in Ontario that mounted the most successful campaign of non-cooperation with Regulation 17.⁶⁴

French and bilingual schools were the target of the regulations, but as we have seen the German language schools were also directly affected. The German language was reduced to a subject of instruction and no longer the language *of* instruction.⁶⁵ In the spring of 1915, while the debate raged between the government of Ontario and the French Catholic clergy over the fate of French schools, a report from the Public-School Board in Berlin recommended that the German language should be eliminated entirely from the public school system. In response, the *Schulverein* held a special meeting at Concordia Hall presided over by L.J. Breithaupt. The elimination of the teaching of the German language was unacceptable. William Motz feared that without German language education, there would be a significant decrease in the willingness of new German immigrants to settle in Berlin after the war.⁶⁶ These efforts were in vain, as the motion to eliminate German language instruction was passed 5 to 3 by the Public-School Board of Trustees. While the *schulverein* felt that this decision had little to do with anti-German sentiment caused by the war, Mayor Hett of Berlin was not so sure. He was adamant in his statement to the press that the German-Canadians were loyal and the board should postpone any ruling until the current atmosphere dissipated.⁶⁷ L.J. Breithaupt later noted in his diary that the decision to eliminate German language instruction was made in spite

⁶⁴ Robert Roquette *Language and Religion: A History of English-French Conflict in Ontario* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1975), 192-193.

⁶⁵ Bryce, 232.

⁶⁶ "Delegation of German Teaching Supporters to Wait on Board" *BDT* March 17, 1915, 1.

⁶⁷ "Teaching of German Language in Berlin's Public Schools will be Eliminated After Present School Term" *BDT* March 19, 1915, 1.

of the feelings of the citizens of Berlin.⁶⁸ The *schulverein* began as an organization of community leaders in Berlin to promote the German language in their schools. Unfortunately, events outside the control of Berliners would seal the fate of the organization and its mission. The on-going illiberal conflict over French instruction and the anti-German paranoia, brought on by the Great War, ensured the end of the teaching of German in the community.

This story was only beginning when fears of the influence of German-born Canadians entered the realm of education beyond the language debates. As with the demonization of German businesses and newspapers, the greatest offenders would be from the middle class of Toronto, and their stories would resonate in Berlin/Kitchener as further signs of the hostility towards German-Canadians and their heritage.

As soon as the war began, teachers and professors came under scrutiny. Just before Christmas of 1914, the Board of Governors at the University of Toronto handed down forced leaves of absence, in lieu of outright dismissal, to three German professors, Benzinger, Muller, and Tapper, because they had failed to complete the naturalization process before the outbreak of the war. According to an article published on the matter in the *Berlin Daily Telegraph*, this was a compromise between the University President, who saw dismissal as too harsh, and members of the Board of Governors who felt that these men, because of their ancestry and failure to naturalize, should not be in the employment of a publicly supported institution let alone hold positions of power and influence.⁶⁹

⁶⁸ UWL Doris Lewis Rare Book Room L.J. Breithaupt Diaries, March 18, 1915.

⁶⁹ "Charges Unproven: German Professors at Varsity Given Leave of Absence" *BDT*, December 5, 1914, 9.

The more famous case was Miss Freda Held, a teacher at Carlton Street School in Toronto who was suspended in January 1918 for “disloyalty” for not standing during the second verse of the national anthem. To make matters worse, even though she was born in England, she was of German descent. When her request for an investigation was overturned by the board, she handed in her resignation, while pledging that she was a loyal British subject who deplored Prussian militarism.⁷⁰

With a losing battle raging in the schools, the *Berliner Journal* was faring no better. The German press had become the next target of slander since it allegedly spoke for Germany in Canada. Herbert Karl Kalbleisch has suggested that despite their amalgamation under the firm of Rittinger & Motz, the German language newspapers were doomed to disappear because of a combination of declining readership and antipathy towards German-Canadians.⁷¹

Before the massive censorship sweep of 1918 under PC 2381, the *Berliner Journal* had already come under suspicion by the Chief Press Censor for disloyalty in the war effort and for stirring Canada’s German-speaking working class by linking the war to commercial interests of the ruling classes. The summer of 1915 would bring two severe blows from which there was little hope for recovery for the *Journal*. On July 29, 1915, John Rittinger died bringing an end to the family names of Rittinger & Motz as the captains of the German language press industry. Then, in August 1915, the *London Advertiser* re-printed translations from the *Berliner Journal* suggesting that William Motz was against the allied cause. It included passages suggesting that no-one was blameless

⁷⁰ E4 “Miss Freda Held’s Letter of Resignation”, May 1918 in Wilson (ed.) 157.

⁷¹ Kalbleisch, *The History of the Pioneer German Language Press of Ontario*, 104-106.

for the war's outbreak and that war was declared on Germany without provocation.⁷² This brought the *Berliner Journal* to the attention of Ernest Chambers, the Chief Press Censor.⁷³ Chambers' was born in England and his first career was, appropriately enough, a newspaperman for the *Montreal Star*. He had also made important political connections through his involvement with the Canadian militia, which for Keshen were key to his ascendancy to the position of Chief Press Censor.⁷⁴ Having received the translations from Wallace Laut, the editor of the *London Advertiser*, Chambers sent a warning letter to Motz in which he stated that his newspaper, the *Berliner Journal*, by printing such "misleading statements" was turning his readers against the allied cause.⁷⁵ The records of the Chief Press Censor also show that he received another article from the *Advertiser* accusing the *Journal* of not condemning the sinking of the *Lusitania*. Soon thereafter, Chambers filed for a warrant for the suppression of the *Journal*.⁷⁶ Fortunately for the *Journal*, Chambers did not have sufficient authority to censor a newspaper based simply on evidence presented to him. Only his superior, the Secretary of State, had that power, and it would be another three years before that power was fully exercised. For the next few weeks, the *Advertiser* continued to print translated stories from the *Journal*, and Laut continued to pass them along to the Chief Press Censor.⁷⁷

⁷² "Editorial is Dangerous to Empire Cause" *The London Advertiser* August 12, 1917, 7.

⁷³ C.F. Hamilton of the Corps of Guides considered himself the better man for the position given his background in intelligence, instead he was made a deputy, see Keshen, *Propaganda and Censorship*, 72 and Elliot, 21.

⁷⁴ Jeffrey A Keshen, "All the News that was fit to Print: Ernest J. Chambers and Information Control in Canada, 1914-1919" *Canadian Historical Review* 73, no. 3 (1991): 316-317.

⁷⁵ LAC RG6 E vol 525 File 158-B-2 Microfilm Reel T-36 "To Editor *Berliner Journal* from Chief Press Censor of Canada" August 16, 1915.

⁷⁶ Keshen, *Propaganda and Censorship*, 82.

⁷⁷ LAC RG6 E vol 525 File 158 Microfilm Reel T-36 "from Wallace Laut to Ernest Chambers" August 17, 1915.

With John Rittinger's passing, the last "defender" of the press was William Motz, who by this time had earned a reputation for counter-attacks against any of the English language newspapers who dared question the loyalty and integrity of his establishment. In this case, since the opponent was now a government official, the task also fell to M.P. W.G. Wiechel who pleaded with Chambers to spare the *Journal*.⁷⁸ In a letter to Percy Sherwood (Chief of Dominion Police), Wiechel pleaded with him to convince Chambers not to censor the *Journal*, arguing that the *Advertiser* had intentionally mistranslated the articles in a deliberate attempt to discredit the Journal;

Rest assured that the object of the editor of the *Advertiser* was a malicious one, as he has been, during the last twelve months, a violent denunciator of everything and everybody that bears a German name.⁷⁹

That same day, Chambers received a reply from Motz in response to his previous warning letter. Here, Motz also accused the *Advertiser* of intentionally mistranslating the articles and asked for protection from such slander.⁸⁰

Historian Jeffrey A. Keshen considered this incident to have incited censorship of the *Journal* in 1918.⁸¹ However, a re-examination of the same files studied by Keshen, the files of the Chief Press Censor, suggests a different verdict. After reading Laut's accusatory letter, Chamber's subscribed to the *Berliner Journal* to monitor it for suspicious publications. He had his own translator of German material on staff, Miss Mercer, examine the articles in question. At the same time, Motz reached out to

⁷⁸ LAC RG6E vol 525 File 158 microfilm Reel T-36 "Dear Mr. Weichel" August 23, 1916.

⁷⁹ LAC RG6E vol 525 File 158 microfilm Reel T-36 "From W. G. Weichel to Colonel Sherwood" August 18, 1915.

⁸⁰ LAC RG6E vol 525 File 158 microfilm Reel T-36 "From Motz to Ernest Chambers" August 18, 1915.

⁸¹ He also noted that the *Berliner Journal*'s prospects would only worsen when returning veterans became political activists, and rioters, against German publication See Keshen, *Propaganda and Censorship*, 82-83.

Chambers arguing that Laut had intentionally slandered him and went further to offer Chambers evidence against real propagandists, pro-German American newspapers circulating in Ontario.⁸² Soon thereafter, Chambers ordered the *Advertiser* to discontinue its attacks as Motz's accusations were proven true by Chamber's translator.⁸³ Also, Chambers gained an ally in Motz in his campaign against pro-German newspapers.⁸⁴

By May 1916, as Motz staunchly defended his organization from outside slander, and had established an alliance with the Chief Press Censor, *The Berliner Journal* was showing the physical signs of the troubles at Rittinger & Motz. Overall the *Journal* was reduced from twelve to eight pages and many of the staples included to promote German culture (the poems, the music, and the jokes), were sacrificed. With the change to the city name came the subsequent name change of the paper. First it was called the *Kitchener Journal* and then in January 1917 the name was changed again to *The Ontario Journal*.

In 1972, Wener Bausenhardt listed six hypotheses on why the German newspapers were shut down. Among them were the issues of loyalty, personal grievances between them and Prime Minister Borden and Privy Council president N.W. Rowell over conscription and prohibition respectively, and a continuation of the language policy that shut down bilingual schools.⁸⁵ Another possibility that did not make the list, due to the fact that Bausenhardt's research focused exclusively on German publications, was a

⁸² For an overview of these events see Curtis B. Robinson "Conflict or Consensus? The *Berliner Journal* and the Chief Press Censor During the First World War" *Waterloo Historical Society* 104 (2016): 60-71.

⁸³ LAC RG6E vol 525 File 158 microfilm Reel T-36, "Chambers to Laut" August 27 1915.

⁸⁴ In fact, Chambers would later congratulate the firm for its patriotic services. LAC RG6E vol 525 File 158 microfilm Reel T-36, "Motz to Chambers" August 27, 1915, the American newspaper in question was the *Deutsches Journal* see Robinson "Conflict or Consensus?", 64

⁸⁵ Werner A. Bausenhardt "The Ontario German Language Press and its Suppression by Order-in-Council in 1918" *Canadian Ethnic Studies* (January 1972): 45-46.

change in priority on the part of the Borden government. In his research on Canada's war against labour radicalism, Gregory S. Kealey discovered that the suppression of foreign language presses in PC 2381 coincided with the stirring of the socialist movements in Canada. The inspiration was the October Revolution that overthrew the Kerenskii provisional government and put the Bolsheviks in power in Russia. This also inexorably links PC 2381 with PC 2384, which retroactively criminalized association with socialism and organizations believed to promote the overthrow of western democracy and capitalism.⁸⁶ A conservative estimate tallied, that after PC 2384, at least seventy socialists in Ontario were arrested by the end of 1918 for their association with such organizations and/or possession of material banned under PC 2381.⁸⁷ Thus the story of the shutting down of the German language press becomes part of the story of the radicalization of the Canadian left and right.

Keshen has pointed out, correctly, that the Chief Press Censor, Ernest Chambers, conducted a crusade against foreign language presses in favour of what was dubbed "Anglo Conformity" or the protection of British imperial ideals and heritage.⁸⁸ The first orders of 1914 regarding censorship of the press related to the spread of sensitive information that could hinder the war effort. By 1917, with the war in its fourth year, the initial censorship was expanded to include opposition to conscription. In May 1918, censorship was expanded again this time targeting any remarks that could weaken the Canadian fighting spirit through criticism of the conduct of the war. Labour radicalism

⁸⁶ Gregory S. Kealey "The State, The Foreign-Language Press and the Canadian Labour Revolt of 1917-1920" in *The Press of Labor Migrants in Europe and North America, 1880s-1930s* edited by Christine Harzig and Dirk Hoerder (Bremen: Publications of the Labour Newspapers Preservation Project, 1985), 324-325, and Whitaker, Kealey and Parnaby, 69-70.

⁸⁷ Ian McKay, *Reasoning Otherwise*, 430.

⁸⁸ Keshen, *Propaganda and Censorship*, 81.

was included in this category.⁸⁹ The final mass expansion of censorship was PC 2384 passed in September 1918 banning all foreign language newspapers. For Kealey, the censorship of foreign language presses was the latest salvo in the government's on-going campaign against radical labour rather than a defensive war measure.⁹⁰ He based this on the fact that the act came during the final Hundred Days when the German army was on the verge of collapse and Canadian military participation in the crusade against Bolshevism in Russia was just beginning, although it was never mentioned in the process that created the order.⁹¹ Further strength is added to this argument by the selective lifting of the ban in 1919 when all foreign language presses with the exception of the leftist Ukrainian, Finnish and Yiddish newspapers, were allowed to resume publication.

The Berliner Journal, being a foreign language press (indeed an enemy language press), suffered the misfortune of being associated with the radical foreign language presses that expressed either opposition to hegemonic practices, or opposition to Canada's participation in the war. The Yiddish Press in Montreal had even committed the "heinous crime" of sympathizing with foreign language instruction in Ontario's schools.⁹² The socialist Ukrainian presses like the *Robochyi Narod* in Winnipeg, not only commented on the oppression of workers by English-speaking capitalists, but had severely criticized wartime security measures as simply an excuse to usurp unprecedented power.⁹³

⁸⁹ Gregory S. Kealey "State Repression of Labour and the Left in Canada, 1914-1920: The Impact of the First World War" *Canadian Historical Review* 73 no. 3 (1992): 288-289.

⁹⁰ Kealey "The State", 321.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*

⁹² David Rome trans. Pierre Anctil ed. *Through the Eyes of The Eagle: The Early Montreal Yiddish Press, 1907-1916* (Vehicule Press, 2001), 137.

⁹³ Donald Avery "European Immigrant Workers in Western Canada, 1900-1930: A Case Study of the Ukrainian Labour Press", in Harzig ed., 292-294.

There remains one puzzling question. Why would Chamber's ally, the *Ontario Journal*, be included in the press censorship sweep? If the Borden government was now actively hunting both homegrown and international socialism, surely Motz and his organization could be of assistance in seeking out German socialist propaganda, especially since by the fall of 1918, Germany was on the brink of a communist revolution of its own. For starters, there is no evidence in the files of the Secretary of State that Motz was ever asked to turn his attention to these kinds of publications. Secondly, the explanation provided here is ease of legislation. It had been proven on several occasions during the war that attaining warrants for the censorship of a small number of foreign language publications was a bureaucratic nightmare for Chambers. By 1918, with the war cabinet feeling the strain brought on by the anti-conscription movement and the anti-prohibition rhetoric in the Canadian presses, as well as the "red scare", the banning of all foreign language newspapers appeared to be the most streamlined option.⁹⁴ The *Ontario Journal*, as well as any other foreign language press deemed acceptable or exceptional by Chambers, would simply have to apply for a printing permit. It was a small price to pay as the developing "insecurity state" shifted its attention.

Whether the intended target of national press censorship was potential German sympathisers or the radical left, the promulgation of PC 2384 ended the German language press in Canada.⁹⁵ The publishers of *The Ontario Journal* were not ready to surrender. William Motz travelled to Ottawa in October 1918 and met with the officials to plead for

⁹⁴ It would also be extended to mail service which *Red Flag* reported to be designed to cripple socialist parties see McKay, *Reasoning Otherwise*, 430.

⁹⁵ *The Deutsch Post* in Ottawa would suffer the same fate, Chambers had previously reprimanded it for its coverage of the riot in the Kapuskasing internment camp riot. The last edition to have been recovered in a private collection is dated October 19, 1916 see Peter Hessel *Destination: Ottawa Valley* (Ottawa: The Runge Press Limited, 1984), 126-128.

the continuance of the *Journal* as a German language newspaper, but this time it was conceded that the innocent must suffer with the guilty. Just as the censorship rules were being processed, the firm purchased a new press that could house both German blackscript and English Roman characters. This would enable the *Ontario Journal* to continue to operate in English. It was a measure that was intended to ride out the storm, in hopes that once the war was over, they could return to publishing in the German language. On October 1st 1918, Motz applied for a special licence to resume publishing in German and Chambers himself vouched for his old ally the *Ontario Journal* and its editors in this process given the fact that they had become one of his main watchdogs against German propaganda.⁹⁶ It seems the licence was not issued immediately and the last German language edition appeared on October 2nd, 1918 and on October 9th the *Journal* appeared for the first time in English. As Rych Mills recently pointed out, time was a factor. Motz had four days between his return to Kitchener and the publication of the next issue which needed to be translated completely into English, including all of its advertisements.⁹⁷ Furthermore, Motz needed to have a new story written on why his newspaper was now appearing in English. While other newspapers at this time used the front page to celebrate the advance of allied armies to the German border, the two stories that made the front page of the *Journal* were dire. The first column retraced the failed steps taken to save the *Journal* from censorship and explained to subscribers why their

⁹⁶ LAC RG6E vol 525 File 158-B-2 microfilm Reel T-36 “Chief Press Censor to Undersecretary of State” October 2, 1918.

⁹⁷ See Rych Mills “The *Ontario Journal*’s First English-Language Issue” *Waterloo Historical Society* 104 (2016): 71.

beloved German language newspaper was now being published in English. In the second column more bad news, Spanish Influenza had reached Kitchener.⁹⁸

The following week, the *Ontario Journal* found itself, for the last time, in the position of having to speak for the Canadians of German ancestry against outside criticism. The *London Advertiser*, that had spent much of its time slandering the *Berliner Journal*, took the opportunity afforded by the end of German-language publication to again question the loyalty and character of German-Canadians, this time without fear of retribution from Chambers:

What will the poor Germans who cannot read any other language do if they cannot have their German newspaper? For shame they cannot read English! They have been in Canada long enough and if they persist in speaking German in view of all that has happened in Germany they are a strange people.⁹⁹

The *Journal's* response, while in English, remained unchanged. Motz wrote those who maintained their German *muttersprache* were a minority and the reason they had left Germany was to seek a better life and to flee from Prussian militarism, which gives the *London Advertiser* no right to criticise them or to spread hate.¹⁰⁰

Like the rest of the country, the *Ontario Journal* celebrated the end of the war on November 11. Peace had come at last. Unfortunately, the cost of victory, for the German community was freedom of expression itself. The newspaper that had previously kept German-speaking Canadians informed could only celebrate the end of the war in English. Further still, the prospects of the continuation of the German language in Berlin had faded since the defeat of the *Schulverein*. The banning of the German-language press

⁹⁸ "The Reason Why" *Ontario Journal* October 9, 1918, 1

⁹⁹ Quoted in *Ontario Journal* October 16, 1918, 2.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

would be lifted and a licence was issued to R&M a year later on December 27, 1919,¹⁰¹ yet the firm was unable to re-launch a German-language newspaper,¹⁰² due to the combined effect wartime losses, a decade of cultural assimilation, and the slow erosion of liberal values within the broader community.

Elections and Bayonets

Just after Christmas of 1916 came the municipal elections. To the people of Kitchener, the battle lines had already been drawn during the plebiscite over the name change between the Citizen's League, which opposed the name change and the British League dubbed "the autocratic name changers". It was hoped or feared, depending on one's allegiances that should Citizens League candidates win municipal offices, reinstating the name Berlin could be put on the table. Thus, this municipal election was of utmost importance in the defense of German heritage and identity in Ontario.

The election took place on New Year's Day and the polls closed at 5:00 pm.¹⁰³ As the polls were closing and the results were coming in, King Street became a gathering place for soldiers and citizens awaiting the results. It soon became apparent that the Citizen's League candidates were going to win in a sweep and the news was received with mixed feelings on King Street. The crowds awaiting the results in front of the office of the pro-British *Kitchener News-Record* soon became aggravated and cross words escalated into violence.

¹⁰¹ LAC RG6E vol 525 File 158-B-2 microfilm Reel T-36 "Ernest J. Chambers to Rittinger & Motz Ltd." December 27, 1919.

¹⁰² Further amalgamations would follow and Motz would purchase his old wartime nemesis the *Berlin Daily Telegraph* in 1922. His descendants owned the renamed *Record* until 1990, see Robinson "Conflict or Consensus" 71, n 44.

¹⁰³ Chadwick, 156.

The only account available of what occurred was the official report of Major Osbourne which includes second hand information of the men he encountered that day making it impossible to fully account for who was responsible to the violent outburst and whether men of the 118th Battalion had participated. While Osbourne was in the office of the Chief of Police, men arrived saying the mob was going to “clean up” the office of the *News-Record*. Among them were the editor W.D. Uttley seeking protection and two military police officers confirming the rumors that were circulating.¹⁰⁴ Soon the office of the Chief of Police was crowded. An elected alderman “staggered in” claiming he had been beaten by men of the 118th, and also reported that the front window of the *News-Record* had been smashed. Mayor elect, David Gross Junior also came in shaken because men of the 118th had gone to his house looking for him. Both men were sent away with instructions to hide at friends’ houses. Uttley was sent down the street to the *News-Record* office to send the staff home. Later Major Osborne met J.E. Hett, the unseated Mayor, and informed him that if military protection was required an official request would have to be made.¹⁰⁵

Osborne then called for soldiers of the 122nd in Galt to take the train and report to Kitchener immediately. It is unclear from Osborne’s report when the office of the *News-Record* was ransacked. He said that the window had been smashed by the time he contacted Mayor Hett but could not confirm that the offices had been broken into until the streets were cleared, which meant that the ransacking occurred sometime between 10pm and 11pm, while Osbourne was waiting for the men from Galt to arrive. At the end

¹⁰⁴ LAC RG 24 vol 1256 HQ 593-1-87 Major Osborne “Report on Disturbances at Kitchener on January last and 2nd 1917”, 2.

¹⁰⁵ A copy of which is in LAC RG 24 vol 1256 HQ 593-1-87.

of King Street, the men of the 122nd were assembled, with Osborne in command, and slowly marched north towards the crowds and the *News-Record* office. Alongside Osborne was Hett, who would read the riot act to the crowds, so Osborne ordered the crowd to disperse. Osborne recalled that although the crowd did not dare charge at his formation, he was worried that the mob would not obey his orders and that his forces could be surrounded. He ordered his men to fix bayonets and continue the march. This evidently, was enough to disperse the crowd. Once the armed force reached the *News-Record* office, Osborne discovered that the front window had indeed been destroyed and after sending a few men into the alleyway, that the back of the building had also been broken into.¹⁰⁶ Leaving a few men to guard what was left of the *News-Record* offices, the troops continued down King Street and stood guard at important points for the rest of the night.

Soldiers of the 118th, who were in town to cast their votes, were said by Osborne to have not played an active role in the riot, however, there were allegations that they were responsible for the break in at the rear of the *News-Record* and had assaulted a number of the newly elected officials. At the very least, they had violated orders not to participate in any public gathering by mingling with the mob. As a result, their passes were revoked and they were ordered back to Camp Borden.¹⁰⁷

While it would be easy to say that the ethnic lines in Kitchener were the battle lines of the plebiscite and the subsequent election, many British voters wished to retain the name as much as many German voters wished to change it. Where the division lay was in the belief that commercial interests were at stake since the construction of the

¹⁰⁶ LAC RG 24 vol 1256 HQ 593-1-87, Osborne, 4.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid*, 5.

Ontario German had shifted into demonization and “made in Berlin” had become a liability. Furthermore, military investigators found that soldiers of the 118th were not at fault for the rioting, which directly contradicted eye witness testimony, and their established history of brash behaviour in the community. As an act of good faith, and to avoid any further hostility in Kitchener, the Mayor elect, in his first address, retracted the electoral promise to discuss changing the name back to Berlin in the near future.¹⁰⁸ For the time being, opposition would have to await another opportunity, as the time for change had passed and it was now time to heal. In the following weeks, the *News-Record’s* front window would again be smashed by a brick in a not-so-random act of violence. In any case, friends and family of the men of the 118th were preoccupied with saying goodbye, for the regiment was slated to be deployed overseas after the election.

Conclusion

The war is remembered in Kitchener Ontario as a struggle to prove that a community comprised mostly of people of German ancestry could remain loyal to Canada and the British Empire. The memory of this struggle is appropriately reflected in the design of the monuments that now stand in Kitchener as reminders of darker days. As a final show of British imperial loyalty and identity, in May 1929, the cenotaph in Kitchener, dedicated to the men who lost their lives in France and Belgium, was unveiled. Where German Great War monuments are modelled after medieval Teutonic fortresses,

¹⁰⁸ Chadwick, 160.

cemeteries, and crypts, the monument in Kitchener is a replica of the Grecian-style British memorial at Whitehall in London, England.¹⁰⁹

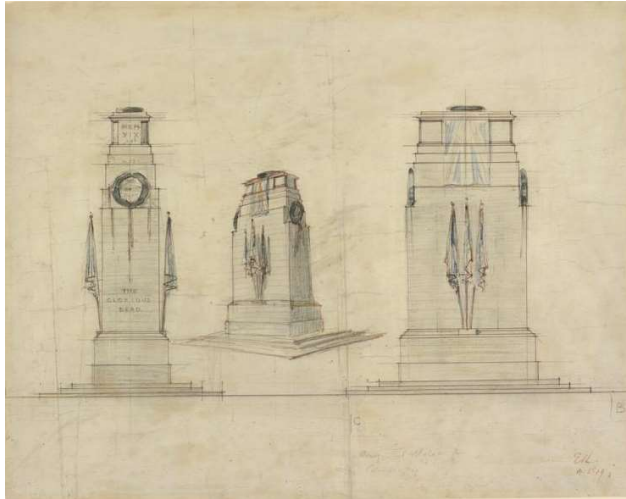


Figure 2.3 Edwin Lutyens design for the Cenotaph, Whitehall, 1919 (Source: British Imperial War Museum, IWM ART 3991 b)



Figure 2.4 Kitchener/Waterloo Cenotaph 1929, Frederick and Duke Street (Photo by the author, 2015)

While the liberal order denied the primacy of ethnicity, preferring instead an identity based on individual liberties, the war would trigger illiberal otherings based almost entirely on ethnicity, including the idea that the Bolshevik enemy of the Canadian state was brought to Canada by foreigners. The war would also exaggerate pre-war notions of ethnic and cultural ideas by escalating the debate over language rights. In Berlin, this resulted in the end of German-language instruction and the eventually an outright ban of the German-language press. In the face of these new assaults on the city's German-speaking community, its ethnic elite through the municipal regime would attempt to preserve a liberal order that had proved so beneficial to them. Draconian

¹⁰⁹ The design was also used in Hong Kong, Auckland New Zealand, London Ontario, and Regina Saskatchewan. Medieval iconography was a means to create a connection between ancient and modern history after a war that defied all conventions with industrialized killing. See Stefan Goebel, *The Great War and Medieval Memory: War, Remembrance and Medievalism in Britain and Germany, 1914-1940* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2007), 27-29.

measures would not be the preferred solution to Berlin's problems, and outside forces, in the form of the Galt regiment, had to be called in only once. Instead the solutions found were in line with 19th century liberalism. The name change would be decided by a plebiscite, and most disturbances would be investigated locally, reflecting the older ideal of the relationship between public and private, government and citizen and the municipal regime as the enforcer of order. Furthermore, the *schulverien* was voted out of existence in 1915 and German schooling canceled from within rather than from without as was the intention of Regulation 17.

Local legal records from the period are scarce. The fire marshal's records and the records of the Berlin police, for example which would have included the investigation into the Pavilion Fire and the ransacking of the News Record office on King street are missing. What remains are Major Osbourne's account and the newspaper accounts. Osbourne's testimony is not without its problems as he personally did not witness any initial rioting and could neither confirm nor deny if members of the 118th Battalion participated. What can be taken from Osbourne's testimony is an approximate timeline of events and how the Galt regiment was deployed. The newspaper accounts are varied and reflect the growing divisions in Canada. As demonstrated here and in MacKegney's published MPhil thesis, Berlin's newspapers often clashed in their opinions of the German-Canadian. The far greater battle line was between the *London Advertiser* and the *Berliner Journal* and it was their communications that attracted the attention of the Chief Press Censor. William Motz's newspaper was a voice for German-Canadians and also a line of communication to remind the Germans of Berlin of Canada's mission against their ancestral homeland and Prussian militarism. The editors of the *London Advertiser* had a

different view of what the Journal's mission was and painted Motz as a disloyal German subject who was spreading propaganda.

Here class mattered as well. It was, after all, the dominant ethnic elite of Berlin who was best equipped to fight the allegations of disloyalty. But with the cases of William Motz and Louis Breithaupt, class privilege had its limits. The debate over the name change put Breithaupt's ethnic identity at odds with his commercial interests and brought his own loyalty, and even citizenship, into question in spite of having been born in Canada. Suddenly, class privilege could no longer protect a citizen from ethnic construction and demonization. To be German, citizen or not, working or middle-class, meant vulnerability.

Chapter 3: Berlin for King and Empire, the 118th Overseas Battalion

I think I should be excused from putting my weight on the side of anything un-British. I want you to judge me as having been brought up since the war broke out to destroy everything that is German. I have been trained to destroy everything of any military advantage to the enemy.

-Company Sgt. Major
Granville P. Blood,
118th OS Battalion¹

After terrorizing German Canadians in Berlin, Ontario, the 118th Battalion left Canada with a mere 246 men

-Desmond Morton²

As the ethnic elite of Berlin, Ontario battled to preserve the image of the Canadian of German ancestry from outside slander, there was a larger problem in Berlin that was beyond their control: the 118th Overseas Infantry Battalion of North Waterloo. Stories of the activities of the 118th have become the stuff of legend. It has been described as a gang of undisciplined thugs frustrated that the city could not recruit the numbers needed to become a fighting unit. This damning reputation of the unit also affected that of the commanding officer Lieut-Col. William M.O. Lohead, a man of Scottish descent from Waterloo who before the war had been a manager at Mutual Life and president of the

¹ LAC RG 24 vol 1256 HQ 593-1-87 Participation of Troops of the CEF in a riot at Berlin Ont, Feb 1915 "Proceedings of Court of Inquiry Assembled at Berlin Ontario" February 16, 1916. Testimony of Com. Sgt. Blood.

² Desmond Morton, *When Your Number's Up: The Canadian Soldier in the First World War* (Toronto: The Random House of Canada Ltd., 1993), 60.

Board of Trade. His failure to raise a full battalion and failure to properly train and enforce discipline in his ranks or properly vet men unfit for duty were among the reasons why he was refused an overseas command, when the men of the 118th departed for Europe.

There are a number of questions about the 118th which need to be revisited. Conventional wisdom holds that the failure to raise a full battalion is the evidence needed to prove that Berlin was disloyal to the cause. That was the narrative of newspapers outside of Berlin and is reflected in much of the secondary literature. The question of loyalty relates to the adoption of Canada by people, more precisely men, of German ancestry. The liberal order promoted free market values and as such presented a challenge in Canada to the power of ethnic nationalism that was sweeping Europe. According to conventional wisdom, how can it be said that Berliners found the liberal order to their liking if they would not contribute a full battalion to the war effort? Discipline was also a problem. Are rioting undisciplined soldiers loyal to the cause?

The 118th Battalion's reputation for a general lack of discipline preceded it. At district headquarters in London, they were known for everything from marching with their hands in their pockets to causing property damage. Their over enthusiastic bayonet practices, which did not conform to training manual standards, resulted in damage to the dummy rifles issued to the battalion.³ In Berlin, their lackadaisical discipline worried the community. Because the military had leased Berlin's old Canadian Ivory Buttonworks building on Queen Street from the Williams, Green, & Rome Company, an agreement was made to protect the owners and the property beyond

³ LCMSDS Lochead Fonds, File 3-Establishment "From D.A.A & Q.M.G. Military District No. 1 London Ontario to O.C. 118th OS Battalion" April 1, 1916.

expected wear and tear.⁴ While this agreement covered any changes made to the layout of the interior, with the understanding that the building would be returned to its original condition, it was vague on the liabilities for damage. It was therefore a serious concern to the owners when, in April 1916, the superintendent spotted men running out onto the rooftop. The flat roof had just recently been repaired and worries of new leaks were very real and to maintain goodwill, Lohead had to assure the owners that the men were reprimanded and this behaviour would not be repeated.⁵ But these shenanigans pale in comparison with the election riots and soldier's act of vigilantism that Lohead would have to deal with in Berlin.

Recruiting and discipline merit examination because they are indicative of Berlin's dedication to the cause. A quantitative spatial analysis is also required in order to understand the make-up of the battalion and provide evidence why the 118th battalion failed to reach the required full complement of men.

The Concordia Club Raid and a call on Rev. Tappert

The initial recruiting efforts began at the end of 1915 after the 118th was formed out of the 108th militia. Militia units were not permitted to fight overseas and so their members were encouraged to join overseas units. In the new year, the battalion shifted its attention from recruiting from the 108th Militia to finding new recruits and the resulting drop-off in recruitment fed suspicions about the loyalties of the community founded by German immigrants. On January 31, 1916, an article appeared in the *Toronto World*

⁴ LCMSDS Lohead Fonds, File 3-Establishment "From F.S. Hodgins The William Green & Rome Co. Ltd. To W.M.O. Lohead" November 24, 1915.

⁵ LCMSDS Lohead Fonds, File 3-Establishment "Lieut-Col Lohead to F.S. Hodgins" April 14, 1916.

accusing a pro-German element in Berlin, Ontario of hampering the war effort by discouraging recruitment.⁶ The article was wanting of specifics as no pro-German organizations were mentioned and no individual persons were identified. Significantly, there was also no mention by name of anyone associated with Berlin's ethnic elite. The *Toronto World* had the reputation for political radicalism and sketchy articles, nevertheless, it would be a mistake to ignore articles such as those presented in the *Toronto World* as they embodied the political views of radical pro-British Canadians. The article simply assumes that a part of Canada settled mostly by ethnic Germans was a liability and could not be counted upon to defend the rest of the country. At the same time, the *London Advertiser* also printed a story confirming the narrative that the ethnic German population of Berlin was indeed disruptive to the cause of recruitment. According to the *Advertiser*, an unnamed Berlin man had attempted to plant a bomb to destroy the 118th barracks. Fortunately, the sentries on duty had foiled the attempt.⁷ This was based loosely on a story in the *Berlin Daily Telegraph* from the day before when sentry pte. Rich confronted a man who fired a shot near the barracks and ran off.⁸ At some point, a revolver turned into a bomb. Reports of such an incident are nowhere to be found in the battalion *fonds* or the records of Militia and Defence. From the outset of the war, the editor of the *Advertiser* had embarked on a xenophobic crusade against German Canadians in Berlin that would eventually escalate into a war of words with William Motz, editor of the *Berliner Journal*. As we have seen, their war of words would eventually draw the Chief Press Censor into the fray. In this instance, *The Advertiser*

⁶ "Clique in Berlin Ont. Retards Recruiting?" *The Toronto World* January 31, 1916, 2.

⁷ *London Advertiser*, March 14, 1916, 4.

⁸ "Unknown Man Fires Revolver at Sentinel At Rear of Barracks at Early Hour This Morning" *BDT* March 13, 1916, 1.

further tarnished the reputation of Berlin and the 118th Battalion. This newspaper controversy signaled the start of a violent series of events in Berlin in February 1916 fed by the hatred of men of the 118th Battalion towards all things German.

Early in February, lieut-Col. Lohead was ordered to report to Ottawa on his investigation of allegations of disloyalty in Berlin and Waterloo. His report to Sam Hughes was an attempt to dispel rumors of disloyalty in Berlin. Hughes would inform the house:

The department was notified of a number of silly rumors questioning the loyalty of the people of Waterloo County and other parts. As a result Col. Lohead was asked to investigate. Col, Lohead reports that the great mass of the Canadians of German descent are most intensely loyal, as loyal as British, and finds only an odd man here or there of German descent, from the United States or elsewhere, seeking to create dissent. These will, in all probability, be promptly interned.⁹

At the same time, Lohead was desperate for recruits. If he could raise a full battalion in Berlin, it would be the ultimate “proof” in support of the arguments he made in Ottawa. Thus, on his own prerogative he began to recruit outside of his district, in a practice dubbed “sniping.” A thirty-man machine gun section of the 118th was recruited from Toronto in February 1916,¹⁰ just as the debate began about whether or not to change the name of the city.¹¹

After the newspaper reports, rumors began to spread in the ranks of the 118th that the German clubs in Berlin were sympathetic to the Kaiser. Around 6 pm on February 15, 1916, a large group of soldiers, suspected by W.R. Chadwick to have been riled up by

⁹ “Canadians of German Descent are Loyal to the Empire” *BDT* February 1, 1916, 1.

¹⁰ Nikolas Gardner, “The Great War and Waterloo County: The Travails of the 118th Overseas Battalion” *Ontario History*, 89 no. 3 (1997): 224.

¹¹ Lohead would get into trouble with Brigadier-General Logie for “poaching” recruits out of Toronto “General Logie stops poaching in Toronto” *The Globe* February 15, 1916.

alcohol, left the barracks and charged into the Concordia Club in Berlin.¹² This club, located at 39 King St. W, was the new home of the bust of the Kaiser that had previously stood in Victoria Park prior to it being vandalized. Their target was the bust, however, they found in the club a scene that triggered their rage, a portrait of King George adorned in German flags.¹³

After the bust was stolen, a procession formed on King Street and the men carried the bust down the street in triumph. No one could identify who started or led the procession but eventually Corporal Brennan, Sergeant Deal, Private Williamson, as well as Private Morneau and Private. Quinn joined in.¹⁴ The bust was carried past the Walper Hotel and Restaurant where Sergeant Bowden and Sergeant Major Gillespie were dining with their wives and witnessed the event. There was also singing in the streets. At first the men sang "Hail Hail the Gangs All Here!" but this was soon drowned out by the more patriotic "Rule Britannia."¹⁵ It was then carried first to the skating rink where more soldiers could be found to join the procession and then to the barracks. Once at the barracks it was placed in the mess hall and where Lance Corporal Gough, who was on guard duty, locked it in the detention room for safe keeping at 9:00 pm along with looted German flags and a painting.

The second wave at the Concordia Club occurred between 8:00-9:00pm when the soldiers returned. Flags were torn down and burned, and the rest of the room was trashed. The windows and furniture were smashed; cigars and a keg of beer were looted. Local residents joined in the chaos. In the meantime, the piano was completely destroyed and a

¹² Chadwick, 64.

¹³ "Bust of Kaiser Wilhelm I was Captured by Men of the 118 Batt" *BDT* February 16, 1916, 1.

¹⁴ Corporal Brennan denied being part in the parade but corporal Wilkins identified him as a participant

¹⁵ "Bust of Kaiser Wilhelm" *BDT* February 16, 1916, 1.

bonfire lit on the street. Civilians were seen selling the keys as souvenirs for 10 cents apiece.¹⁶ There were two items from the club that survived, a Union Jack was taken to be paraded through the streets and the portrait of King George V that had been draped in German flags. The painting was removed by Sgt. Major Blood, in what he described as a rescue.¹⁷ At this point it was a full-scale riot: Sgt. Hayward was injured having been hit in the head with a chair, and there was little the Berlin Police could do to bring order. Police Sgt. Caswell (who was on the scene but off duty) later testified that there were three policemen but had they tried to disperse the crowd they might have been killed.¹⁸ 118th commanding officers Captain Fraser and Captain Routley arrived at approximately 9:45pm and ordered the soldiers back to the barracks. At this time Lieut-Col Lohead arrived as well and surveyed the damage.

My analysis of these events draws on a variety of sources. Estimates of the damages and insurance claims are available in the University of Waterloo's special collections. Transcripts of the military inquiry of February 15, 1916, on the other hand, were not kept in Kitchener nor do they appear as part of the Lohead fonds at Laurier University. In fact, these events have been so inconsistently documented that some historians have confused the order of events let alone their meaning. This analysis has been compiled from the records held at Library Archives Canada in RG24 volume 1256 labeled "participation of troops of the CEF in a riot" which contained extracts of the

¹⁶ LAC, Testimony of Sgt. Pawson.

¹⁷ LAC Testimony of Sgt. Major Blood.

¹⁸ LAC Testimony of Sgt Caswell.

Concordia Club inquiry (reconstructed as Appendix C).¹⁹ It is important to note that, despite the fact that the Machine Gun section recruited out of Toronto is often cited as the rowdiest group within the 118th, their testimony is missing. It would appear that they were called upon last and testified together. Internal investigations or inquiries are rarely trustworthy, yet for historians this one has the benefit of having been conducted immediately. The inquiry into the destruction of the Concordia Club convened the very next morning in Berlin and was overseen by the officers of the 118th, who were also belatedly present at the riot the night before. Thus, the memories of the night before would have been fresh in the minds of the participants with little time for them to have co-ordinated their stories. On the other hand, the residual effects of alcohol might have caused minor memory impediments.

When thinking about the lapses in the documentation, it must be remembered that this was a hearing and not an investigation, or court proceeding, as the witnesses were subjected to cross examination without an appointed defender and at no point was anyone asked “describe in your own words what happened.” Nor were the officers, who had been present at the riot, and who oversaw the hearing, required to testify. Lieut-Col. Lohead was not present at the inquiry and he would only certify the results upon its conclusion. There was also no physical evidence presented, no pieces of stolen or confiscated property, no flags and no piano keys. The examinations themselves were also brief, as the officers only required specific details from each witness. The result is the establishment of a very basic timeline of events with no verdict passed, no sentencing of

¹⁹ Because the files were rearranged by subject rather than by office, the file also contained the reports of the 122nd Galt regiment in the municipal election riot (discussed in chapter 2) and a report on the visit to the home of Reverend Tappert.

guilt among any of the men, and no follow up investigation into the whereabouts of the missing bust.

It was difficult for the officers to establish a timeline of events as at no point did they ask any of the men to simply recount what happened possibly out of fear of a corroborated and a prepared story. The first witness Sgt-Maj Woodrow when asked about his presence in the building, guessed he was inside for twenty minutes after the riot started. Col Martin would then establish (by leading the witness) that the officers, Col. Lohead, Captain Fraser and himself arrived at 9:30 to break up the crowds.²⁰ The officers had the timeline established in their own minds and chose not to ask for time approximations from most witnesses. The exception was pte. Deal of "A" Company, the last witness before the lunch break. Captain Fraser grew frustrated that Deal could not recall a consistent timeline of events, including where he was at specific points in the evening. At the very least, Deal's timeline clashed with Fraser's. Deal encountered Fraser on King Street and Fraser told him to "go home" after which Deal testified he went back to the Concordia Club to meet his wife before going home. At this point in the examination, Fraser could no longer corroborate Deal's timeline, but he knew it was a short walk and there appeared to be a problem between when he encountered Lohead and when Deal encountered Fraser. Fraser commented that, "you must have had 45 minutes' blank in your memory last night."²¹

Following the inquiry, the question arose, who would pay for the damages to the club? It was not out of the ordinary for military inquiries to dismiss insurance claims of

²⁰ "Proceedings of Court of Inquiry Assembled at Berlin Ontario" February 16, 1916, Testimony of Sergeant-Major Woodward. Curiously, 9:30 is much earlier than reported in the *Berlin Daily Telegraph* which reported the officers arriving at 11:00"continued from page 1", *BDT* February 16, 1916, 3.

²¹ LAC Testimony of Pte. Deal.

business owners. In London, Ontario, when a fight erupted between men of the 70th OS Battalion and civilians over the use of a pool table, that inquiry refused to hold the soldiers accountable for the broken windows or the subsequent loss of business.²² In the case of the Concordia Club, the damages amounted to \$2019, (the piano and music books alone totaled \$600).²³ The official inquiry provided the commander of Military District 1 grounds to not hold the military liable for the damages.²⁴ The soldiers testified that most of the damage, including the destruction of the piano, was caused by civilians, and the police had stood by and allowed the destruction.

There were number of questions the inquiry could not answer. The men proved unable, or more likely unwilling, to name their accomplices. Neither Corporal Brennan, nor Pte. Deal, could (or would) identify any of the men who had participated.²⁵ Having remembered a few details differently including the timeline, Captain Fraser lost his patience with pte. Deal as could not name any of the men who were with him;

Capt. Fraser: We want a frank statement. If we see you
are trying to keep back anything...

Pte. Deal: I am trying my best to give it to you. I can't
say I knew anybody.²⁶

It should be noted that Pte. Deal was part of "A" Company recruited from London and would not know any of the locals. In the case of Pte. Quinn, who was interviewed in the afternoon, his inability to remember the names of anyone in the battalion is just as easily

²² LAC RG 24 Vol 1256 HQ 593-1-91 "From DOC Military District 1 to Secretary, Militia Council" March 30, 1916.

²³ LAC RG 24 vol 1256 HQ 593-1-87 "Major C.R. Shedden, 168th Battalion CEF Re: Jansen Claim" August 3, 1916.

²⁴ LAC RG 24 vol 1256 HQ 593-1-87 "From Quartermaster General, Canadian Militia to OC Military District 1" September 9, 1916.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ LAC Testimony of Sgt. Deal.

explained away. He first testified that, “we all go by ‘buddy’ and every time he was asked who he saw and from which company his response was “buddy.”²⁷ This would lead the officers to conclude that the men intentionally refused to name names. Why, for example, would Sergeant Deal fail to recognize Sergeant Pawson as the guard when asked if the guard opened the door to let the bust carriers in? And why would the officers fail to corroborate this when questioning Pawson?²⁸ The issue of name recognition is complex. Enlisted men would not be expected to know anyone outside of their platoon but would also not be expected to be found around town with men outside their Company let alone their platoon. Pte. Quinn, for example, was expected to know the names of his fellow soldiers in “D” company.²⁹ Curiously no platoon leaders (Lieutenants) were interviewed. The task of identifying men thus fell upon the Section or team leaders (Corporals, Brennan, Wilkins and Lance Corp Gough) who would be expected to personally know every man in their section. Refusing to cooperate and name accomplices may have been considered a less serious offence by the commissioned officers as it showed comradery among the men of the battalion which was felt to be crucial in the formation of a cohesive fighting unit.

The other issue that could not be solved in the hearing was the location of the Kaiser Bust. The bust disappeared in the night after its arrival in the barracks and no one could (or would) account for it. This confused both the officers heading the inquiry and later historians about the chain of events. The hearing found, from testimony from Deal, that the bust had been placed on the table in the mess before being locked away for the

²⁷ LAC Testimony of Pte. P. Quinn.

²⁸ LAC Testimony of Sergt. Deal.

²⁹ LAC Testimony of Sgt. Deal.

night. The best that could be determined is that the bust disappeared that night, or the next morning, before breakfast. It was last seen by the men who had keys to the cell, Lance Corporal Gough and Corporal Wilkins who testified that they had not reopened the room until they heard the bust was missing.³⁰ Sgt. Pawsen found a problem. His testimony necessitated Captain Routley to admit that the locks had recently been changed and not all the guard officers had access to the room.³¹ The matter of who had access to the room was never addressed again with any other witnesses or guards. There is also no record available to indicate who had access to the brig or if that the lock situation was ever resolved.

Due to the inconsistencies in the source materials, and some questionable news reporting, historian William J. Campbell believed that the bust was thrown into the lake in Victoria Park after it was looted from the Concordia Club. The detail was lost on him that the bust in Concordia Hall and the bust in Victoria Park, which had been thrown in the lake in August 1914, was one and the same.³² Sam Hughes in his official statement on the affair was also confused over the order of events and as a result, historian Brock Millman in his recent telling of the story, assumed in the same manner as Hughes and Campbell, that the Battalion threw the bust into the lake the night of the sacking of the Concordia Club.³³ This is impossible, according to Rych Mills, the lake has been dredged several times with no sign of it.³⁴ Today in Kitchener/Waterloo the fate of the

³⁰ LAC Testimony of Lance-Corp. Gough and Corp. Wilkins.

³¹ LAC Testimony of Sergt. Pawsen.

³² William J. Campbell “‘We Germans...are British Subjects’ The First World War and the Curious Case of Berlin Ontario, Canada” *Canadian Military History*, 21, no. 2 (2015): 52.

³³ Millman, 141 and 313 n. 45.

³⁴ “Don’t Expect Drained Lake to Solve Mystery of the Kaiser’s Bust” *Waterloo Record*, November 2, 2011.

bust is the stuff of legend. Some believed it was melted down into ashtrays,³⁵ or even melted down to make 118th Battalion napkin holders, one of which is displayed in the Waterloo Region Museum. As for the pedestal where the bust once stood, shortly after the Concordia Club raid the bronze medallions decorating the pedestal were stolen. Within weeks, the pedestal itself would be removed by the city.³⁶

The inquiry may not have been able to determine the final resting place of the missing bust, or the trigger for the riot, but it did expose a great deal about how its participants felt about the city of Berlin and its inhabitants of German ancestry. Sgt. Major Blood, and others, attributed the riot to frustration over the low recruiting levels and the pro-German stance of the citizens of Berlin they encountered. He was also asked if he knew anything about the newspaper controversy of the previous month and if it was a contributory factor in the riot to which he speculated that it most definitely.³⁷

Corporal Brennan's testimony indicates that clashes between soldiers and German loyalists were a regular event in the city and that Captain Routley was aware of it and the reasons why the club would be a target;

Capt. Routley – You are aware as a citizen of Berlin
that this is the headquarters of Germanism in this
town?

A. Yes sir, I knew that to be a fact. One man two weeks ago...said he would fight
for his Kaiser any time. He told me that and I whipped him for it.³⁸

He went on to report other incidences including a description of a German man from Stratford that he punched for saying “fuck the British Empire!”³⁹

³⁵ Miss Seibert in Douglas et. al.

³⁶ “Kaiser Wilhelm I Monument Base is Removed” *BDT* March 1, 1916, 2.

³⁷ LAC LAC “Proceedings of Court of Inquiry Assembled at Berlin Ontario” February 16, 1916, Sergt. Pawsen

³⁸ LAC “Proceedings of Court of Inquiry Assembled at Berlin Ontario” February 16, 1916, testimony of Corp. Brennan.

Lieut-Col Lohead hoped to bring the situation under control. He had spent the night of the raid trying to convince his men to stand down (unsuccessfully) and the next day felt preventative measures were necessary to discourage any further disturbances, in the name of patriotism, against the city of Berlin. He feared that the publishing firm of Rittinger & Motz, The German Printing and Publishing Company, would be the next target. The day after the riot, and the same day the inquiry assembled (February 16th) Lohead would make an odd request of Motz. He requested that the word “German” (which can be seen in figure 1.12) be painted over on the signage for Rittinger & Motz at 15 Queen Street South. The English *Berlin Daily Telegraph* took this opportunity to use a choice adjective in its headline, describing the issue of signage at the headquarters of its competitor, “Objectionable Sign was Painted Over.”⁴⁰

This was not the end of the story of the winter of 1916. The men of the 118th had just ransacked the German club venting their frustrations, and yet one target was absent, the Prussian born Lutheran Reverend Tappert who was earning himself quite the reputation for the pro-Kaiser sympathies expressed in his sermons. Lieut-Col. Lohead would later tell his superiors that he had warned his men to leave Tappert alone, as provocative as he could be.⁴¹ As demonstrated in the Concordia club raid testimonies, however, the men did not heed Lohead’s wishes. Tappert had refused to leave Berlin after the backlash over the sinking of the *Lusitania* the year before, and his continued presence in Berlin, and criticisms of the British Empire, made him a target of the men of the machine gun section of the 118th. It would appear Tappert had promised to leave the

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ “Objectionable Sign was Painted Over” *BDT* February 16, 1916, 1.

⁴¹ LAC RG 24 Vol 1256 HQ 593-1-91 “Lieut-Colonel W.M.O. Lohead to The OC 1st Div London” March 6, 1916. Lohead’s words were “Mr. Tapert...is not worthy of much consideration”

city by March 1, 1916, but when that day came and he had still not left, Pte. Simon Shaefer and Sgt. Maj G.P. Blood made a call on him at home.⁴²

Blood claimed to have missed out on the wave of destruction at the Concordia Club. Spurred on by speeches given at the barracks, this time he would be the ring leader. He mentioned in his Concordia testimony in February that he had heard from Captain Dancy at a general meeting at the barracks that Tappert ought to be tarred and feathered.⁴³ Others in the battalion, evidently, had their own personal vendetta against the Reverend. Sgt. Bowden, for example, told the officers of the 118th that Tappert's son had threatened his at school.⁴⁴ Others believed that Tappert and his brand of pro-Germanism was the cause for the apparent "lack of enthusiasm" for enlistment. Tappert later described these soldiers in his memoirs:

Among the recruits were many brawlers and idlers who, under the leadership of an ex-convict, had won themselves a reputation for acts of terror and general rowdiness.⁴⁵

He would also recall, that at the moment the soldiers arrived at his house, he had little doubt about their intentions.⁴⁶ While Tappert attempted to call the police, the men broke the glass panel of his front door to unlock it. They then ripped the phone off the wall before Tappert could reach the police for help. Tappert was then beaten and dragged out on to the street. In a scene reminiscent of the New Testament, the Reverend, with blood flowing from his forehead, was led in procession through the city to the barracks. This

⁴² "Parsonage of St. Matthews Lutheran Church was Raided" *BDT*, March 6, 1916, 1 and 4.

⁴³ LAC "Proceedings of Court of Inquiry Assembled at Berlin Ontario" February 16, 1916, Testimony of comp. Sgt. Blood

⁴⁴ LAC "Proceedings of Court of Inquiry Assembled at Berlin Ontario" February 16, 1916, Testimony of Sgt. Bowden.

⁴⁵ Carl Reinhold Tappert, *Reminiscences of an Octogenarian* (Philadelphia, 1946), 23.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

time however, Pontius Pilate was on the side of the prisoner rather than the mob. Around 10:30pm Lieut-Col. Lohead returned from London, was briefed about what was happening, and ordered Tappert's release.⁴⁷

The morning after the attack, a bandaged and bruised Tappert delivered what would be his last sermon in Berlin. In defiance of the soldiers in attendance armed with a petition, this last sermon was delivered in German rather than English.⁴⁸ Thanks to the protection and protests of the U.S. Consul, Tappert and his family were given until the first of the month to leave Canada.⁴⁹ Within a week, Tappert left Berlin for New York.

The Recruitment Issue

The testimonies of the men of the 118th OS Battalion demonstrate a number of principles of the service in the imperial forces, and the liberal order. On the response to calls for enlistment in the Great War, military historian John Keegan commented;

Associations offered an emotional leverage on British male responses which the committees of 'raisers', middle-aged, and self-appointed in the first flush of enthusiasm for the war, were quick to manipulate, without perhaps realizing its power.⁵⁰

Connections within the community as well as professional association provided men with unspoken motivation, or rather social pressure and reassurances, to enlist in the military. Men would join their club friends, their neighbours, their fellow union members, their sports team partners and other acquaintances at the recruiting office. The intent was to

⁴⁷ LAC RG 24 vol 1256 HQ 593-1-87 "Lieut-Colonel W.M.O. Lohead to The OC 1st Div London" March 6, 1916.

⁴⁸ Tappert, 24.

⁴⁹ "Berlin Pastor is Roughly Handled" *Ottawa Free Press*, March 3, 1916.

⁵⁰ In the words of Kitchener those who "joined together should serve together" John Keegan, *The Face of Battle: A Study of Agincourt, Waterloo and the Somme* (New York: Penguin Books Ltd., 1978), 221.

both encourage recruitment and to ensure a level of comradely feelings within the local unit. The unwillingness of 118th soldiers to snitch on their friends and reveal who started the riot, who participated in the march, and who stole the bust are clear indicators of this pattern.

It is also clear that they believed that the pro-German element in Berlin was responsible for the low recruitment rates of 1916. Whether their commanding officer Lieut-Col. Lohead believed this is debatable. In his efforts, he would use fear mongering tactics and stress to the community the importance of winning the war, and played on their sense of community, masculinity, and imperial obligation. Motherhood, for example, as an imperial archetype included the patriotic duty of consenting to the enlistment of husbands and sons.⁵¹ After a few weeks of low enlistment, Lieut-Col. Lohead told the press in early January 1916:

I believe that the reason for the failure of the young men to come forward is due to a lack of consciousness of the real necessity which lies before them. They do not seem to realize that if it were not for the fact that the British fleet is so efficient Canada would now be invaded by the enemy.

I have been informed that some of the available and physically fit young men of the city have gone to the United States and it has been hinted that they have done so in order to avoid military service. I do not say that they have gone for this reason but I do say that if their motive for going to the States at this time is to evade their duty to King and Country their conduct is most reprehensible and cowardly.

I heard the other day that a mother in the city restrained her boy from going by telling him that he would break her heart if he enlisted. This mother I say fell down in her duty. She should be brought to realize that the boy must go to protect her home and she should not be so selfish as to allow some other woman's son to go to the front to protect her while her own boy stays home. Mothers should be brought to realize their duty in this respect.⁵²

⁵¹ See Miller, 106.

⁵² "Recruiting in Berlin and Waterloo is far from Satisfactory" *BDT* January 8, 1916, 1.

At the beginning of the war, volunteers from Berlin enlisted in the 71st and 34th Overseas Battalions and the local 108th militia unit. Many of the men from the latter would later transfer to the 118th after its formation at the end of 1915.⁵³

Recruiting rallies would become regular events in the city and Lohead even managed to schedule one while the battalion was temporarily on leave to vote on the city's name change. The English language *Berlin Daily Telegraph*, ran recruitment ads and subtly played to the sense of community by naming new recruits and boasting about their sense of honour or duty. Recruiting posters were plastered on storefront windows and ran in the newspapers. The *Telegraph* and the *Berlin News-Record* posters were in keeping with the tone of Lohead's fearmongering letter about the importance of the war effort. In February, 1916 for example, as seen in Figure 3.1 and 3.2 the advertisements shunned callousness and cowardice. In spite of accusations that the German newspapers were disloyal to the cause, the *Berliner Journal* also ran recruitment advertisements to encourage its German readers to enlist. Rather than play the game of forcing Germans to prove their loyalty, the *Berliner Journal*, like the English language newspapers used the language of masculinity with phrases like "there are three kinds of men, which one are you?" (Figure 3.3)

⁵³ Rych Mills, *Images Canada: Kitchener (Berlin) 1880-1960* (Charlestown: Arcadia Publishing, 2002), 110.

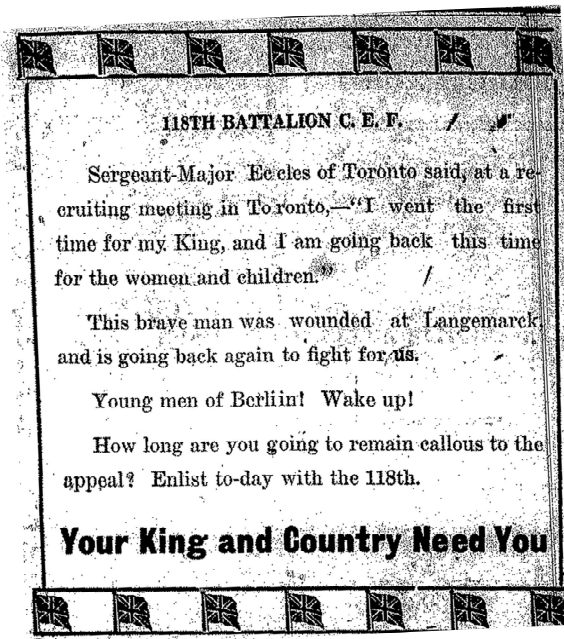


Figure 3.1 118th Battalion CEF
 (Source: *Berlin Daily Telegraph*
 February 5, 1916, 10)

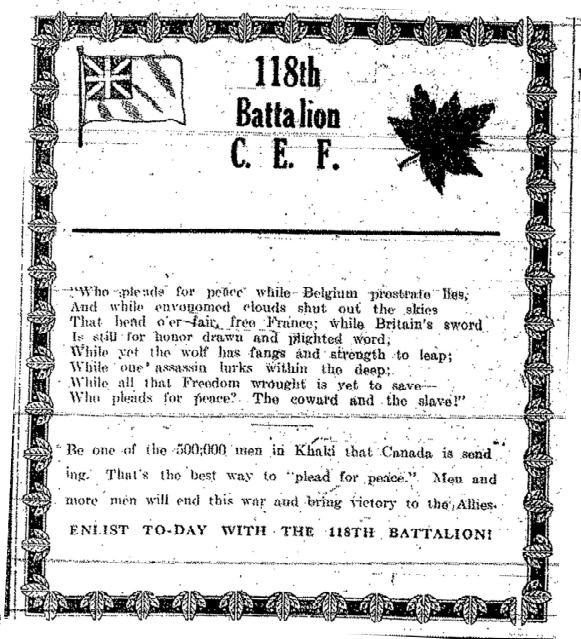


Figure 3.2 118th Battalion CEF
 (Source: *Berlin News--Record*
 February 7, 1916, 8)



118th BATTALION C. E. F.

Es gibt drei Klassen von Männern

1. Solche, die den Ruf des Landes vernommen
haben und ihm folgen.
2. Solche, die noch zögern
3. Und — die anderen.

Zu welcher Klasse gehörst Du, junger Mann?

Melde Dich heute!

Stönig und Vaterland bedürfen Deiner
jetzt!

Figure 3.3 118th Battalion CEF

There are Three Classes of Men:

1. Those who have heard the call of the land and follow it
2. Those who have not shown up yet
3. And—The others

in which class do you belong, young man?

Register [enlist] Today!

Your King and Country [fatherland] needs you
now!

(Source: *The Berliner Journal*, February 1916, 8)

There is also evidence that the men of the battalion practiced what has been described by one historian as “impressment.” In short, men would meander through the streets of Berlin seeking out anyone who was not in khaki and literally bully them to the recruiting office: “They’d grab you off the street” recalled one Berlin resident.⁵⁴

There are a number of theories about the reasons behind the low recruitment rates in Berlin in 1916. These range from the idea that Berlin’s population was too low to raise a full battalion, an overlap in recruiting districts with the Guelph regiment, to the idea that the German origins of many in the city meant nobody wanted to join up to fight their ancestral brothers.

Indeed, there was a problem, but it was with Canada’s recruiting system. As described by historians Robert Brown and Donald Lovebridge, there was no central structure for recruitment which resulted in disjointed efforts.⁵⁵ When the 118th OS Battalion was formed, most of its ranks were filled by the disbanded 108th regiment and the rest would be recruited locally, or so it was thought. As pointed out by the late Richard Holt, the changes to recruiting methods in May 1915 meant reallocating responsibility away from the Department of the Militia. Where previously recruitment was handled by the Department of Militia, now unit commanding officers were to take charge of local recruiting.⁵⁶ Because of vague boundaries between the recruiting districts, there was competition for men among other battalions in the area. Men in the 118th could come from areas well within the territory of the Guelph and London

⁵⁴ Douglas et. al. Mrs. Gill.

⁵⁵ Robert Brown and Donald Loveridge “Unrequited Faith: Recruiting the CEF, 1914-1918” *Canadian Military History*, 24, no. 1 (2015): 72.

⁵⁶ Richard Holt, *Filling the Ranks: Manpower in the Canadian Expeditionary Force, 1914-1918* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2017), 112-113.

battalions. Attestation papers show many came from Guelph, Elmira, Toronto, London and as far away as Walkerton. The overlap of territory meant fewer men enlisted in the battalions they were geographically expected to, which ultimately affected the distribution of recruits throughout Military Districts. Then came the slump of 1916 that coincided with the formation of the 118th.

Historians have debated the causes of the sudden drop in the recruitment levels that occurred in 1916. On the one hand, by 1916 the recruiting process had been streamlined and no longer relied on militia regiments for volunteer service overseas. Men could now enlist directly into overseas battalions, thus recruitment was now the responsibility of battalion commanding officers and their recruiting officer, if one was appointed.⁵⁷ For older generations of historians like Desmond Morton and Craig Brown, the fault lay with Sam Hughes for not centralizing the bureaucracy of recruitment in Canada.⁵⁸ Morton would also point out that the vast majority of men who volunteered in the first year and a half of the war were British-born Canadians, with greater ties to the imperial mother country and by 1916, there were fewer eligible men in this group.⁵⁹ This argument was challenged by Holt who pointed out that recruitment in forestry and railway units remained steady throughout the period.⁶⁰ Holt missed a key point. After hearing reports of the horrors of trench warfare and gas attacks the battles of Ypres and Mount Sorrell, the majority of volunteers began to choose artillery, engineer, as well as non-combat units like railway, forestry and medical outfits over what could best be

⁵⁷ Paul J. Maroney "Recruiting the Canadian Expeditionary Force in Ontario, 1914-1917" (Master's Thesis, Queen's University, 1991), 17.

⁵⁸ Morton, *When Your Number's Up*, 54. Brown and Loveridge "Unrequited Faith", 60.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 70.

⁶⁰ Holt, 104.

described as suicidal infantry units.⁶¹ In line with British recruiting practices described by John Keegan, Paul Maroney pointed out that the greatest strength in Ontario's recruiting efforts was the emphasis on local community values which was a strong social force. He also outright rejects the idea presented by Morton that centralized recruiting would have solved the problem.⁶²

On the matter of men who would be recruited, the majority of Canadian historians, until very recently, have focused on psychology and masculinity as it pertained to imperial identity. Building on the principle of imperial identity, historians' focus shifted towards the recruitment efforts in the context of Canadian militarism and culture that had recently emerged. This new Canadian militarism, was not as influential in Canadian politics as it was in continental Europe because Canada lacked a powerful officer class with a direct avenue of control over foreign and domestic policy. It was however, the product of British imperial sentiment in the post Boer War world. A military spirit had become synonymous with manhood and masculinity, order, stability, and nationalism, and was also viewed as the perpetual "cure all" for the ills of society.⁶³ This language is also based heavily on presumptions about class. As demonstrated by Mike O'Brien, an idealized masculinity, inseparable from militarism was an urban middle-class construct. Canada's working class and farm labourers, from which the vast majority of Canada's enlisted men would be raised, was spoken of using terms like "undisciplined" and "childish" in urgent need of character reform through the *esprit de*

⁶¹ Morton, *When Your Number's Up*, 60.

⁶² Paul Maroney, "'The Great Adventure': The Context and Ideology of Recruiting in Ontario, 1914-1917" *Canadian Historical Review*, 77 (1996): 72.

⁶³ Berger, *The Sense of Power*, 257-258.

corps of military service.⁶⁴ This was also the conclusion drawn by Mark Moss whose work on gender and education in Ontario found that a common belief was that the war would give young men the opportunity to prove their manliness in combat in a world where de-skilling and mechanization was beginning to undermine traditional masculine traits; aggression and self-control.⁶⁵

Joy Parr's study of recruitment of German Canadian men in Hamburg Ontario, showed eagerness to prove one's masculinity extended beyond English Canadians, as Hamburg was also a German ancestral town with its own ethnic elite and there emerged a clash of ethnic identity for young men.⁶⁶ Some groups, which included most Europeans and select aboriginal groups,⁶⁷ were welcomed into Canadian military culture. This, however, did not extend to groups considered culturally therefore morally inferior. East Indians, blacks, and Chinese for example would find it difficult to be accepted into CEF units during the war, based on the idea that the Great War was a "white man's war." To gaslight their own racial prejudices, Canadians argued the Germans would not extend the courtesies of modern "civilized warfare" afforded to white soldiers, to soldiers considered to be members of an inferior race. There was also outright rejection of the Japanese out of fear that their military service would become a talking point for enfranchisement.⁶⁸

⁶⁴ Mike O'Brien "Manhood and the Militia Myth: Masculinity, Class and Militarism in Ontario, 1902-1914" *Labour/Le Travail*, 42 (1998): 121. (115-141)

⁶⁵ See Mark Moss, *Manliness and Militarism: Educating Young Boys in Ontario for War* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2000), 15. Mark O. Humphries would conclude that the war would undermine this philosophy as men began to break down from combat stress and display behaviours considered to be feminine. Mark O. Humphries "War's Long Shadow: Masculinity, Medicine, and the Gendered Politics of Trauma, 1914-1939" *Canadian Historical Review* 91, no. 3 (2010): 507-508

⁶⁶ Parr, *The Gender of Breadwinners*, 135-136.

⁶⁷ O'Brien, 122-124.

⁶⁸ See James W. St. G. Walker, "Race and Recruitment in World War I: Enlistment of Visible Minorities in the Canadian Expeditionary Force" *Canadian Historical Review* 70, n. 1 (1989): 7.

Regarding recruitment in Berlin, the theory that the low levels of volunteers was directly related to the ethnic ancestry of the city is an alarming one. On the one hand there is very little evidence to support it, and on the other, there are historians who continue to subscribe to it regardless. Historians need to proceed with caution when investigating eras of history involving high racial tensions, real or imagined because of the ease of explanation provided by ethnic determinism in the writing of history.⁶⁹

On the website for the Laurier Military History Archive, where the Lohead fonds have been digitized for public access, the former archivist states that the documents show a general mistrust of the community on Lohead's part. One document in particular shows that he felt recruiting efforts had been compromised, by the disloyalty of the community and that deserters were seeking refuge in the United States.⁷⁰ This is factually incorrect. The document sourced is a letter dated January 5, 1916 from Lieut-Col. Lohead. While it indeed states that men were fleeing to the United States, Lohead *never* said that he mistrusted the community.⁷¹ In fact, as will be demonstrated in chapter 5, Lohead was far more accepting of recruits whose ancestry might be considered

⁶⁹ For a discussion see Sweeny, 52-53. Currently, a handful of historians have accepted dominant narratives at the time as empirical fact and use evidence uncritically in order to maintain the myths of untrustworthiness of the German-Canadian, and thus elevate Anglo-Saxon superiority in modern society in the same manner as the authors who produced the "evidence" during the war. Ian McKay and Jamie Swift warned Canadians about developments such as these in *Warrior Nation*. Historians who followed the conservative teachings of Granatstein, under the banner of empiricism, have emerged as a force in the twenty-first century, building Canadian militarism in order to promote Canada's involvement in post-Cold War neoliberal foreign policies. Because of Canada's refusal to participate in the Iraq war, the historiography of recruitment seeks revenge on Canadian pacifism by condemning those who did not want to enlist in the Great War as disloyal and those who opposed conscription as unpatriotic. These histories target French Canadians, conscientious objectors, and in this case the Germans of Berlin, despite the fact that their ancestry was not the determining factor of Berlin's recruitment problem. What is left is the product of the "warrior nation", a history being written that glorifies Canada's military history at the expense of critical research. For a discussion see Ian McKay and Jamie Swift, *Warrior Nation: Rebranding Canada in an Age of Anxiety* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2012), 8-9.

⁷⁰ Trevor Ford "Desertion in the 118th Battalion" July 8, 2014 <http://lmharchive.ca/desertion-in-the-118th-battalion/>

⁷¹ LCMSDS Lohead Fonds, File 1 Desertion "Lieutenant Colonel W Lohead Fonds, Lieut-Col W.M.O Lohead to Officer Commanding 1st Division" London Ont. January 5, 1916.

questionable by others. The issue of loyalty of Berlin during the Great War, and the failure to recruit a full battalion, remains a politically charged issue and thus must be handed cautiously. Here it is the historian's responsibility to look past the imperialist propaganda and use basic source criticism.

Evidence from the Lochead *fonds* point to a different problem in recruiting, the general health of the men of Berlin. The discourse of ethnicity and gender was also tied to public discussions about the health of the nation which became an issue in the recruiting process. Morton pointed out that battalions were losing, on average, a quarter of the men they recruited.⁷² Young men were rejected from overseas services for a long list of health reasons. As the war dragged on, the standards were lowered to meet the growing demands, and on occasion, doctors could be ordered to ignore certain ailments.⁷³ Nikolas Gardner in his article on the 118th Battalion pointed out that the largest problem for recruitment was the poor health of the community. During the final examination of the men before their departure, 238 out of 489 men (48%) were rejected for medical reasons.⁷⁴ Many more had already been rejected before December 1916. It was a disaster and the military opened an inquiry into the matter. What is required is a re-examination to quantify this disaster and potentially put to rest the propagandist argument about the disloyal German and redirect the focus towards Gardner's initial findings about the health of Berlin's recruits.

⁷² Morton, *When Your Numbers Up*, 60.

⁷³ *Ibid*, 60.

⁷⁴ Gardner, 231.

It becomes even more important given that historians credit the war with awakening the need to address the previously ignored crisis of public health in Canada.⁷⁵ This is partially because the eugenics movement in Britain and America, upon which Canadian eugenicists based their recommendations, had maintained the idea that hereditary diseases, deformities, and a predisposition to disease was indicative of a problem with the genetic makeup of an individual and not the social environment.⁷⁶

Piecing together the fragmentary details about individuals who enlisted in the 118th OS Battalion, from both the attestation papers and the 1911 census, enables a more in-depth analysis of the phenomenon of recruitment in Berlin than was previously possible.

As has been observed by a number of historians examining the recruitment of the CEF soldiers, identifying the social background can be challenging. A starting point has been to examine the “occupation” column of the attestation papers. Unfortunately, these are neither precise nor indicative because the question was not to state occupation it was to state trade or calling. As explained by Maarten Gerritsen, for example, a “brewer” could have meant anything from a labourer to an apprentice to a master.⁷⁷ The problem is brewer is a skilled trade and a labourer is categorically unskilled. This leaves for historians the most recent census records taken in 1911. These records have limitations in

⁷⁵ See Valverde 24-25.

⁷⁶ Richard Overy, *The Morbid Age: Britain and the Crisis of Civilization, 1919-1939* (New York: Penguin Books, 2010), 104. For an overview of Canadian Eugenics and biopolitics see Angus McLaren, *Our Own Master Race: Eugenics in Canada, 1885-1945* (Oxford University Press, 1990) in the context of empire a transnational study appeared in 2018 *Eugenics on the Edges of Empire: New Zealand, Australia, Canada and South Africa* edited by Diane B. Paul et. al. (Palgrave MacMillan, 2018) as well as Ian Dowbiggin, *Keeping America Sane: Psychiatry and Eugenics in the United States and Canada, 1880-1940*. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997).

⁷⁷ See Maarten Gerritsen “Corps Identity: The Letters, Diaries and Memoirs of Canada’s Great War Soldiers” (PhD Thesis, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 2008), 10-11.

establishing the backgrounds of the soldiers because of the problem with age and immigration. If a man came of age in 1916 when the 118th Battalion began recruiting, he would have been between the ages of 13 and 14 in the 1911 census and would either not have been working or, would not yet have reached the earning potential of a young adult. Furthermore, this is operating on the assumption that the man did not lie about his age to the recruiting officer which, as it turns out, was a common practice. Regarding immigration, because a significant number of volunteers were recent immigrants, frequently English, they would not appear in the 1911 census. The census records therefore, can only shed light on the social and familial background of the soldier rather than their social position at the time of enlistment. There are, however, a few advantages to the use of the census returns. To begin with, limited social mobility was a multi-generational symptom of capitalism, especially for working class families.⁷⁸ Thus, it is a reasonable assumption that the social background of the head of household in 1911 would have also been that of his male children. Secondly, where earning power cannot be ascertained, the place of residence listed in the attestation papers is indicative of social background and class as much as occupation. Computerized spatial analysis, geographic information systems (or GIS) have, in the past, demonstrated population distributions in cities large and small and have been instrumental in uncovering patterns of settlement in the urban environment based on class, ethnicity, and social background.⁷⁹

⁷⁸ For quantitative analysis of six cities using the 1891 and 1901 census conducted and contextualized within Canadian liberal individualism see Peter Baskerville and Eric W. Sager, *Unwilling Idlers: The Urban Unemployed and their Families in Late Victorian Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998).

⁷⁹ The source used here as a guide for the process was *Placing History: How Maps, Spatial Data, and GIS are Changing Historical Scholarship* edited by Anne Kelly Knowles (Redlands: ESRI Press, 2008).

Ethnicity was not asked as part of the recruitment process. Place of birth was deemed adequate for a soldier's attestation paper. The intention was to determine if a volunteer was a Canadian citizen and not an enemy alien. Thus, a more reliable source for determining ethnicity/ancestry of Canadian soldiers is provided by the 1911 census. There are however a number of issues to consider. On the matter of ethnicity, it was based entirely on the male line as children were usually given their father's nationality and race, rather than their mother's. Furthermore, instructions for enumerators on language contained an oversight. While the description for recording languages, and the assumptions about the meaning of languages, is thorough, it does not give instructions for the recording of languages other than English and French for people born in Canada. Instead, instructions for languages other than English are applied only to foreign born subjects.⁸⁰ Fortunately, the Berlin enumerators were more thorough than their instruction manual and recorded the languages of the household other than English and French for Canadian born subjects.⁸¹

Geo-mapping a Battalion

When considering the failed outcome of recruiting efforts in Berlin in 1916, which many have been attributed to the Germans in the community, a geographic analysis is necessary to see, the results of recruitment. Utilizing QGIS, an open source program, reveals the patterns formed by such individual traits as ethnicity, language

⁸⁰ "Fifth Census of Canada, 1911: Instructions to Officers, Commissioners and Enumerators" *The Canada Gazette*, April 22, 1911, 15.

⁸¹ Elsewhere, however there were less than thorough practices. In Berlin and Waterloo, often the number of occupants in a household was written where the street address should have been entered leaving the historian to ponder the location of the household and the direction taken by the enumerator.

spoken, religion, and occupation among the enlisted men. For this project, the parameters were narrowed to the city of Berlin whose German-Canadian population's disloyalty were ostensibly the reason for low recruitment. The 118th Battalion also recruited in Waterloo proper and as far away as Toronto, Wellesley, and London, these geographical limitations eliminate the non-local contributions to the battalion and, by so doing, the analysis is centered on the problem of whether or not the German community of Berlin was responsible for the troubles of 1916.

Much of the groundwork for the creation of a GIS analysis was laid by the Waterloo Geospatial Center's Waterloo County Historical Street Project, which created base maps of Kitchener and Waterloo for 1955 and 2011. Working backwards from the 1955 street map of Kitchener, (and with the assistance of Robert Sweeny), I created a GIS map of Berlin in 1912 utilizing two key sources. The first source is the period map "Busy Berlin," issued by the M.S. Boehm Company in Toronto (figure 1.8). The second source, essential for inserting the range of street addresses was the City of Berlin Street Directory published as part of the commemorative volume *Berlin: Celebration of Cityhood*, issued in 1912. Once the 1912 map was completed, a point file was converted from an Excel spreadsheet containing the details of the soldiers in the 118th based on the recruitment files and census data.

The maps themselves have been reoriented 35 degrees to match the historical orientation of the Busy Berlin 1912 and the Leavitt Plan (Figure 1.8 and 1.10). Berliners liked to consider the intersection of King and Queen Street as the centre of their city and oriented themselves with Victoria Park, Queens Park and the railway yard to the west.



Figure 3.4 Berlin Ontario: 118th Overseas Battalion Recruitment by Address, 1916 (Sources: LAC 1911 Census Records, LAC RG 150 Attestation Papers, KPL Soldier Information Card series)

The first result was figure 3.4 which provided a general overview of the residences of enlisted soldiers in the 118th. The spread of the population in general shows firstly the proximity of the labour force of young men to the means of production which was predominantly in the centre and north wards. It should be noted that “Queen’s Park” in the west between Petersburg Road and Woodland was a new and largely uninhabited area. The fact that recruits are spread across the entire city shows that the 118th recruiters had managed, at the very least, to assemble a relatively even spread of Berlin’s

population into the battalion. Every ward, every neighbourhood and indeed almost every block appear to be well represented.

The place of birth of the men who enlisted demonstrates the effects of more recent immigration in Berlin on the urban landscape. The most recent group of immigrants to come to Canada by the outbreak of the war were British and their distribution shows a distinct pattern of settlement. Figure 3.5 shows a portion living either in small dwellings downtown on King Street below Water Street or to the Northwest on the edge of Waterloo proper. The largest area of concentration is in the East with Lancaster Street serving as a demarcation line. This is indicative of the relative importance for these recent immigrants of the newer housing developments on the edge of the city. For the next decade, the East ward of the city would see significant urban sprawl since there was, with the exception of forests, the occasional swamp, and privately-owned farmland, no natural barriers to expansion. There are a number of Scots distributed through the same areas, while the Irish have the least presence on the map. It should come as no surprise to see this as many Irish would have at best an indifference to the British cause. For those who wished to serve anyway, most in Ontario preferred to enlist with their own unit, the 208th Canadian Irish Battalion that was recruiting out of Toronto at the same time as the 118th.

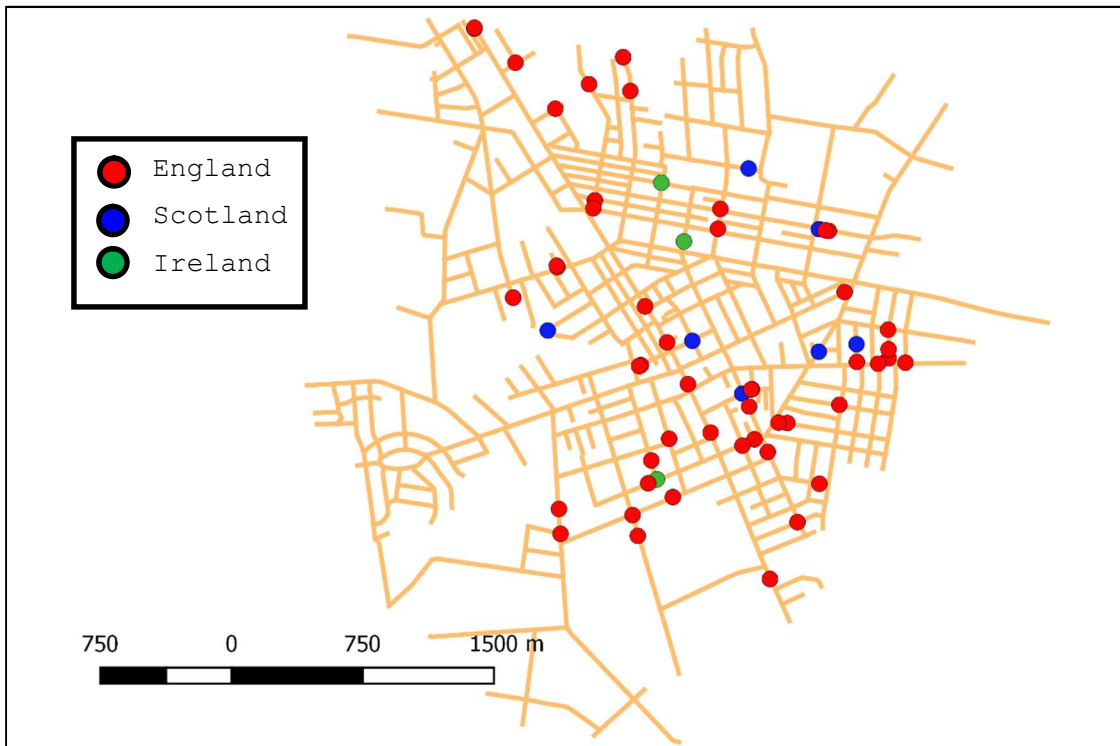
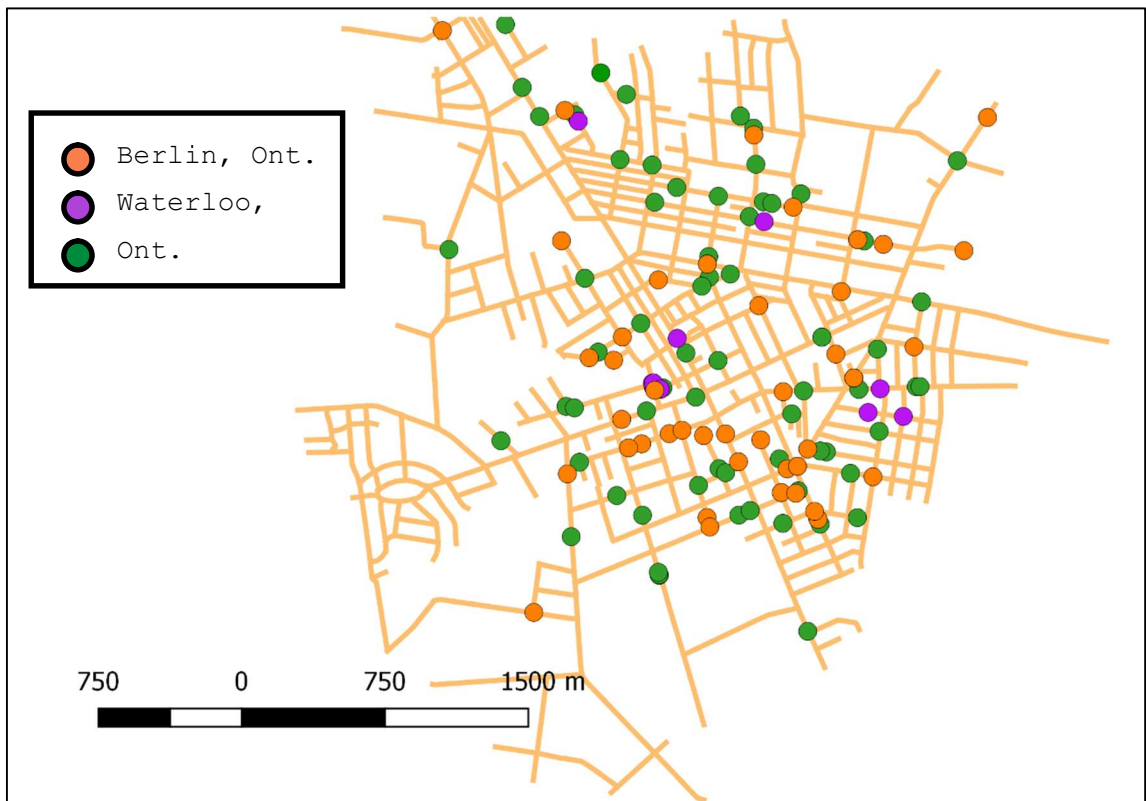


Figure 3.5 Distribution of British and Ontario Born Recruits (Sources: LAC 1911 Census Records, LAC RG 150 Attestation Papers, KPL Soldier Information Card series)



Those born in Ontario as well as Berlin and Waterloo proper, which includes a number of men of German ancestry, comprise the next highest number of recruits. Much like the English and Scottish recruits, there is again a fairly even spread across Berlin with the highest concentration in the centre of town. There are two additional spatial anomalies that are worth noting. Berlin born recruits are concentrated in the oldest sections of the city between Queen Street and Cedar Street near Victoria Park. The dwellings on and around Courtland Ave. were mostly two to three story attached working class homes. Closer to King Street were the larger detached homes in what is now called “Cedar Hill.” Recruits born in outside Berlin are concentrated on the other side of the Grand Trunk Railway Line (in the vicinity of the Tanneries, Kaufman Rubber and Mount Hope Cemetery) in the suburb that borders Waterloo.

There were many others living outside Berlin, residents of Waterloo North and surrounding townships as well as recruits from more distant districts such as those “sniped” from Toronto by Lieut-Col. Lohead. Tracking the recruits of the township of Waterloo is near impossible, due to a problem with the 1911 census.⁸² The purpose here is to show the results of the recruiting efforts in 1916 within Berlin itself, the former centre of German immigration and the centre of the recruiting failure controversy.

While some recruits could not be traced in the 1911 census, the ones that are recorded in the same dwelling in the census and the attestation papers demonstrate key characteristics of the household. Figure 3.6 shows that a few of the recruits managed to maintain German as the exclusive language of the household (at least in 1911), but the

⁸² Enumerators in the 1911 census incorrectly filled out “number of occupants” in the box designated for address number and the recruiters, as evidenced by attestation papers, were satisfied to write only “Waterloo” as place of residence.

majority either spoke exclusively English or were bilingual in German and English. This contrast is best seen in the aforementioned concentration of Berlin Born recruits around Queen and Courtland Streets.

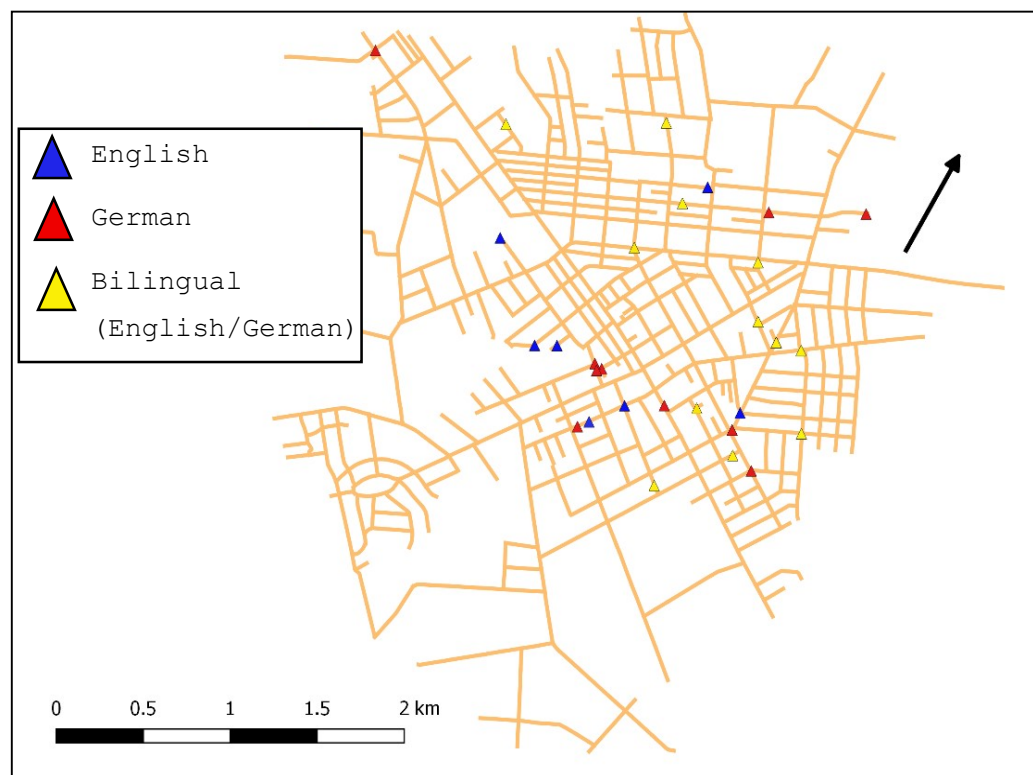


Figure 3.6 Languages Spoken by Berlin/Waterloo Recruits
(Source: LAC 1911 Census Records)

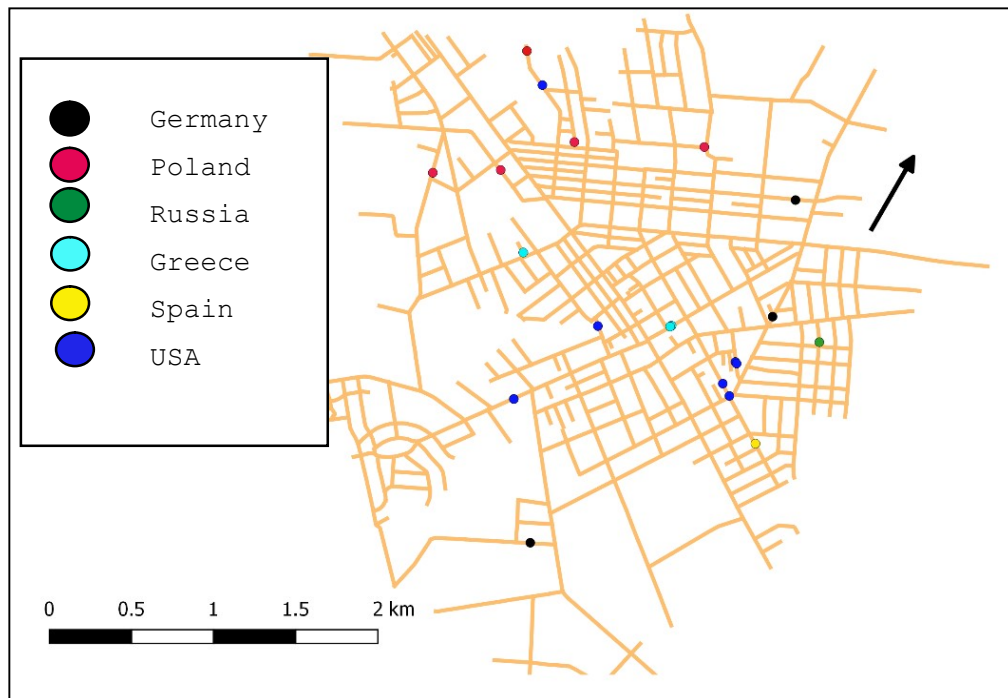


Figure 3.7 Distribution of “foreign born” recruits (Sources: LAC 1911 Census Records, LAC RG 150 Attestation Papers, KPL Soldier Information Card series)

Of recruits born outside the British Empire, the largest group shown in Figure 3.5 are American by birth. In 1916, the United States was still neutral and enlisting in Canadian battalions was a viable option for men who wished to volunteer. This map also shows that the lowest portion of recruits were born in the Central Powers only three German-born recruits are recorded. While this may be an indication that men of Central European birth did not wish to serve, and fight their fellow countrymen, because of the recruitment processes in place in the army, men born in Central Power countries would find it difficult to enlist in overseas battalions even if they wanted to. There are, however, a number of Poles confined to the north-west side of the Grand Trunk Railway

line in the same area of high concentration as Ontario born recruits who were not from Berlin.

Building a GIS of the men who enlisted in the 118th OS Battalion yields a number of observations. To begin with, the spread of enlisted privates is fairly even across the districts. In contrast, most officers of the 118th Battalion did not live in Berlin. Lieut-Col. Lohead lived in Waterloo proper and the others came from elsewhere in Ontario. Among male breadwinners of enlistment age (18-45) there is also an even spread of blue-collar workers: shoe cutters, shirt makers, rubber workers, and those categorized under the umbrella term of labourer. While this would suggest that there was not a significant class-based distribution of the men recruited in the city, two details must be noted. The first is the scarcity of recruits in the triangle of Weber Street W, Queen Street North and Victoria Street. Here was an area of larger brick Queen Anne style homes with large porches belonging to prominent men of Berlin.⁸³ Home to wealthier, established families, who if they had any sons, would be serving in roles above that of an infantry battalion recruit. Households such as these can also be found in the East Ward surrounding Victoria Park on the farmlands which were purchased from the Mennonites, including the large property owned by the Schneiders. The second observation on class is deduced from the attestation papers that show a parent listed as next of kin with the same address. As many of these young recruits were still living at home, they were not the principal breadwinner of the household. These soldiers were part of a nuclear family with multiple incomes, a common phenomenon of the time period, and easily explained by the fact that the army preferred volunteers who were single and without children.

⁸³ In the vicinity of the Kitchener Public Library, it has been declared a historic neighborhood.

In short, Berlin was too small, with both its factory owning middle class residents and its working class living in close proximity to the means of production, to have developed, at least by 1916, a level of urban class or ethnic based segregation comparable to larger industrial centres like Toronto or Montreal. Negative data is still data. With most households located within a 2 km radius of the means of production, this shows a more intimate spatial relationship between employer and employee, meaning, conventional class and religious mechanisms of social control associated with the liberal order would be, hypothetically, more easily enforced regardless of the ethnic makeup of the city. In short, industrialized Berlin was a product of individualist free market liberalism that flourished after confederation. It had become inclusive of Western European cultures that shared similar liberal values. As a result, the city showed in its recruitment patterns few signs of ethnic segregation.

Rejected Volunteers

For the recruiters in Berlin, there was another issue in their efforts to fill the ranks. The 118th Battalion had a serious problem with the health of its recruits. Currently, most historians focus on the effects of the war on the health of soldiers (physical and mental), although there is a renewed interest in the health at the time of enlistment. The authors of “Before the Obesity Problem” for example, have argued that the soldiers of the Great War can be described as “bulkier” due to a higher body mass index than those of the Second World War because they had a more stable childhood which, to the authors, was a

pre-disposition to a higher Body Mass Index in early adulthood.⁸⁴ While this builds on the work of Moss, who described the country in which they grew up as essentially a farm producing healthy soldiers, it does not account for the physical ailments suffered by young men in the industrial age. The first comprehensive study of this is Nic Clarke's *Unwanted Warriors* which studied volunteers rejected from the CEF for medical reasons and their ensuing struggles after having been emasculated.

Still, the standard source for the history of health and morality is Marian Valverde's *The Age of Light, Soap and Water*. Characterizing individualism as both an ally and a hindrance of "moral character," she studied the largely non-governmental social purity movement.⁸⁵ Using literary theory, she also linked health (or rather what was perceived as a precondition to good health) to sexuality/morality among Canadian social Darwinists of the early twentieth century.⁸⁶ Internalizing self-control was key to Canadian sexual health which, in hindsight, can be seen as just one more negotiation between society and the individual in the Canadian liberal experiment. Thus, it had been established that there were concerns in pre and postwar Canada with questions of public health and moral character. Already influenced by social Darwinism, the problems posed by the medical condition of recruits compounded the issue.

Ethnicity and eugenics were at the heart of the conversation according to Nic Clarke as well. Central/Eastern Europeans would be deemed inferior both culturally and genetically. By contrast, the British people, by virtue of centuries of Parliamentary rule,

⁸⁴ John Cranfield, Kris Inwood, and J. Andrew Ross "Before the Obesity Epidemic: The Body Mass Index of Canadians in the First and Second World Wars" *Canadian Bulletin of Medical History* 32 no. 2 (2015): 330. (319-335)

⁸⁵ See Valverde, 32.

⁸⁶ *Ibid*, 104-105.

had “evolved” or internalized what Weber called the Protestant work ethic which brought inherent higher moral values and sexual practices.⁸⁷ At the same time, when examined through the lens of early twentieth century eugenics, there were worries that the British were the ones who were deteriorating. Woodsworth himself, who held German immigrants in high esteem in *Strangers Within our Gates*, worried that the recent tide of immigrants from England were of a lower order.⁸⁸ This was one of the theories presented by social commentators for high rejection rates at recruiting offices in Toronto.⁸⁹ Berlin was a city at the centre of this debate over the health of the country, being composed of recent British immigrants, central Europeans, and descendants of central Europeans. The recent growth of urban industrial hubs brought with it concerns of the effects of urbanization on the nation’s health, not only because of pollution and working conditions, but also because of the spread of infectious diseases, especially those attributed to the urban atmosphere of sin and vice.⁹⁰

There were a number of conditions listed in the recruiting manuals that would become grounds for immediate rejection. These included everything from; lung problems like tuberculosis, an untreatable hernia, hemorrhoids, ulcers, impaired vision, impaired hearing, tooth decay, deformed feet, and mental deficiency.⁹¹ The Lohead

⁸⁷ Weber intended to make a determinist comment on why modern exploitive capitalism evolved in predominantly Protestant/Calvinist lands by denying individual agency on the road to industrialization. Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, translated by Talcott Parsons (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1958), See also Valverde, 107, and Sweeny, 331.

⁸⁸ Woodsworth, 61.

⁸⁹ Nic Clarke, *Unwanted Warriors: Rejected Volunteers of the Canadian Expeditionary Force* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2015), 121-122.

⁹⁰ See Valverde, 133-134

⁹¹ Clarke, 19-20. Malnourishment was another reason for rejection. In another study it was shown that despite the repulsiveness of army rations, a high caloric intake, combined with the physically demanding activities of the service resulted in Canadian soldiers gaining weight and higher body mass index. See Nic Clarke, John Cranfield and Kris Inwood “Fighting Fit? Diet, Disease, and Disability in the Canadian Expeditionary Force, 1914-1918” *War and Society* 33, (2014): 80-97.

fonds include cases of men discharged from service for these reasons. In fact, the medical condition of the recruits eventually led to greater reductions than either low recruitment or desertion. We do not know how many men of Berlin and Waterloo were rejected for medical reasons because the men rejected by the recruiting officer at enlistment are missing from the record. The men accounted for in the files are the ones who were not rejected immediately and were only deemed unfit at a later date. A revealing indication of the initial rejection rates is contained in a letter from MP William Weichel, in which he made a case that Leonard Paddwick be exempt for bad feet, he observed that on March 23 1916, there were 40 applications and 23 were deemed unfit.⁹²

The medical problems began almost as soon as recruitment started. On January 4, 1916, H.M Roedding, Peter Rosenberg and Edwin Finch were discharged. Roedding had loose cartilages in his knee, Rosenberg had a hernia, and Finch had hammer toes.⁹³ Rosenberg had sought treatment for his hernia and also complained about his knee. After undergoing surgery for his hernia in Guelph, the medical reports show that his condition was vastly improved. According to the Medical Officer, however, Rosenberg's character was also questionable and justified his discharge. He was considered a malingerer, a person who exaggerates symptoms, and had apparently harassed the nurses in Guelph.⁹⁴ In the case of Finch, what constituted a curable condition was debateable among military commanders and physicians. Some forms of flat feet were considered curable with proper treatment; however, hammer toes were another matter. The main causes are

⁹² LCMSDS Lohead Fonds, File 23 Enlistments "W.G. Weichel to Lieut-Col Lohead" March 24, 1916.

⁹³ LCMSDS Lohead Fonds, File 16A Discharges "Lieut Col W.M.O Lohead to A.A.G. 1st Division", January 24, 1916, 1.

⁹⁴ LCMSDS Lohead Fonds, File 25 Medical Reports "Medical Officer 118th OS Battalion to Doctor Mearns and Stalker" February 9, 1916.

genetic predisposition and deformation caused by ill-fitting shoes. The resulting swelling in the joint causes pain, abrasions, and corns complicated by tight footwear like boots. Naturally, marches were causing Finch a great deal of pain and discomfort and the medical officer deemed his condition too cumbersome.⁹⁵ The case of Finch is also indicative that the screening process early on was negligible, because here was a condition that was easily detectable compared to loose cartilage or a hernia and yet his attestation papers (figure 3.8) filled out December 23, 1915, shows he was deemed fit to serve with no mention of his condition. Rosenberg's attestation papers (figure 3.9) on the other hand, confirmed that he suffered from a hernia showing that medical examinations could be more thorough. Perhaps overlooking deformed feet was the standard practice, whereas because a hernia was considered treatable, Rosenberg was declared fit to serve, for the time being. Time and location are also at play. Standards changed and these two exams are nine months apart with different doctors.

⁹⁵ LCMSDS Lohead Fonds, File 16A Discharges "Lieut Col W.M.O Lohead to A.A.G. 1st Division", January 24, 1916, 1.

Description of Edwin Finch on Enlistment.

Apparent Age..... <u>24</u> years <u>6</u> months. <small>(To be determined according to the instructions given in the Regulations for Army Medical Services.)</small>		Distinctive marks, and marks indicating congenital peculiarities or previous disease. <small>(Should the Medical Officer be of opinion that the recruit has served before, he will, unless the man acknowledges to any previous service, attach a slip to that effect, for the information of the Approving Officer.)</small>	
Height.....	<u>5 ft. 6 ins.</u>		
Chest measurements	Girth when fully expanded.....		<u>35 ins.</u>
	Range of expansion.....		<u>4 ins.</u>
Complexion.....	<u>Clear</u>		
Eyes.....	<u>Blue</u>		
Hair.....	<u>Dark brown</u>		
Religious denominations	Church of England.....		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
	Presbyterian.....		
	Methodist.....		
	Baptist or Congregationalist.....		
	Roman Catholic.....		
Jewish.....			
Other denominations..... <small>(Denomination to be stated.)</small>			

CERTIFICATE OF MEDICAL EXAMINATION.

I have examined the above-named Recruit and find that he does not present any of the causes of rejection specified in the Regulations for Army Medical Services.
He can see at the required distance with either eye; his heart and lungs are healthy; he has the free use of his joints and limbs, and he declares that he is not subject to fits of any description.

I consider him* fit for the Canadian Over-Seas Expeditionary Force.
Date..... Dec 23rd 1915. John Stollis
Place..... Bala Mi Capt
Medical Officer.

*Insert here "fit" or "unfit."
NOTE.—Should the Medical Officer consider the Recruit unfit, he will fill in the foregoing Certificate only in the case of those who have been attested, and will briefly state below the cause of unfitness:—

.....
.....
.....

CERTIFICATE OF OFFICER COMMANDING UNIT.

Edwin Finch..... having been finally approved and inspected by me this day, and his Name, Age, Date of Attestation, and every prescribed particular having been recorded, I certify that I am satisfied with the correctness of this Attestation.

Wm. Lochan (Signature of Officer)
Date..... Dec 23 1915.

Figure 3.8 Attestation Paper, pte. Edwin Finch⁹⁶

⁹⁶ LAC Soldiers of the First World War, 1915-1918 Attestation Papers. RG 150, Accession 1992-93/166, Box 3082 - 11.

Description of Rosenberg P. J. on Enlistment.

Apparent Age 28 years 7 months.
(To be determined according to the instructions given in the Regulations for Army Medical Services.)

Distinctive marks, and marks indicating congenital peculiarities or previous disease.

(Should the Medical Officer be of opinion that the recruit has served before, he will, unless the man acknowledges to any previous service, attach a slip to that effect, for the information of the Approving Officers.)

Height 5 ft. 9 3/4 ins.

Hernia Scar Right.

Chest in front.
 Girth when fully expanded 37 ins.
 Range of expansion 34 ins.

Complexion Fair

Eyes Blue

Hair Brown Hair

Religious denominations.
 Church of England.....
 Presbyterian.....
 Methodist.....
 Baptist or Congregationalist.....
 Roman Catholic.....
 Jewish.....
 Other denominations.....
(Denomination to be stated.)

CERTIFICATE OF MEDICAL EXAMINATION.

I have examined the above-named Recruit and find that he does not present any of the causes of rejection specified in the Regulations for Army Medical Services.

He can see at the required distance with either eye; his heart and lungs are healthy; he has the free use of his joints and limbs, and he declares that he is not subject to fits of any description.

I consider him* fit for the Canadian Over-Seas Expeditionary Force.

Date Aug. 25th 1916. H. A. M. [Signature]
 Place London Ont. Major C. G. M. C.
 Medical Officer.

*Insert here "fit" or "unfit."
 Note.—Should the Medical Officer consider the Recruit unfit, he will fill in the foregoing Certificate only in the case of those who have been attested, and will briefly state below the cause of unfitness:—

CERTIFICATE OF OFFICER COMMANDING UNIT.

Peter Rosenberg having been finally approved and inspected by me this day, and his Name, Age, Date of Attestation, and every prescribed particular having been recorded, I certify that I am satisfied with the correctness of this Attestation.

Date 28th August 1916. [Signature] (Signature of Officer)

Figure 3.9 Attestation Paper, pte. Peter Rosenberg⁹⁷

⁹⁷ LAC Soldiers of the First World War, 1915-1918 Attestation Papers. RG 150, Accession 1992-93/166, Box 8463 – 45.

During the time the 118th was still recruiting in Berlin, there were further discharges for medical reasons;

Pte. Percy Charles Blackmore: discharged for collapsed arches.⁹⁸

Pte. James A. Jeffrey: discharged for asthma and being continuously sickly.⁹⁹

Pte. Toni Tazoff: discharged for poor eyesight (near sighted) missed by the recruiting officer.¹⁰⁰

Pte. Charles E. Cooper: discharged for being mentally deficient or “simple” and the men in the battalion tormented him for it.¹⁰¹

Pte Edward F. Hohner: discharged for a hernia

Pte. Michael Kalapaca: Of Austrian birth, discharged for recurring erythema

Pte. Archibald Charles Henry Morris: discharged for bad eyesight (near sighted)

Sapper. Irvin C. Schroder: discharged for an ailing wife and the man’s “general unfitness physically”.¹⁰²

Pte. S Andrezejewski: discharged for not being able to speak English. Furthermore, a tumor on his left shoulder caused him pain when holding a rifle.¹⁰³

Pte. W.J. Read: discharged for a weak heart.¹⁰⁴

Pte. Fotheringham: transferred and discharged for an injury that resulted in a shorter right hand and problems with the right wrist.¹⁰⁵

Pte. Ernest Ringle: Deemed unfit and discharged for deafness and Catarrhal.¹⁰⁶

The files also show (occasionally) echoes of the language used by Woodsworth in the attempts to ensure a successful discharge of men with minor health issues. Many

⁹⁸ LCMSDS Lohead Fonds, File 16A Discharges “Lieut-Col W.M.O. Lohead to A.A.G. 1st Division” February 4, 1916.

⁹⁹ LCMSDS Lohead Fonds, File 16A Discharges “The OC 118th O.S. Battalion to A.A.G. 1st Division, February 21, 1916”

¹⁰⁰ LCMSDS Lohead Fonds, File 16A Discharges “The OC 118th O.S. Battalion to A.A.G 1/c Administraion Military District No. 1” April 10, 1916

¹⁰¹ LCMSDS Lohead Fonds, File 16A Discharges “The OC 118th O.S. Battalion to A.A.G 1/c Administraion Military District No. 1” April 13, 1916

¹⁰² LCMSDS Lohead Fonds, File 16A Discharges “The OC 118th O.S. Battalion to the A.A.G. M.D. 1” May 10, 1916.

¹⁰³ LCMSDS Lohead Fonds, File 16A Discharges “The OC 118th O.S. Battalion to A.A.G 1/c Administraion Military District No. 1” May 10, 1916.

¹⁰⁴ LCMSDS Lohead Fonds, File 16B Discharges “Mrs. J. Read to General Logie” September 7, 1916.

¹⁰⁵ LCMSDS Lohead Fonds, File 16B Discharges “The OC 118th O.S. Battalion to A.A.G M. D. No. 1” December 21, 1916.

¹⁰⁶ Catarrhal is an antiquated and imprecise term that can refer to any infection or inflammation of passageways. LCMSDS Lohead Fonds, File 51 Boards of Inquiry “Medical History of an Invalid” November 17, 1916.

members of the 118th suffered from ailments commonly diagnosed as originating in bad moral judgement and these often, had racial undertones. Whether this is causally related is impossible to determine, however, the similarities in the use of language is indicative of patterns in social construction based on ethnicity. Woodsworth argued that years of oppression and poverty “animalized” Eastern Europeans into drunkenness and sexual deviancy, referring specifically to Galicians. Furthermore, he said they can be dangerous when drunk and left his readers to assume this was common occurrence.¹⁰⁷ Pte. Frederick C. Essig was discharged for poor eyesight, specifically near sightedness. The secondary reason in his case was his constant state of inebriation.¹⁰⁸ In the same letter, Pte. Mikotaj Golinski, a Russian Pole was discharged because he could barely understand English. In order to ensure a discharge, Lieut-Col. Lohead went on to use the language of sexual demonization arguing that he had contracted gonorrhea, and “either from stupidity or deliberateness” was always unclean, which hindered the treatment of the disease.¹⁰⁹ Gonorrhea, being a venereal disease, was grounds for dismissal if gone untreated,¹¹⁰ however, the fact that this was not listed as the primary reason for a discharge raises questions. Another soldier diagnosed with the disease, N.J. Osbourne, was sent for treatment rather than being discharged.¹¹¹

According to Nic Clark, the minimum health standards for recruits had already been reduced before 1916, when the 118th battalion was formed. With the exception of

¹⁰⁷ Woodsworth, 82.

¹⁰⁸ LCMSDS Lohead Fonds, File 16A Discharges “The OC 118th O.S. Battalion to A.A.G 1/c Administration Military District No. 1” April 25, 1916.

¹⁰⁹ LCMSDS Lohead Fonds, File 16A Discharges “The OC 118th O.S. Battalion to A.A.G 1/c Administration Military District No. 1” April 25, 1916.

¹¹⁰ Clarke, 20 and 51.

¹¹¹ LCMSDS Lohead Fonds, File 25 Medical Reports “The MO 118th O.S. Battalion to Major D. Smith” April 4, 1916.

gum disease, bad oral health and defective teeth were scratched from the list of reasons for rejection.¹¹² After the CEF took heavy casualties at Ypres, the minimum height requirement was lowered to 5 feet from five feet 2 inches.¹¹³ In August 1916, visual impairment was overlooked provided it was not serious and a man could wear corrective lenses.¹¹⁴ On August 25, 1916, Geo Carrwich, was found to have poor eyesight. Unlike previous soldiers, however, Carrwich was allowed to remain in the battalion after he was fitted with corrective lenses.¹¹⁵ Clark's framework also applies to the aforementioned cases of Finch and Rosenberg. Finch's deformed feet were overlooked in Berlin in December 1916, and Rosenberg hernia was noted in London in August but he was deemed fit to serve, nine months after Finch.

Four months after Carrwich and Rosenberg's examinations, and just before the 118th was scheduled to go overseas, there came one final medical examination in London, Ontario that ended the 118th as a coherent fighting unit. Just prior to this, the medical inspection process was reformed in light of recent problems. An inspection in England of Galt's 111th and London's 142nd found them to be in such poor health that up to 30% of the men were given medical discharges and sent back across the Atlantic.¹¹⁶ In order to avoid a repeat, and in the interest of saving public funds, military district commanders were ordered (again) by the Adjutant General to conduct thorough inspections prior to departure.¹¹⁷ In the case of the 118th, Lohead complained that his unit was the first to be

¹¹² Clarke, 36.

¹¹³ *Ibid*, 33.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid*, 38-39.

¹¹⁵ LCMSDS Lohead Fonds, File 25 Medical Reports "Officer i/c Eye Clinic to O.C. 118 O/S Battalion" August 25, 1916.

¹¹⁶ Gardner, 231.

¹¹⁷ There was also a growing concern that men who had been previously handed medical discharges were able to reenlist, Clarke, 73-75.

held to these standards, but he was not worried about the results.¹¹⁸ His optimism proved unfounded. The medical board found that too many men had flat feet and collapsed arches. Evidently, the recruiting officers and the medics decided that if bad feet were not a burden for the soldier, as was the case with Edwin Finch, it could be overlooked. A later investigation also found that this was a common occurrence. The national decline in volunteers meant that units, desperate for men, overlooked many ailments in order to reach the desired strength of 1100 men.¹¹⁹ In total 238 out of 489 men (49%) were rejected in January 1917. On the final examination that rejected so many men before departure Lohead had this to say:

Before leaving London, our men were subjected to a most severe physical test by a Medical Board that had received word not to deviate one iota from the stringent regulations. That they stuck strictly to the letter of observance would be obvious to you when I add that about 50% of our men were left behind as medically unfit. In my opinion and in the opinion of many others more competent to judge, the great majority of these rejects were absolutely fit, we having received this drubbing owing to the most unfavourable experience of several sister battalions that have recently gone over. To my knowledge, two of these units did have many men that were certainly unfit and, as per our usual experience, the penalty fell first on the poor 118th.¹²⁰

As a result, the 118th never fought together as a unit. As per regulations, undermanned battalions were broken up and allocated to reinforce other battalions. Thus, all of the comradery that had been formed in Berlin/Kitchener and London, as evidenced by their unwillingness to name fellow conspirators in the Concordia club investigation, was lost.

¹¹⁸ LCMSDS Lohead Fonds, File 17-Private "O.C. 118 OS Battalion CEF to W.G. Weichel" December 28, 1916.

¹¹⁹ LAC RG 24 vol 1642, HQ 683-275-7 "Court of Inquiry" Medical Inspection.

¹²⁰ LCMSDS Lohead Fonds, File 17 Lohead-Private "O.C. 118th O.S. Battalion, CEF to Miss I.A. Templeton-Armstrong" January 19, 1917.

Desertion

Closely connected to the story of the 118th overseas battalion having difficulties growing to full strength was the problem Lieut-Col. Lohead was having keeping men in the battalion. The Lohead fonds held at the LCMSDS contain one large file dedicated entirely to the problem of desertion. The size of the file and Lohead's letters of concern to his superiors have led some historians to believe that Lohead did not trust the German community, and desertion was related directly to concerns over loyalty. The problem with this assumption is that those born in Berlin account for only 27% of the deserters. There is also an assumption that desertion meant completely disappearing from Berlin and never returning to duty. This was not always the case. Deserters could return to their unit either voluntarily or by force. In other instances, soldiers were charged with desertion simply for not making it to the barracks at the required time.

A noteworthy case is three brothers from Berlin, Oscar, Henry and Walter Scharlach who enlisted with the 118th and all identified as ethnically German in the 1911 census. All three appear on Lohead's list of deserters, and yet all three would go on to serve overseas, indicating that permanent desertion was less of a problem than previously believed. Furthermore, Walter and Oscar lied about their age upon enlistment. On his attestation paper (figure 3:10) Walter listed himself as born in 1898, meaning he would be almost 18 in early 1916 upon enlistment. On the 1911 census record (figure 3:12), his date of birth reads 1900 meaning he was only 15 and that he had lied in order to be allowed to enlist. His older brother Oscar, possibly used the same tactic (in reverse) to make himself younger. On his attestation paper (figure 3:11) his date of birth is 1888 meaning he was 27. On the 1911 census, on the other hand, his date of birth is 1879

meaning he was actually 36. There is also a problem with either the information given to the enumerator or the math. Oscar's date of birth is listed 1879 but he is listed as 21 when he would have been 32. If Oscar lied about his age in attestation paper as an insurance, it was unnecessary, the cut off age for enlistment in Canada was 45 and if the census record is inaccurate, only Oscar and the enumerator would know why.

QUESTIONS TO BE PUT BEFORE ATTESTATION.
(ANSWERS)

1. What is your surname?..... Scharlach

1a. What are your Christian names?..... Walter Michael

1b. What is your present address?..... 111 Lancaster St Berlin, Ont.

2. In what Town, Township or Parish, and in what Country were you born?..... Berlin, Ont.

3. What is the name of your next-of-kin?..... Jacob Scharlach

4. What is the address of your next-of-kin?..... 111 Lancaster St. Berlin, Ont.

Figure 3.9 Attestation Paper, Walter Scharlach
(Source: LAC RG 150, Accession 1992-93/166 Box 8689-35)

QUESTIONS TO BE PUT BEFORE ATTESTATION.
(ANSWERS)

1. What is your surname?..... Scharlach

1a. What are your Christian names?..... Oscar

1b. What is your present address?..... 111 Lancaster St. E. ^{Kitchener} Berlin, Ont.

2. In what Town, Township or Parish, and in what Country were you born?..... Berlin, Ont.

3. What is the name of your next-of-kin?..... Jacob Scharlach

4. What is the address of your next-of-kin?..... 111 Lancaster St. E. ^{Kitchener} Berlin, Ont.

4a. What is the relationship of your next-of-kin?..... Father

5. What is the date of your birth?..... Oct. 4th. 1888.

6. What is your Trade or Calling?..... Shoe maker

Figure 3.10 Attestation Paper, Oscar Scharlach
(Source: LAC RG 150, Accession 1992-93/166 Box 8689-34)

7	227	Scharlach Jacob	111 Lancaster St	Head	Sept 1854	And	German Canadian Luther
8		Scharlach		Wife <td>Sept 1859 <td>And</td> <td></td> </td>	Sept 1859 <td>And</td> <td></td>	And	
9		Scharlach		Wife <td>Sept 1859 <td></td> <td></td> </td>	Sept 1859 <td></td> <td></td>		
10		Scharlach		Wife <td>Sept 1859 <td></td> <td></td> </td>	Sept 1859 <td></td> <td></td>		
11		Scharlach		Wife <td>Sept 1859 <td></td> <td></td> </td>	Sept 1859 <td></td> <td></td>		
12		Scharlach		Wife <td>Sept 1859 <td></td> <td></td> </td>	Sept 1859 <td></td> <td></td>		
13		Scharlach		Wife <td>Sept 1859 <td></td> <td></td> </td>	Sept 1859 <td></td> <td></td>		
14		Scharlach		Wife <td>Sept 1859 <td></td> <td></td> </td>	Sept 1859 <td></td> <td></td>		
15		Scharlach		Wife <td>Sept 1859 <td></td> <td></td> </td>	Sept 1859 <td></td> <td></td>		

Figure 3.11 Scharlach Family (Source: Fifth Census of Canada, 1911 District 130, Sub District 4, Enumeration District, 9, Berlin)

While these are not the actions of men who would be inclined to desert, all three would flee to Detroit in the fall of 1916. Oscar was also in the company of another deserter, Pte. Louis Albrecht (also of Berlin). Desertion had become, by this point, a serious problem in the 118th and in battalions across the country. Men had grown tired of constant drilling and harboured fears that they might never be sent overseas with their battalions. So much so that the Canadian authorities incentivised the return of deserters by pardoning any soldier who returned to their units by December 15, 1916.¹²¹ The day before this order was officially passed, Oscar Scharlach wrote a letter from Detroit:

Thinking over the events of the last 2 months, we have come to the conclusion that we left the country too hastily. We are sorry we ever got out of the battalion and we would like to know if you would transfer us to some other battalion if we came back and did our little bit for our country.¹²²

Oscar was then informed that he could return to the battalion and was asked if he could persuade his younger brothers and Louis Albrecht to accompany him back the battalion. It would be a slow return for Oscar because he was stricken with rheumatism and he would miss the December 15th deadline.¹²³ This was overlooked by Lohead having received a telegram informing him of Oscar's condition. In the end, they would receive their desired transfers and all three would serve overseas. Henry would serve in an Artillery unit, Oscar with the Forestry Corps, and Walter would be the last to leave Canada in September 1918.

¹²¹ LCMSDS Lohead Fonds, File 1, Desertion "From A.A.G MD No. 1 to OC 118 OS Battalion, Amnesty for Deserters" December 9, 1916.

¹²² LCMSDS Lohead Fonds, File 1, Desertion "From Oscar Scharlach" December 8, 1916.

¹²³ LCMSDS Lohead Fonds, File 1, Desertion "CPR co Telegram From Oscar Scharlach to Col Lohead" December 21, 1916.

This incident fed Lohead's concerns over where deserters were going, as evident in his letters to the newspapers and to his superiors, that many men who enlisted were fleeing to the United States to avoid service. Since the military police were working with provincial and local police to track down deserters, it made sense to seek asylum outside the country. In the case of 12% of the deserters, they were simply running home. They initially hoped to fight by enlisting in Canadian units since their home country remained neutral. Slowly, for one reason or another, a portion of them had second thoughts and returned home. In total, deserters born outside of Canada (and those running home) accounted for 35% of all deserters; somewhat higher than the number born in Berlin. There were a few, however, who were not Americans who fled to the United States none the less. Linus Dauberger, for example, deserted and wrote Lohead from Buffalo that he had contracted a venereal disease and did not want to be sent to Toronto for treatment. It was also his intention to keep his condition a secret. The validity of his claim, however, comes into question when considering the remainder of the letter and other evidence. He went on to say that he had the condition before enlisting and should never have been accepted into the service, which indicates either a fabrication or at best he did not know that a venereal disease, if treated, was not considered grounds for dismissal.¹²⁴ Furthermore, while he claimed he contracted the disease before enlisting, his attestation paper filed out March 23, 1916, deemed him fit for overseas service with no indication of a previous disease.

There are a number of problems in doing a comprehensive quantitative analysis of this battalion. Firstly, Lohead did not keep a nominal roll of the entire battalion, leaving

¹²⁴ LCMSDS Lohead Fonds, File 1-Desertion "Linus Dauberger to Col Lohead" October 6, 1916.

the historian to calculate the size of the battalion by going through the attestation papers and soldier cards from the Kitchener Public Library. This comes to 489, but there are still problems with this total. It does not include men who were discharged for medical reasons before the battalion underwent one final medical inspection before deployment overseas. Fortunately, Lohead did keep a nominal roll of the men who deserted which totaled 93. Is 93 out of a minimum of 489 (20%) a high desertion rate? Historian Matt Baker at the LCMSDS believed so¹²⁵ but we need analyses of other battalions, to determine if 20% was high, low, or the norm. The historian must also keep in mind as well that not all 93 left for good. Given these limitations, what follows is as comprehensive a quantitative analysis of desertion in the 118th as is currently possible.

Figure 3.13 which was compiled from the nominal roll of deserters in the Lohead fonds, and is not exclusive to those residing in Berlin, breaks down the deserters by place of birth and shows patterns inconsistent with the argument that German ancestry in Berlin was the determining factor for high desertion rates in the 118th Battalion. The number of deserters of the 118th totaled 93 of which 25 (27%) were born in Berlin. The highest proportion of deserters, at 38%, were born in Ontario outside Berlin, while 35% were foreign born. Thus, desertion rates were lowest among those born in Berlin. More importantly, the lack of clarity in the 1911 census, and the attestation papers, means that these figures (Berlin 27% and Ontario 38%) may or may not be exclusively of German ancestry. Therefore, the maximum number of Germans from Berlin who deserted is 27% of total desertion and this is based on the generous assumption that they were all of German ancestry.

¹²⁵ Jeff Outhit "First World War Battalion Still Making News" *The Record*, November 9, 2015.

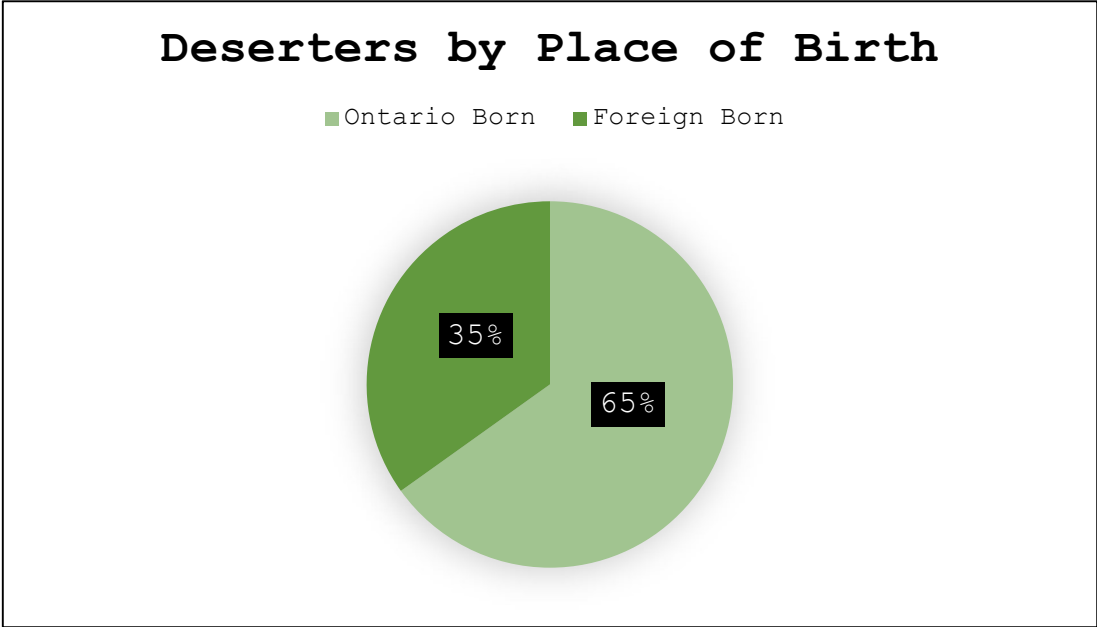
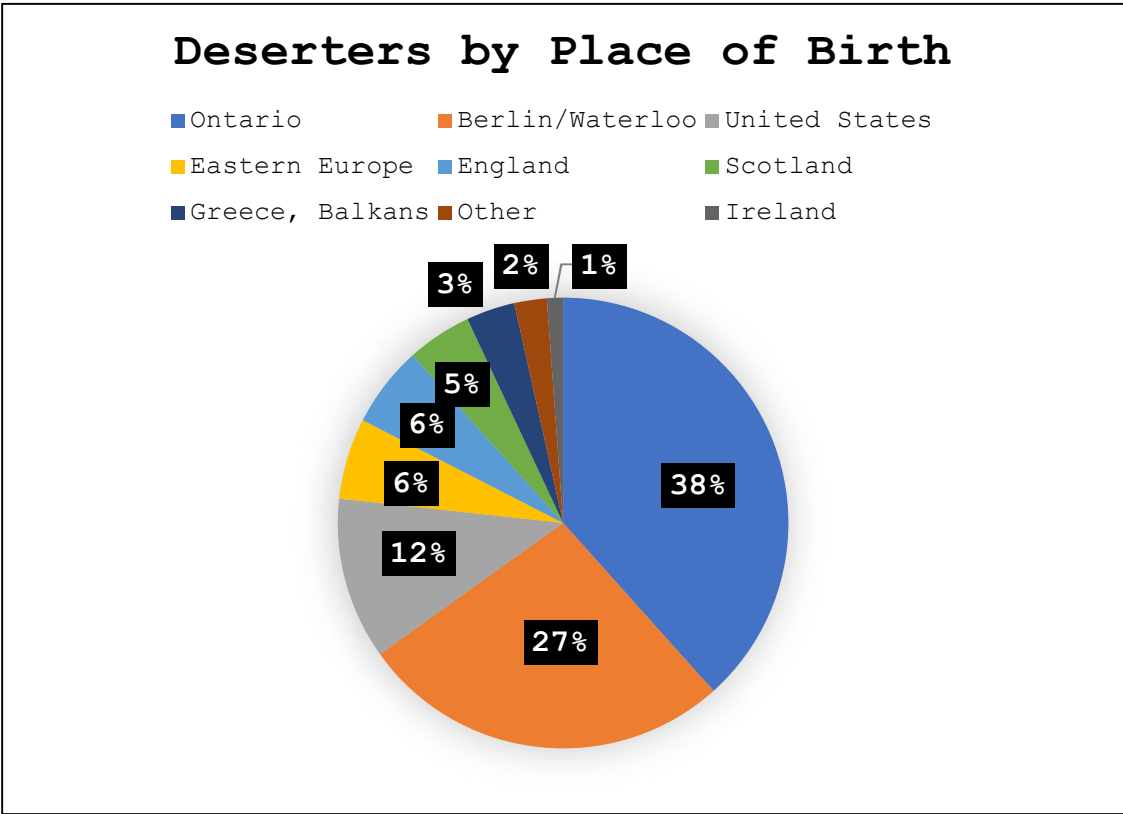


Figure 3.13 Deserters by Place of Birth (Sources: LAC RG 150 Attestation Papers, LCMSDS Lohead Fonds, File 1 Desertion)

Suffice to say, in order for the argument that the Germans were responsible for the high desertion rate in the 118th to be true, one would expect those born in Berlin to loom larger in the pie charts (Figure 3.13).

The general unwillingness to serve championed by some historians is not the only possible explanation. Nikolas Gardner has pointed out that the frustrations of the men not only lay in low recruitment numbers but also in a significant drop in the unit's moral in the fall of 1916. In August, at the precise moment Lohead had hoped to change the image of the 118th with intensive training and bring the unit up to fighting level, 160 of his men were granted harvest leave. Upon their return, an inspection found them to be in poor shape and under-trained, and so they were not to be sent overseas in the foreseeable future. Soldiers anxious to go overseas, realizing this was likely never going to happen, thus started requesting discharges and even deserted on mass.¹²⁶ It is at this point that discontent spread into the higher ranks and faith in Lohead deteriorated.

Once again utilizing GIS data, further conclusions can be drawn about the problem of desertion. At first glance, figure 3.13 again shows an even spread of deserters across the city with no pattern suggesting a number of conclusions. It suggests that deserters from Berlin were representative of the city's population which itself was not segregated based on ethnicity. Since the vast majority of deserters held the rank of private, and Berlin's working class were spread evenly across the city, neighbourhood by neighbourhood, desertion was a familiar problem. The closest resemblance of spatial pattern are the two areas where desertion is comparably low, the sparsely populated areas

¹²⁶ Gardner, 89.

east of Lancaster Street and in the North ward near Waterloo proper and the Breithaupt Tannery.

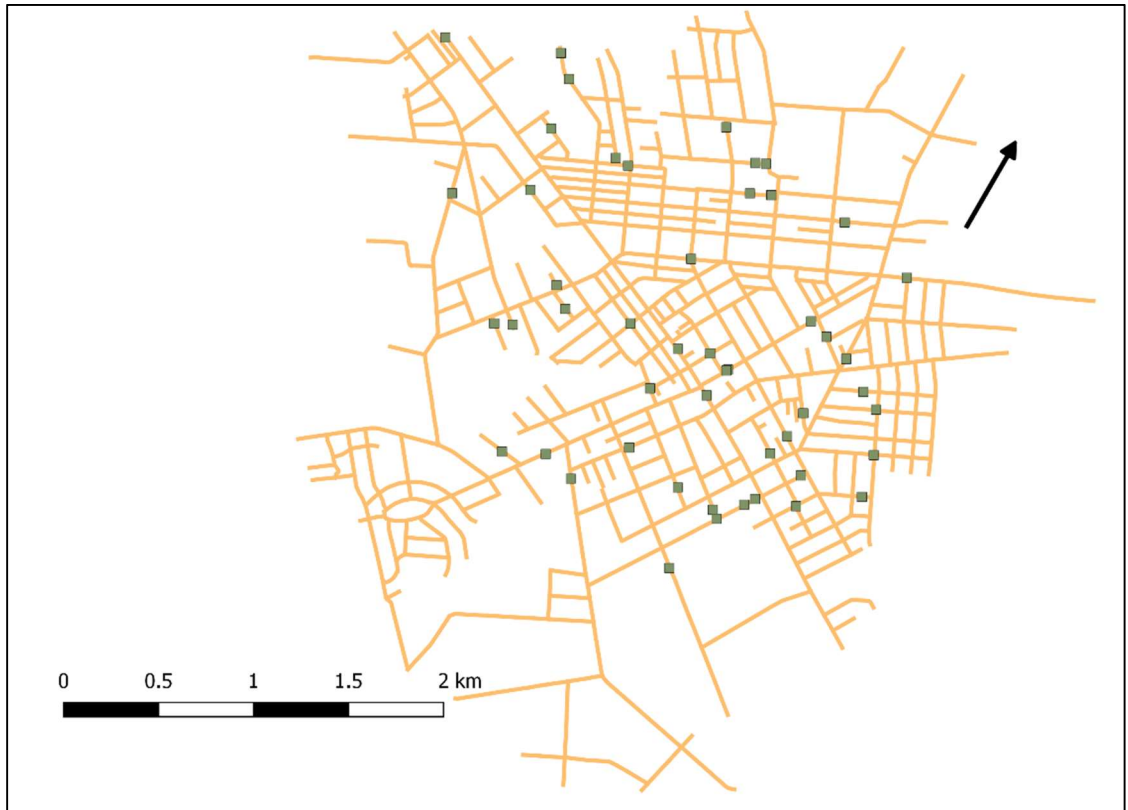


Figure 3.14 Distribution of Deserters (Sources: LAC RG 150 Attestation Papers, LCMSDS Lohead Fonds, File 1 Desertion)

When compared to the distribution of Berlin born recruits (figure 3.5), which suggest a level ethnic segregation further evidence emerges. The desertion levels in and around the highest area of Berlin born recruits, Queen Street and Cedar Hill, is comparably low. Furthermore, the fairly even spread of the deserters across Berlin indicate that those born in Berlin, and of German ancestry, were no more likely to desert

than non-German recruits. This spatial analysis thus reaffirms the statistical analysis compiled in figure 3.13.

Context is important when understanding recruitment levels. The year 1916 was a perfect storm in Berlin for low recruitment which helped feed the idea that it was a community plagued by disloyalty and pro-German sentiments. These rumors spread through the newspapers in January and ignited a violent attack on the Concordia Club which led to the disappearance of the Kaiser's bust. Simultaneously, it appeared that the well of volunteers in Canada had dried up and the majority of Canadians born in Britain had already enlisted. Try as he might, Lieut Col. Lohead could neither control the image of Berlin Ontario nor control the actions of his men. Discipline for the destruction of the Concordia Club was minimal as was the punishment for the public beating of Reverend Tappert. It was fortunate that during the referendum on the city's name change, the men of the 118th managed to avoid causing too much trouble. Much of this can be attributed to the presence of troops from Galt deployed to quell any rioting. Lohead would also have problems with desertion. In total ninety men were listed at one point or another as deserters, which also fed into the newspaper accounts that Berlin was a center for disloyalty and pro-German sentiment. Such was not the case, but the presumption has endured. Meanwhile in Ottawa, Sam Hughes was dismissed, which marked for some historians, the official end of the era of voluntary recruitment in Canada. In order for the Prime Minister to meet his pledge of men to Great Britain, there was only one option left, compulsory military service.

Conscription

By June 1916, the problem of recruitment was not only Berlin's problem, it had become a national debate. A majority of eligible men had already volunteered, while most of those who remained were indispensable in Canada's war effort. Even the most patriotic centres of British Canada were beginning to suffer from low recruitment. The Queen's Own Rifles of the 225th Battalion in Toronto, for example, only managed to recruit 385 men.¹²⁷

Even after the 118th Battalion departed for England the problems continued. Sam Hughes would become the scapegoat for the slump of 1916, Canadians' willingness to volunteer had simply run out. After his dismissal, compulsory military service was seen as the only solution to the problem. The Borden government had pledged more men to the British imperial cause than could be mustered, which not only caused a shortage of men at the front but also caused a labour shortage on the home front. Furthermore, events in Europe were to worsen the situation. At the end of 1916, Borden was invited to the imperial conference and returned with a commitment to pledge more men even if it meant compulsory service. While in Europe, he visited soldiers at the front, soldiers who had just been relieved from the slaughter and mud of the Somme and were beginning preparations to take Vimy Ridge when the snow melted. The Battle of Vimy Ridge on Easter weekend of 1917 had resulted in a Canadian victory but at a heavy cost. Canada was now tasked with replenishing the CEF, having suffered 3,598 dead and 7,004 wounded in a single battle. Total casualty estimates for the spring numbered 14,000. In

¹²⁷ Ian Hugh Maclean Miller, *Our Glory and our Grief: Torontonians and the Great War* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002), 97-102.

the months to follow, Canada averaged 5,000 new volunteers a month, nowhere near enough to replenish four divisions.¹²⁸

The conscription crisis of 1917 is remembered in Canada as a conflict predominantly between English and French Canada. Canadian textbooks, including the standard *History of the Canadian Peoples*, treated conscription as a continuation of French and English hostilities rooted in accusations that French Canada was not assuming its fair share of the burden. It also contextualizes conscription within the framework that the French speaking population (inside and outside of Quebec) was being mistreated under laws such as Regulation 17.¹²⁹ One historian has attributed this duality in historical memory to the development of two corresponding nationalist identities in the twentieth century.¹³⁰

The question of identity in Ontario and Quebec during the war has also contributed to this discussion. Quebec had not experienced the early twentieth century *zeitgeist* of militarization and manliness in the same manner as Ontario.¹³¹ Furthermore, English Canadians had grown up in an atmosphere of “Britishness” and an imperial identity that formed part of Canadian identity encouraging active support for their motherland. In Quebec, on the other hand, cultural ties to France had been in significant decline. Many clergymen in Quebec thought France needed to be punished for its recent

¹²⁸ Millman, 151. In 1918 after conscription was passed, the German Spring Offensive (sometimes referred to as the Ludendorff Offensive or *Kaiserschlacht*) panicked the Borden government and forced them to cancel exemptions from service based on employment. J.L. Granatstein “Conscription in the Great War” David Mackenzie *Canada and the First World War: Essays in Honor of Robert Craig Brown* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), 65.

¹²⁹ See J.M. Bumstead, *A History of the Canadian Peoples* 2nd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 291-292. Even this short entry was too long for conservative historians see J.L. Granatstein, *Who Killed Canadian History?* 120-121.

¹³⁰ Andrew Theobald “Divided Once More: Social Memory and the Canadian Conscription Crisis of the First World War” *Past Imperfect*, 12 (2006): 16-17.

¹³¹ See Desmond Morton, “Did the French Canadians Cause the Conscription Crisis of 1917?” *Canadian Military History*, 24, no. 1 (2015): 94-95.

turn away from the Roman Catholic Church in favour of secularism.¹³² At the centre of the debate in Quebec was Henri Bourassa and *Le Devoir*. Bourassa saw the 1917 election as a clash between English Canadian imperialism and Canadian nationalism, for the latter the primary concern was Canada's well-being.¹³³ For the Liberal opposition leader, Wilfred Laurier, the imperialist Canadian agenda needed to be resisted in Parliament, as the interests of the British Empire were not always compatible with Canada's own interests. In Laurier's view, if Britain was at war, Canada was at war, yet since this was a British war, Canada should not be obliged to make sacrifices on the same scale as the main combatants.¹³⁴

Borden outright rejected the French-Canadian idea of "Canada's well-being" in his debates with Laurier and later in his memoirs. He argued that this obfuscated the nature of national defence by ignoring the possibility that Canada's first line of defence was not necessarily the Canadian border.¹³⁵ For Borden and his supporters, Canada's front line in this clash of civilizations was the Western Front. On October 12, 1917, the Union Government was formed in Ottawa and would seek a mandate from the Canadian people on the issue of conscription. While many Liberals would join Borden's Union platform, Laurier would not out of fear that conscription would divide the country and the

¹³² *Ibid*, 95.

¹³³ Robert Craig Brown and Ramsay Cook, *Canada, 1896-1921: A Nation Transformed* (Toronto: McLeland and Stewart Ltd., 1974), 274. See also Henri Bourassa "Win the War and Lose Canada: The Case Against Conscription" *Le Devoir* (Montreal: 1917).

¹³⁴ Ramsay Cook, "Dafoe, Laurier, and the Formation of the Union Government" *Conscription 1917: Essays by A.M. Wilms, Ramsay Cook, J.M. Bliss, Martin Robin*, edited by Carl Berger (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969), 36-37. An agreement was made to limit opposition in 1914 and the election was delayed three years see Patrice Dutil and David Mackenzie, *Embattled Nation: Canada's Wartime Election of 1917* (Dundurn, 2017), 10-11.

¹³⁵ Robert Laird Borden, *His Memoirs* Volume II, 1916-1920 edited by Henry Borden (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1969), 81.

resulting wounds would never heal.¹³⁶ Furthermore, the Union government had effectively put the British Empire at the centre of Canada's priorities.

It must not be forgotten that conscription did not just target and enrage French Canadians despite the fact that they led the charge against it. It also targeted other minority groups in the country, trade unions, and young men of occupations that had been deemed too essential to justify enlistment, including seasonal farmers and fishermen.

By the time of the national debate over conscription, Kitchener/Waterloo casualties numbered only 46, and during the summer, only 21 men had enlisted. The Conservative incumbent W.P. Weichel, who had spent the previous years defending Kitchener as a major contributor to the war effort, and even defended the *Berliner Journal* in the pivotal summer of 1915, would run for re-election as the Union government candidate in favour of conscription. His opponents were plentiful. Dr. John E. Hett, a former mayor who had previously supported Weichel ran against him as a Labour candidate. Another former mayor W.D. Euler ran as an anti-conscription independent liberal.¹³⁷ The Liberal Party Candidate was Dr. J.F. Honsberger. He was one of the many Liberals in Ontario who would not support Laurier and instead fell in line with the Union government in support of conscription. This would be another motivation for Euler to run as an independent as he and his followers could not support Laurier through the Liberal candidate.

The results of the "khaki election" favoured the Union government with a majority 153 seats. Laurier's Liberals took all but three seats in Quebec and two of four

¹³⁶ Borden on the other hand was convinced that if Laurier had joined the Union government Quebec would have followed him in support of conscription and attributed this miscalculation to his age, Borden, *His Memoirs* vol II, 92.

¹³⁷ Gerhard Enns, "Waterloo North and Conscription, 1917" *WHS*, 51, (1963): 60-61.

in Prince Edward Island, but were beaten badly in the west (2 seats), the Maritimes (10 seats) and Ontario (8 seats). A deciding factor was the Wartime Elections Act which modified the franchise in favour of Borden. Immigrants who had not undergone naturalization before 1902 were disenfranchised, while the mothers and wives of serving soldiers were enfranchised. These measures led to substantial regional disparities in who could vote: Ontario saw the highest level of enfranchisement at 39.4% and Quebec saw the lowest at 20.6%.¹³⁸ Furthermore, the soldier voters made a natural ally to Borden, as the narrative was spun that conscription would assure them they would not be abandoned by the home front.

In Kitchener, the election was a proverbial slugging match. A Union party rally held by Weichel and attended by the Prime Minister on his national campaign tour broke down into a riot. Weichel spoke in defiance of the hostility of the crowds, however, Borden was not able to speak. In his memoirs he recalled that in twenty-five years of service, this had never before happened.¹³⁹ This episode would once again cause suspicion and hatred for the city. That Sunday, Methodist Minister C.A. Sykes blamed the riot on Laurier's immigration policy that had let so many Germans into Canada. The Euler family in attendance stood up, walked out and joined St. Matthews Lutheran Parish in disgust.¹⁴⁰ Meanwhile, newspapers in Toronto and elsewhere reported the incident not as an anti-conscription protest but as a traitorous pro-German one. Complicating the matter, the city council refused to issue a formal apology to the Prime Minister arguing

¹³⁸ J.L. Granatstein and J.M Hitsman, *Broken Promises: A History of Conscription in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977), 81-82.

¹³⁹ Borden, *His Memoirs*, vol II, 113.

¹⁴⁰ W.H. Heick " 'If we Lose the War, Nothing else Matters': The 1917 Federal Election in North Waterloo" *Ontario History* 72 no. 2 (1980): 76 (67-92)

that they needed to remain neutral during the election. An apology was eventually issued nevertheless, but a bitter Borden would later call it an “unqualified and belated” one.¹⁴¹ This was yet another incident in the city of German ancestry that would call into question the loyalty of the city to the British Empire in the eyes of its detractors. They called for Kitchener to demonstrate its loyalty by voting for the Union candidates, be it Conservative or Liberal, and assure the independent anti-conscriptionist Euler be defeated. As part of this campaign against him, Euler was smeared as pro-German. William Motz at the *Berliner Journal* refused to comment on this issue because of a conflict of interest that would severely damage his newspaper’s reputation. After the death of Rittinger, his shares in Rittinger & Motz had been purchased by Euler.¹⁴² So he was left to fight on his own.

On the campaign trail, Euler made his position on the war and conscription clear, “the continual parroting of winning the war is becoming tiresome, and all good Canadians including myself want the war to be won.” In order to smear him as pro-German, the meaning of this statement was twisted. Mr. Euler wanted the war to be won, by the British or the Germans?¹⁴³ His detractors wish for the defeat of Euler would not be granted. On election day, December 17, 1917, Euler would successfully manage to unseat the incumbent Weichel on the issue of conscription.

It was a symbolic victory at best, as the Union government won the election in a sweep. Much like the debate over language instruction and Regulation 17, where the French lost, other linguistic communities lost, when the French-Canadian nationalists in

¹⁴¹ Borden, *His Memoirs*, vol. II, 113.

¹⁴² Gerhard Friesen “The Presentation of German-Canadian Concerns in the *Berliner Journal*, 1914-1917” *German-Canadian Studies Annals* 6 (1987): 139.

¹⁴³ *The Berlin Daily Telegraph* and the *Elmira Signet* quoted in Enns, 67.

the Bourassa camp lost, other non-imperial nationalists also lost. Kitchener/Waterloo proved an exception to the fix provided by the Union government's Wartime Elections Act which was attributed at the time to its German ancestry. This added more weight to previous charges that the German ethnic elites had impeded recruitment of the 118th OS Battalion as it now seemed one of them cost Borden a seat in his Ontario stronghold.

Historian W.H. Heick, who analyzed the voters list of 1917 proved definitively that the ethnic background of Kitchener was *not* as significant an influence on the results, as believed at the time.¹⁴⁴ He found that the urban vote was *not* split along ethnic lines, Euler's supporters were both German and English. In the countryside, farmers who supported the anti-conscription movement feared the depletion of agricultural labourers that would inevitably follow conscription.¹⁴⁵ Furthermore, William Motz and the *Ontario Journal*, still publishing in the German language at the time, did not dare weigh in on the debate in order to avoid attacks from other news organizations, including the *KDT* and the *Advertiser*.¹⁴⁶

Kitchener, in its response to the conscription issue proved once again to favour non-governmental control of Canada's manpower. The fact that ethnicity played little to no role in deciding the vote is indicative of the centrality class and economic values at stake in the passing of conscription. Above all other things, businesses in Kitchener and farmers in Waterloo County worried about the depletion of the labour force. Thus, the same city that cheered Conservative Charles Tupper for the free market that built Berlin, booed his party's successor Robert Borden for dismantling it. It is also significant

¹⁴⁴ Heick, 86.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid*, 87-88.

¹⁴⁶ Ironically the *London Advertiser* sided with Laurier Liberals against conscription.

anytime an independent such as Euler wins a seat in Ottawa. Kitchener rejected *both* conscription candidates, Liberal and Conservative, which in itself indicates the degree of opposition to conscription. That result more than anything else shows that Kitchener was not about to go along with the dismantling of the liberal order that was currently underway in Ottawa and it did not take a revolt in Kitchener's labour force to accomplish it.

The passing of conscription brought the war closer to home for Kitchener's ethnic elite. The sons of the Breithaupt brothers, who had been able to avoid enlistment in the 118th OS Battalion were suddenly called upon to serve. Carl Lewis Breithaupt, the son of John Breithaupt enlisted on September 6, 1917. His cousin William Walter Breithaupt, the son of L.J. Breithaupt, was among the first group to be conscripted (Class 1 men who had to present themselves before Nov 10, 1917).¹⁴⁷ Williams' older brother, Louis Orville, on the other hand, was exempted.

While conscription is credited with sustaining the Canadian forces,¹⁴⁸ it did not put an end to the problems that Lohead had encountered during the voluntary period. Desertion and charges of cowardice soon returned to the pages of the *Kitchener Daily Telegraph*. In early July 1918, the Dominion police tracked down two deserters in Waterloo. Wilson Mank was called upon at his home and escaped through the back door and took refuge at the home of Gordon Lorenz. Lorenz, at this time was also harbouring another deserter, his son Alex. When officers arrived to apprehend Mank, Alex Lorenz

¹⁴⁷ William Walter's letters from the front are available at the University of Waterloo. Doris Lewis Rare Book Room, Breithaupt, Heweston, Clark Collection William Walter Breithaupt, 1894-1977. The Breithaupt diaries are silent on the matter of conscription.

¹⁴⁸ See Holt, 11 and Chris Sharp "Enlistment in the Canadian Expeditionary Force: A Re-evaluation" *Canadian Military History* 21 no. 1 (2015), 22.

was discovered at the house and was also taken in. Gordon was arrested and charged with harbouring a deserter.¹⁴⁹

In another report, Pte. Roy Reist was court martialled for shooting himself in the foot to avoid military service. His defense was to claim it was an accident that occurred while trying to keep sparrows away from horses on a farm in Bridgeport. The result was a severed toe. In military circles, this was considered no accident and the timing of the events (just two days before he was to report for duty) was evidence enough for an indictment.¹⁵⁰

Conclusion

When it came time for the 118th Overseas Battalion to ship out, its ranks were decimated by the national decline in voluntary recruitment and an extensive medical examination of volunteers, many of whom proved unfit for service. As a result, the battalion would not fight as a single unit as it was broken up to reinforce existing units. Timing was crucial as forces already deployed to the Western Front were preparing for the Spring offensive against Vimy Ridge. This attack, while successful came at a high cost, necessitating conscription at home. Crowds in Berlin heckled Borden against government control of manpower and voters from all backgrounds would not rally to the incumbent or union liberal candidates. The people of Kitchener rejected conscription.

Further proof that enlistment in that city failed for reasons other than the city's ethnic composition. It was a matter of eligibility, health in an industrial centre, and the need for agricultural labour. War weariness was also a problem and more offensives

¹⁴⁹ "Two Deserters Were Arrested" *BDT*, July 3, 1918, 1 and 5. Wilson Mank does not appear on Lohead's nominal role of Deserters.

¹⁵⁰ "Kitchener Boy Court Martialled" *BDT*, July 24, 1918.

were in the works. A mere three months after Vimy, reinforcements including men of the former 118th would be deployed back to Ypres for the Summer Offensive. Sir Arthur Currie was instructed by Sir Douglas Haig to advance from Ypres to Passchendaele Ridge. This late summer advance cost the CEF 15,600 casualties including a portion of men from Berlin/Kitchener (figure 3.16). It is interesting to note that casualties from the city centre were light. While most of the casualties from the former 118th occurred in the last hundred days, the majority of casualties from Passchendaele are concentrated in neighbourhoods in the east ward. As noted earlier this area was predominantly new construction and mostly newer Canadians of British birth. Among them was Pte. Albert Deal, a witness at the Concordia hearing.

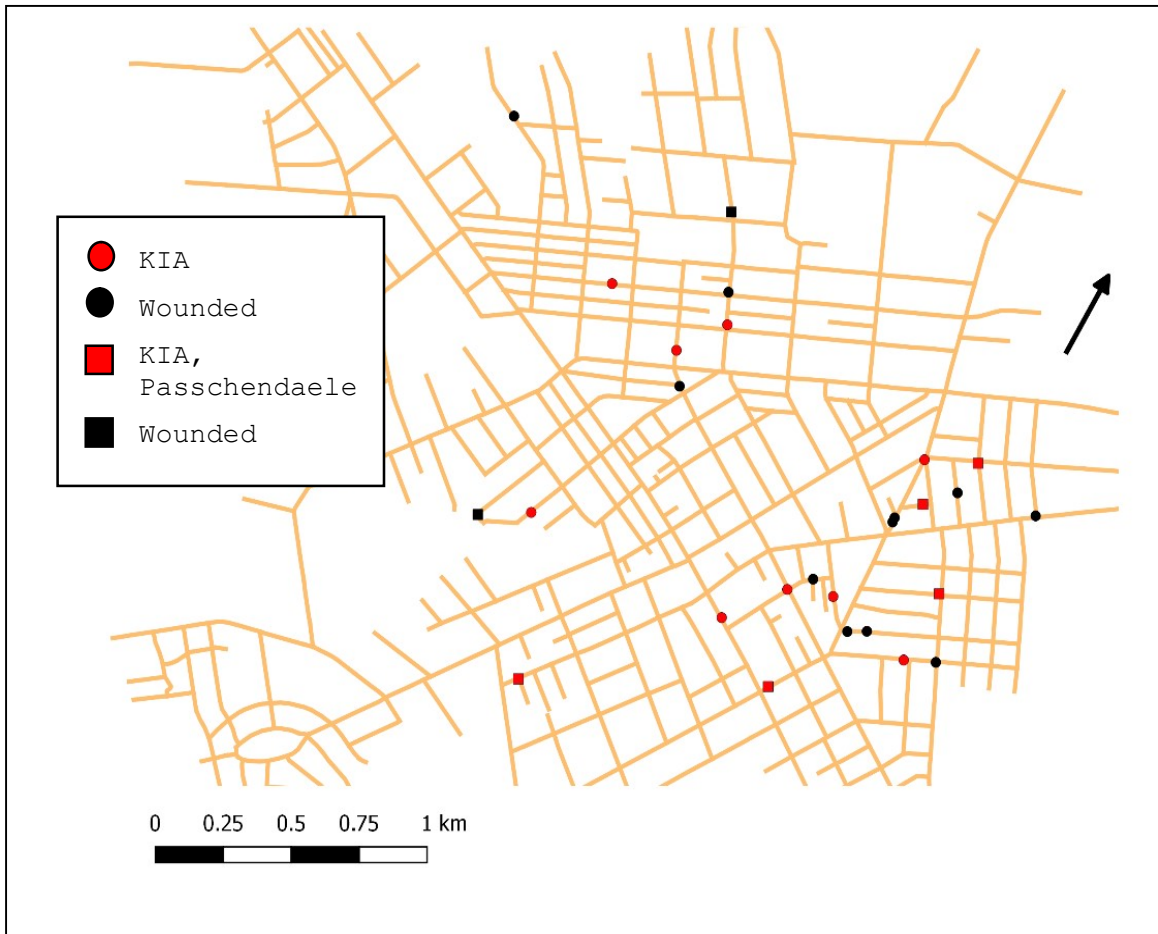


Figure 3.15 Distribution of Casualties of the former 118th

(does not account for casualties before 1917,
for a full list refer to Appendix B)

A Higher concentration appears in the East end of town from which most English and Ontario recruits were drawn. It illustrates the effects of the “those who enlist together should serve together”, when a platoon suffers heavy casualties, whole neighbourhoods are affected. Also note the absence of casualties from the predominantly middle-class historic neighbourhood in central Kitchener described earlier. (Sources: LAC RG 150 Attestation Papers, KPL Soldier Information Card series)

The events in Berlin and the actions of the men of the 118th, while extensively covered by local historians, are significant in the history of dissention and enforcement of imperial loyalty in Ontario. Sergeant Bowden made clear in his testimony during the Concordia Club investigation that the task of stamping out disloyalty in Berlin should have been the job of the government. Unknowingly, Bowden and others who participated in the destruction of the Concordia Club were active participants in the previously outlined self-regulation of the region, which was essential to the functioning of Canada's liberal order. One result was affirmation that the need for a change in Berlin/Kitchener was unnecessary. There was no real need to implement more hardline measures to maintain order. As a result, the appearance of reasoning otherwise was momentarily delayed.

This leaves a significant question for the historian, if not the residents of Berlin. If the matter of ensuring "order" in the community, which by definition meant self-policing Canadians of German ancestry to exhibit loyalty to the British Empire, what were government and military organizations doing in Ontario? Sgt. Blood himself had asked this question at the Concordia inquiry and it went unanswered. Was there a presence of Canadian Intelligence in Berlin investigating the rumors and reports of disloyalty and pro-Germanism especially if the recruitment of a Battalion was at stake? And since newspaper smear campaigns were responsible for the spread of violence in Berlin, could it be traced somehow to the Chief Press Censor's involvement as a matter of national unity?

As it stood, the men of the 118th Battalion, when questioned about the destruction of the Concordia Club resented that they had been burdened with what was considered to

be “the government’s job.” Thanks to the propaganda campaigns of January 1916 that accused the German ethnic elite of interfering with recruiting in Berlin, they had been drawn into the discourse of security within the district. They became the muscle sending a strong message about Canada’s intent to destroy the German “Hun” when the Concordia Club was destroyed. The fact that the local police stood by and watched, is a testament to the power of the mob of soldiers and civilians, and indicative of the message they conveyed. If the soldiers felt that they had stepped into the role of weeding out what they saw as subversive German activities, were there not other authorities: civil law enforcement agencies, or military intelligence to perform such tasks? The men of the 118th thought not, were they justified?

Chapter 4: German Operatives in Canada and the United States

They arose from the praiseworthy initiative of friends of the German cause, who were not, however, acting under control from Germany. As a result, their self-sacrificing attempts were of comparatively little use to Germany, and they contained in themselves from the very start all the dangers of aimlessness and lack of plan.

- Colonel W. Nikolai¹

These words were spoken in 1924 by the former chief of the German Secret Service in reference to German intelligence activities in the United States during the war. He denies that his department had any knowledge of the acts of sabotage and espionage in the United States, and at no point addressed any operations carried out in the colonies and protectorates of the British Empire. With the release of British, American and Canadian intelligence files, this bold statement begins to unravel. True, many acts of sabotage were committed by sympathizers not connected to German intelligence, however, there were instances of authorized actions with specific goals in mind to help the German war effort. *Abteilung III B* (Section III B) was a branch of the German army in charge of espionage and counter espionage, salvage of captured material and state censorship (before the formation of the War Press Office). Their ranks also included operatives working abroad on missions of observation of men, materials, shipping and

¹ Colonel W. Nikolai, *The German Secret Service* translated by George Renwick (London: Stanley Paul & Co. Ltd, 1924), 109.

communication as well as propaganda and sabotage.² Unfortunately for intelligence historians, the records kept by *Abteilung III B* were destroyed in an allied bombing raid on Berlin during the Second World War.

Understanding the threat posed to Canada and the national response (by state or citizen) is vitally important because of its implications for the application of Wesley Wark's insecurity state thesis to understanding Canadian society. Fear that redefined the parameters of othering in Canadian society proved, as it had with newspaper reports emanating from outside Berlin, to be a force that undermined the Canadian liberal order. The insecurity state illustrates the Canadian state's betrayal of the old order. This new insecurity was driven by the reorientation of state fears during the war. The rise of the insecurity state depended on the breakdown of liberal order ideals in favour of an othering based on fear, xenophobia and later homophobia.

As outlined by Wesley Wark, Canadian intelligence working within a network of alliances produced a key characteristic of the insecurity state in the disconnect between any legitimate threat and the public fear.³ Ironically, such fears were generated and fueled by a reliance on the security measures and concerns of Canada's allies. When Canada was the target, most counterintelligence aimed at spies and saboteurs working for *Abteilung III* was conducted by the British and the Americans. In these cases, it appears Canada was content to rely on the findings of others and limited its response to guarding its borders and valuable installations. Because Canada's domestic capacity for intelligence gathering was so limited, intelligence agents and officers were not used in

² Herman Cron, *Imperial German Army, 1914-1918: Organization, Structure, Order of Battle* translated by C.F. Colton (Solihull: Helion & Company Ltd., 2001), 19 and 27.

³ Wark "Security Intelligence in Canada" and "The Evolution of Military Intelligence in Canada" 77-80.

these capacities. Instead, guard duties were carried out by local police forces, units of the Canadian militia and sometimes army units yet to be sent overseas.⁴

In Europe, by the fall of 1914, Germany's initial war plans were beginning to unravel. The Schlieffen Plan had been implemented in spite of fears that the violation of Belgian neutrality would draw Great Britain and her empire into the war. Even after an offer from the British on August 1, 1914, that they and the French would remain neutral, there was no way to reverse German mobilization in the west and shut down the Schlieffen Plan.⁵ The Germans gambled that the defeat of France would be complete before a British Expeditionary Force, let alone a colonial force, could land on French soil. This did not occur. Belgian resistance was vastly underestimated and the French army held key points on the frontiers. The British Expeditionary Force not only arrived in time, but dug in with the French on the Marne River bringing a stop to the German summer offensive. By Order-in-Council, and in accordance with British imperial policy, Canada officially declared war on Germany and her allies on August 5, 1914. Given Canada's lack of preparedness an expeditionary force could not arrive on the front lines of Western Europe before the end of the year.⁶

British authorities had taken the lead on how the empire should handle its un-naturalized immigrants of enemy nations when the war broke out. In short, it was essential to disallow their departure, so that in the case of reservists, they could not join their comrades-in-arms. For enemy aliens in Canada, as pointed out by Brock Millman,

⁴ The available units in Ontario are listed in Appendix A.

⁵ See Wawro, *Warfare and Society in Europe*, 192-193.

⁶ The first Canadian division would arrive in Britain in October 1914, but would not reach the front line until March 1915. See Terry Copp "The Military Effort, 1914-1918" in *Canada and the First World War: Essays in Honour of Robert Craig Brown* edited by David Mackenzie (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005) 37-39.

the decision on their fate was ultimately not Canada's to make, as citizenship policy and the handling of enemy aliens was an imperial matter.⁷ Following the lead of British lawmakers, P.C. 2086 was passed in Canada on August 8, 1914 which ordered that reservists would be arrested if they were to attempt to leave the country. Initially the powers of arrest lay with the army, and yet before the end of 1914, that power had been transferred to the Northwest Mounted and Dominion Police forces.⁸ Those liable for detention were:

- (a) All German or Austrian or Austro-Hungarian officers, soldiers or reservists who attempted to leave Canada;
- (b) All subjects of the German Empire or of Austria-Hungary who attempted to leave Canada and in regard to whom there was reasonable grounds to believe that their attempted departure was with a view to assisting the enemy; and
- (c) All subjects of the German Empire or of Austria-Hungary in Canada engaged or attempting to engage in espionage or acts of a hostile nature, or giving or attempting to give information to the enemy, or assisting or attempting to assist the enemy, or who were on reasonable grounds suspected of doing or attempting to do any of said acts.⁹

To ease the burden of monitoring the enemy alien population, a registration system for enemy aliens was established under the direction of the Chief of the Dominion Police, Percy Sherwood.

How the treatment of enemy aliens would play out in Canada depended on the economic conditions in a country strained by a recession and soon to be depleted much of its male labour force.¹⁰ As a result, internment operations mostly targeted unemployed

⁷ Millman, 24.

⁸ Arrest records from these institutions are currently being held at the Archives of Ontario RG 23, and their contents have been retroactively classified in the interest of protecting the identity of youth offenders. FOA requests have been overturned.

⁹ Quoted in Duguid, 166.

¹⁰ See Millman, 14.

enemy aliens. Massive lay-offs based on the patriotic prejudices of employers, which occurred with Austro-Hungarian railway gangs for example, at times resulted in an entire labour force entering an internment camp.¹¹ The man in charge of internment was Sir William Otter, and while he was seen as a “catcher” of enemy aliens, he was, for the most part, simply following the rules and recommendations of registrars.

The most significant group to be targeted for internment were Ukrainians. It was an umbrella term referring broadly to Eastern Europeans and often included Galicians, Poles, and subjects of both Germany and Austria-Hungary. It was not the strict form of internment as seen with the Japanese during the Second World War. The internees were almost exclusively male and were to be interned until such time as they could be employed.¹² Wives and children were, however, allowed to join them if they so desired.¹³ Even so internment was a miserable existence. Camps were often overcrowded and under-supplied. Rioting was common and on a number of occasions led to the shooting of prisoners. Some of these incidences would be used against the Canadians by German propagandists. A consensus among historians is that internment

¹¹ Morton, “Sir William Otter”, 37.

¹² This originated in inherent fears of the unemployed male aliens. PC 2721 ordered the arrest of all aliens who were destitute, see Kordan 92-94.

¹³ *The Directorate of History and Heritage* Department of National Defence Treatment of Enemy Aliens During the Great War “Action Taken in Respect to Enemy Aliens”

targeted Ukrainians out of long instilled fears of the radicalization of Canada's labour force by foreign workers.¹⁴

Unfortunately for historians and champions of minority rights in Canada (including the Canadian First World War Internment Recognition Fund), the majority of documents relating to internment during the Great War were destroyed in Ottawa upon their deposit at the National Archives. For that reason, a comprehensive study of all groups is impossible. What remains are the papers of Sir William Otter and Sir Robert Borden, from which a short chronicle was written by Desmond Morton, and newspaper reports of the activities of local registry offices upon which Bohdan Kordan had to rely. Unfortunately, these reports are somewhat unreliable given the imperial propaganda agendas of English language newspapers in Southern Ontario. Historians are thus left to puzzle over matters of intent and results. Was internment primarily designed to protect frontiers from enemy sympathizers supporting an invasion force as was the case in the Second World War? Was it rooted in Canadian racial policies and social constructs? And lastly was it designed as a last resort response to the labour shortage that resulted from the race to recruit as many young men as possible for overseas service?

What can be ascertained is that the Canadian insecurity state turned inwards and the Borden government used extensive powers allotted under the War Measures Act, PC 2381 and PC 2384 to move from what Whitaker, Kealey and Parnaby called "world war

¹⁴ See Whitaker, Kealey and Parnaby, 68-71. Even the most recent works on Canadian internment focused almost exclusively on the Ukrainian male population of the camps. Panikos Panayi attributes this exclusive focus in the literature on internment in Britain (and the British Empire) to the residual Germanophobia of two world wars. While the German historians, post World War II were forced to face its historical treatment of outsiders, the British historians would never have such a discussion despite atrocities committed in South Africa, India and Pakistan to name a few, See Panayi, 3-5. In Germany this conversation was part of the process *vergangenheitsbewältigung*, badly translates "coming to terms with or dealing with the past."

to class war.”¹⁵ Meanwhile, dealing with the external threat to Canada emanating from German intelligence officers would be handled by British intelligence and to a certain extent the Americans.

The von der Goltz Defection

With the transformation of this European war into an imperial world war, came an expansion of German operations. German naval vessels the *Dresden* and the *Emden* began raiding British shipping routes and threatening port cities, while German operatives abroad were activated. Only the ineptitude of the first German spy-ring active in the United States saved Canada from attack in the opening months of the war. Less than a month into the fighting, schemes were hatched in the German Embassy, the Ritz, and clubs in New York City, to cripple the Canadian war effort before it even materialized. The first plot involved an elaborate invasion of the Canadian frontier with German reservists and gunboats but this was quickly abandoned as the logistical difficulties were too great, and the raising of a militia in the United States would violate international neutrality laws. The second was to damage Canadian infrastructure with three primary objectives: to cripple the Canadian transportation system thereby disrupting the shipment of supplies to Great Britain; to create a diplomatic incident between Canada, Great Britain and the United States, which would complicate the possibility of support for

¹⁵ See Whitaker, Kealey and Parnaby, 68-71.

Great Britain by the latter;¹⁶ and to cause a panic in Canada that would pressure the Canadian government to keep a large contingent of troops at home, thus weakening the Empire's troop strength on the Western Front.

We know of these objectives as they were contained in a statement made by Horst von der Goltz (real name Franz Wachendorf) at Scotland Yard in January 1915. Unfortunately, von der Goltz's statement is contradicted by his subsequent memoir, thus additional material is necessary to clarify both German intentions and even the sequence of events.

In August 1914, the target of Vol der Goltz's spy ring was the locks and grain elevators of the Welland Canal. Here was a suitable target that would achieve both goals of disruption and panic in a single blow. The plan was hatched by Captain Franz von Papen, the German Naval Attaché in Washington D.C. and one of his contacts, Karl Boy-Ed. The man to carry out the operation was alias Bridgeman Taylor, otherwise known as Horst von der Goltz. Von Papen would later call him a "petty blackmailer" who repeatedly siphoned money out of him while threatening to expose von Papen for fictitious subversive activities.¹⁷ Von Papen, in his own memoir, would downplay his role in intelligence and sabotage operations in North America, but described delaying the arrival of Canadian troops to Europe as a "worthwhile project."¹⁸ British intelligence

¹⁶ Preventing an Anglo-American alliance was also justified with the charge that American businesses were already violating international neutrality laws. Arms manufacturers were shipping war materials to England on commercial ships, and American banks including J.P. Morgan, were lending large sums of money to Britain for the war effort. See Howard Blum, *Dark Invasion 1915: Germany's Secret War and the Hunt for the First Terrorist Cell in America* (New York: HarperCollins, 2014), 80.

¹⁷ Franz von Papen *Memoirs* translated by Brian Connell (London: Andre Deutsch Limited, 1952), 34.

¹⁸ *Ibid*, 29 and 33-34.

files¹⁹ show that von Papen was indeed a co-conspirator, both financing operations and maintaining lines of communication with German intelligence.

As it happened, according to British intelligence documents, von der Goltz was paid handsomely by von Papen to direct a group of saboteurs, based in New York, to destroy the locks at Welland. Two of the men were veterans of the Irish independence movement who had quarrels of their own with the British Empire. They even had a newspaper man in their ranks whose job was to report on the occurrences in a manner that would terrify Canadian readers and generate sympathy in American readers. With von Papen's financing, they acquired suitcases of dynamite in New York and transported them to the Canadian border. Unfortunately for them, this is where a communication breakdown occurred. Von der Goltz and his men had no intelligence on Canada's border defence, or knowledge of any protection placed on strategic targets. Boys, evidently, were sent ahead to scout the Canadian security measures but were caught for trespassing. At this point the mission was aborted as von der Goltz did not receive further instructions from von Papen through his messenger. It had also become public knowledge, against orders, that the first Canadian Corps had left Valcartier and was on its way to the front, meaning von der Goltz's mission had now lost one of its main objectives.²⁰ Von der Goltz returned to visit von Papen and was asked if he could leave the country. Von der Goltz suspected that he and his men were under observation by American authorities. Von Papen confirmed this but assured him that they had instructions not to intervene.

¹⁹ National Archives (Kew) KV 2/519 Declassified October 2001.

²⁰ This information leak has been described as the most flagrant example of poor security in the history of the Canadian Army, see Elliott, 23.

Nevertheless, further action by this group was deemed too risky and the group was suspended shortly thereafter.

Von der Goltz, after spending the first four months of the war in the United States, travelled to the United Kingdom via Holland on November 14, 1914. After receiving a report from the navy that a suspected spy “Bridgeman Taylor” was on his way to England, British Intelligence sent a watcher to track his movements while in the UK.²¹ This watcher soon reported that “Taylor” had spent time on the coast and one night had met with a number of men on the beach before sending them away on a rowboat to what was thought to be a U-boat anchored offshore.²²

After only four months of active duty for the Kaiser, von der Goltz was detained in England on charges of failing to register and travelling with a forged passport.²³ Based on the information attained from the watcher, Scotland Yard also had good reason to believe that he had come to Britain to spy, though they had yet to secure enough physical evidence for a conviction. Von der Goltz had travelled to England with no paperwork, no written orders, and no ashes were found in the fireplace of his hotel room. During his debriefing, von der Goltz provided information about German Zeppelin raids on Great Britain, (more than a month before this was to occur) as well as vital information about German raiding operations in the South Atlantic and Indian Ocean, including the whereabouts of the German cruiser *Emden* and how the *Leipzig* was continuously supplied with coal.²⁴

²¹ These files were deposited in The Nation Archives (Kew) HO 144/21710

²² Harold Brust, *I Guarded Kings: The Memoirs of a Political Police Officer* (New York: Hillman-Curl, Inc., 1936), 127-128.

²³ The National Archives (Kew)KV2/519 “The Case of Horst von der Goltz” Metropolitan Police Office, New Scotland Yard, February 2, 1916.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

While in custody, von der Goltz was indeed on a mission, a mission to save his own life. Under British military law, spying in Great Britain was a capital offence and the standard means of execution was by firing squad in the Tower of London.²⁵ As luck would have it, papers, which further incriminated him were taken from von Papen by British intelligence officers at Falmouth. Among them cheques made out to one “Bridgeman Taylor,” the alias of von der Goltz. Here was the evidence Scotland Yard needed to implicate him as a spy. Cooperating seemed the only way to avoid the firing squad. To further secure himself, he would claim in his first statement that he personally stopped the operation in Canada and felt betrayed and disenchanted with von Papen which inspired him to talk.

The result is a report with a number of discrepancies that the debriefing officer could not help but notice. If, for example, von der Goltz personally prevented the sabotage operation, why did he also claim that the attempt was foiled by a lack of knowledge of Canadian defence forces? Why did he point out that the mission was deemed unnecessary after the First Canadian Contingent left Valcartier? And why did he not receive the zero hour go ahead from von Papen? Also, why would he remain silent on the whereabouts of the dynamite that he carried with him to Niagara Falls? He also never explained why all operations under him, in Canada and the United States, were terminated, leaving the question why did von Papen send him back to Europe? In one story, he was to be sent to Turkey, in another, he was going back to Germany via Italy and, in the end, he did neither and went first to Holland and then Great Britain.

²⁵ See Leonard Sellers, *Shot in the Tower: The Story of the Spies Executed in the Tower of London during the First World War* (London: Leo Cooper, 1997).

After providing limited information to Scotland Yard, von der Goltz chose two defence strategies. The first was to admit his activities in the United States, including travelling with a false passport, transporting dynamite without a permit, and conspiracy to disturb the peace.²⁶ Secondly, he claimed that he had not come to Britain to spy but to either defect or to seek refuge. Both these statements ran counter to what was said previously. His apparent cooperation and information proved valuable, thus von der Goltz was never formally charged with espionage. Furthermore, he was still a wanted man in the United States and it was the intention of the British to hand him over to the American authorities. Thus, von der Goltz was spared the death penalty and escorted by British agent Harold Brust to New York. Upon his arrival in New York, Brust recalled that von der Goltz admitted that he had indeed travelled to England with enough paper work to get himself convicted. Knowing he was being followed the night he had met his contacts from the German U-boat and later that night, proceeded to eat his papers rather than burn them, and laughed in Brust's face over this small victory.²⁷ Whether factual, tall tales of a German agent with a history of inconsistency, or the fireside story of a British agent, it remains true that Goltz had no paperwork on him, or in his safe deposit box in Holland that could have convicted him. The destruction of papers by fire or digestion made the job of the intelligence officer even more difficult and by extension, that of the intelligence historian.

In 1917, von der Goltz's expanded his statements and debriefing documents into a memoir. Written after America's entry into the Great War, von der Goltz's agenda was to frighten the Americans, claiming that the German spies in the United States were well

²⁶ The National Archives (Kew) KV2/519 "Statement."

²⁷ Brust, 134-135.

financed and as prepared as ever to cripple America's war efforts, and that the German U-boats would destroy every American transport. Furthermore, the effort required by the Americans to deal with the threat was too great for them to handle and yet were vital to an American victory.

To fit the defiant tone of the book, von der Goltz re-wrote the history of the Welland Canal plot, the reason why the plot was abandoned, and why he left the United States. He reiterated that by the time he had all the supplies he needed, the Canadian troops had left Valcartier, however, this time, he wrote that he assumed the plan was to be carried out anyway. He then said he had been recalled by German Intelligence (*Abteilung* Section III b) who were requesting first-hand information about the state of affairs between the United States and Mexico and von der Goltz volunteered to return to Germany via Genoa.²⁸ It is apparent that once the threat of execution at the hands of the British had passed and von der Goltz was "safely" in the hands of American authorities, he abandoned the noble story he told British Intelligence of personally stopping the German sabotage attempt. He would also abandon the story that he had no intention of continuing to operate as a spy and that the information he initially offered was false and merely a means to gain the trust of his captors. His stay in England was temporary. His true objective was to travel back to the United States via Britain to raise a new army of saboteurs to cripple the Canadian war effort. He also admitted to knowing nothing about the *Emden*, the *Leipzig* or the Zeppelin raids.

Von der Goltz was finished, but his accomplices and successors were not. The raid plan, though scrapped in August 1914, would be revisited on several occasions and

²⁸ Capt. Horst Von der Goltz. *My Adventures as a German Secret Agent* (New York: Robert M. McBride & Company, 1917), 170.

rumours would spread across Canada. Such whisper campaigns were an integral part of the grand strategy of the German spy rings to spread fear.

In Canada, the Welland Canal Force was alerted to the situation in August 1914 through British diplomatic channels, and extra precautions were taken to protect the strategically important waterway. The Canal protection force put on active duty included the 19th Regiment, the 44th Lincoln and Welland Regiment and A Squadron of the 2nd Dragoons. The Dragoons patrolled the roadways while the infantry units were placed on guard duty at locks, tunnels, bridges, and harbour entrances. Communication between the patrols and the guard positions was made possible by use of the canal's own telephone system. To assist in security, captains of ships passing through the canal were expected to declare if there were any Germans or Austrians on board.²⁹

In September came the discovery of dynamite in Port Robinson, north of Welland and east of Niagara Falls, weeks after von der Goltz's mission was aborted. The discovery was made by members of the 44th regiment who had been charged with protecting the canal.³⁰ Speaking for the Officer Commanding, his Adjutant said it had been buried 100 yards away from the canal by a disgruntled American who had since disappeared. He then speculated that this was not where the dynamite was to be detonated. It was stored here until needed. On further inspection, it was found that this was precisely where the Canal was most vulnerable.³¹ Was this the dynamite used in the plot involving von der Goltz? It would be impossible to prove definitively, however, it

²⁹ LAC RG24 4281 31-1-8 MD2 vol. 1 "to A.A.G 2nd Division."

³⁰ This task would later be taken on by a special unit of the Dominion Police see Lieutenant Colonel William A. Smy "Guarding Niagara: The Welland Canal Force, 1914-1918" (2012): 2.

³¹ LAC RG24 4281 31-1-8 MD2 vol. 1 "From OC 44th Regiment Welland to OC Welland Canal Force" September 30, 1914.

must be noted that in his defection papers and memoirs, he never disclosed where the dynamite was stored or where it ended up when the plot was aborted.

The map drawn by the intelligence officer is vague as it was only intended to call attention to the proximity of the dynamite to the canal. Using historic maps, QGIS and data compiled by the Brock University Welland Canals Project, it is possible to reconstruct this section of the canal and determine the precise location. (figure 4.2)

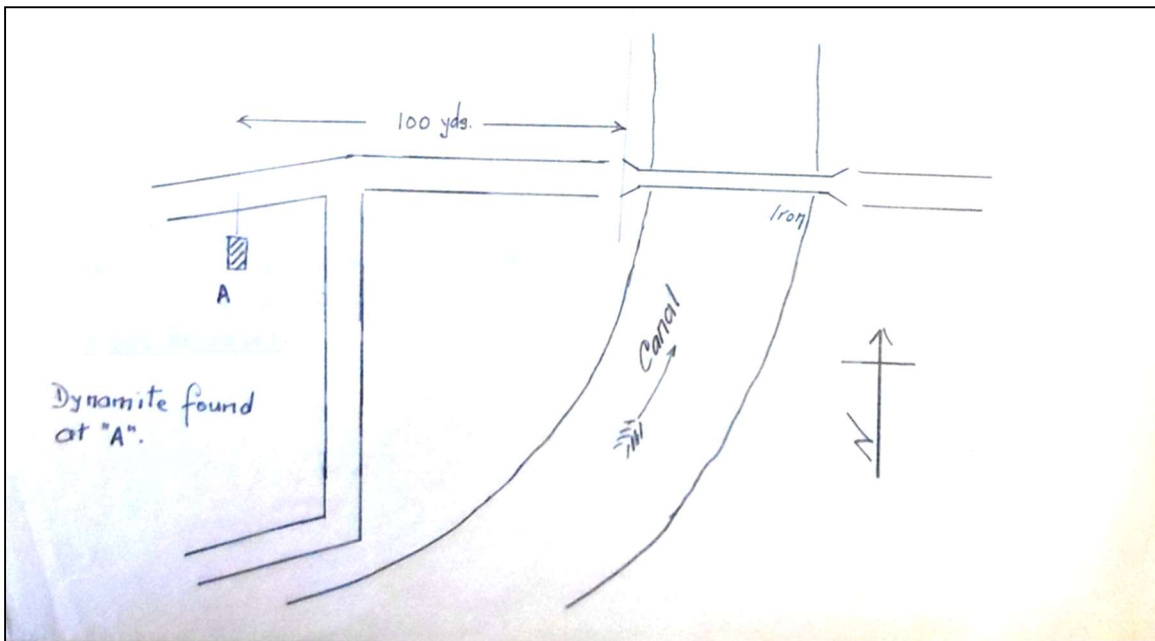


Figure 4.1 Map drawn September 30, 1914 (Source: LAC RG24 4281 31-1-8 MD2 vol. 1)

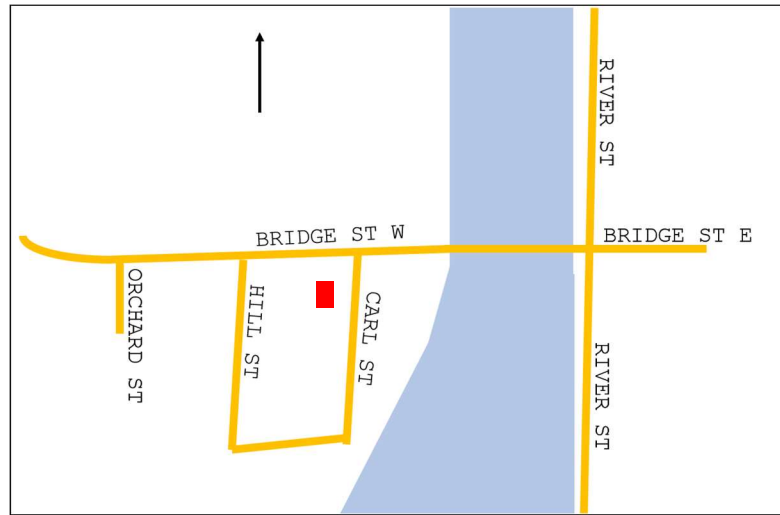


Figure 4.2 Bridge 12, Port Robinson (Sources: Brock University Welland Canal Virtual Project Created in Arc QGIS)

The dynamite itself was buried on private property on the West side of Bridge Street between Carl and Hill Street in Port Robinson. If this was indeed the dynamite to be used by von der Goltz, at this location there are two potential targets. The first is the bridge itself (Bridge 12)³² and the second is the Welland River Lock that connected the Welland River (formerly Chippewa Creek) just north of the bridge in what is now Port Robinson Park. Public information on the discovery was limited. In November 1914, The *St. Catharines Standard* reported that dynamite had been discovered in Hamilton and a number of Germans had been arrested.³³

Several attacks on Canadian railways occurred in the spring of 1915 and were recorded in the official history of the Canadian intelligence service. This record compiled, from Duguid's unfinished official history is limited to military records.

³² The bridge at this location was destroyed when it was rammed accidentally by the ferry *Steelton*, in August 1974.

³³ Smy, 44.

Furthermore, it covers only the first two years of the war. Elliot's Summary is as follows;

1914

August 8 – An attempt to blow up the Montreal Light,

Heat and Power, works

August 12 – A grain elevator burnt in Saint John

August 16 – Attempted sabotage of a radio station at

Sault Ste. Marie

August 24 – Attempted bombing of the canal at Cornwall

1915

February 2 – A German reservist, Werner Horn, blew up

the center span of the bridge at Vanceboro, Maine

(it was repaired in six hours and Horn was caught)

April 29 – Two separate bridges damaged by fire in

Vancouver

June – 17 separate attempts to derail trains in Manitoba

June 22 - A sentry at the Windsor armouries found a

suitcase containing a clock fuse and 26 sticks of dynamite

June – A bomb partially wrecked the Peabody Overall

Plant, Walkerville. (The German Agent responsible

was caught and sentenced to life imprisonment)³⁴

³⁴ See Elliot, 51 and Duguid, 34-35.

The precise number of operatives and acts of sabotage committed in Canada is debated among historians. The reason for the discrepancies is that many incidences were labeled accidents. These include fires in munitions factories due to carelessness, classic vandalism, or labour unrest.³⁵ It also includes the fire that destroyed the Parliament buildings, which was suspected to have been the work of German agents, and the Halifax explosion which has been retroactively attributed to German spies in popular culture.

11 Bridge Street

A new mission began in New York for von Papen when it became apparent that moving German reservists from North America to Europe was going to be a problem. There was very little he could do to help German reservists living in Canada for they were disallowed by law to leave the country. For reservists living in America, or any who managed to slip out of Canada, there were other obstacles. The Royal Navy was determined to stop the flow of German men across the Atlantic. Ships were stopped, searched, and passports were checked. Anyone caught with a false passport was arrested and interned in Britain. Papen's first solution was to purchase passports from sailors of neutral countries and distribute them among the German reservists. The man hired to direct the operation was Hans von Wedell, a lawyer and former officer in the German army. Von Papen's check book recovered by British Intelligence showed that, between

³⁵Grant W. Grams "Karl Respa and German Espionage in Canada During World War One" *Journal of Military and Strategic Studies* 8 no. 1 (2005), 15.

September 21, 1914, and December 8, 1914, von Wedell was paid a total of \$2,190 for his services.³⁶

Wedell and his assistant opened an office at 11 Bridge Street in New York, one block away from von Papen's office, where reservists, for a price and a reference letter from von Papen or other German officers, could acquire the passport they needed to slip past the British. Starting in December 1914, American passports presented a new problem for von Wedell. While changing information on passports from neutral countries like Spain and Sweden was easy, new American passports were to include a photograph.³⁷ Consequently, travelling with an American passport with a photo guaranteed apprehension by the British. Since the practice of attaining genuine passports under an assumed identity was years away, the solution was to acquire a handful of the new American passports and use them to create forgeries. A photograph of the reserve officer was then affixed and he could pass as an American. Von Wedell's work, however, was nearing its end. As described in a letter from von Wedell to Ambassador Count von Bernstorff, von Wedell learned that the Department of Justice in the United States was watching him. Furthermore, he had heard that one of his clients, Dr. Stark had been caught by the British with one of his forged passports and it would eventually be traced back to number 11 Bridge Street.³⁸ Soon thereafter, von Papen ordered von Wedell to cease operations and go into hiding. He fled to Cuba and wrote Count von

³⁶ Cmd 8174 "Selection from Papers found in the possession of Captain von Papen, Falmouth, January 2 & 3, 1916" His Majesty's Stationary Office, 1916 (Cheque numbers 21,56,57,59,62,65,66, additionally Frau von Wedall was paid \$800 on December 22, cheque number 22 in *Ibid*, "Analysis of certain of Captain von Papen's cheques between September 1, 1914, and December 21, 1915"

³⁷ John F. Dooley. *Codes, Cyphers and Spies: Tales of Military Intelligence in World War I* (Galesburg: Copernicus Books, 2016), 164.

³⁸ "Hans von Wedell to Imperial German Ambassador Count von Bernstorff, Washington" letter reproduced in Nigel West, *Historical Dictionary of World War I Intelligence* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2014), 333-334.

Bernstorff explaining the situation.³⁹ His self-imposed exile would spare him prosecution by the Americans and the British, as the forgeries were traced back to him when von Papen's check book was recovered by British Intelligence.

Watching the Docks and Shipping

In addition to planning further actions in Canada and sneaking reservists into Europe, von Papen's men also maintained a close watch on international shipping, troop movements, and shipments of war materials to Great Britain from Canada and the United States. Cover for these operations proved surprisingly easy. The New York docks were crowded with German sailors trapped in America as their ships could not leave the safety of the harbour. Royal Navy patrols in the Atlantic had made them prisoners in a neutral country. Furthermore, many dockyard workers were Irish and sympathetic to the movement for Irish independence, Sinn Fein, and proved willing to render assistance to any anti-British operation. Von Papen would later deny direct involvement, but his men travelled on board the passenger liner *Lusitania* on several occasions, and reported cargo manifests in hopes of catching the British violating international laws. This was achieved on several occasions. According to letters sent from von Papen to German Intelligence, Section III B of the German General Staff, and intercepted by British Intelligence, von Papen had men observing ship arrivals and departures, troop movements, and arms deals. In December 1914, for example, von Papen reported that the British were ordering massive amounts of arms (50 million cartridges and Remington repeating rifles),

³⁹ Curiously, in another account, von Wedell was reported to have been captured by the British but drowned when his ship bound for Britain struck a mine. Tibor Koeves, *Satan in a Top Hat: A Biography of Franz von Papen* (New York: Alliance Book Corporation, 1941), 9.

believing them to be on route to India. It was hoped that this news about India would aid Germany in the propaganda war for American sympathy since this was in violation of The Hague convention. In the same communication, he alerted the General Staff that the British had reallocated the *Franconia* (which he misidentified as belonging to the White Star Line when in fact it was owned by Cunard) to troop ship duty in Montreal.⁴⁰ It also implied that von Papen had contacts in Canada, having been able to ascertain not only that a second corps of Canadians was preparing to leave, but that they were underequipped and hastily trained. Von Papen interpreted this to mean that the British were pressuring the colonies for more men.

The major instance for which von Papen is remembered in the United States, is his involvement in the *Lusitania* disaster. On May 7, 1915, the Cunard liner *Lusitania*, still conducting regular passenger service while her sister ship *Mauritania* was converted into a troopship, was torpedoed and sunk by U-20 off Old Head, Kinsale, Ireland. Von Papen's men watching the Cunard docks in New York had reported a cargo of munitions on board. In his memoir, von Papen defended his actions by claiming that his message (of May 3, 1915), that British ships were carrying war materials, which included a special note on what the *Lusitania* was carrying, did not reach Germany until after the ship was sunk.⁴¹ In another memoir of the period, Captain von Rintelen, a naval intelligence officer, claimed that he and von Papen were misinformed (by his own admission), that not only was the *Lusitania* carrying war materials, but that the ship had also been secretly

⁴⁰ The National Archives (Kew) KV2/519 "translation of intercepted letter addressed to Great General Staff (Section III b) Berlin" December 7 1914.

⁴¹ Papen, 42.

armed with naval guns in order to fire on stalking U-Boats.⁴² The delay in communicating this information to the German High Command resulted from using mail service rather than wireless, out of fear the message would be intercepted. Whether the U-boat commander ever received word that the *Lusitania* was carrying war materials remains a mystery. It is however, a moot point. The German Embassy had issued a warning in the major American newspapers to passengers travelling on ships flying neutral flags that even they were subject to attack once entering the war zone. The *Lusitania*, a British owned ship, was at the time flying the American Stars and Stripes in order to continue uninterrupted passenger service. Never the less, von Papen was labelled a menace to the allied war effort and a scourge on humanity, he even earned the nickname “Satan in a Top Hat.” He was deemed a threat to the British war effort as well as Canadian and American lives.⁴³

By December 1915, von Papen and Karl Boy-Ed, were considered by the American government to be too much of a liability given their reputation for violating neutrality laws.⁴⁴ As a result, on December 10, The American Secretary of State Robert Lansing formally informed the German Ambassador that von Papen and Boy-Ed were no longer *personae gratae* and that they should be recalled immediately. The German ambassador received the order with enthusiasm and arrangements were made for their

⁴² Captain von Rintelen. *The Dark Invader: Wartime Reminiscences of a German Naval Intelligence Officer*. (London: Frank Cass, 1998), 117. First published in 1933.

⁴³ “Satan in a Top Hat” was the title of one of the slanderous biographies written by Tibor Koeves during the Second World War.

⁴⁴ The Americans were not alone, it has been suggested that the Germans also considered him a liability given his record of failure, Richard W. Rolfs, S.J. *The Sorcerer’s Apprentice: The Life of Franz von Papen* (New York: University Press of America, 1996), 13.

passage back to Germany through Holland by December 18.⁴⁵ It would be on this trip that the ship would be stopped at Falmouth on January 2, 1916 and sensitive documents in the possession of von Papen were recovered by British Intelligence. These were the documents the British used to charge von der Goltz who was already in custody. The other man to be recalled was von Rintelen who had hoped to cause havoc among British merchant shipping. Von Rintelen, however, considered Papen, in his own memoir to have been “not quite up to the task.”⁴⁶ Likewise, von Papen and Boy-Ed considered von Rintelen to be an interloper.⁴⁷ Eventually, after traveling to Sweden, von Rintelen was captured by the British at Falmouth and returned to the United States on charges of violating neutrality laws.

The British maintained their watch on von Papen for another 30 years, and by 1945 had accumulated two large files on him and were ready to prosecute him at Nuremberg. The British hoped to prosecute him, as the Chancellor, who handed Germany to Hitler, and then willingly served in his government as Vice-Chancellor and ambassador to Turkey. Much of their case was based on his character and his treachery during the Great War.

More by chance than by design, von Papen failed to coordinate any successful attacks on Canadian soil. His accomplishments, in his tenure in the United States, were limited to transmitting sensitive information on British shipping from Canada and the

⁴⁵ The Communications were compiled and published “Recall of Captain von Papen, Military Attaché and Captain Boy-Ed, Naval Attaché, of the German Embassy at Washington” *The American Journal of International Law*, 10 No. 4 Supplement: Diplomatic Correspondence and Commerce (October, 1916): 363-366. Information was also made public to the Americans. Earl Evelyn Sperry and Willis Mason West “German Plots and Intrigues in the United States During the Period of Neutrality” Committee on Public Information, 1918.

⁴⁶ Von Rintelen, 90-91.

⁴⁷ Francis MacDonnell, *Insidious Foes: The Axis Fifth Column & the American Home Front* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 15.

United States. At the very least, that was the official findings by British intelligence. American newspapers, and Canadian newspapers becoming part of the mechanism of the insecurity state, on the other hand, would “find” the German spy-ring in the United States responsible for further attacks and one at the very heart of the Canadian government.

“Mr. Speaker, the Building is on Fire!”

Fears of German sabotage, at the very heart of the matter of German-Canadian loyalty, had been instilled in Canadians ever since it was first reported that a German agent attempted to destroy the Welland Canal and had been further electrified by the sinking of the *Lusitania* and allegations that spying was involved in the disaster. As pointed out by historian Robert Rutherford, fear was extended to local communities by naming well known landmarks as potential targets for German saboteurs with the assistance of local German aliens. This was an exercise in instilling in local populations, a sense of familiarity and locality with the perceived danger.⁴⁸

On the night of February 14-15, 1915, terror spread through Ottawa. Just after 10pm, four aircraft were sighted over Brockville heading for the capital. They could be heard but not seen until the lead plane dropped a flare to guide the flight path of the others. At 11:15pm orders were passed by Percy Sherwood for a blackout on Parliament Hill and the Rideau Hall, lights were extinguished and curtains drawn.⁴⁹ Apparently the planes had come from New York State without filing a proper flight plan with Canadian authorities. Less than a week later, another miscommunication caused a similar state of

⁴⁸ Rutherford, 133-134.

⁴⁹ “Ottawa Feared Aeroplane Raid and Capital was in Darkness” *BDT* February 15, 1915, 1.

panic, this time with an aeroplane flying from Buffalo to Toronto.⁵⁰ Here were two instances where the worst-case scenario was instantly imagined. False alarms this time, but perhaps there was a German plot against the capital.

One year later, on a cold February night on Parliament Hill in 1916, the House of Commons was in session debating a fishery bill. In the adjacent reading room everything was at is should be, for the most part. It was standard procedure to have two guards on duty, one at the Commons entrance and one at the Senate entrance. At 8:30pm, however, the Senate guard was removed for unspecified reasons.⁵¹ After 9:00pm, smoke and flames were sighted by Samuel Francis Glass who was conducting research in the reading room. He immediately ran out and found Constable Moore who also saw the flames and sounded the alert.⁵² Meanwhile, Glass raced into the chamber with the smoke behind him and yelled “Mr. Speaker, the building is on fire!” The fire proved too aggressive to be brought under control by the constable and guards armed with fire extinguishers, as the flames climbed the heavily varnished pine paneling of the walls and ceiling. Desperate fire fighters, and a snap decision on the part of library clerk MacCormac to close the fireproof doors, saved the library.⁵³ After the roof of the Centre Block collapsed, the fire spread to the Victoria clock tower. At 1:21 am the bell fell. Prime Minister Borden escaped through smoke filled corridors but had not had time to recover his winter coat; a

⁵⁰ “Saw Aeroplane in Buffalo” *BDT* February 19, 1915, 1

⁵¹ Royal Commission RE: Parliament Buildings Fire at Ottawa, February 3, 1916 Report of the Commission and Evidence Sessional Paper No. 72a 1916 (Ottawa), 8.

⁵² Don Nixon, *The Other Side of the Hill: Behind the Scenes Stories of Parliament Hill* (Carleton Place, 2012), 161.

⁵³ The other portion of the building to survive relatively intact was the 1904-1914 North-West quarter expansion because of its steel frame construction.

decision he immediately regretted.⁵⁴ In all, seven people were killed and the Centre Block was reduced to icy rubble.

The immediate question in the minds of the nation was how did the fire start? News spread quickly that the most likely cause was a German saboteur. The next day in *The Globe and Mail* the headline included the phrase “Fire the Act of Alien Foes?” Curiously enough, the article that appeared under this heading and on the next page never actually addressed that issue and instead summarized events of the previous night. The only passage relative to the headline was one sentence, “all kinds of ugly rumors are afloat as to the origin of the fire.”⁵⁵ Meanwhile, a journalist working in Rhode Island, John R. Rathon, said he had received news from an informant in the German embassy that the Canadian Parliament buildings would be destroyed within three weeks. Rathon never revealed the identity of his informant and did not testify before the Royal Commission investigating the cause of the fire. An abridged version of Rathon’s story, however, appeared in *the Globe* on the same day as the “Aliens” story with some vagueness, as his name was not even mentioned.⁵⁶ The next day, the story was expanded and included reports that explosions were heard at the time of the fire which (in the opinion of the editors) was not impossible.⁵⁷ Curiously, Borden in his memoir recalled hearing similar sounds of explosions in the corridor, only he did not consider this conclusive evidence.⁵⁸ He would also recall that he had never given rumours of

⁵⁴ *Robert Laird Borden: His Memoirs volume II, 1916-1920* edited by Henry Borden (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1969), 3.

⁵⁵ “Fire the Act of Alien Foes?” *The Globe and Mail* February 4, 1916, 1-2

⁵⁶ “German U.S. Ambassador Responsible for the Fire” *ibid.*

⁵⁷ “Seven People were Killed in the Ottawa Fire, An Arrest on Suspicion, The Library is Saved” and “Others Talk of Bombs” *Globe and Mail* February 5, 1916, 1-2. Similar to the day before, the Arrest story was not followed up in the article.

⁵⁸ Borden, *Memoirs*, 3. Suspicions of a bomb plot can be found in LAC RG 24 vol 2020.

explosives and sabotage any serious consideration and instead believed that the most likely cause of the fire was the careless disposal of cigar butts in the reading room.⁵⁹

Within a week of the fire other newspapers printed stories about German saboteurs and arsonists. The exception was *The Berliner Journal*. The *Journal* was able to avoid printing inflammatory remarks about saboteurs in its report on the fire on February 10, by virtue of the fact that as a weekly publication the editors had the time to investigate the story properly.⁶⁰

This renewed anti-German rhetoric was also echoed in the minds of other men who had testified before the official inquiry into the disaster. Albert Sévigny, a Quebec Conservative MP who later became Speaker, testified that a shifty looking foreigner had repeatedly visited the Parliament buildings and was in the vicinity of the reading rooms on the night of the fire. Sévigny was convinced that this man was a German saboteur responsible for the fire. At one point the man in question even asked Sévigny for permission to take photographs of the building's interior. Fearing a security breach, he refused the mysterious man access. He was later identified as a French photographer who had visited Parliament Hill on several previous occasions to take photographs.⁶¹

Contrary to public suspicions, the Royal Commission could find no conclusive evidence that the fire was started intentionally.⁶² In a more recent study, the commission and the Dominion Police were attacked for not having conducted a proper investigation by the American historian Heribert von Felitzsch. He theorized, admittedly with very

⁵⁹ Borden, *Memoirs*, 5.

⁶⁰ "Eröbunug des Dominion Parlaments" *Berliner Journal* (February 10, 1915), 2.

⁶¹ Royal Commission evidence pg 149.

⁶² *Ibid*, 9. Commission. Additionally, Maj. Elliot never referenced the Parliament fire as a potential result of German sabotage in his official history.

little evidence, that if the fire was set by a German saboteur, the most likely device was the “pencil bomb” developed by Walter Scheele who was a weapons specialist employed by von Papen in 1915.⁶³ Its design purpose was to burn cargo on board supply ships since slipping enough explosives onboard to sink them was deemed impossible.

While conducting its investigation, the commission learned of a curious incident in the reading room which to them, gave credence to the idea that the fire was an accident caused by carelessness. William G. Weichel, M.P. for Waterloo North met with Lieut. Col. Lohead of the 118th Battalion on Parliament Hill to discuss a newspaper story regarding the Berlin Trades and Labour Council and, after lighting two cigars, walked to the reading room to examine the *Berlin Daily Telegraph* and the *Berlin News-Record*. As they read, cigar ashes and embers drifted onto the bottom shelf where newspapers were stored and this started a fire. Before it could spread to the floor below, or the shelf above, Lohead and Weichel managed to pull the papers onto the floor and stamp out the fire.⁶⁴ In hindsight, it is fortunate that they had managed to extinguish this first fire, knowing how quickly fire spread through the buildings from the reading room. The consequences of a member of the Canadian military in command of a battalion raised in a German community, and a Conservative MP, who staunchly spoke of the loyalty of his fellow German Canadians, destroying the center of the Canadian government in a jittery country at war would have been an unqualified disaster. It is a curiosity that after this fire, no extra precautions were recommended in the reading room and quite the coincidence that

⁶³ The mechanism is described in Heribert von Felitzsch *The Secret War on the United States: A Tale of Sabotage, Labor Unrest, and Border Troubles* (Ammissvile: Henselstone Verlag, 2015), 27-29.

⁶⁴ “Testimony of W.G. Weichel M.P.” and “Testimony of Colonel Lohead of the 118th Battalion” in Royal Commission, 139-140.

the fire that entirely destroyed the building should originate in the same place less than a week later.

A more recent investigation by Tom Korski concurred that the most likely cause was faulty wiring in the desk lamps.⁶⁵ Today the smoking accident story has also endured, due in part, to the fact that two men from Waterloo started a blaze a week before the disaster. Because the Royal Commission never ruled on the exact cause of the fire, the story of a German spy, or at the very least a sympathiser, deliberately destroying Parliament as an act of terrorism is a recurring theme in popular literature.

Preparations for Attack in Southern Ontario

Responses to wartime threats to Canadian security in the border region have presented a number of challenges to historians beyond the limitations of the available archival material. In response, there has been a trend towards studying the transnational experiences of life in the border regions. In a recent work, Brandon R. Dimmel has argued that a cross-border culture between workers in Windsor and Detroit created a common sense of belonging and any increase in border security was perceived as an intrusion on their way of life.⁶⁶ While Dimmel did not make extensive use of Department of Militia and Defence records, it can still be understood that their presence in Windsor

⁶⁵ Tom Korski "Burning Down the House: When Canada's Parliament was Destroyed by Fire, A Jittery Wartime Nation First Suspected a Hun Conspiracy, the Blamed it on a Smouldering Cigar, A Fresh Look at the Evidence Suggests Another Matter" *Postmedia News*, (January 31, 2011).

⁶⁶ See Brandon R. Dimmel, *Engaging the Line: How the Great War Shaped the Canada-US Border* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2016), 24-25.

was minimal and the only enforcing presence was that of the Dominion Police.⁶⁷ The question remains why would this be the case?

An examination of the files labeled “defence of the frontiers” shows that intelligence gathering was key to assessing the threats of invasion and sabotage in Southern Ontario. The man in charge of Military District 1 was Colonel Shannon and it was he who planned the defence of Southern Ontario. It was standard procedure for the officers commanding the military districts to appoint an intelligence officer to aid in this process. In August 1914, Shannon received orders from the Militia Council in Ottawa to appoint an intelligence officer;

I beg to suggest that it might be found advisable if Officers Commanding Divisions could have the services of a Secret Service Officer to aid him in investigating and dealing with reports made to him from time to time as to the movements and actions of German and Austrian Officers and Reservists, as well as that of any suspected characters or gatherings, and in order to enable the Officer Commanding Division to make full and complete reports of any such matters.⁶⁸

These orders would be followed to the letter in the military districts where the commanding officers deemed it necessary. Military District 2, for example, was so large and so ethnically diverse, officers would be deployed throughout the war. In Military District 1, on the other hand, Captain G.N. Weeks, the incumbent intelligence officer concluded his tenure in September 1914, and would not be replaced for the duration of the war, except for a brief two-month period from July to September 1917.⁶⁹

⁶⁷ *Ibid*, 59-60.

⁶⁸ LAC RG 24 vol 4262 MD1 c-252 Protection of the Frontiers “Secretary, Militia Council to Officer Commanding 1st Division” August 13, 1914.

⁶⁹ See Elliott, 578.

While Colonel Shannon did not see fit to deploy an intelligence officer to observe home grown threats, he *did* deploy watchers into the United States to monitor the German communities there. Standing in sharp contrast to the commanding officer of Military District 2 (and even Australia's German populated Military District 4), he was content to rely on local police forces, which his orders allowed. In May 1916, he would receive disturbing reports from Cleveland and New York that German reservists as well as Australians, Hungarians and Poles, no longer able to depart for Europe, had amassed a well-led fighting force. The anonymous report claimed they were well armed, and secretly conducting drills. That same report claimed that American authorities were working to quietly quell such activities.⁷⁰ There were also concerns about the potential for an attack by Irish nationals in the same area.⁷¹ Many of these reports would be dismissed as rumors or German propaganda. The mass movement of Germans and Austrians from Minnesota to Detroit, for example, was dismissed. They had been drawn to Detroit en masse by the promise of employment and higher wage prospects.⁷²

By 1917, the Canadian forces stationed in Southern Ontario, to be called upon in the event of a massive raid or invasion, consisted of two depot batteries and four overseas battalions at nearly full strength, including the 122nd of Galt which had been called upon to suppress the riot in Berlin/Kitchener the night of the municipal election. Their primary concern however, was not with the German communities in Ontario. Their perceived threat was foreign and their actions were at best precautionary. Briefing documents sent

⁷⁰ LAC RG 24 vol 4262 MD1 Protection of the Frontiers "extract of report dated 8th May 1916."

⁷¹ LAC RG 24 vol 4262 MD1 c-315 HQC 95-2-13 Protection of the Frontiers "From the Chief of the General Staff, Canadian Militia to The Officer Commanding Military District No. 1" May 10, 1916.

⁷² LAC RG 24 vol 4262 MD1 HQC 965 Protection of the Frontiers "Memo to Col. Shannon" May 19, 1916.

to Major-General Gwatkin show that his officers felt that by 1917 a raid was highly unlikely.⁷³ Nevertheless, arrangements were made for the military to quickly commandeer rail and auto transportation in the district and to seize control of the wireless stations on a moment's notice if necessary.⁷⁴

The final preparations concerned points of deployment for defence forces based on the most likely places for any engagement on the frontier to occur. Shannon's officers concluded that the most likely points of departure for invaders from the United States would be Port Huron Michigan, Detroit Michigan, and Cleveland Ohio. The crossing points on the Detroit River were also noted; between Point Edward and Port Lambton, between Amherstburg and Windsor, and across Lake Erie to Port Burwell, Port Stanley, Rond'Eau and Leamington. South-east of Lake St. Claire was deemed too swampy and hazardous for a successful crossing.⁷⁵ There remained one issue which Colonel Shannon's documents did not address. Was the local immigrant population likely to support an invasion through intelligence gathering and acts of sabotage?

Conclusion

Nikolai was right, German intelligence and sabotage operations in Canada and the United States were indeed poorly organized. If anything, German Intelligence achieved the opposite of its goals by swaying the United States to join the war on the side of the Entente by striking fear with acts of sabotage, an unrestricted U-boat campaign, and the

⁷³ LAC RG 24 vol 4262 MD1 c-315 HQC 95-2-13 Protection of the Frontiers "Colonel Shannon to Major General Gwatkin" March 3, 1917, 1.

⁷⁴ *Ibid*, 2.

⁷⁵ LAC RG 24 vol 4262 MD1 c-252 Protection of the Frontiers "Officer Administering 1st Divisional Area to Chief of General Staff"

Zimmerman telegram. Consequently, Colonel Shannon in Military District 1, on the front lines of the potential invasion of Canada, saw no reason to worry and his decision was not due to neglect, but rather because he assessed it was not necessary. The following chapter examines the effects of Shannon's decision in contrasts to the methods used in Toronto. The result is a marked break from the popular tales of spies and saboteurs like Horst von der Goltz, career intelligence men like Colonel Nikolai, and high-profile men like Franz von Papen, to stories of individuals sometimes lost to history; newspaper men, teachers, librarians, average citizens, police officers and lone recruits in the CEF. Their stories and the power structures of the society in which they lived are all recoverable through the lens of intelligence history. All the more so where the usual practice of leaving intelligence to the military was neglected and substituted with the traditional power structures of the liberal order in communities like Berlin.

Liberal conceptions of the relationship between society and the individual were not universal. In Berlin/Kitchener, the soldiers of the 118th Battalion, when questioned about the Concordia Club, wondered where the government and military authorities were when reports of German disloyalty were circulating. They wondered why the insecurity state had not come to Berlin when it had so clearly arrived in larger centres. Countering real and perceived threats was a matter for the military authorities. Colonel Shannon deployed his watchers to the United States. How "homegrown threats" were handled was another matter, which ultimately depended on the social structures and the state of the liberal order in the specific communities involved.

Chapter 5: Canadian Intelligence and the Perceived German Enemy

I venture to say that not one percent of the persons who are engaged in spying for the German Government at the present time are either of German birth or descent.

-Horst von der Goltz¹

These words, spoken by a German spy turned defector at the beginning of the war, undermines the central focus of the slander campaigns against Canadians of German ancestry. It confirms that the vast majority of the accusations of disloyalty or collaboration, and the use of enemy aliens for spying and sabotage, are not based on empirical evidence as much as emotions. Othering of the Canadian of German ancestry in Ontario's newspapers was a relatively new phenomenon and it was fundamentally illiberal. From within the perspective of the liberal order, because "the German" shared the key liberal values of respect for private property, possessive individualism, and free market capitalism, they would not be othered. To do so would be to adopt an illiberal position.

The Department of Militia and Defence and their official position on Canada's ethnic Germans was the domestic muscle of Borden's dismantling of the liberal order and its officers were major contributors to the founding of the insecurity state. An examination of the surviving documents of the department shows that the intelligence officers held xenophobic positions similar to Ontario's English-language press. Race

¹ Von der Goltz, 272.

became the central criteria for suspicion and the word “foreigner” appears wherever there is doubt about the identity of a suspect. This is seemingly a more precise term as it implies “foreign born” and would exclude naturalized citizens. Unfortunately, it did not. It was a widely cast net used to describe any unwanted element in Canadian society and carried the insinuation that a foreigner always meant a deviant troublemaker. Whether this attitude was born in the tense atmosphere that followed the outbreak of war or whether it was rooted in pre-war opinions against open door immigration policy is up for debate. Either way within months of the beginning of the war it had become the terminology of choice.

Intelligence work is a naturally secretive process. That is not to say that public discourse could not enter the discussion, but the discussion itself could not be expressed publicly. Oftentimes, public pressure demands action or at the very least influences it. Desmond Morton long ago suggested that his process began with works of fiction² such as the best-selling Victorian spy thriller *The Riddle of the Sands* (1903) by Erskine Childers. In it, two graduates of Oxford, Carruthers and Davies, uncover a plot in North East Germany to secretly expand the canal system to facilitate the movement of the German fleet into the North Sea. Our protagonists later learn that the German Army was conducting drills and tests of their transport barges with the intention of invading England.³ This othering of Germans as militaristic Prussians was rendered explicit by an epilogue where the author opines that while this is just a novel, the threat of German

² See Desmond Morton “Sir William Otter and Internment Operations in Canada during the First World War” *Canadian Historical Review* 55, 1 (1974): 33.

³ Thomas J. Price “Spy Stories, Espionage and the Public in the Twentieth Century” *Journal of Popular Culture* 30, 3 (1993): 81-82.

invasion is real.⁴ Indeed, the First Lord of the Admiralty ordered an investigation into the feasibility of such an invasion after reading this book.⁵ Beginning in 1907, Germany did indeed embark on a vast expansion and widening of the Kiel Canal to accommodate the German High Seas Fleet. Just as described in *The Riddle*, the intention was to expedite their deployment into the North Sea. This was seen as a danger to Britain, as their naval bases were located on the south coast in Portsmouth and Plymouth. The British Grand Fleet had to be relocated to the North East to counter this new German threat.⁶

In 1914, the immediate security response of the Borden government to the burden of mobilization and national security was the passing of the War Measures Act, which could best be described as a suspension of *habeas corpus*. It gave the government unprecedented powers of search, arrest, deportation, censorship, and control of public information. Further amendments were passed in the fall of 1914 requiring the registration of enemy aliens and authorising the confiscation of firearms and explosives. This was the first step on the road to internment. Suddenly the Commissioner of the Dominion Police, Percy Sherwood, held enormous investigative powers. He was a former militia officer and close friend of Ernest Chambers, the Chief Press Censor, with whom he would correspond throughout the war.⁷ Sherwood had served in the office

⁴ Erskine Childers *The Riddle of the Sands: A Record of Secret Service* (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1915), 826-827. Russophobia was also apparent in British literature. See for example William Le Queux, *The Great War in England in 1897* (London: Tower Publishing Company Ltd., 1894) And was reinforced by a “skirmish” off Dogger Bank between British fishing boats and the Russian Baltic Fleet on its way to the Pacific, as well as by Russia’s increased pressure on the Ottoman Empire to open the Straits after 1905.

⁵ Christopher Andrews *Her Majesty’s Secret Service: The Making of the British Intelligence Community* (New York: Viking, 1986), 36-37.

⁶ Specifically, Scapa Flow in Scotland.

⁷ Whitaker, Kealey, Parnaby, 62-63.

since 1909 and had been promoted based on the recommendations of Canada's intelligence officers attached to the department of Militia and Defence.⁸ With the War Measures Act, his position rose above that of intelligence officers. The final decision whether or not to prosecute suspects depended entirely on his personal recommendation. Ultimately, this left a great deal of power in the hands of civil rather than military officials. Perhaps, this could explain Canadian intelligence's later obsession with the labour movements in the country after the war. It also reflected the limited men and resources available to the department of Militia and Defence and its dwindling Corps of Guides.⁹

Background and the Corps of Guides

To minimize jurisdictional problems, the country's intelligence districts conformed to the Military District structure already in place.¹⁰ Sub-districts, however, had more flexible boundaries. Ontario was divided into four (see Figure 5.1) Military District 1, London and southwestern Ontario; Military District 2, Toronto and central Ontario; and Military District 3 Kingston and eastern Ontario, and Military District 10 which was an extension of the Winnipeg-based district and covered the northwest of the province. MD1 spanned from Owen Sound to Port Burwell and included a bulge that engulfed Wellington and Waterloo Counties. MD3 spanned from Mattawa to Durham, following the county lines between Peterborough and Victoria. MD2 headquartered in Toronto stretched from the Niagara Peninsula into northeastern Ontario, from Nipissing

⁸ Michael Butt, "Surveillance of Canadian Communists: A Case Study of Toronto RCMP Intelligence Networks, 1920-1939" (PhD Thesis: Memorial University of Newfoundland, 2003), 17.

⁹ In 1914, for example, Sherwood's budget was doubled, see Butt, 17.

¹⁰ Directorate of History and Heritage Go 61 d/- April 1, 1903 in 112, 3M1013 (D1) CDN Int. Service up to 1918, Org & Work of Cdn. Int. Service in the Great War 1914-18 & Earlier Background.

to Sault Ste. Marie, including the nickel belt, the clay belt and the Timmins region. The northern border between MD2 and MD 10 was the county line between Algoma and Thunder Bay, Cochrane and Kenora.

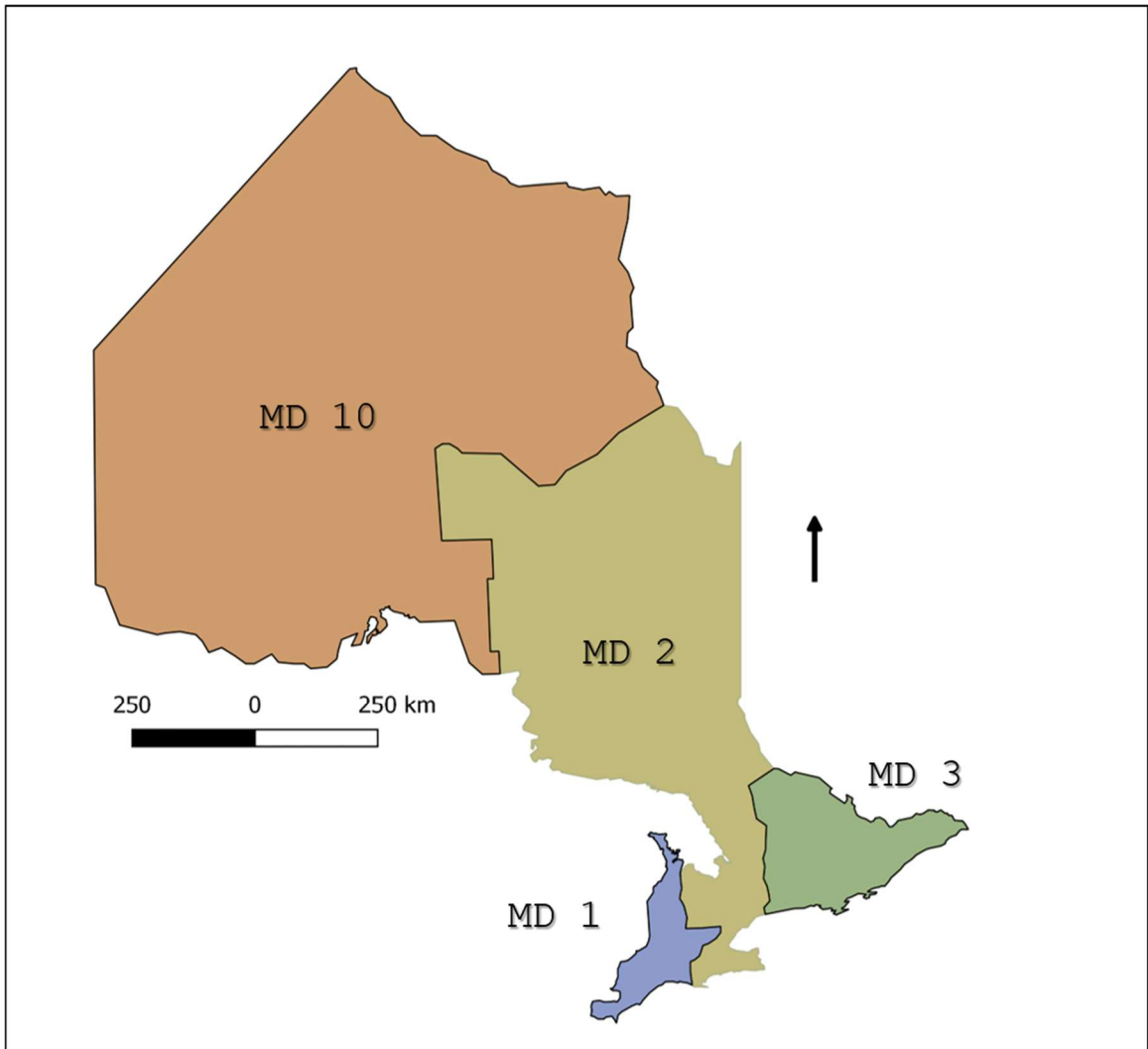


Figure 5.1 Ontario Military Districts
(Sources: Created in QGIS from information provided in Elliott and Duguid)

From the time of the Fenian Raids, the Canadian Militia had no centralized intelligence force and its main priority was border defence. This changed with the

passing of General Order 61, in 1901.¹¹ Based on British recommendations, and the lessons learned in South Africa, the order created an independent force specializing in intelligence gathering. Each military district would be assigned a District Intelligence Officer (DIO) a Sub-District Intelligence Officer (SDIO) with men of the Corps of Guides serving under them. Their duties included mapping the borderlands and assessing the military and strategic capabilities of friend and foe. While General Order 61 solved the organizational problems, it could not solve the issue of manpower. There were very few active District Intelligence Officers, the guides were severely undermanned, and the post of Director General of Military Intelligence in Ottawa, which oversaw all intelligence operations was left vacant.¹² Orders issued in August 1914, created the Director and Assistant Director of Military Intelligence. Due to this vacancy, the Intelligence Officers fell under the command structure of their respective districts. So ultimately, district priorities, be it mapping or analysis of agricultural capacity and public works, varied according to the agenda of the Commanding Officer of each district.¹³ The Intelligence Officers themselves were recruited from specific niches in Canadian society. Like most officers in the Canadian Army, they came from well educated, English-speaking, upper middle-class families and introduced core values of the liberal order to the command structure of Canadian Intelligence. That was not all, as part of their masculine culture, commissioned officers in the Corps of Guides were expected to participate in an annual 15-mile equestrian competition.¹⁴

¹¹ Elliott, 11.

¹² Wesley K. Wark "The Evolution of Military Intelligence in Canada" *Armed Forces and Society* 16 no. 1 (Fall, 1989): 79.

¹³ Ford, "Dreaded Tempest", 10.

¹⁴ Elliott, 599.

The outbreak of the war forced a complete overhaul of the Canadian Militia. Elliot observed that Canada had prepared for the “wrong war.”¹⁵ The reorganization marked the beginning of the end of the Corps of Guides. It was too small a force to handle the war-time demands of national security and intelligence gathering. The intelligence field training of officers and men of the corps, however, would prove invaluable in the reorganization of Canada’s domestic security forces. In the end, the Corps was disbanded and officers were absorbed into staff duties in other units. Many would volunteer for overseas service for frontline intelligence work since they were the only men in uniform with training in intelligence work. District Intelligence Officers and field agents would also be recruited from the Corps and assigned to districts familiar to them, maintaining their duties, if not their positions, on the home front.¹⁶ The difference was in the command structure. Under orders of the Department of Militia and Defence, the DIOs came under the command of the Military Districts which were already struggling to recruit and equip an expeditionary force. The results of any investigation would be reported to the District Commander and, in cases of intelligence and propaganda, be duplicated and forwarded to the Assistant Director of Military Intelligence, Major F.E. Davis, in Ottawa¹⁷

¹⁵ *ibid*, 22.

¹⁶ Directorate of History and Heritage Extract from Major J.E. Hahn “The Intelligence Service within the Canadian Corps, 1914-1918” 1 in 112, 3M1013 (D1) Canadian Intelligence Service.

¹⁷ Additionally, years of struggle between military and civilian authorities in Canada had created a Department of Militia and Defence, under which the Corps of Guides originated that differed greatly from the Imperial model. The militia bill effectively removed the generals from the upper levels of administration thereby placing the department under the control of the cabinet. Desmond Morton, *Ministers and Generals: Politics and the Canadian Militia, 1868-1904* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970), 196-200.

An important source in investigating the workings of the Department of Militia and Defence is the incomplete list of Divisional/District¹⁸ Intelligence Officers appended to Elliot's official history.¹⁹ The names and dates of service for Intelligence Officers serving in Military Districts 1, (London) 2, (Toronto) as well as 5, (Quebec City) during the war years are missing. An examination of the files inherited from the Department of Militia and Defence and those of the RCMP fills in some of those gaps:

Military District No. 1, London Ont.

Capt. G.N. Weekes, C of G.	1 Apr 1912-14 Sep 1914.
Capt. W.G. Kerr, 30 th Fd. Bty. C.F.A	10 Jul 1917-31 Mar 1919.

Military District No. 2, Toronto

Capt. C.H. Mitchell	1 May 1911-28 Aug 1914.
Capt. A.F. Coventry (Acting)	16 Aug 1915-Apr 1918.
Capt. C.W.G. Gibson (Acting)	20 Apr 1918-5 Nov 1918. ²⁰

At some point before they were received by Library Archives Canada, these files were reassembled by subject. Thus, files created by DIOs were broken up and recombined according to the people of interest, in this case, recombined into a series entitled "German Activities in Canada." What was lost in the process was the *respect des fonds* which means for historians, the chronology and process/procedures that created the documents.

The reports of the District Intelligence officer for MD1 are missing from the combined files. Perhaps the files created by the District Intelligence Office did not survive the initial reorganization of the files. This documentary lapse is compounded by the fact that, given the sensitivity of their duties, none of the DIOs were able to write memoirs about their wartime experiences.

¹⁸ On April 1, 1916, Divisional Areas were renamed districts thus the Divisional Intelligence Officer were renamed District Intelligence Officer. See "Note on Military Divisional Areas and Districts" in Duguid, 10.

¹⁹ See Elliot, 575-600.

²⁰ See Elliot, 578-582.

Colonel Shannon in command of MD1 focused his efforts on strategic defence and monitoring the German population in Michigan. Those files survive under the heading “Defence of the Frontiers.” As for the domestic intelligence in MD1, the most likely conclusion is that Colonel Shannon never appointed a DIO.

Fortunately, we can discern what were the duties and responsibilities of the intelligence officers based on other districts. These files show a pattern in how information about potential spies and enemy aliens, as well as censorship violations and other forms of suspicious publications, were processed. In MD2, the DIO was responsible for a number of key tasks: investigating reports of enemy intelligence operations and sabotage; investigating the enlistment of enemy aliens; and serving in an advisory capacity to the Secretary of State’s monitoring of press publications for violations of the censorship laws.²¹ Their primary task was to search for German/Austrian sympathisers in the military and in the communities. “German sympathiser” was all too often synonymous with “enemy alien.”

As the intelligence branch of the Department of Militia and Defence itself was severely undermanned (even after a period of reform), the investigations were carried out by the police forces, in most cases this meant relying on the Dominion Police. Like Canadian intelligence services, the Dominion Police was undermanned and under-resourced, and so local police could also be involved. Once an investigation was opened, it would appear that the services of the DIO were no longer required. The power to investigate and, if necessary, make arrests was in the hands of the police. Similarly,

²¹ This indicates a domestic intelligence and press censorship relationship that was entirely different than the British system, Elliott, 48. In Britain, press censorship had been handled by the intelligence office since the Boer War. Christopher Andrew, *Secret Service: The Making of the British Intelligence Community* (Kent: Sceptre, 1987), 61.

when investigating enemy aliens in the CEF, only the battalion or district commander had the power to investigate and, if necessary, discharge an enlisted man.

The following discussion illustrates this pattern in MD2. Similar cases from MD1 are then examined with the intent of demonstrating that the tasks of the intelligence officer in MD2 were taken up by other authorities in MD1. These procedural differences within the Department of Militia and Defence in differing parts of Canada are important. They point to where the insecurity state had taken hold and to those areas, such as MD1, where the decline of the liberal order, with its associated security concerns, had yet to materialize.

Military District 2: Central Ontario/Toronto

Military District 2 was large in geographic area, but for the most part sparsely populated. Given the population and the ethnic distribution of Ontario, the vast majority of cases are confined to the south. Furthermore, the south also included the industrial areas, factories, and infrastructure, deemed too valuable to leave unguarded. The cases can be divided into four categories; concerns over the printing of sensitive information; enlistment of suspected enemies; border and guard duty; and general suspicious activities and complaints brought to the attention of authorities by community members. These ranged from suspicious activity such as drilling, to accusations of disloyalty, such as praising the Kaiser. Sometimes, these complaints never made it to the intelligence office and instead became public knowledge through acts by residents or local authorities. Complaints included the suspicions of employers, particularly those working in munitions, of foreign-born workers with Central Power sympathies, or socialist leanings. In general, the guidelines for suspicion and observation were taken from *The Laws of*

Land Warfare that were sent to the officers of the Corps of Guides immediately following the outbreak of war:

- (a) Movements of foreigners
- (b) Rumours of their actions
- (c) Points where damage could be inflicted upon canals, waterways, and railways
- (d) General feeling towards ourselves
- (e) Any suspicious moves, meetings or assemblies held
- (f) Local affairs (German)²²

The majority of extant records for MD2 passed through the office of R.W. Leonard and William Ford Howland. These men served successively as DIO for Toronto during the war and both had been recruited from the former Corps of Guides. Neither of these men appear in Elliot's appendix. Where Leonard and Howland are missing, two acting senior officers appear, (and by contrast, no names appear at all under Military District 1).

Leonard was appointed to the post on August 15, 1914 and, was highly suspicious of foreign workers, especially in cases involving contraband. His replacement was Howland, a partner in the Toronto architectural firm of Langley & Howland, known for their revivalist style churches.²³ He had designed a neo-Georgian home for his mother on Crescent Road.²⁴ In the early years of the war, Howland wrote his intelligence on Langley & Howland letterhead. Evidently, the war awoke his inner patriot and he became a stand out officer reaching the rank of Captain in June 1915, before taking over the duties of Divisional/District Intelligence Officer (2nd Division) in Toronto. His tone is similar to Leonard's and he would spend much of the war raising alarm bells. In 1918,

²² LAC RG24 4281 34-1-8 MD2 vol. 1. "Excerpts from The Laws of Land Warfare, 15-16 in ADMI Capt L.H. Stidwell to The OC detachment Corps of Guides" August 7, 1914.

²³ A prominent example is the Byzantium style St. Anne's Anglican Church (1907) on Gladstone Avenue in Toronto.

²⁴ Patricia McHugh *Toronto Architecture: A City Guide* (Toronto: McClellan & Stewart Inc., 1985), 258. The Architectural drawings of Langley & Howland are now available at Archives of Ontario, F4359.

with the rank of Major, he volunteered for overseas service with the 16th Infantry Brigade for service in Siberia against the Bolsheviks.²⁵

Censorship in MD2

Because Canadian censorship differed from Britain, being under the direction of the Secretary of State and not military intelligence, censorship was a collaborative effort involving multiple agencies, publishers' self-regulation, and the public. After the potentially disastrous and embarrassing leaks to the Canadian Press about the movement of the first Canadian Contingent from Valcartier, the Borden government decided that the provisions outlined in the War Measures Act were insufficient. As a result, the office of Chief Press Censor was created.²⁶ Ernest J. Chambers, a former military man with close ties to Percy Sherwood of the Dominion Police as well as to high-ranking officers in Canada's military districts, was appointed.²⁷

That is not to say that the intelligence branch of the Department of Militia and Defence had *no* role in censorship. Lieut-Col. C.F. Hamilton, the man in charge of monitoring cable and wireless transmissions, was a former officer of the Corps of Guides. Links were also maintained between the Militia department and the office of Postmaster General.²⁸ District Intelligence Officers, at least in the opening months of the war, were to play an important role in the process of preventing leaks to the press regarding troop movements. This was, however, before the office of the Chief Press Censor was created.

²⁵ He is on the list of officers in the Siberian Expeditionary Force in RG24-C-6-e vol 1840 GAQ WWI file 10-26-10 (10-29) and his attestation papers were signed in Victoria BC on September 9, 1918. RG150 Accession 1992-93/166, Box 4591-19.

²⁶ Keshen, *Propaganda and Censorship*, 66. The Montreal *Gazette* even printed the number of horses and the weight of ammunition loaded on the last ship, Keshen "All the News that was fit to Print", 321.

²⁷ Whitaker, Kealey, and Parnaby, 63-64.

²⁸ Elliott, 48.

Military District 2, intelligence officer Major Leonard, enforced censorship rules based on his own judgement. As early as August 1914, he ordered a story be pulled from the *St. Catharine's Standard* outlining the reduction of the size of the force protecting the Canal, as so many men had volunteered for overseas service.²⁹ It was believed that any leak of this nature to the press would entice an attack while the defenders were most vulnerable. The massive leaks, involving the men departing from Valcartier, soon followed, diminishing the role of district COs in the process. Chambers would on occasion contact DIOs for further information about subjects under investigation by his department,³⁰ however, these communications were too scarce to be considered routine. His main contacts were the Chief of the Dominion Police and the publishers themselves.

The other concern in MD2 was the distribution of enemy propaganda. Leonard's successor to the post of DIO, Howland, reported little to no propaganda activity in Toronto. The third DIO in Toronto, A.F. Coventry, who took over for Howland when he volunteered for the Siberian Expeditionary Force, inherited an office riddled with reports of German propaganda. These cases had been investigated, for the most part in the summer of 1917, one year before PC 2384 shut down foreign language newspapers, easing Coventry's burden.

In some cases, it was not even publishers who found themselves under investigation. For example, reports were coming out of Toronto that the firm of Otto Heinemann Phonograph Supply Company, headquartered in New York was spreading German propaganda. The company itself was not a printing house. It was a supplier of

²⁹ LAC RG24 4281 34-1-8 MD2 vol. 1. "Major R.W. Leonard to Major J.H. Elmsley" August 27, 1914.

³⁰ For example an inquiry into the identification of E.C. Perry of the Niagara Peninsula Realty Co. LAC RG 24 4281 34-1-8 MD2 vol 3 "From The Chief Press Censor for Canada to The Divisional Intelligence Officer 2nd Division" February 14, 1916.

phonograph parts and maintenance services; however, this did not shield them from accusations. The local branch was run by Cornelius Pott, a Dutch citizen who immigrated to Canada in 1909, but was labeled an American citizen of German origin.³¹

Coventry was ordered to investigate the matter and after receiving reports from Toronto and from other branches in New York and Chicago concluded that there was little evidence to support the accusations.³² In this case, simply sounding like a German company and being operated by a “foreigner” was enough to justify suspicions. Furthermore, the manufacture of phonograph parts, as it turned out, did not include the manufacture and distribution of recordings on wax cylinders, a method though which propaganda could have been distributed.³³

The censorship of books was another concern of the Chief Press Censor. Much as with the press, Chambers was on the lookout for anti-imperial sentiment, criticisms of Canada’s war effort, information that would compromise the war effort and eventually, radical views on Canadian capitalism and labour, in Canadian as well as American publications. The censorship of books required approval from Chamber’s superiors in the State department. Here again, Chambers needed watchdogs outside the Militia Department.³⁴ The biggest problem was the publishing giants in the United States with their massive distribution networks. Circulars were sent to Canadian publishing houses,

³¹ LAC RG 24 vol 2021 HQC 965 V 22 “Memorandum for the Assistant director of Military Intelligence from the Chief Commissioner of Police” August 17, 1917.

³² LAC RG 24 vol 2021 HQC 965 V 22 “A.F. Coventry to the Assistant Director of Military Intelligence” August 17, 1917.

³³ LAC RG 24 vol 2021 HQC 965 V 22 “W.L. Fubersher Chicago Illinois” July 6, 1917.

³⁴ These would come to include “unofficial censors”; newspaper editors, cable and telegraph owners, as well as film and gramophone distributors, see Keshen “All the News that was fit to Print”, 322.

book sellers, and distributors (including libraries) requesting assistance in identifying subversive materials.³⁵

In response to the circular, the *Memoirs* of Horst von Der Goltz, in which he described his attempts to destroy the Welland Canal came to the attention of Chambers. In May 1918, a librarian, F. M. Dela Fosse at the Peterborough Public Library noticed a number of provocative passages in von Der Goltz's book and sent a letter to Chambers. The problem was not with his account of his operations or the way in which he was captured and delivered to the Americans, or even his opinions on the capabilities of the German Secret Service in Canada and the United States, the complaint focused on four pages of the first chapter describing the relationship between the Kaiser, his mother Victoria (Empress Frederick), and his grandmother Queen Victoria.³⁶ In his description of the *Dreikaiserjahr*, (Year of Three Emperors, 1888) the woman known as "Victoria's favourite daughter" is accused of having attempted to interfere with the succession of a monarch, specifically Wilhelm II. According to Goltz, she knew that her husband Frederick, next in line for the throne of Germany was ill with cancer while Kaiser Wilhelm I was dying. There was a law in place to prevent a sick and dying man from taking the throne, thus Frederick was ineligible and their son Wilhelm was next in line. However, the Empress thought Wilhelm unsuitable, given his attitude towards her mother (his grandmother), Victoria. To keep Wilhelm off the throne, she had her husband declared mis-diagnosed and thus he was crowned Emperor Frederick III. Ninety-eight

³⁵ Keshen, *Propaganda and Censorship*, 98.

³⁶ LAC RG 6-E vol 599 file 269-92 microfilm reel T-84 "F.M. Dela Fosse to Ernest J. Chambers" May 14, 1918.

days into his reign he died and Wilhelm became Wilhelm II against the wishes of his mother.³⁷

Della Fosse sent Chambers the library's copy of the book and he in turn passed it on to journalist Ernest Boag for examination. A week later Boag reported to Chambers that the statements about the Empress, while unpleasant, were not strong enough in an anti-British stance to present a case for censorship to the Secretary of State and the Postmaster General.³⁸ Chambers was forced to accept this verdict, however, he did consider it provocative enough to suggest to the Peterborough Public Library that its circulation be limited to discriminating readers.³⁹ The book's value as a revelation into the operations of the German Secret Service at the beginning of the war, far outweighed four pages of slander against the Royal Family. In spite of the fact that von der Goltz's memoir could not be censored, it was clear that for some, Chambers among them, that slander of this kind was akin to treason in Canada and worthy of note. In this particular case, the feelings were mutual between the Chief Press Censor and a librarian in Peterborough.

The operations of the Chief Press Censor are noteworthy in that they could overlap with the operations of the DIOs. Unlike Britain, in Canada these operations were outside the Militia and Defence because of their failure to maintain the secrecy on the movement of Canadian troops from Valcartier. It is also a curiosity that the very book that exposed the weakness of Canada's defences around the Welland Canal in 1914

³⁷ He rotates usage of her title Empress Frederick and Victoria, Von der Goltz, 11-14.

³⁸ LAC RG 6-E vol 599 file 269-92 microfilm reel T-84 "Ernest Boag to Ernest J. Chambers" May 22, 1918.

³⁹ LAC RG 6-E vol 599 file 269-92 microfilm reel T-84 "Ernest J. Chambers to F.M. Della Fosse" May 27, 1918.

should have escaped the boot heel of the censorship office. Since Chambers had been alerted to a matter of imperial image in the book rather than national defense, this potential threat was missed as he was not under the command of the military authorities. In Military District 1, in the area dominated by descendants of German settlers, Chambers would have a more reliable ally in searching out undesirable printed material.

Spies, Sympathisers, and Suspicions in MD2

Military District 2, DIO Howland would keep his superiors and Chief Inspector Kennedy of the Dominion Police busy during the war by bombarding them with requests for investigations based on suspicions handed to him from oftentimes anonymous sources. Howland's first case in the Militia and Defence fonds is a concern about airplanes flying over the Welland Canal dated September 26, 1914. Howland was concerned that this was somehow connected to the dynamite plot described by von der Goltz and investigated by the 44th Lincoln and Welland Regiment reconnaissance. However, Leonard reassured him that it was an amateur pilot from Buffalo who regularly made this trip using the Canal as a navigational reference.⁴⁰ Alerts like these would warrant continuous investigation even with limited information and sources. His first few months of duty as the DIO would include other such reports including one before the war even started:

July 12 – Austrians in Cobalt purchased large number of weapons and began drilling (report proved false)

August 11 – A “foreigner” reported making sketches of the Toronto shore line

⁴⁰ LAC RG24 4281 34-1-8 MD2 vol. 1. “Major R.W. Leonard to W.F. Howland” September 26, 1914.

August 16 – Radio station in Sault Ste. Marie attacked
at 3:15 am; assailants chased into the woods and vanished

September 26 – Aeroplanes sighted flying over the
Welland Canal

September 30 – Dynamite cache discovered in Port
Robinson 100 yards from the Welland Canal

On occasion, Howland would also be included in decisions for awarding War Office contracts. In January 1915, for example, the War Office placed an order for fuses from the Canadian Carbon Company. After a preliminary investigation into the background of the owners, Howland was alarmed. The proprietor was a forty-year-old man by the name of Alfred Landau who, as it turned out, was born in Germany, emigrated to Canada and had become a naturalized citizen only weeks earlier on December 31, 1914.⁴¹ Here class could not save the endeavors of business men. Men like Landau were betrayed by their ethnicity, because even after having received favorable reports on the background of Alfred Landau, Howland felt the deal with the war office was too risky and they should deal exclusively with firms under British born executives. This is in line with what Elliott referred to as “preventative industrial espionage” in which DIOs on occasion participated.⁴²

This case is important because it highlights a key moment in the decline of the liberal order and the rise of the insecurity state. Here, the free market economy has been disrupted by a government official warning the War Office not to award a contract. It is

⁴¹ LAC RG 24 vol 4281 34-1-8 “Howland D.I.O 2nd Div to A.D.M.I Ottawa” “Alfred Landau, Canadian Carbon Company”

⁴² See Elliott, 50-51. The one Intelligence Officer mentioned is Lt. Col. Burns and asbestos shipments from his district in Montreal to Sweden and Greece see *idem*, 52-53.

also an example where othering based on ethnicity was the root cause of disruption of the free market. Landau was a businessman with a liberal understanding of ownership and commerce and yet he would not be awarded a contract because he was of German birth.

There were also cases that did not reach the office of the DIO because of the nature of the informant. On January 4, 1915, Major General F.L. Lessard of the Canadian Militia in Toronto received a letter from a concerned citizen, Annie Williams of Maple Ontario (north of Toronto) whose friends had noticed activities they deemed suspicious;

Dear Sir,-

Last Thursday a friend from Maple called to see me, and told me of six Germans out there who are acting very suspiciously. They have been seen going into the woods with loads and returning without them. And frequently go there with an auto. A few days ago my friend's son-in-law went into the woods and came across the Germans. When they saw him they put up a target and began shooting at it, at least three of them did, while the other three remained with the auto. They do not know just what they are doing but suspect they are building a wireless station. If they do that what would it mean? What would the German do if the case was reversed?

It is well known in that vicinity that the Germans are very antagonistic.

I am only a lame little woman, but every woman as well as every man, should be alert in these dreadful times.

Yours truly,
Annie Williams⁴³

While this matter was never investigated because of the unreliability of the source, it does illustrate the widespread fears that fueled the rise of the insecurity state. During the winter of 1916, as part of the proverbial witch-hunt against foreign born teachers in Toronto that had previously targeted Freda Held, Gertrude Arner (a school teacher) and

⁴³ LAC RG 24 Vol 4281 34-1-8 Vol 2. "Letter to Major General F.L. Lessard from Annie Williams" January 4, 1915.

her widowed mother came under suspicion from Howland. The AAG of the Stationary Hospital in February 1916, reported to Howland that they were of German birth and their loyalties were therefore in question. When an intelligence officer called on the Arner residence at 2 Bain Ave in Toronto, he discovered them knitting socks for the Canadian army.⁴⁴ The case was immediately dismissed as this was considered a most loyal act if he ever saw one.

Clearly the process of identifying potential threats in Toronto was a shared responsibility of a number of departments, all of which remained in contact with the DIO. Public worries about German neighbors and their disloyalty often drew the attention of the authorities, more often than not on false leads.

Enemy Aliens in the Battalions of MD2

The discussion of enemy aliens by historians has exclusively focused on registration and internment, and it has been established that Canada's military had specific guidelines for dealing with them. The story of "enemy aliens" enlisting in the CEF, on the other hand, has been relatively limited. Acting on orders issued from Britain issued in September 1914, Canadian Divisional Commanders were ordered to arrest all German army and navy reservists residing in Canada and to keep a close watch on Austrians, not allowing them to leave the country.⁴⁵ Furthermore, enemy aliens that had not filed for naturalization were barred from enlisting in the CEF. Should this detail be overlooked by the recruiting officer, the matter would be investigated later, and discharges would be handed down.

⁴⁴ LAC RG 24 4281 MD2 34-1-8 vol. 3. "Re: Gertrude Arner and Charles Dengg" February 12, 1916.

⁴⁵ Duguid, 165.

Attestation papers for men joining the CEF (depending on the year), included allusions to ethnicity of a recruit to keep out undesirables. The precise definition of an undesirable by ethnicity was, however, vague and usually left to individual discretion. The attestation papers only asked for “place of birth” and no information about ethnicity/ancestry can be taken from them.⁴⁶ Thus, on the surface, country of birth was all that mattered at the recruiting office. If Germany, Austria, Turkey, or other allies of the Central Powers appeared in the column, it became standard practice to make further inquiries. In MD2, that practice often included informing the DIO, starting a line of communication between him, the people who know the subject, and the commanding officer, in order to determine if he is fit to serve or a threat. Usually these investigations were an internal matter carried out within the battalion. Nevertheless, the DIO case files are dotted with reports of enemy aliens enlisting in the CEF.

A key source for information about the lineage and loyalty of soldiers and citizens was often the public. References were requested as part of the background check of questionable enlistees and in some cases, it was a member of the public who triggered the initial alert to an individual.

I wish to call your attention to a matter which I think should be investigated.

A Mr. Harris (supposedly to be an English pronunciation since the outbreak of the war) has volunteered for active service overseas in one of the recent forming battalions in Toronto as Engineer and is at present training for his work and if later on he passes examinations, will be accepted.

This same man is a German born and boasts of it proudly around the neighbourhood. He lives at 15 Laurier Avenue, Toronto. His mother is still living in Berlin, Germany.

⁴⁶ *ibid*, 58.

This man has been heard to make remarks against the allies especially the English. It is these men who get unknown into our army who turn out to be one of the worst type of spies when arriving at the front.

Why are not these men kept under closer supervision or interned and prevented from gaining admission to our fighting forces!?

Respectfully yours,
A citizen of Toronto⁴⁷

This alert on the part of an anonymous source was taken as authoritative and it was passed to the DIO and then to the Chief Commissioner's office. In the ensuing investigation, it was discovered that he was not "German born", but of German ancestry. It was further discovered that Harris was not the man's real name, his real name was Reginald Walter Kiltenhauser. He was born in Chicago, to German parentage, and had been in Canada working for the C.P.R for over twenty years. What troubled the Department of Militia and Defence was that he never filed for naturalization and was dismissed from service on those grounds. This dismissal stood despite the fact that the investigation revealed no pro-German sentiment on his part.⁴⁸

The case of Herbert Henry Seidler is an interesting one as it demonstrates the power of rumor-mongering that could, and in this case did, undermine the official position of the Canadian Army when dealing with the enlistment of naturalized Germans. Seidler was born in Berlin, Germany, and immigrated to Canada becoming a naturalized citizen in 1910 and had even converted to Anglicanism.⁴⁹ At the time of his enlistment in the 81st Battalion in Toronto, he was employed as a librarian at the Bureau of Municipal Research. He also had two brothers, both of whom were serving in the French Army.

⁴⁷LAC RG 24 2020 H-Q-C 965 vol 15 "Department of Militia & Defence" March 23, 1916.

⁴⁸ LAC RG 24 2020 H-Q-C 965 vol 15 "To the OC Commanding Military District No. 2" April 2, 1916.

⁴⁹ LAC RG 150 Accession 1992-93/166 Box 8768-26 Attestation Paper 159568 Seidler, Herbert Henry.

Regardless of all these facts, Seidler was discharged as an “undesirable” in December 1915.⁵⁰ The official position of the General Officer in command of the district, was that Seidler was Austrian born and had spent several years in Berlin, Germany; “Notwithstanding that he is a naturalized Canadian, it was not considered desirable that he should be a member of the Canadian Overseas Forces.”⁵¹

The story that he was Austrian was also included in the letter written to Seidler informing him that he had been discharged. More importantly, his particular case was not in the hands of the Commanding Officer of the 81st Battalion. Instead, he was following orders from Howland on the recommendation of the Adjutant General.⁵² Seidler was discharged without explanation but later demanded one. The letter informing him of the reason he had been discharged, dated Christmas Eve 1915, came not from his CO but from William Howland the intelligence officer.⁵³ Clearly, Howland and district intelligence had taken over the process of vetting enemy aliens’ enlistment in the CEF.

Howland’s investigations, and those delegated to the Dominion Police often reveal a glimpse into the lives of the men in Toronto, and the opinions of close friends and associates of suspected enemy aliens, and this case was no exception. It was this part of the investigation that showed the power of slanderous rumors. In the case of Seidler, a piece of hearsay information was fed through the grapevine to the Dominion Police during the search for character references. His former landlady in Toronto informed the

⁵⁰ The word “injustice” is used in the aftermath of Seidler’s discharge. LAC RG24 4281-34-1-8 MD2 vol3 “Memorandum Regarding Mr. Herbert H. Seidler”.

⁵¹ LAC RG24 4281-34-1-8 MD2 vol3 “General Officer Commanding 2nd Division to Secretary Militia Council” January 3, 1915.

⁵² LAC RG24 4281-34-1-8 MD2 vol3 “Divisional Intelligence Officer 2nd division to Officer Commanding 81st Overseas Battalion CEF” December 11, 1915.

⁵³ LAC RG24 4281-34-1-8 MD2 vol3 “Captain DIO 2nd Division to Herbert H. Seidler” December 24, 1915.

letter carrier that she did not trust Seidler because he was German.⁵⁴ This information was then passed to the Postmaster General and then to the Dominion Police. While his former landlady had trust issues, Seidler's employers did not. His superior in the paymaster's office of the 81st considered him trustworthy and submitted to investigators a copy of the reference letter he had received from Seidler's supervisor at the Bureau of Municipal Research.⁵⁵ In spite of the fact that Seidler was a naturalized subject, and had many men vouch for his character, the decision was made to discharge him from the CEF. Here was a case where established regulations about the acceptance of naturalized Germans were outright ignored and where the fears harbored by a few members of the public, and the Divisional Intelligence Officer translated into immediate reaction.

Military District 1: Gap or Substitution?

Can it be assumed that in Southwestern Ontario including Berlin and Waterloo, the same process was implemented by the DIO for MD1? Were the identical cases to the librarian in Peterborough, letters identical to the anonymous citizen of Toronto, or cases like Seidler trying to enlist? If so, were they handled in the same manner? There is a problem with such assumptions stemming from these leading questions. Files exist showing the investigative process and the duties previously described were indeed carried out during the war in MD1, however, none of them lead back to a DIO confirming that Colonel Shannon had not appointed one. Furthermore, in a memo dated December 31, 1916 it was stated that small groups from the Corps of Guides were on duty in major

⁵⁴ LAC RG24 4281-34-1-8 MD2 vol3 "R.M. Countler to Col. Sherwood" November 26, 1915.

⁵⁵ LAC RG24 4281-34-1-8 MD2 vol3 "Paymaster 81st Battalion to Adjutant 81st Battalion".

urban centres hosting large populations of foreigners; Berlin Ontario did not make the list indicating it had a lower priority.⁵⁶ It can only be concluded from Col. Shannon's papers that a DIO was never appointed to the London MD1 during the war and thus the DIO's duties and responsibilities were allocated elsewhere; predominantly voluntary organizations, civic and military authorities. In Berlin, monitoring press publications was handled on a volunteer basis by the editors of local papers, while investigations of alleged spies were conducted by the local Chief of Police who did not answer to a DIO, and investigations of the enlistment of enemy aliens was conducted by the Commanding Officer and the Assistant Adjutant General for the district also without a DIO. This means a fundamentally different process of counter-intelligence existed in MD1 and therefore in Berlin Ontario. It was not, however, unheard of in MD2. As established previously, Howland would rely on the local police to investigate cases for which he did not have the manpower or resources and often assigned such cases to Inspector Kennedy of the Dominion Police.

Censorship in MD1

The records of the DIO in Toronto and MD2 indicate that the intelligence branch of the Department of Militia worked with the office of the Chief Press Censor on a limited scale. The DIO in Toronto had become a source, though not the primary source, for reports on violations of the censorship laws regarding the movement of men and materials as well as reports on subversive, specifically socialist or central power

⁵⁶ Directorate of History and Heritage, Department of Militia and Defence "Intelligence" in 112, 3M1013 (D1) Cnd Int Service up to 1918.

sympathising publications.⁵⁷ In the case of MD1 the office of the Secretary of State and the Chief Press Censor were faced with a dilemma as evidently there was no appointed DIO to rely on for such information. Fortunately, Chamber's office operated outside the parameters of the Military District system and was able to utilize similar contacts as he would in MD2 and the rest of the country. As the publishing industry was self-regulating, this informal alliance with the Chief Press Censor created an atmosphere of fear and suspicion in the offices of the foreign language presses.

In Jeffrey A. Keshen's examination of censorship in Canada, he stated that Chambers' main criteria for Canadian newspapers was "Anglo-conformity and imperialist-connected philosophy" and credits him with monitoring American German language newspapers since the German government ran an information office in New York to distribute German perspectives on the war.⁵⁸ According to Chad Fulwider, these American newspapers, like their counterparts in Canada, were also in decline due to limited readership and had slowly abandoned their pro-German leanings.⁵⁹ Until the American declaration of war, the German Information Service supplied war news from a pro-German perspective regardless of readership. Monitoring this source was an essential measure since the British, having cut the trans-Atlantic cable, effectively eliminating direct communication between Canada and Germany, left information filtered through German operatives in the United States as the primary propaganda source.⁶⁰

⁵⁷ As evident with LAC RG6 E vol. 525 Microfilm T36, File 153-4 65 "Lieutenant C.S. Manchester S.D.I.O MD no 11 to Colonel E.J. Chambers August, 15 1916. The *New York Freeman's Journal* was later censored on the advice of Lieut. Manchester.

⁵⁸ Keshen, *Propaganda and Censorship*, 81-82.

⁵⁹ Chad R. Fulwider "The Kaiser's Most Loyal Subjects?: The German View of America and German-Americans During World War I" (PhD Thesis: Emory University, 2008), 58-59.

⁶⁰ McKegney, 49.

How did these pro-German newspapers published in the United States and flowing over the border, come to the attention of the Chief Press Censor? Chambers needed a watchdog ally in this operation especially since a DIO was not appointed to the district with direct access to German publications in Buffalo. On the matter of suppressing enemy language publications, for Keshen, the main ally was the Great War Veterans Association with their rampaging through Toronto ransacking German businesses and beating foreigners, which put a great deal of pressure on Chamber's superiors.⁶¹ Such an ally was only useful against domestic publications.

As we have seen, newspapers in MD1 bombarded each other with accusations of violations of the censorship laws and/or disloyalty to the imperial cause. The *Berliner Journal*, being an enemy language newspaper, became the target of the *London Advertiser* as well as the *Galt Daily Reporter* and the *Toronto Sun*. When Chambers became involved in the dispute between the *Advertiser* and the *Journal*, he not only found that the unregulated system resulted in false accusations against the *Journal* but surprisingly found an ally in the editor William Motz in his search for German language propaganda flowing into Ontario from the United States. This runs contrary to the conclusions established in Keshen's classic account of the affair between the *London Advertiser* and the *Berliner Journal*. Missing from Keshen's research was the fact that Motz, in addition to successfully discrediting the *Advertiser*, went on the offensive and

⁶¹ Keshen, 83. He referred briefly to newspaper editors but considered their role less valuable than the Postmaster General, *idem*, 73.

sent Chambers a list of German language publications he considered to be the real offenders.⁶²

The first report, to Chambers from Motz, translated passages from the *Deutsches Journal* based in New York. The paper announced that a secret society existed in London England, called the “Agitation Bureau for the Realization of Political Aims,” and it was connected to political crimes in Europe including the murder of political leaders. It was not lost on the editors that just such an assassination had triggered the war in 1914. Additionally, the *Deutsches Journal* was reported to have criticized British imperialism in India on August 20th 1915;

England’s War loan in India is announced as an enormous success. One can imagine the enthusiasm with which the stripped (literally undressed) Indian people are giving their money. British mismanagement has brought things so far that 6 cents constitutes a day’s wages, and that hundreds of thousands die annually of hunger.⁶³

Although it is doubtful that Chambers and Motz were aware of it, this article was part of a larger German propaganda campaign. It was Germany’s intention to exploit the weaknesses of its opponents and if possible fuel the disintegration of the British Empire, knowing that the growth of its own overseas empire depended on it. This required measures that would ensure the loss of India, and drive the British controlled parts of the

⁶² That these American newspapers were in decline due to limited readership and had slowly begun to abandon their pro-German leanings would explain their search for new markets in Canada considering they operated within a limited niche. See Chad R. Fulwider, 58-61.

⁶³ LAC RG6E vol 525 File 158 Microfilm Reel T-36 “enclosed Motz to Ernest J. Chambers” August 27, 1915.

Islamic world to revolution.⁶⁴ This involved the use of propaganda campaigns, including those conducted by the *Deutsches Journal*, to generate sympathy for those oppressed under British imperialism. The Department of Militia and Defence was made aware of German activities in the United States through “watchers” sent to Buffalo, for example, who sent regular reports to Davies. Assessing the flow of information over the Canadian border by German propagandists was outside of their jurisdiction leaving the Department of Militia and Defence and Ernst Chambers to seek other avenues of information.⁶⁵

As if the attacks against British imperialism were not enough, the next set of articles dated August 23, 1916, translated for Chambers by Motz, included accusations that the Canadian camp in Amherst Nova Scotia was mistreating German POWs. One rather bold headline read “England Fights to the Last Man and Dollar of Other Nations”⁶⁶

This was precisely the information Chambers needed. He had already, unsuccessfully, attempted to persuade the Postmaster General to ban the *Deutsches Journal* from Canada. With Motz’s translations in hand, he was then able to exert greater pressure. He replied to Motz:

I hope by continual hammering away, that we shall be able to produce some action in this matter. In the meantime I hope you will continue to take an interest in this work, and to keep me provided with translations of any objectionable and dangerous paragraphs that your editors may notice.⁶⁷

⁶⁴ See for example Fisher, 120-121. At the very least, Chancellor Hollweg had hoped that with German support, Indian nationalists (Ghandarites) would discourage India’s participation in the war and force Britain to deploy a larger expeditionary force to India relieving pressure on the Western Front. The American State Department did investigate this “Hindu-German Conspiracy” and indicted those involved after the arrest and confession of Chandra Kanta Chakravarty. See Karl Hoover, “The Hindu Conspiracy in California, 1913-1918” *German Studies Review* 8 no. 2 (1985): 251 and 257.

⁶⁵ Michael Butt did not believe that Canada had any capacity for foreign intelligence operations, Butt, 7.

⁶⁶ LAC RG6E vol 525 File 158 Microfilm Reel T-36 “enclosed Motz to Ernest J. Chambers” August 27, 1915.

⁶⁷ LAC RG6E vol 525 File 158 Microfilm Reel T-36 “Ernest J Chambers to Rittinger & Motz” August 30, 1915 Chamber’s message to the Postmaster General read “don’t you think this is pretty violent stuff to have circulating through the Canadian mail? Believe me.” *Idem*.

This note cemented the mutually beneficial relationship between the *Berliner Journal* and the Chief Press Censor. As long as the editor was required to find and translate subversive German news materials, he enjoyed protection from the slandering of his own work by rival English-language newspapers. What brought an end to the relationship, was a shift of focus from German propaganda to socialist propaganda at the end of 1918. For the moment, Chambers had a reliable source.

German language newspapers in the United States would continue to cover stories about the treatment of POWs and Motz would again take action in the capacity as Chamber's watchdog. The *Taeglicher Buffalo Volksfreund* published an account of a German-Bohemian stoker on an American steamship who was arrested by the British and imprisoned in Halifax. While in the camp, he witnessed soldiers provoking POWs, inciting them to violence and thereby provided an excuse for the soldiers to murder them with shot and bayonet.⁶⁸ This was a serious charge and Chambers took the matter up with Sir William Otter, the officer in charge of internment operations in Canada, to determine if a retraction of the story should be published in the United States. Otter opted against such measures but did confirm that the story was plagued with falsehoods.⁶⁹

Thus, Motz conducted the duties, on a volunteer basis, of a district intelligence officer. His mission, to use the resources available to him as a German-language newspaper man to uncover German propaganda efforts in Ontario. The editor of the *Berliner Journal* assumed a position of relative power over the flow of public information in the German language. In so doing, he provided reassurance that the German-Canadian

⁶⁸ LAC RG6E vol 525-B-2 File 158 Microfilm Reel T-36 "Motz to Ernest J. Chambers" October 8, 1916.

⁶⁹ LAC RG6E vol 525-B-2 File 158 Microfilm Reel T-36 "Sir William Otter to Ernest J. Chambers" October 19, 1916. RG6E vol 525-B-2 File 158 Microfilm Reel T-36.

press was nothing like its American counterpart. It did not participate in the Kaiser's global propaganda campaign.

Spies, Sympathisers, and Suspicions in MDI

The matter of intelligence gathering in Berlin Ontario poses a significant problem. Lacking a DIO, and therefore a significant presence of the Department of Militia and Defence, could have been a serious oversight if Berlin had indeed served as a host community for German sympathizers. William Motz could only monitor German publications so who would have conducted investigations of suspicious activities? Was this to be left to the vigilantes of the 118th Battalion?

The actions chronicled in Chapter 3 certainly suggests this, but officially the task was left to the local police forces. Cases coming out of Berlin, however, were rare occurrences. The atmosphere of fear in Ontario was such that stories of spying and sabotage found their way into the local newspapers with or without official confirmation. The German ethnic elite's desire to maintain the image of the Berlin German as a loyal subject, might explain the absence of such stories in newspapers printed by the firm of Rittinger & Motz. They would however, appear in the English *Berlin Daily Telegraph*. The local police forces conducted the investigations into suspected spies and enemy sympathisers and that the number of reported incidents in Berlin was surprisingly low, especially considering the repeated outbreaks of vigilante violence in the area. Reports of sabotage in Berlin but published in newspapers outside of Berlin, such as in London or Toronto, were almost invariably unreliable fabrications designed to slander the German community. A plot mentioned earlier, of an attempt to blow up the barracks of the 118th

OS Battalion was never verified by local sources and historian Brock Millman even commented that the man was never apprehended “if he even existed.”⁷⁰

There were a few stories of suspected spies that appeared in local English newspapers. In May 1915, as the people of Canada mourned the loss of friends and family on board the *Lusitania*, fears of German spies playing a critical role in the disaster would reach Berlin as quickly as it had the rest of the continent. On Saturday May 15, 1915 a mysterious letter was recovered on King Street, by the Berlin police, saying that Cunard’s brand-new *Transylvania*, a liner turned troopship, was the new target and the ship itself and all onboard were doomed.⁷¹ Here at last was “confirmation” that the German spy networks operating in secret had earmarked the *Lusitania* for destruction. The letter itself was not a letter of communication between spies, it was an insider warning to the authorities. Judging by the letter it was written by a German man with a very basic understanding of the English language. He reported that an English man was working with a German spy ring, for money, and his job was to monitor the movements of the troopships and report times of departure and destination;

The S.S.T. is doomed. Still getting alle changes from W.T. Some Eng. Dog is doing it for money. If they put away it would help them: Yet hope not. I pass as Eng: I look the dictionary und grammar in when writing.⁷²

It is worth noting that rather than leave the investigation to the military authorities, the matter was investigated, according to the report, by the local police and Chief O’Neil.⁷³

He had been appointed to the post in 1902 and was a highly-respected citizen. The

⁷⁰ Millman, 79.

⁷¹ “Mysterious Letter Found on King Street on Saturday” *BDT* May 17, 1915, 1.

⁷² Quoted in *ibid.* *Transylvania* was sunk in 1917 in the Mediterranean en route to Egypt by U-63.

⁷³ LAC RG24 c-1-a 2018 pt 9 H-Q-C 965

people of Berlin trusted him.⁷⁴ In addition to the mysterious letter, he had also investigated an incident mentioned in a previous chapter about a man who walked the streets of Berlin looking suspiciously “too Prussian.”

Clearly, investigations into suspicious characters in Berlin were not handled by the Department of Militia and Defence and remained within the jurisdiction of the local police authorities. A search of the county records office yielded no results. The papers of Chief O’Neil and the local police force for this time period, did not survive the century leaving only public sources for the historian.⁷⁵

In the files of the Assistant Director of Military Intelligence, the name Carl Pohl appears as a subject of interest in Kitchener. According to Percy Sherwood, this man became a naturalized citizen of Berlin in September 1914, one month after the declaration of war, and this was suspicious.⁷⁶ American intelligence confirmed that he was a pro-German sympathizer, but had also informed Canadian authorities that, although he had become a naturalized citizen, he had been residing in Montana since May 1915, when anti-German sentiment in Canada increased after the gassing at Ypres and the sinking of the *Lusitania*.⁷⁷ Pohl’s activities in Berlin warranted no concern in local sources indicating that he had been less publicly vocal than the Reverend Tappert, and yet he, like Tappert eventually left the country.

Neither the story of the letter warning of a threat against the liner *Transylvania*, nor the mysterious case of Pohl (nor the outlandish reports coming from newspapers

⁷⁴ Roland Pike, “Policing in Waterloo County, 1850-1973” *WHS*, 77 (1989), 7-8.

⁷⁵ The author wishes to thank Matt Roth for his assistance at the Region of Waterloo Archives.

⁷⁶ LAC RG24 vol 2021 HQC 965 vol 23 “Memorandum for F.E. Davis from col. Percy Sherwood” November 28, 1917.

⁷⁷ LAC RG24 vol 2021 HQC 965 vol 23 “From Evans, Intelligence Officer to Chief Military Intelligence Ottawa” November 3, 1917.

outside Berlin) were followed up on by the Dominion Police or the Department of Militia and Defence. The dominant worry in Berlin apparently lay not in espionage but in the infiltration of the local battalion by enemy aliens.

Enemy Aliens in the 118th OS Battalion of MD1

As the local police chief took charge of investigating spies and disloyalty in Berlin Ontario, there remained the matter of keeping undesirables and potential spies out of the local battalion. Canadian military records and intelligence files that survived, indicate that the process of determining the loyalty of foreign-born enlistments in the CEF varied by district. The determining factor was whether or not the district had an intelligence officer appointed to the region. MD1 is an example where there was no DIO and thus it was the duty of the unit COs, under direct orders from the Adjutant-General of the Department of the Militia and Defence, and the CO of the District, to investigate claims of disloyalty, and the enlistment of enemy aliens who, in the worst cases, had enlisted with the intent of spying or defecting. Thus, in Berlin and for the 118th Battalion the task fell on Lieut. Col. Lohead. Reports of the investigations, however, were still a matter for the Department of Militia and Defence, which would indicate that there was an established procedure to pass information through the same channels as though there was a DIO. This meant that the reports would be filed directly to the Commander of the district and the Adjutant-General of the Canadian Militia.

In April 1917, the Department of Militia and Defence received word that six members of the 118th OS battalion were classified as “enemy aliens.”⁷⁸ In MD2, this

⁷⁸ LAC RG24 vol 1642 HQ 683-275-2 “Adjutant-General Canadian Militia to OC MD1” April 17, 1916, 2. Zackoruk is misspelled Zockovik.

notice would have then been sent to the battalion commander through the office of the DIO, however, here the line of communication was direct from Lohead to the AAG of the district.⁷⁹ Lohead reported that of the six men, John Baker, Anthony Sykora and John Zackoruk should be discharged. He deemed them loyal subjects, however, legally they had yet to file for naturalization which was grounds for discharge.⁸⁰ Of the remaining men, George Zow was deemed not of enemy nationality as he was Greek, Walter Simon was a Pole with no loyalty to Austria and was in the process of filing for naturalization, and Anthony Hopf was Austrian by birth but had come to Canada at the age of 11 and his father was naturalized.⁸¹

It is a curiosity that the Department of Militia and Defence reported no German born men in the 118th and instead focused on the issue of naturalization. Lohead, understood this focus but, in order to clear up any foreseeable charges against the 118th, took the initiative and compiled his own list of foreign born men in the battalion and included his thoughts on them in his reply about the aforementioned six. His own list included four Germans, three Greeks, two Poles, one Bohemian and one Brazilian. He reported them all as naturalized, did not consider any of them disloyal, and did not recommend any of them for discharge.⁸² Since they were all naturalized, this is the reason they were not included in the initial investigation indicating Lohead wished to clear them in advance of any rumor that they had not been naturalized. Lohead's apprehensions seem founded as the Officer Commanding MD1 was unconvinced of

⁷⁹ As evidenced by the letter LAC RG24 vol 1642 HQ 683-275-2 "From OC 118th Battalion to A.A.G" April 26, 1916, 7.

⁸⁰ *Ibid*, 7-6.

⁸¹ *Ibid*.

⁸² *Ibid*, 6-5.

Lochead's assessment of the men. By May, five of the original six were discharged and the case of Anthony Hopf was still open, with possibilities of further investigations into the other men mentioned in Lochead's report.⁸³ The final word was passed from the Adjutant General of the Canadian Militia, there would only be five discharges; Hopf and the others investigated by Lochead were cleared.⁸⁴

As a matter of procedure, a failure to have attained naturalization papers, regardless of character, always meant discharge or refusal. A good example is the case of German born Paul Timm of King Street in Berlin as it predated the investigation conducted by the Department of Militia and Defence. In March 1916, Timm enlisted in the 118th Battalion and stated that he had undergone naturalization. In order to assess his credibility and loyalty, Lochead sent a series of identical letters to Timm's former employers asking for character references.⁸⁵ The responses were entirely positive as he was described as a good and honest man.⁸⁶ Naturalization however, was the deciding issue and Timm was refused enlistment on those grounds.⁸⁷

Despite the frequent accusations that Berlin was harbouring enemy German aliens, being German born did not automatically warrant investigation of the 118th. Instead the matter was resolved by the simple question of whether he had become a naturalized citizen and, unlike MD2, it was accomplished without the watchful eye of a

⁸³ LAC RG24 vol 1642 HQ 683-275-2 "from OC MD 1 to Secretary, Militia Council" May 8, 1916, 13 and "from OC MD 1 to Secretary, Militia Council" April 28, 1916 in *idem* 8. Lochead's copies these reports are located in LCMSDS Lochead Fonds, File 23, Enlistments.

⁸⁴ LAC RG24 vol 1642 HQ 683-275-2 "from the AAG, Canadian Militia to OC MD1" May 20th, 1916, 15.

⁸⁵ LCMSDS Lieut-Col Lochead Fonds File 23: Enlistments "Lieut-Col Lochead to Mr. Henry Klie and Messer Wandri and Groba and Mr. W.M. Thompson" March 24, 1916, 82.

⁸⁶ See for example LCMSDS Lieut-Col Lochead Fonds File 23: Enlistments, 87-88.

⁸⁷ LCMSDS Lieut-Col Lochead Fonds File 23: Enlistments "Lieut-Col Lochead to Paul Timm April 7, 1916, 88.

District Intelligence Officer. In the case of the 118th Battalion, it was the task of the CO under the orders of his direct superiors. This was a completely different process from that which was in place in Toronto where, even though a CO was only responsible to his superiors, a DIO would intervene in the process on behalf of the Ministry of Militia and Defence to ensure national security, and that of the CEF.

As a final measure to ensure the security of the CEF and the loyalty of its foreign-born soldiers, and given the makeshift means determined by military district resources under which enemy aliens and undesirables were investigated and discharged, the screening process was continued even after a unit was shipped to England. This time, however, it was conducted by British intelligence officers. Orders were issued to informally interrogate suspect aliens in the CEF and, to avoid arousing suspicion, to leave the subject with the idea that it was standard procedure that every man in the outfit be interviewed.⁸⁸ It was also outlined in the orders what type of person, in their minds, was most likely to be a danger;

1. The present active spy who is all the time gathering information and giving it to the enemy. This requires a clever, artful man.
2. The man who has no present communication with the enemy, but who will watch his chances, on the field of battle, to communicate with the enemy, with or without desertion.
3. The man who has no present, formed evil intentions, but whose heart is not in our work, and who, if things went ill with us, would desert to the enemy, buying a welcome with such valuable information as he might have.

It is this third class I would place almost every alien who can speak German, even a little.

4. The alien born man of the adventurous type, even of original British stock, willing to sell to the highest bidder, and who would make any little tiff with his N.C.O or a comrade a sufficient reason to his own heart to go and seek out a buyer

⁸⁸LAC RG9 III vol 1415 c-31-6 “Secret Instructions for Examination of Aliens”, 1.

5. The man who enlisted thinking the war would end before he would be sent to the front.⁸⁹

In this final stage of vetting potential foreign-born enemy aliens in the CEF, Wark's insecurity state at work are clear.

Conclusion

The legitimate threat to Canada from German saboteurs during the war originated entirely outside the country and especially in the United States. Canadians of German ancestry had embraced their new homeland and many would go on to serve, if eligible, in the CEF. The Department of Militia and Defence, established itself out of the Corps of Guides with the assumption that the greatest threat came from within. This left Canada vulnerable to external attack from the United States and disaster was averted only by the ineptitude of the German operatives. The attempt to destroy the Welland Canal was a debacle, the attempt to destroy the Vanceboro Bridge was ill conceived and other plans were never realized. The spy networks in the United States would be dealt with by British intelligence officers and later American law enforcement for violating neutrality laws. Upon America's entry into the war, they would come to dominate continental security bringing an end to the ability of German spies to use the United States as a base of operations. One of the final triggers for America's entry was, as it turns out, the German intelligence officers' attempts to draw Mexico into the war in order to keep the American Army out of Europe.⁹⁰ Historian Desmond Morton once commented that the

⁸⁹ *Ibid*, 1-2

⁹⁰ See Barbara W. Tuchman, *The Zimmerman Telegram* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1966), 4-6.

essence of Canadian defence policy was to do nothing and get away with it. Canada's approach to domestic intelligence suggest a different dynamic was at work.

MD2 was a cradle of Canada's insecurity state with its overemphasis on internal security based on threats perceived by its allies. Britain had a greater reason to fear the German element in British society than Canada did. Intelligence and German espionage meant that Britain could lose the war in an afternoon. Whereas Canada, at the very worst, would be forced to maintain a larger force on the home front to reassure its citizens of their safety. But as the experience of MD1 so clearly indicates, where the informal local structures of the liberal order and municipal regime still held sway, the need for measures characteristic of the insecurity state was much less evident.

Another major difference between Britain and Canada, central to understanding Canada's wartime intelligence program, was unlike Britain, Canada was a nation of immigrants. The intelligence officers were recruited from a class and ethnic specific background, to ensure their loyalty and compassion for patriotic citizens of his Majesty, and it was this set of ideals that would most influence policy within the Department of Militia and Defence. Gregory S. Kealey has consistently argued that Canada's intelligence was designed primarily as a mechanism for defending Canada's exploitive capitalist program. In this struggle, Canada's enemies were identified in 1919 and remained unchanged for seventy years. What is clear from my study is that the struggle for hegemony emerged from a prior order based on ethnicity. The exact definition of what made a nation pure was a matter of debate. The German was seen by men like Woodsworth as part of a good stock, followers and beneficiaries of nineteenth century

liberal values, however, the events of the first two decades of the twentieth century reshaped how the Canadian state classified “the other” and so came the image of the German as a militaristic animal. One result of this image was a war of words in which the hyper patriotic *London Advertiser* slandered the surviving German language newspaper in Berlin. Soon the Chief Press Censor was forced to intervene and, in the process, found that the German newspaper editor, William Motz, made an ideal ally in seeking out pro-German propaganda flowing into Canada from the United States. Alongside the debate over the value of the German was the value of the Eastern European in general; the Galicians, Ukrainians, Austrians, Hungarians, Slavs, Poles, and Jews, each of which was said to carry their own social disease be it: barbarism, alcoholism, disease or worse socialism.

What has been uncovered here is that the insecurity state thesis is most applicable in those areas where industrialization and the growth of Canada’s working-class identity had reached its most advanced state by 1914, in the largest urban centres like Toronto and Montreal. Working in concert with this uneven adoption of the insecurity state was the uneven decline of the liberal order. In MD1, on the other hand, where industrialization and class segregation were not as advanced the need for an insecurity state was not in evidence. Instead enforcement of wartime ideals was taken up by members of the ethnic elite, social programs, newspapermen and local law enforcement. This importance of respecting local structures of power was apparently understood by Colonel Shannon who saw no need to deploy a DIO, and Lieut-Col Lohead in his screening of men volunteering for overseas service. All this suggests that Berlin remained a bastion of loyalty to the liberal order.

Conclusion

Canada-as-project can be analyzed through the study of the implantation and expansion over a heterogeneous terrain of a certain politico-economic logic – to wit, liberalism. A strategy of ‘reconnaissance’ will study those at the core of this project who articulated its values, and those ‘insiders’ or ‘outsiders’ who resisted and, to some extent at least, reshaped it.

-Ian McKay¹

This thesis has been predominantly a story involving leaders, law enforcers, and middle-class men. It is also a study of the other and the effects of the relationships between class and ethnic values in a changing Canadian society and the decline of Canada’s predominant liberal order.

When Ian McKay reimagined the course of Canadian history as the realization of a dream of creating a nation based on English/Scottish liberal values which emphasized the respect of private property as its cornerstone expression of individualism, he also tried to understand its decline. In *Reasoning Otherwise*, we see the rise of the socialist movement as a backlash against not only the liberal experiment of Confederation that continued to gentrify Canadian social relations but also against the efforts to undermine the liberal order from the other direction. Wartime press censorship, targeting the foreign presses and/or socialist presses and the centralizing of Canada’s manpower management and economy were all fundamentally illiberal and a threat to the socialist movement. While studies of this alternate attack on Canada’s liberal order are few, this thesis is a

¹ McKay “The Liberal Order Framework”, 261.

glimpse in that direction: a rejection of liberal values by those determined to use an interventionist state to advance their own interests against those of the ordinary citizen and in contrast to the long-held beliefs in the appropriate, limited role, for state action. The rise and fall of the liberal order was dependent on the growth of capitalism, urbanization, and by extension class and ethnic based segregation of the urban population. Thus, the liberal order and its replacement by reasoning otherwise on the left and the insecurity state on the right occurred unevenly. In Military District 1, despite being a centre of German immigration, the liberal order lasted much longer than more urbanized, and more segregated areas like Toronto Vancouver, Montreal and Winnipeg.

The Liberal Order and the Ethnic Elite

The first phases of industrialization in Berlin brought with it the rise of an ethnic elite which shaped the image of the German-Canadian. Among them were middle-class manufacturers like the Breithaupts and newspaper men like Rittinger and Motz. When war came, their efforts became one of cooperation, and utilization of their standing in the community, to counter the threat of external propaganda, slander, and vigilantism and to encourage a balance between being German and being a patriotic British subject.

The ethnic elites of Berlin had maintained favourable relationships with Canada's wider middle class and, thus, were active beneficiaries of liberal hegemony. They had emerged out of the nineteenth century as industrialists, businessmen, newspapermen, and community leaders, and took it upon themselves to promote the region's German heritage. They celebrated the end of the Franco-Prussian War and German Unification by adorning their city with German cultural symbols. They also formed an integral part

of the municipal regime and further solidified their position through associations, groups like the Waterloo Historical Society to preserve their history, and the *schulverein* to combat the illiberal centralization of education with the School Act. In 1912, the ethnic elites appear prominently in the commemorative of the city's charter celebrating Berlin's unique heritage.

Having spent decades promoting the German identity of their city, war became problematic for both their businesses and their city. This thesis has traced the complex history of popular agitation in the city, from the attacks on German symbols and their defence, to the debate on changing the city's name and the reassertion of a liberal identity through the Khaki election. Overall, despite the slander campaigns of editorialists and soldiers' violence, liberalism would triumph. In Berlin, principles of Canadian liberalism were defended, allowing locally rooted forces of agency and constraint to serve the same purpose as the insecurity state in the major urban centres. As a result, Colonel Shannon, head of the military district that included Berlin, decided that despite the presence of a large ethnically German population, the deployment of an intelligence officer was not necessary. The job of maintaining order and alerting authorities to any problems of disloyalty would be carried out within Berlin.

For a time, this was peaceful. No major acts of spying or sabotage were ever reported in the area, and Berlin managed to avoid falling into the type of hysteria after the sinking of the *Lusitania*, seen in Toronto, where othering based on ethnic constructs dominated public discourse. The one incident of note for the first two years of the war was the vandalizing of the bust of the Kaiser in Victoria Park in the very early days of the war. For soldiers of the 118th Battalion on the other hand, this peaceful self-regulation

was unacceptable. Having read propaganda reports about Berlin in London Ontario, they saw the German population as the cause for their low recruitment rates. This resulted in an explosion of vigilantism in the winter of 1916 in Berlin. In the inquiry to follow, they felt that the government needed to do more to crush German dissidents in the area that they themselves saw firsthand. Within a week, Reverend Tappert, the minister who had defended the Kaiser at the outbreak of the war, was dragged into the streets by the same men.

The main front in the image war was between Berlin and London newspapers that had stirred the men of the 118th and the local German newspaper. The war of words between the *Berliner Journal* and the *London Advertiser* became so intense that the Chief Press Censor needed to intervene. In William Motz, Chambers found a much-needed ally and so sided with the *Berliner Journal*. From that point on, Motz became a valuable informant for Chambers on the lookout for pro-German propaganda in the area. Furthermore, Chambers was convinced by the content of the *Berliner Journal* that Motz' news organization was a patriotic and loyal source of information for its German speaking subscribers. Shutting it down, which was the hope of the editor of the *London Advertiser*, would have destroyed a mechanism of the self-regulation in Berlin. Motz used his prominent position in the German ethnic elite to promote loyalty and patriotism in his newspaper.

It was to be a short-term victory as the *schulverein* voted to end German schooling and the city's name was changed by a plebiscite. Here the ethnic elite lost a significant battle, as the business community was divided, however it did not sacrifice its liberal principles. The name would not be changed by executive order, it would be the

choice of Berliners. For the ethnic elite, on the one hand the name of the city was part of their heritage, on the other it was becoming a liability in Canadian markets; “made in Berlin” was hurting the local economy. When a prominent member of the ethnic elite, Breithaupt spoke in favour of keeping the name, he was attacked along racist lines and his citizenship questioned. With this attack, he withdrew from public debate. Also, relatively silent on the matter was Motz and his German-language newspaper. In the end, the plebiscite was not decided strictly along ethnic lines. Some German Canadian men voted to change the name and some English Canadian men voted to keep it.

Berlin for King and Empire?

In the winter of 1916, “Busy Berlin” struggled to raise an overseas battalion for King and country. Newspapers in Toronto and London began accusing the Germans, and their ethnic elite, of sabotaging recruitment efforts. Some soldiers, if their testimonies after the Concordia Club raid is any indication, saw merit in this narrative. In the years since the war, historians have also causally linked the city’s German heritage to the high desertion rate. This interpretation fails to acknowledge the two biggest obstacles to recruitment: the fitness of the men and Canadian disillusionment, by 1916, as Canadians learned the nature of trench warfare from Ypres. It was clear to all that the war would not be over by any foreseeable Christmas. The era of voluntary recruitment in Canada was rapidly coming to an end, filling an overseas infantry battalion was becoming impossible. Neither Toronto nor London, both much larger cities and whose presses accused Berlin of disloyalty and low recruitment, would raise a full battalion in 1916

Quantitative analysis and geo-mapping conducted here has also challenged the conventional narrative born in English language propaganda. Utilizing the 1911 census records, the 1912 street directory, and soldiers' attestation papers, reveals Berlin as an integrated community with few spatial divisions along class, ethnic, or religious lines. Recruits joined the 118th OS Battalion from all quarters of the city. While men born in England were, predictably so, the largest group, men born in Berlin of German ancestry are well represented. They are also well represented in the percentages of deserters which at first glance might confirm the narrative that German-Canadians were to blame for the high desertion rate. On closer examination, however, they account for only 26.7% of those deserters, while the majority consisted of men born outside of Berlin. Furthermore, not a single first-generation German immigrant deserted.

The arguments that Berlin's situation was unique and the failure to raise a full battalion must have been related to its German heritage ignores the fundamental issue with recruitment and manpower management in Canada. Voluntary recruiting in 1916 was nothing short of a disaster across Canada and this forced the Borden government to propose compulsory service. The issue would be decided in the 1917 election and once again represented a significant shift in the values systems, specifically the centralization in government of manpower management. Berlin rejected the Conservative candidate and the pro-Union Government Liberal in favour of an independent liberal anti-conscriptionist. While the debate over conscription has been largely confined to the divide between Quebec and Ontario, Berlin demonstrated that in small town Ontario, long-held liberal values about the proper role of the state could defeat the new insecurity state being promoted by the both major parties.

Social History and Intelligence

The study of Canadian intelligence history has evolved beyond the limits of military/operational histories, which are still popular in Great Britain and the United States. Canadian labour historian Greg Kealey pioneered the study of Canadian intelligence as an integral part of a wider social history of Canada. He has argued time and again, using the insecurity state premise of Wesley Wark, that Canada used its intelligence capabilities to target radical labour movements in Canada under the guise of national security. Key to where and when this new relation developed was the speed of industrialization and the degree of social segregation. In larger more diverse centres, like the Toronto extensively studied by Kealey and Michael Butt, the insecurity state developed earlier because the middle class did not have the same measures of control of its population as in smaller industrial city like Berlin.

Reading the works of Ian McKay, Don Nerbas, Reg Whitaker, Gregory S. Kealey, and Andrew Parnaby, the radicalization of Canada's left and right shows essentially a developing storm that would explode in Winnipeg in 1919. Canadian state power had rapidly expanded during the war. Not just through wartime purchases, but in buying controlling interests in two of the country's three national railways. It took hardline steps to crush opposition coming from the newly radicalized left. Canadian socialists were hardened by the censorship of "their" press, their mail, and by greater state control over manpower management. Thus, the insecurity state developed where the state abandoned the values of a liberal order. The reorganization of domestic security illustrates this well. The RCMP was the product of the state's need to combat what it saw as foreign

bolshevism.² At the same time, Canada was sending a volunteer army to fight against the Bolsheviks in the Russian Civil War. Among the volunteers was non-other than William Howland, the DIO of MD2. Herein lies the strength of unifying seemingly disconnected fields of study, social history and military intelligence.

Ian McKay was able to pinpoint key moments in Canadian history where socialists abandoned the principles of liberalism in his first of a projected three studies. By integrating an analysis of Canadian intelligence, including Wesley K Wark's insecurity state thesis, moments can be identified when the other side betrayed these principles. The deployment of intelligence officers who undermine the principles of free market capitalism under the banner of "industrial espionage", interfere with the free press, and determine fitness to serve in the military undercuts the agency of individualism thereby undermining with intent the foundations of Canada's liberal order. Thus, the rise of the insecurity state, alongside the censorship of foreign language newspapers, and the rise of Canadian socialism described in *Reasoning Otherwise*, serves as an additional yardstick in measuring the shelf life of Canada's liberal order. This metaphor "yardstick" originated during an exchange with Andrew Parnaby at the thesis defence. Because of the differences between liberal values and the characteristics of Canadian liberal order, defining how exactly this established order is undermined in the twentieth century is dependent on which values are betrayed, when, and by whom and by contrast which values are defended where, when and by whom.

² See Chapter 4 of Kealey, Whitaker, and Parnaby *Secret Service* and Steve Hewitt, *Spying 101: The RCMP's Secret Activities at Canadian Universities, 1917-1997* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002).

These steps were taken in the interest of national security. Since the publication of bestselling novels like the *Riddle of the Sands*, the perceived threat facing Canadians was German spies and saboteurs. In 1914, fiction became fact through the plots by the Military and Naval attachés, Franz von Papen and Karl Boy-Ed. One of their operatives, Horst von der Goltz, was captured in Great Britain and revealed that he had been paid by von Papen to destroy the Welland Canal. However questionable the details of his statements their basic premise and the larger threat posed by German operatives in North America were confirmed when von Papen was declared *persona non grata*. His failure to destroy incriminating personal documents, linking him to these activities, confirmed the suspicions when they were seized by the British at Falmouth.

In Canada, the response to the German threat was diverse. Only the ineptitude of von Papen and his men prevented a disaster. When examining the activities of Canadian intelligence in the Department of Militia and Defence, the majority of operations were more sublime than conspiracy narratives allow for. The military had in place measures to prevent the enlistment of unnaturalised citizens of the Central Powers in order to, in their minds, prevent a saboteur or spy from entering the military. Admittedly, the Corps of Guides was in decline prior to the outbreak of the Great War and its ranks were seriously depleted by voluntary enlistment in the first Canadian contingent. As a result, the Department of Militia and Defence prioritized its operations based on the perceived threats and where the agencies of social control were at their weakest.

Military District 2 included both major industrial centres, such as Toronto and Hamilton, but also new extractive industries of Northern Ontario. In both areas the spatial disconnect and barriers between workers and employers was a concern, thus, it

was deemed essential to develop during the war new structures within the Department of Militia and Defence. In short, Military District 2 was too big, and class conscience too well entrenched to rely on self-regulation by citizens for the security of the state. By contrast, southwestern Ontario, Military District 1, despite the fact that it was a centre of German settlement, had a quite different profile. It was not prioritized by the Department of Militia and Defence during the war. Colonel Shannon, did not appoint a district intelligence officer and instead prioritized preparations for invasion from the United States. His officers and watchers deployed in Michigan considered all possibilities and had battle plans prepared, but in general considered an attack highly unlikely. Their assessment of the situation proved correct, as invasion plans had been called off by the German High Command and most reservists preferred to fight in Europe. As a result, there was no state sanctioned Department of Militia and Defence network in the centre of German Ontario. There was no spy planted in the *schulverein*, the Waterloo Historical Society, or the Citizen's League, and there is no evidence that the Department attempted to prop-up the British League to influence the results of the name change vote, municipal elections, or even the khaki election. There is also no evidence to suggest that the Department attempted to influence recruiting in Berlin/Kitchener in spite of the propaganda that suggested that low recruiting levels were caused by the city's German element.

Where do we go from here?

It would be fascinating to explore under similar parameters German-Canadian social relationships in the Second World War. In McKay's original text, he estimated the

end of Canada's liberal order as 1940 stating outright that the fundamentals would not survive the Great Depression and another world war. This was his original yardstick. Much has been written about the policy and effects on the Japanese population in Canada and the United States. Here is one example where a group who did not enjoy the perks of inclusion in Canada's hegemonic order, or a prominent social/economic position in BC society comparable to the German ethnic elite of Berlin, would suffer the worst illiberal forms of racism and exclusion. After Pearl Harbor, Japanese-Canadians were interned in massive detainment centres, away from the Pacific coast, while their assets were sold off. This was all done in the interest of national security and rooted in traditional racist attitudes towards Asians. Canadians of German ancestry were spared this treatment in the Second World War.

There would be no repeat of the recruiting and desertion problems because the Canadian government would learn valuable lessons about raising an army. The men of Kitchener joined with enthusiasm with their fellow countrymen. There was also one more crucial ingredient and that was the extreme disconnect felt by the Germans of Kitchener towards Nazism. In the words of John English and Kenneth McLaughlin "Kitchener was a different city, Canada another country, and the Second World War a different war."³ One result was further name changes. In Waterloo Country, New Germany, in response to Hitler's declaration of a "New Germany" in the European order, was renamed Maryhill in 1941.⁴ German Mills was renamed Parkway ten days earlier. Outside Galt, Swastika Beach was renamed Berber's Beach. In Swastika Ontario (near

³ John English and Kenneth McLaughlin, *Kitchener: An Illustrated History* (Kitchener: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 1983).

⁴ Dianne Stricker "How Did New Germany Become Maryhill? *WHS* 103 (2015): 204.

Kirkland Lake) on the other hand, residents fought to keep the name as it brought good luck in the gold mine.⁵

Names were not all that had changed. In the interim, Canadian intelligence had also evolved. Intelligence gathering and policing had been unified under the RCMP and, having gained experience in day to day operations during the labour revolt in Winnipeg in 1919, and the depression. Canadian intelligence was practically the only state organization prepared for another war.

For surviving members of the ethnic elite, however, the experience of the last war had not left them. In the Great War, Motz had managed to work out a deal with the Chief Press Censor to protect Berlin from propaganda emanating from the *London Advertiser*. In the Second World War, L.O. Breithaupt in his capacity as President of the Kitchener Board of Trade would remember the war of words and asked the new Chief Press Censor to protect Kitchener from slanderous rumors.

The maintenance of the traditions of liberalism in Berlin may not be the exception to the rule, and likewise the undermining of the liberal order by “rebels reds and radicals” as well as the Canadian state itself through the mechanisms of the insecurity state may very well be more complex than can be determined by spatial relations, geography and urbanization. It has been argued here that it was based on the development of Canadian capitalism. A logical next step is to expand. At the end of the war there were thirteen districts some of which, like Toronto, (as well as those not discussed here 4 Montreal, 10 Winnipeg, and 11 Victoria) incubated the new insecurity state. A national comparison is now needed examining the ethnic and gender-based histories, propaganda and censorship,

⁵ Rych Mills, “More Ontario Name Changes” *WHS* 103 (2015): 207-208.

of all thirteen through the lens of the Department of Militia and Defence in order to fully examine the extent of the destruction of liberal hegemony in Canada, during the war, by the state that for McKay forced “rebels, reds, and radicals” to “reason otherwise.”

Bibliography

Archives of Ontario

RG 23 Criminal Justice Records (Ontario Provincial Police)

Brock University

Brock University, Digital Repository
Historical Maps of Niagara Collection
Welland Canal Virtual Project

The Directorate of History and Heritage (C.P. Stacey Building)

112, 3M1013 (D1) CDN Int. Service up to 1918, Org & Work of Cdn. Int. Service in the
Great War 1914-18 & Earlier Background

157, 046 (D1) Orders, Memos, Notes etc. re. org. & History of Corps of Guides as
Prepared for DMI – Jul 55

Department of National Defence Treatment of Enemy Aliens During the Great War

The Doris Lewis Rare Book Room University of Waterloo Library

Acadian Club Documents
Copies of insurance claim LAC RG 24 1158

Concordia Club Fonds

Breithaupt, Hewetson, Clark Collection
Catherine Olive Breithaupt Diaries
L.J. Breithaupt Diaries
William Walter Breithaupt Letters

Motz Family Fonds
Rittinger & Motz

***Geospatial Centre
University of Waterloo***

ArcGIS Kitchener-Waterloo (1955-Present)

***Kitchener Public Library
Central Grace Schmidt Room***

Breithaupt, T.H. *Chronicle of the Breithaupt Family* vol I-II, Hanover, 1903.

English, John K. *Berlin, Ontario-1916*.

Robert Douglas et al. "Oral History of Waterloo County",
Wilfred Laurier University, 1975.

Waterloo Historical Society photograph collection

World War I Soldier Information Card series

***Laurier Center for Military
Strategic and Disarmament Studies***

Lieut-Col. Lohead Fonds

Library Archives Canada

RG 6E Department of the Secretary of State Fonds
RG 9 III Ministry of the Overseas Military Fonds
RG 13 Department of Justice Fonds
RG 18 Royal Canadian Mounted Police Fonds
RG 24 Department of National Defence Fonds
RG 25 Department of External Affairs Fonds
RG 150 Soldiers, First World War Attestation Papers

Rose, Kathryn (transcribed) *The Diaries of Sir Robert Borden, 1912-1918*.

The National Archives (Kew)

HO 144/21710 Home Office: Registered Papers Aliens: Horst von der Goltz: Wartime Activities

KV2/519-520 Security Service Personal Files, Captain von Papen Case

Newspapers

Berliner Journal/Ontario Journal

Berlin Daily Telegraph

Berlin News-Record

The Canada Gazette

The Globe and Mail

The London Advertiser

The Ottawa Citizen

Ottawa Free Press

The Record

The Toronto Star

The Toronto Sun

Published Sources and Compilations

Baylor, Michael G. *The German Reformation and the Peasants War: A Brief History with Documents*. Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2012.

Bourassa, Henri. *Conscription*. Montreal: *Le Devoir*, 1917.

Cmd. 8022 Shipping Casualties (Loss of the Steamship *Lusitania*) "Report of a formal investigation into the circumstances attending to the foundering on 7th May 1915 of the British Steamship 'Lusitania' of Liverpool after being torpedoed off the Old Head of Kinsale, Ireland" London: His Majesty's Stationary Office, 1915.

Cmd. 8174 Miscellaneous No. 6 (1916) "Selection from Papers found in the Possession of Captain von Papen, Late German Military Attaché at Washington, Falmouth, January 2 & 3, 1916" London: His Majesty's Stationary Office, 1916.

Cmd. 8232 Miscellaneous No. 13 (1916) "Sworn Statement by Horst von der Goltz alias Bridgeman Taylor" London: His Majesty's Stationary Office, 1916.

- Duguid, Colonel A Fortescue. *Official History of the Canadian Forces in the Great War, 1914-1919: Chronology Appendices and Maps*. Ottawa: King's Printer, 1938.
- Capt. Frederick D. Ellis *The Tragedy of the Lusitania: Authentic Stories by the Survivors and Eye-Witnesses of the Disaster*. Philadelphia: National Publishing Co, 1915.
- Jones, John Price. *America Entangled: The Secret Plotting of German Spies in the United States and the Inside Story of the Sinking of the Lusitania*. New York: A.C. Laut, 1917.
- "Fifth Census of Canada, 1911: Instructions to Officers, Commissioners and Enumerators" *The Canada Gazette*, April 22, 1911.
- Leact, F.H. ed. *Historical Statistics of Canada* 2nd ed. Ottawa: Statistics Canada, 1983.
- Official Report of the Debates: HOC of the Dominion of Canada, Fifth Session-Twelfth Parliament. Vol. 119 Ottawa: 1915.
- Peace Souvenir: Activities of Waterloo County in the Great War, 1914-1918*. Kitchener: *Kitchener Daily Telegraph*, 1919.
- Pearce, Thomas. "Inspector's Reports: Public School Board" Archive of the Waterloo District Schoolboard.
- "Recall of Captain von Papen, Military Attaché and Captain Boy-Ed, Naval Attaché, of the German Embassy at Washington" *The American Journal of International Law*, 10 No. 4 Supplement: Diplomatic Correspondence and Commerce (October, 1916): 363-366.
- Sessional Paper No. 72a 1916 (Ottawa) Royal Commission RE: Parliament Buildings Fire at Ottawa, February 3, 1916 Report of the Commission and Evidence
- The Popular Works of Johann Gottlieb Fichte*, vol 1-2. Bristol: Thoemmes Press, 1999.
- Tiessen, Paul ed. *Berlin, Canada: A Self Portrait of Kitchener, Ontario Before World War One*. St. Jacobs: Sand Hills Books, Inc., 1979.
- "Transcript of German Company Tract Deed, Waterloo" *Waterloo Historical Society* 7 (1919): 87-90.
- Wilson, Barbara M. (ed.) *Ontario and the First World War: 1914- 1918: A Collection of Documents*. Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1977.

Printed and Published Memoirs

- Borden, Robert Laird. *Robert Laird Borden: His Memoirs, Vol I-II*. Henry Borden (ed.) Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1969.
- Brust, Harold. *I Guarded Kings: The Memoirs of a Political Police Officer*. New York: Hillman-Curl, Inc., 1936.
- Goltz, Capt. Horst Von der. *My Adventures as a German Secret Agent*. New York: Robert M. McBride & Company, 1917.
- Kleist, Franz Rintelen von. *The Dark Invader: Wartime Reminiscences of a German Naval Intelligence Officer*. London: Frank Class, 1998.
- Nikolai, Col. W. *The German Secret Service*. George Renwick tans. London: Stanley Paul & Co. Ltd, 1924.
- Papen, Franz von. *Memoirs*. Brian Connel trans. London: Andre Deutsch Limited, 1952.
- Tappert, Carl Reinhold. *Memoirs of an Octogenarian*. Philadelphia, 1946.

Masters and Doctoral Dissertations

- Bird, John Clement. "Control of Enemy Alien Civilians in Great Britain, 1914-1918" PhD Thesis: University of London, 1981.
- Butt, Michael. "Surveillance of Canadian Communists: A Case Study of Toronto RCMP Intelligence Networks, 1920-1939" PhD Thesis: Memorial University of Newfoundland, 2003.
- Ford, Trevor R.O. "Dreaded Tempest: How the Military Intelligence Branch of the Department of Militia and Defence Conducted Intelligence Operations against One Big Union and Sinn Fein in Montreal, 1920-21" Masters Thesis: Memorial University of Newfoundland, 2013.
- Fulwider, Chad R. "The Kaiser's Most Loyal Subjects?: The German View of America and German-Americans During World War I" PhD Thesis: Emory University, 2008.
- Gerritsen, Maarten. "Corps Identity: The Letters, Diaries and Memoirs of Canada's Great War Soldiers" PhD Thesis, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 2008.

- Maroney, Paul J. "Recruiting the Canadian Expeditionary Force in Ontario, 1914-1917" Master's Thesis Queen's University, 1991.
- Pyée, Audrey. "L'identité des Élités Canadiennes-Allemandes de Berlin (Kitchener) et Waterloo Ontario, 1880-1914" Master's Thesis, York University, 1997.
- Richards, Tylor. "(Re-)Imagining Germaness: Victoria's Germans and the 1915 *Lusitania* Riot" Master's Thesis: University of Victoria, 2012.
- Richardson, Lynn Elizabeth "A Facile Pen: John Motz and the Berliner Journal, 1859-1911" Master's Thesis: University of Waterloo, 1991.
- Thompson, Andrew McCauley. "The Breithaupts and Breithaupt Leather: Building a Family Business in Berlin Ontario" PhD Thesis, University of Waterloo, 1992.
- Vey, Waldraut Elisabeth "The German Immigrants of Waterloo County, 1840-1900" Master's Thesis, University of Western Ontario, 1977.

Books and Articles

- Alder, Hans and Wulf Koepke. *A Companion to The Works of Johan Gottfried Herder*. New York: Camden House, 2009.
- Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. Revised ed. London: Verso, 2006.
- Andrew, Christopher. *Her Majesty's Secret Service: The Making of the British Intelligence Community*, New York: Viking, 1986.
- . *Secret Service: The Making of the British Intelligence Community*. Kent: Sceptre, 1987.
- . *The Defence of the Realm: The Authorized History of MI5* Toronto: Penguin Canada, 2010.
- Angell, Norman. *The Great Illusion: A Study of the Relation of Military Power to National Advantage*. New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1913.

- Ashworth, Lucian M. *A History of International Thought: From the Origins of the Modern State to Academic International Relations*. New York: Routledge, 2014.
- Avery, Donald. *'Dangerous Foreigners' European Immigrant Workers and Labour Radicalism, 1896-1932*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1979.
- . *Reluctant Host. Canada's Response to Immigrant Workers, 1896-1994*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1995.
- Backhouse, Constance. *Colour Coded: A Legal History of Racism in Canada, 1900-1950*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999.
- Barnard, F.M. *Herder on Nationality, Humanity and History*. Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2003.
- Baskerville, Peter and Eric W. Sager. *Unwilling Idlers: The Urban Unemployed and their Families in Late Victorian Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998.
- Bassler, Gerhard P. "The German Canadian Identity: Artificial Construct or Historical Reality?" Revisited Paper presented to the 18th German-Canadian Studies Symposium, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1997.
- . *The German Canadian Mosaic Today and Yesterday: Identities, Roots and Heritage*. Ottawa: German-Canadian Congress, 1991.
- . *Vikings to U-Boats: The German Experience in Newfoundland and Labrador*. Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2006.
- Bausenhart, Werner A. "The Ontario German Language Press and its Suppression by Order-in-Council in 1918" *Canadian Ethnic Studies* (January 1972): 35-48.
- Becker, Howard S. *Outsiders: Studies in the Sociology of Deviance*. London: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1963.
- Berger, Carl. Ed. *Conscription 1917: Essays by A.M. Wilms, Ramsay Cook, J.M. Bliss, Martin Robin*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969.
- Berger, Carl. *The Sense of Power: Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism, 1867-1914*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970.

- Bernhardi, General Friedrich von. *Germany and the Next War*. Toronto: McLelland, Goodchild & Stewart Ltd., 1914.
- Bjorklund, Beth and Mark E. Cory (eds.) *Politics in German Literature*. Columbia: Camden House, 1998.
- Blackbourn, David, and Richard J. Evans (eds) *The German Bourgeoisie: Essays on the Social History of the German Middle Class from the Eighteenth to the Early Twentieth Century*. London: Routledge, 1991.
- Bloch, Marc. *The Historian's Craft*, Peter Putnam trans. New York: Vintage Books, 1953.
- Bloomfield, Elizabeth. "Economy, Necessity, Political Reality: Two Planning Efforts in Kitchener-Waterloo, 1912-1925" *Urban History Review* 9 (1980): 3-48.
- Blum, Howard. *Dark Invasion 1915: Germany's Secret War and the Hunt for the First Terrorist Cell in America*. New York: HarperCollins, 2014.
- Breithaupt, W.H. "President's Address" *Waterloo Historical Society* 6 (1918): 11-13.
- Bricker, I.C. "The History of Waterloo Township up to 1825" *Waterloo Historical Society* 21 & 22 (1934): 81-122.
- . "Trek of the Pennsylvanians to Canada, 1805" *Waterloo Historical Society* 21 & 22 (1934): 123-131.
- Brown, Lorne and Caroline Brown, *An Unauthorized History of the RCMP* Toronto: James Lorimer & Company, Publishers, 1978.
- Brown, Robert Craig. *Robert Laird Borden: A Biography, vol 1: 1854-1914*. Toronto: MacMillan of Canada, 1975.
- Brown, Robert Craig and Ramsay Cook. *Canada, 1896-1921: A Nation Transformed*. Toronto: McLelland and Stewart Ltd., 1974.
- Brown, Robert Craig and Donald Lovebridge "Unrequited Faith: Recruiting the CEF, 1914-1918" *Canadian Military History* 24, no. 1 (2015): 61-87.
- Bryce, Benjamin. "Linguistic Ideology and State Power: German and English Education in Ontario, 1880-1912" *Canadian Historical Review* 94. No 2 (June 2013): 207-233.

- Buchner, P.A. "Acadiensis II" *Acadiensis I* (1971): 3-9.
- Buitenhuis, Peter. *The Great War of Words: British, American, and Canadian Propaganda and Fiction, 1914-1933*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1987.
- Bumstead, J.M. *A History of the Canadian Peoples*, 2nd ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 2003.
- Burridge, Kathryn. "Pennsylvania-German Dialect: A Localized Study within a part of Waterloo County" *Canadian-German Folklore* 11 (1989)
- Burrows, G. Edmond. *Canadian Clocks and Clockmakers*. Oshawa: Kalabi Enterprises Ltd., 1973.
- Butterfield, Herbert. *History and Human Relations*. MacMillan, 1952.
- Carr, E.H. *The Twenty Years Crisis, 1919-1939: An Introduction to the Study of International Relations*. New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1939.
- . *What is History?* London: MacMillan & Co Ltd., 1962.
- Chadwick, W.R. *The Battle for Berlin Ontario: An Historical Drama*. Wilfred Laurier University Press, 1992.
- Campbell, William J. "'We Germans are British Subjects' The First World War and the Curious Case of Berlin Ontario" *Canadian Military History* 21, no. 2 (2015): 45-57.
- Chávez, Alicia Fedelina and Florence Guido-DiBritto "Racial and Ethnic Identity and Development" *New Directions for Adult and Continuing Education* 84 (Winter 1999): 39-47.
- Childers, Erskine. *The Riddle of the Sands: A Record of Secret Service*. New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1915.
- Clarke, Nic, John Cranfield and Kris Inwood "Fighting Fit? Diet, Disease, and Disability in the Canadian Expeditionary Force, 1914-1918" *War and Society* 33, (2014): 79-96.
- Clarke, Nic. *Unwanted Warriors: Rejected Volunteers of the Canadian Expeditionary Force*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2015.

- Constant, Jean-Francois and Michel Ducharme (eds.) *Liberalism and Hegemony: Debating the Canadian Liberal Revolution*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010.
- Conzen, Kathleen. "Mainstreams and Side Channels: The Localization of Immigrant Cultures" *Journal of American History* 11 (1991): 5-20.
- Cook, Tim. *Clio's Warriors: Canadian Historians and the Writing of the World Wars*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2006.
- Cranfield, John, Kris Inwood, and J. Andrew Ross "Before the Obesity Epidemic: The Body Mass Index of Canadians in the First and Second World Wars" *Canadian Bulletin of Medical History* 32 no. 2 (2015): 319-335.
- Creighton, Donald. *The Empire of the St. Lawrence*. Toronto: The MacMillan Company of Canada Limited, 1970.
- Cron, Herman. *Imperial German Army, 1914-1918: Organization, Structure, Order of Battle* translated by C.F. Colton. Solihull: Helion & Company Ltd., 2001.
- Darton, Robert. *Censors at Work: How States Shaped Literature*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2014.
- Dimmel, Brandon R. *Engaging the Line: How the Great War Shaped the Canada-US Border*. Vancouver, UBC Press, 2016.
- Dummit, Christopher and Michael Dawson (eds.) *Contesting Clio's Craft: New Directions and Debates in Canadian History*. London: Institute for the Study of Americas, 2009.
- Dutil, Patrice and David Mackenzie, *Embattled Nation: Canada's Wartime Election of 1917*. Dundurn, 2017.
- Elliot, Major S.R. *Scarlet to Green: A History of Intelligence in the Canadian Army, 1903-1963*. Toronto: Canadian Intelligence and Security Association, 1981.
- Enns, Gerhard. "Waterloo North and Conscription, 1917" *Waterloo Historical Society* 51 (1963)
- Epp, Marlene "Pioneers, Refugees, Exiles, and Transnationals: Gendering Diaspora in an Ethno Religious Context" *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association* 12 (2001): 137-154.

- Evans, Richard J. *Death in Hamburg: Society and Politics in the Cholera Years, 1830-1910*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987.
- Fair, Ross. "'Theirs was a Deeper Purpose:': The Pennsylvania Germans of Ontario and the Craft of the Homemaking Myth" *Canadian Historical Review* 87, no. 4 (2006): 653-684.
- Fay, Sidney B. *The Origins of the World War, vol 1: Before Sarajevo*. New York: The Free Press, 1966.
- . *The Origins of the World War, vol 2: After Sarajevo*. New York: The Free Press, 1966.
- Felitzsch, Heribert von. *The Secret War on the United States: A Tale of Sabotage, Labor Unrest, and Border Troubles*. Ammissvile: Henselstone Verlag, 2015.
- Fichte, Johann Gotfried. *Address to the German People*. trans. Issac Nakimovsky et al. Indianapolis: Hacket Publishing Company, 2012.
- Fischer, David Hackett. *Historians' Fallacies: Towards a Logic of Historical Thought*. New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1970.
- Fischer, Gerhard. *Enemy Aliens: Internment and the Homefront Experience in Australia, 1914-1920*. Queensland: University of Queensland Press, 1989.
- Ford, Trevor R.O. "Desertion in the 118th Battalion" July 8, 2014
<http://lmharchive.ca/desertion-in-the-118th-battalion/>
- Foucault, Michel. *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of Prison*. New York: Vintage Books, 1995.
- Friesen, Gerhard. "The Presentation of German-Canadian Concerns in the *Berliner Journal*, 1914-1917" *German-Canadian Studies Annals* 6 (1987): 138-153.
- Fujiwara, Aya. *Ethnic Elites and Canadian Identity: Japanese, Ukrainians and Scots, 1919-1971*. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2012.
- Gardner, Nikolas. "The Great War and Waterloo County: The Travails of the 118th Overseas Battalion" *Ontario History* 89, no. 3 (1997): 219-236.
- Gimblett, Richard H. "Reassessing the Dreadnought Crisis of 1909 and the Origins of the Royal Canadian Navy" *Northern Mariner/Le Marin du Nord* 4, 1 (1994), 35-53.

- Ginzburg, Carlo. *The Cheese and the Worms: The Cosmos of a Sixteenth Century Miller* trans. John and Anne C. Tedeschi. Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 2013.
- Goebel, Stefan. *The Great War and Medieval Memory: War, Remembrance and Medievalism in Britain and Germany, 1914-1940*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2007.
- Goode, Erich and Nachman Ben-Yehuda “Moral Panics: Culture, Politics, and Social Construction” *Annual Review of Sociology* 20 (1994): 149-71.
- Granatstein, J.L. and J.M. Hitsman. *Broken Promises: A History of Conscription in Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977.
- Granatstein, J.L. *Who Killed Canadian History?* Toronto: HarperCollins Publishers Ltd., 1998.
- Grenke, Art. “The German Community of Winnipeg and the English-Canadian Response to World War” *Canadian Ethnic Studies/Etudes Ethniques au Canada* 20, no. 1 (1988): 21-44.
- Hamerow, Theodore S. *Restoration, Revolution, Reaction: Economics and Politics in Germany, 1815-1871*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1958.
- Harzig, Christine and Dirk Hoerder (eds.) *The Press of Labor Migrants in Europe and North America, 1880s-1930s*. Bremen: Publications of the Labour Newspapers Preservation Project, 1985.
- Heathorn, Stephen. *Haig and Kitchener in Twentieth-Century Britain: Remembrance, Representation and Appropriation*. London: Routledge, 2013.
- Hessel, Peter. *Destination: Ottawa Valley*. Ottawa: The Runge Press Limited, 1984.
- Hewitt, Steve. *Spying 101: The RCMP’s Secret Activities at Canadian Universities, 1917-1997*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002.
- Hobsbawn, E.J. *Nations and Nationalism since 1780*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.
- Hoerder, Dirk. “Towards a History of Canadians: Transcultural Human Agency as Seen Through Economic Behaviours, Community Formation, and Social Institutions” *Histoire sociale/Social History* 38 no. 76 (2005): 433-459.

- Holt, Richard. *Filling the Ranks: Manpower in the Canadian Expeditionary Force, 1914-1918*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2017.
- Hoover, Karl. "The Hindu Conspiracy in California, 1913-1918" *German Studies Review* 8 no. 2 (1985): 245-261.
- Humphries, Mark O. "War's Long Shadow: Masculinity, Medicine, and the Gendered Politics of Trauma, 1914-1939" *Canadian Historical Review* 91, no. 3 (2010): 503-531.
- Innis, Harold A. *The Fur Trade in Canada: An Introduction to Canadian Economic History*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1962.
- Johnston, Kellie "'No one will hold it against them...': Breithaupt Family Resistance to Anti-German Sentiment in WWI Berlin" *Waterloo Historical Society*, 102 (2014): 52-76.
- Jones, David. *Fichte's Republic: Idealism, History and Nationalism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015.
- Joyce, Patrick. *The Rule of Freedom: Liberalism and the Modern City*. London: Verso, 2003.
- Kalbfleisch, Herbert Karl. "Among the Editors of Ontario German Newspapers" *Ontario German Folklore* 1-4 (1961-71) Pennsylvania Folklore Society of Ontario, 78-85.
- . *The History of the Pioneer German Language Press of Ontario, 1835-1918*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1968.
- Kealey, Gregory S. "Introduction" *The Canadian Journal of Sociology/Cahiers canadiens de sociologie* 13, no. 2 (1988): 1-7.
- . "The Royal Canadian Mounted Police, The Canadian Security Intelligence Service, The Public Archives of Canada, and Access to Information: A Curious Tale" *Labour/Le Travail* 21 (1988): 199-226.
- . *Spying on Canadians: The Royal Canadian Mounted Police Security Service and the Origins of the Long Cold War*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2017.
- . "State Repression of Labour and the Left in Canada, 1914-1920: The Impact of the First World War" *Canadian Historical Review* 73 no. 3 (1992): 281-314.

- Keegan, John. *The Face of Battle: A Study of Agincourt, Waterloo and the Somme*. New York: Penguin Books Ltd., 1978.
- Keene, Jennifer D. and Michael S. Neiberg (eds). *Finding Common Ground: New Directions in First World War Studies*. Boston: Brill, 2011.
- Kennedy, Paul. *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers: Economic Change and Military Conflict from 1500-2000*. New York: Vintage Books, 1989.
- Keshen, Jeffrey A. "All the News that was fit to Print: Ernest J. Chambers and Information Control in Canada, 1914-1919" *Canadian Historical Review* 73, no. 3 (1991): 315-343.
- . *Propaganda and Censorship During Canada's Great War*. Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1996.
- Kinsman, Gary. "Character Weaknesses" and "Fruit Machines": Towards an Analysis of Anti-Homosexual Security Campaign in the Canadian Civil Service" *Labour/Le Travail* 35 (Spring, 1995): 133-161.
- Kinsmen, Gary *et al* (eds) "*Whose National Security?*" *Canadian State Surveillance and the Creation of Enemies*. Toronto: Behind the Lines, 2000.
- Kitchen, Martin. "The German Invasion of Canada in the First World War" *The International History Review*, 8 (May 1985): 246-260.
- Kordan, Bohdan S. *No Free Man: Canada, The Great War, and the Enemy Alien Experience*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2016.
- Korski, Tom. "Burning Down the House: When Canada's Parliament was Destroyed by Fire, A Jittery Wartime Nation First Suspected a Hun Conspiracy, the Blamed it on a Smouldering Cigar, A Fresh Look at the Evidence Suggests Another Matter" *Postmedia News*, January 31, 2011.
- Lehmann, Heinz. *The German Canadians, 1750-1937: Immigration, Settlement & Culture*. Translated by Gerhard P. Bassler. St. John's: Jespersion Press, 1986.
- Le Queux, William. *The Great War in England in 1897*. London: Tower Publishing Company Ltd., 1894.
- Levitt, Joseph (ed.) *Henri Bourassa on Imperialism and Biculturalism, 1900-1918*. Toronto: Copp Clark, 1970.

- Liddell, Peter and Walter Riedel (eds.) *Proceedings of Symposium VII on German-Canadian Studies*. Victoria: University of Victoria, 1990.
- Liebbrandt, Gottlieb. *Little Paradise: The Saga of the German Canadians of Waterloo County, Ontario, 1800-1975*. Kitchener: Allprint Company Limited, 1980.
- Löchte, Von Anne. *Das Berliner Journal: Eine deutschsprachige Zeitung in Kanada, 1859-1918*. Göttingen: V&R unipress, 2007.
- Lorenzkowski, Barbara. "Languages of Ethnicity: Teaching German in Waterloo County's Schools, 1850-1915" *Histoire Social/Social History* 41, no. 81 (May 2008): 1-39.
- . *Sounds of Ethnicity: Listening to German North America, 1850-1914*. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2010.
- Lucas, Jack. "Berlin, Ontario, in the Age of ABC" *Urban History Review* 41, no. 2 (2013): 19-29.
- . *Fields of Authority: Special Purpose of Governance in Ontario, 1815-2015*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2016.
- Mackenzie, David, ed. *Canada and the First World War: Essays in Honour of Robert Craig Brown*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005.
- Mackinder, Halford J. "Geographical Conditions Affecting the British Empire: I The British Isles" *The Geographical Journal* 33, 4 (1909), 462-476.
- MacMillan, Margaret. *The War that Ended Peace: The Road to 1914*. Toronto: Penguin, 2013.
- Macpherson, C.B. (ed) *Property: Mainstream and Critical Positions*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013.
- Macpherson, C.B. *The Political Theory of Possessive Individualism: Hobbes to Locke*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962.
- . *The Real World of Democracy*. Concord: House of Anansi Press Ltd., 1992.
- Mährlein, Christoph. *Volksgeist und Recht: Hegels Philosophie der Einheit und ihre Bedeutung in der Rechtswissenschaft*. Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2000.

- Marder, Arthur J. *From Dreadnought to Scapa Flow: The Royal Navy in the Fisher Era, 1904-1914 Vol 1: The Road to War*. London: Oxford University Press, 1966.
- Maroney, Paul J. "'The Great Adventure': The Context and Ideology of Recruiting in Ontario, 1914-1917" *Canadian Historical Review* 77 (1996): 62-98.
- Massie, Robert K. *Dreadnought: Britain, Germany, and the Coming of the Great War*. New York: Random House, 1991.
- McHugh, Patricia. *Toronto Architecture: A City Guide*. Toronto: McClellan & Stewart Inc., 1985.
- McKay, Ian and Jamie Switt. *Warrior Nation: Rebranding Canada in an Age of Anxiety*. Toronto: Between the Lines, 2012.
- McKay, Ian and Robin Bates. *In the Province of History: Making of the Public Past in Twentieth Century Nova Scotia*. Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2010.
- McKay, Ian. *Reasoning Otherwise: Leftists and the People's Enlightenment in Canada, 1890-1920*. Toronto: Between the Lines, 2008.
- . *Rebels, Reds, and Radicals: Rethinking Canada's Left History*. Toronto: Between the Lines, 2005.
- . "The Liberal Order Framework: A Prospectus for a Reconnaissance of Canadian History" *Canadian Historical Review* 81, no.4 (2000): 617-645.
- McKay, Ian et al. "MacDonald Prize Roundtable on *Why Did We Chose to Industrialize*" *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association*, 28 no. 2 (2017): 90-113.
- McKegney, Patricia P. *The Kaiser's Bust: A Study of War-Time Propaganda in Berlin Ontario, 1914-1918*. Wellesley: Bamberg Press, 1991.
- McKernan, Michael. *The Australian People and the Great War*. Melbourne: Nelson, 1980.
- McIntire, C.T. *Herbert Butterfield: Historian as Dissenter*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004.

- Meinecke, Friedrich. *The German Catastrophe: The Social and Historical Influences which led to the Rise and Ruin of Hitler and Germany*. Trans. Sidney B. Fay. Boston: The Beacon Press, 1950.
- Menary, David. *Lusitania: The Waterloo County Connection*. Blue River Press, 2015.
- Miller, Ian Hugh Maclean. *Our Glory and our Grief: Torontonians and the Great War*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002.
- Millman, Brock. *Polarity, Patriotism and Dissent in Great War Canada, 1914-1919*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2016.
- Mills, Rych. *Images Canada: Kitchener (Berlin) 1880-1960*. Charlestown: Arcadia Publishing, 2002.
- . "More Ontario Name Changes" *Waterloo Historical Society* 103 (2015): 207-208.
- . "The *Ontario Journal*'s First English Language Issue" *Waterloo Historical Society* 104 (2016): 71-74.
- . *Victoria Park: 100 Years of a Park & it's People*. Twin City Dwyer Printing Co. Ltd., 1996.
- Moogk, Peter. "Uncovering the Enemy Within: British Columbians and the German Menace" *BC Studies* 182 (2014): 45-72.
- Morris, R.J. *Class, Sect and Party: The Making of the British Middle Class: Leeds, 1820-50*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990.
- Morton, Desmond. "Did the French Canadians Cause the Conscription Crisis of 1917?" *Canadian Military History* 24, no. 1 (2015): 89-99.
- . *Ministers and Generals: Politics and the Canadian Militia, 1868-1904*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970.
- . "Sir William and Internment Operations in Canada During the First World War" *Canadian Historical Review* 55,1 (1974), 32-58.
- . *When Your Number's Up: The Canadian Soldier in the First World War*. Toronto: The Random House of Canada Ltd., 1993.

- Morton W.L. *The Kingdom of Canada: A General History from the Earliest Times*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1975.
- Moss, Mark. *Manliness and Militarism: Educating Young Boys in Ontario for War*. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- Moyer, Bill. *This Unique Heritage: The Story of Waterloo County*. Kitchener: CHYM Radio, 1971.
- Naylor, R.T. *The History of Canadian Business, 1867-1914*. Montreal & Kingston: McGill Queen's University Press, 2006.
- Neilson, Keith and B.J.C. McKercher (eds.) *Go Spy the Land: Military Intelligence in History*. Westport: Praeger Publishers, 1992.
- Nelles, H.V. *The Politics of Development: Forests, Mines & Hydro Electric Power in Ontario, 1849-1941*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005
- Nerbas, Don. *Dominion of Capital: Politics of Big Business and the Crisis of the Canadian Bourgeoisie, 1914-1947*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013.
- Nixon, Don. *The Other Side of the Hill: Behind the Scenes Stories of Parliament Hill*. Carleton Place, 2012.
- Nossal, Kim Richard. "Defending the 'Realm': Canadian Strategic Culture Revisited" *International Journal* 59, 3 (2004): 503-520.
- O'Brien, Mike. "Manhood and the Militia Myth: Masculinity, Class and Militarism in Ontario, 1902-1914" *Labour/Le Travail* 42 (1998): 115-141.
- Overy, Richard. *The Morbid Age: Britain and the Crisis of Civilization, 1919-1939*. New York: Penguin Books, 2010.
- Panayi, Panikos. *Prisoners of Britain: German Civilians and Combatant Internees During the First World War*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012.
- Parr, Joy. *The Gender of Breadwinners: Women, Men, and Change in Two Industrial Towns, 1880-1950*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990.
- Pearce, Thomas "School History, Waterloo County and Berlin" *Waterloo Historical Society*, 2 (1914): 33-48.

- Price, Thomas J. "Spy Stories, Espionage and the Public in the Twentieth Century" *Journal of Popular Culture* 30, 3 (1993), 81-89.
- Robinson, Curtis B. *Caught Red Starred: The Woolwich Spy-Ring and Stalin's Naval Rearmament on the Eve of War*. Bloomington: Xlibris, 2011.
- . "Conflict or Consensus? *The Berliner Journal* and the Chief Press Censor During the First World War" *Waterloo Historical Society* 104 (2016): 60-71.
- . "Review of Reg Whitaker, Gregory S. Kealey, and Andrew Parnaby, *Secret Service: Political Policing in Canada from the Fenians to Fortress America*" (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012) *Canadian Military History* 24, no. 2 (2015): 306-309.
- Rome, David. trans. Pierre Anctil ed. *Through the Eyes of The Eagle: The Early Montreal Yiddish Press, 1907-1916*. Vehicule Press, 2001.
- Roth, Ralf and Robert Beachy (eds.) *Who Ran the Cities? City Elites and Urban Power Structures in Europe and North America, 1750-1940*. Burlington: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2007.
- Roquette, Robert. *Language and Religion: A History of English-French Conflict in Ontario*. Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1975.
- Russel, Harold. "Berlin/Kitchener's Most Famous Fire-A Century Later" *Waterloo Historical Society* 104 (2016): 30-32.
- Rutherford, Robert. *Hometown Horizons: Local Responses to Canada's Great War*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2004.
- Sarty, Roger. *The Maritime Defence of Canada*. Toronto: The Canadian Institute of Strategic Studies, 1996.
- Sellers, Leonard. *Shot in the Tower: The Story of the Spies Executed in the Tower of London during the First World War*. London: Leo Cooper, 1997.
- Sharp, Chris. "Enlistment in the Canadian Expeditionary Force: A Re-evaluation" *Canadian Military History* 21 no. 1 (2015): 11-54.
- Schultze, Marthis et al (eds.) *German Diasporic Experiences: Identity, Migration and Loss*. Kitchener: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 2008

- Siegel, Linda. *Caspar David Friedrich and the Age of German Romanticism*. Brandon Books, 1978.
- Silver, Arthur Isaac. *The French-Canadian Idea of Confederation, 1864-1900*. 2nd ed. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982.
- Smith, Adam. *An Inquiry into the Nature and the Causes of The Wealth of Nations*. London: T Nelson and Sons, Paternoster Row, 1887.
- Stacey, C.P. *Canada in the Age of Conflict*. Toronto: Macmillan, 1977.
- Stetler, Gilbert A. and Alan F.J. Artibise (eds.) *Shaping the Urban Landscape: Aspects of the Canadian City Building Process*. Ottawa: Carlton University, 1982.
- Stricker, Diane. "How did New Germany Become Maryhill?" *Waterloo Historical Society* 103 (2015): 203-207.
- Sweeny, Robert C.H. *Why Did We Choose to Industrialize? Montreal, 1819-1949*. Montreal & Kingston: McGill Queen's University Press, 2015.
- Takai, Yukari. "Transcending the National in Migration History in North America" *Labour/Le Travail* 77 (2016): 243-256.
- Taylor, A.J.P. *Bismarck: The Man and the Statesman*. New York: Vintage Books, 1967.
- . *The Course of German History: A Survey of the Development of German History since 1815*. London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1976.
- "The German Reformation" *The Church of England Quarterly Review* vol. 32 (1852).
- Theobald, Andrew. "Divided Once More: Social Memory and the Canadian Conscription Crisis of the First World War" *Past Imperfect* 12 (2006): 1-19.
- Thompson, E.P. *Whigs and Hunters: The Origin of the Black Act*. New York: Penguin Press, 1975.
- Thornton, Martin. *Churchill, Borden and Anglo-Canadian Naval Relations, 1911-1914*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2013.
- Toynbee, Arnold J. *A Study of History*, Vol 1-2. D.C. Somervell (Abridged) New York: Oxford University Press, 1961.

- “Under Uptown Waterloo, 2016” *Waterloo Historical Society* Vol. 104 (2016): 194-195.
- Utey, W.B. “Joseph Schneider: Founder of the City” *Waterloo Historical Society* 17 (1929): 111-119.
- Valverde, Moral. *The Age of Light, Soap and Water: Reform in English Canada*. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart Inc., 1991.
- Wagner, Jonathan. *A History of Migration from Germany to Canada, 1850-1939*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2006.
- Walker, James W. St. G. “Race and Recruitment in World War I: Enlistment of Visible Minorities in the Canadian Expeditionary Force” *Canadian Historical Review* 70, no. 1 (1989): 1-26.
- Walker, Mack. *Germany and the Immigration, 1816-1885*. Harvard: Harvard University Press, 1964.
- Wark, Wesley K. “The Evolution of Military Intelligence in Canada” *Armed Forces and Society* 16 no. 1 (Fall, 1989): 77-98.
- Wawro, Geoffrey. *The Franco-Prussian War: The German Conquest of France in 1870-1871*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003
- . *Warfare and Society in Europe, 1792-1914*. London: Routledge, 2000.
- Weber, Max. *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* Talcott Parsons (trans.) New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1958.
- Welsh, Peter. “A Craft that Resisted Change: American Tanning Practices to 1850” *Technology and Culture* 4 (1963): 299-317.
- West, Christopher. *Canada and Sea Power*. London: J.M. Dent & Sons, Ltd., 1914.
- Whitaker, Reg. Gregory S. Kealey, and Andrew Parnaby, *Secret Service: Political Policing in Canada from the Fenians to Fortress America*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012.
- Woodsworth, James S. *Strangers Within Our Gates: or Coming Canadians*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972.

Zimmerman, Jonathan. "Ethics Against Ethnicity: European Immigrants and Foreign-Language Instruction, 1890-1940" *The Journal of American History* 88, no. 4 (2002): 1383-1404

Appendix A

Canadian Forces Stationed in MD1 in event of a Raid

(source: LAC RG 24 vol. 4262 MD1 c-315 HQC 95-1-13)

122nd Overseas Battalion, CEF: 757 men at Galt Ontario

149th Overseas Battalion, CEF: 413 men at London Ontario

153rd Overseas Battalion, CEF: 799 men at St. Thomas Ontario

185th Overseas Battalion, CEF: 642 Chatham Ontario

63rd Depot Battery, CEF: 50 men at London Ontario

Section Divisional Ammunition Column: 56 men at London Ontario

64th Depot Battery, CEF: 188 men at Guelph Ontario

Appendix B

Orders to Appoint a Divisional/District Intelligence Officer

(source: LAC RG 24 vol 4262 MD1 Protection of the Frontiers)

Confidential

I.D. c-252

13th August 4.

Officer Commanding, 1st Division
London, Ont.
Secretary, Militia Council,
Ottawa, Ont.

Sir, -

I beg to suggest that it might be found advisable if Officers Commanding Divisions could have the services of a Secret Service Officer to aid him in investigating and dealing with reports made to him from time to time as to the movements and actions of German and Austrian Officers and Reservists, as well as any suspected characters or gatherings, and in order to enable the Officer Commanding Division to make full and complete reports of any such matters. The Report Secret Service Officer, if furnished at the same time, should be of value to Militia Headquarters in dealing with such cases. If the special services of a Secret Service Officer could not be spared then possibly the names and addresses of such officers, if residents of, or quartered or working within the different Divisional Areas, could be furnished to the Officer Commanding Division and three officers instructed to communicate and cooperate with him, it would, I venture to think, be of value, and the service might thereby be more effectively and secretly done in important or difficult cases, than by the employment of local police who are more or less known in their respective localities. This suggestion is not intended to preclude the utilizing of the local police where possible.

Appendix C

List of Internment Stations or Camps in Ontario

(Source: The Directorate of History and Heritage, Department of National Defence
Treatment of Enemy Aliens During the Great War)

Name	Dates of Operation	Description
Kingston	Aug 18, 1914-May 3, 1917	Fort Henry
Petawawa	Dec 10, 1914-May 8, 1916 Camp	Militia
Toronto*	Dec 14, 1914-Oct 2, 1916 Barracks	Stanley
Kapuskasing	Dec 14, 1914-Feb 24, 1920 Houses	Bunk
Niagara Falls*	Dec 15, 1914-Aug 31, 1918	Armory
Sault Ste. Marie*	Jan 13, 1917-June 29, 1918	Armory

*receiving stations where detainees were only kept until they could be sent to a permanent station

Appendix D

Reported Desertions in the 118th OS Battalion (Source: LCMSDS Lohead Fonds, File 1-Desertion)

751255 pte. Modrzynsky, John
751174 pte. Noble, Edward
751431 pte. Green, Frederick John
751527 pte. Kuempel, Edward Emil
751527 pte. Mulholland, George Washington
751633 pte. Miller, James
751637 pte. Kemp, Robert Meredith
751667 pte. Webb, William John
751288 C.S.M. Robertson, Allan
751302 pte. Woodman, Simeon
751318 pte. MacHenry, Stuart
751638 pte. Shoemaker, Austin
751599 pte. Swett, Michael
751429 pte. Taraboa, Paul
751274 pte. Sadjak, Joseph
751501 pte. Modrowski, Stanley
751733 pte. Young, Winford Willis
751609 pte. Krauter, James William
751495 pte. Hauser, Walter George
751665 pte. Mihm, John Henry
126513 pte. Burkholder, Lloyd
751642 pte. Rahmel, Louis
751727 pte. Boettger, Harry D.
751179 pte. McMillan, Archie
126321 corp. Cline, Arthur Bertram
751512 pte. Thomas, Philip
751575 pte. Kuempel, Oscar Stanley
751458 pte. Lorentz, Alexander
751425 pte. Ratz, Lincoln
751229 pte. Krulicki, Joseph
751162 pte. Thomas, Jim
751150 pte. Vasiloff, Thomas
751212 pte. Stewart, Ross McKenzie
751096 pte. Ward, Leslie William
751214 pte. Ball, Clarence Joseph
751687 pte. Cook, Frank
751615 pte. Bowen, Frank Leo Edward

751523 pte. Courter, Calvin Edward
751133 Sgt. Pedlar, Charles Arthur
751278 pte. Bivour, Stewart George
751502 pte. Roth, Albin
751315 pte. Runstetler, Sidney York
751161 pte. Yanchus, Joseph Francis
751724 pte. Lindsay, Roy Alexander
751546 pte. Kelterbon, Alfred August
751651 pte. Schutz, Edward Antoine
751242 pte. Bosy, Stephen
pte. Wanklin, Harold James
751106 pte. Wildfang, August Gordon
751706 pte. Bach, George Conrad
126089 pte. Thoman, Albert Franklin (sp?)
751539 pte. Gooding, Sim
751304 pte. Reiber, Frederick
751083 pte. Hoffman, Clayton Alexander
751588 pte. Schnarr, John
751713 pte. Lossing, Frank
126199 pte. Daum, Joseph
751148 pte. Brown, William Conrad
751415 pte. Gingrich, Menno
751247 pte. Moore, Frank Patrick
751390 pte. Ware, Ivan Harold
751163 pte. Kehn, John
751284 pte. Ratz, Gordon Alexander
751082 pte. Toni, Maik
751594 pte. Demeulenaere, Cyrial
751723 pte. Dauberger, Linus
751067 pte. Streiss, Manford Emanuel
751118 pte. Close, Charles Samuel
751682 pte. Bushour, Joseph
751732 pte. Deckert, John Frederick
751717 pte. Clayton, Percy Lawrence
751308 pte. Salm, Egidius
751510 pte. Scharlach, Oscar
751647 pte. Melchin, Oscar
751718 pte. Scharlach, Henry John
751475 pte. Scharlach, Walter Michael
751532 pte. Kaiser, Albert William
751623 pte. Rosekat, Frederick Adam
751640 pte. Boll, Irvin William

751322 pte. Hinshaw, Douglas
751321 L/Corp Hinshaw, Stuart
751393 pte. Mackenzie, Robert George
751504 pte. Albrecht, Louis John
751730 pte. Rueffer, Walter Henry
751297 pte. Baechler, Norman Arthur
751192 pte. Darlow, Leonard
751619 L/Corp. Clarke, Malcom
751078 L/Sgt. Stauffer, Joseph Roy
751573 pte. Rausch, William Frederick
751073 pte. Hebebrand, Albert
751313 pte. Wakely, Leonard

Appendix E

Casualties from Berlin/Kitchener

(includes men who enlisted in units other than the 118th OS Battalion and Conscripts.

Does not include Waterloo or Waterloo County)

(Source: Kitchener Public Library, Soldier Information Cards)

Albright, Capt Solon
Barlow, Pte. Frank.
Beal, Pte. Alfred.
Beaumont, Lieut. George J.
Bissett, Pte. J. M.
Bluhm, Pte. B.
Bonfonte, Pte. A.
Bowlby, Major George H. MD.
Bradley, Pte George
Brown, Corp. Frank R.
Buller, Pte. G.
Bullick, Lieut H.L.
Capling, Pte. Milton L.
Carthew, Pte. C.
Carthy, Pte. Eric
Carthy. Pte. Percy
Clemens, Flt-Lieut. W. Ewart
Clement, Gnr. David W.
Clement, Lieut. F.
Conrad, Pte. Franz
Craig, Pte. G.
Craig, Pte. J.H.
Davidson, Pte. G.
Davis, Pte. J.L.
Davis, Col. William M.
Deal, Pte. A.E.
Delion, Pte. Harry C.
Desmond, L/C. D.J.
Diefenbacher, Pte. I.
Dudley, Pte. Harold.
Dudley, Pte. William

Dyer, Pte. H.
Eby, Pte. Alexander R.
Evans, Pte. William
Ferguson, Pte. J.
Ferguson, Pte. Leo
Figuers, Pte. H.
Fleming, Pte. W.
Flynn, Capt. J.
Francis, Pte. J.S.
Fyle, Pte. A.
Garden, Pte. C.S.
Gehl, Pte. John A.
Gerbig, Pte. John
Gibbard, Pte. Stanley
Gorman, Pte. J.
Greene, Capt. Carlton C.
Grosz, Pte. A.H.
Hall, Pte. Arthur M.
Harnack, Pte. W.E.
Haskins, Corp. William H.
Hatchman, Pte. Percy J.
Hewitt, L/C. A.S.
Hoyland, Pte. C. H.
Hudson, Pte. Henry
Hummel, Pte. Vernon
Jansen, L/C. Peter
Knechtel, Pte. Gordon
Kuener, Pte. E.
Lamke, Pte. C.E.
Lawson, Pte. H.
Looker, Crp. Henry J.
Lossing, Pte. G.W.
Marr, Spr. Lavergne O.
MacCallum, Pte. J. P.
Messett, Pte. Rollie
Millard, Pte. G.W.
Moody, Pte. William
Oraysek, Pte. J.
Pawson, Corp. G.
Pawson, pte. Clifford
Pequegnat, Pte. Emanuel
Phillip, Pte. Walter

Purdon, Pte. G.R.
Raines, Pte. G.T.
Reid, Hon. Col. R.
Reid, Lieut Stanley
Robertson, L/C. Andrew B.
Rosenberger, Pte. Norman
Ross, Pte. Stewart
Rudow, Pte. A.
Schierholtz, Pte. Walter C.
Schreiter, Gnr. Stanley W.
Simpson, Pte. John
Smith, Pte. William H.
Snider, Lieut. Harry
Soper, Pte. Oliver
Sosnowski, Pte. Frank J.
Stauffer, Lieut. J.E.
Stauffer, Sgt. G.H.
Steckenreiter, Pv. L.P.
Stewart, Pte. R.M.
Stokes, Lieut. Clifford
Strub, Pte. George A.
Stuebing, Pte. Earl
Teroy, Pte. A.
Thompson, Pte. Percy
Underwood, Pte. C.
Van Auderaude, Pte. Philip
Voelker, Pte. H.
Waddell, Pte. H.
Walker, Pte. W.H.
Washburn, Lieut. Robert G.
Weaver, Lieut. Ralph L.
White, Pte. J.A.
Willis, Pte. James
Woodward, Pte. B.
Zapfe, Pte. A

Appendix F

Concordia Club Raid Hearing *[Descriptions added by the author]*

Proceedings of a Court of Inquiry assembled at Berlin Ontario, 16 day of February, 1916 by order of Lieut-Col W.M. Lohead, O.C. 118th OS Batt for the purpose of inquiring into certain disturbances alleged to have been created by certain soldiers of the 118th Battalion C.E.F on 15th February 1916, and inquiring into the nature and extent of the damage (if any) caused by them

(Source: LAC RG 24 Vol 1256 HQ 593-1-87 "Participation of Troops of the C.E.F in a Riot at Berlin, Ont. Feb, 1916")

Opening Statement

The Court of Inquiry having assembled pursuant to order proceed to read the order convening the Court and call witnesses to give evidence relevant to the matters subject to investigation.

From the evidence heard by the Court it appears:

1. That about eight o'clock in the evening of February 15, 1916, the men of the Machine Gun section of the 118th Battalion, C.E.F, marched in a peaceable manner to Concordia Hall, King Street West, Berlin, and removed therefrom the bust of Kaiser Wilhelm I. Later on in the evening (shortly after nine o'clock) a body of the soldiers, about fifty in number, paraded the main street of Berlin singing patriotic songs. Learning that said Concordia Hall was decorated with German flags, bunting and pictures, about twenty-five of the soldiers entered the hall for the purpose of removing same and found a picture of His Majesty, King George V draped with German flags, upon which the men were enraged to the extent of doing certain damage to the Hall and contents hereafter appear
2. That no damage to property was premeditated
3. That the primary cause of the raid on the Hall are
 - (a) The spirit of pro-Germanism rampant in certain circles of this city and the general belief that this spirit is founded largely in the Concordia Society which occupies said Hall.
 - (b) The general knowledge that the bust of Kaiser Wilhelm I was contained in said Hall.
 - (c) The desperation of the men at the slowness of recruiting which they attributed to an unchecked anti-British sentiment, well knowing that the membership of said Society includes a great number of young men.

4. That the immediate cause of the damage to property was the finding in the bar-room of the Society of the picture of King George V surrounded with German flags; the general decoration of the walls with German flags and red, white and black bunting; the presence upon the walls of a large number of pictures of the present German Kaiser and other German notables; the entire absence of any British emblems except the King's picture and a Union Jack which is the property of the Berlin School Board; the finding of evidence of habitual occupation of the rooms as a Club in the face of assurances given publicly by the Society officials at the time of the sinking of the Lusitania that the club would be closed until the expiration of the war.

5. That this Court cannot fix individual responsibility for destruction of property.

6. That in the second return to the Hall and in the destruction of property the soldiers were accompanied, aided and abetted by throngs of civilians. No civilian, police officer or municipal or other official interfered or attempted to interfere at any time nor was any notification of the disorder communicated to Battalion Headquarters until nearly the conclusion of the disturbance, and notice was then given only by a non-commissioned officer of the Battalion. Immediately the O.C. with other officers went to the scene and sent all soldiers on the streets back to the barracks.

7. That the following damage appears to have been occasioned.

- (a) removal of the bust of Kaiser Wilhelm I.
- (b) breakage of a number of window panes, glass in partitions, chairs, German pictures.
- (c) removal and destruction of two kegs of beer and certain bottles of whisky.
- (d) removal and burning of German flags, bunting and books.
- (e) removal of the picture of His Majesty King George V.
- (f) destruction of a piano by civilians.

Much of the destruction was done by civilians who were actually selling on the street souvenirs of the occasion, such as piano keys, etc.

This court has examined the following witnesses whose evidence was taken in shorthand and certified extended copy is attached here.

1. Battalion Sgt-Major Woodrow
2. Company Sgt-Major Blood
3. Corp Brennan
4. Sergt. Hayward
5. Sergt. Deal
6. Sergt. Bowden
7. Sergt. Pawsen
8. Coy Sgt.-Major Gillespie
9. Corp. Wilkins
10. Pte. P. Quinn
11. Lance-Corp. Gough
12. Pte. Williamson
13. Pte. Morneau
14. All the men of the Machine Gun Section

Dated at Berlin this 17 February, 1916.

Lieut.-Col H Martin
Captain H.A. Fraser
Captain W.H. Gregory
Captain F.S. Routley

Witness: Battalion Sergeant-Major Woodrow

Woodrow defended the actions of the men of the 118th OS Battalion stating that they had been treated poorly by the community and felt lied to in regards to the closing of the Concordia Club. Evidence on the scene suggested to him that the club had continued to operate in spite of public statement otherwise. He also testified, like others, that civilians who also participated destroyed the piano and sold keys as souvenirs.

Col. Martin: Were you there last night when the affray took place?

A: No sir, not when it first took place.

Q: What in your opinion, or can you give us any opinion that might lead up to the circumstances causing this disturbance?

A: Well sir, in regard to the treatment the boys of the 118th have received, I think the boys are perfectly justified in what they did. We were always given to understand that Concordia Hall was closed, but such could not have been the case because of beer and everything else that was in the place.

Q: You were not present?

A: No sir, not a first.

Capt. Routley: Where is the bust now?

A: I don't know, sir.

Col. Martin: Were you there say in 15, or twenty minutes or a half hour after?

A: About half an hour.

Q: What was the attitude of civilians?

A: They were helping as well.

Q: What proportion? How many soldiers?

A: That I could not say, sir.

Q: How many civilians in your opinion were taking part?

A: I guess there must have been a couple hundred.

Q: On the street?

A: Yes, sir, and in the hall was the King's picture with a German flag hanging over it.

Capt. Gregory: Did they get the King's picture?

A: They were carrying it away.

Capt. Fraser: Did you see them do anything in the hall?

A: I seen quite a bit of stuff broken. Oh, no. I never saw anything done.

Q: Well, if you did not see anything done, there is nothing from you.

Capt. Fraser: What was the attitude of civilians on the street and the police?

A: The police kept clear. They were not there when I went up. They came later.

Q: About what hour?

A: About half past nine.

Q: Col. Martin: You don't know any of the names of those connected? What soldiers were there?

A: There was quite a bunch there. I took no notice of any particular one.

Q: How long were you in the building?

A: Twenty minutes, and then on the street again.

Q: During the time of the breaking of the glass, chairs, etc?

A: Some was broken, and then afterwards cooled down.

Capt. Routley: Did I understand you were there when the raid was on?

A: After it started.

Q: You may not have been there after 9:30? Col. Lohead, Captain Fraser and I were there about 9:30. It may have been after the show.

A: No sir, Col. Lohead was there after I came out.

Q: It would be between 9:30 and 10 o'clock?

A: I spoke to you about twenty minutes to ten.

Q: You did not see civilians breaking things?

A: Yes, they were pulling things out.

Q: Capt. Gregory: This was in the street?

A: No sir, up in the hall too. When I first went up, there was not a key off the piano.

Co. Martin: You may have been over in what they call their beer room?

A: No, no.

Col. Martin: I am not insinuating. I am just saying you may not have been there.

A: I saw the civilians taking the keys out of the piano as souvenirs.

Capt. Routley: Did you think the soldiers there had anything to do with the breaking?

A: They came around to see what was done.

Q: Did you see a German flag up there?

A: Yes, sir, it burned in the street. There is not another flag, except the Belgian, with black in it.

Q: I understand the Mayor says there was not a German flag there.

A: There was one in there to the best of my knowledge.

Col. Martin: When you go out you might bring that flag up.

Witness dismissed

Witness: Company Sergt. Major Blood

Sgt. Major Granville Blood was part of the Machine Gun Section. He served for a time in the Royal Canadian Navy and returned to Berlin to serve in the 118th in November 1915. He would testify that the low recruitment rates were the result of pro-Germanism in Berlin and this caused resentment among the men in the Battalion. He would play down his role in the events at the Concordia club saying he was not part of the first wave of men who took the bust and in the second wave "rescued" the portrait of King George V. He would later be the ringleader in the public beating and parading of the Prussian born pro-German Lutheran Reverend Tappert.

Col. Martin: We would like Sergt. Major Blood, some evidence this morning from you as to what possibly led up to the disturbance of last night, and the attitude of civilians and policeman about and the damage done by soldiers and possibly the names of those who took part in the disturbances.

A: Well I heard remarks amongst the boys that they did not intend to leave that bust of Kaiser Wilhelm I in town. They didn't intend to leave it, as it had no place in a British city, in the British empire.

Q: This was when?

A: Oh, possibly extending over a period of three or four days.

Q: What in your opinion has led up to this talk of the men?

A: The restless feeling sir, has been intensified by the prolongation of the war, and due to the fact that the people of this city have refrained from joining.

Q: Do you suppose that the newspaper controversy had anything to do with the inflaming of this situation?

A: Newspaper controversy?

Q: Letters in the Star, etc?

A: That newspaper controversy tended to intensity the friction which already existed to a more or less degree in different parts of the city.

Capt. Routley: Did our two Sunday meetings have anything to do with it?

A: No sir, the feeling was just as bitter prior to the meetings of last Sunday as what it is today sir. In fact, Capt. Dancey did nothing but endorse what was already in the minds of the soldiers.

Col Martin: He told pretty plainly that Tappert ought to be tarred and feathered.

A: I heard him say he ought to be sent across the line where he came from.

Capt. Fraser: When did you go up town?

A: I came up town with Quartermaster-Sergeant Cottingham. We both live in the same part of the city. I called for him as I came back and we reached the post office about 28 minutes after eight sir. I remember looking at the clock as we came down here. It was exactly half past eight. When we arrived on the corner we met constable Blevins. He said, "you missed the fun." I said "what fun is that?" He says "the boys have been up taking the bust of Kaiser Wilhelm I and taken it down to the barracks." I saw no soldiers on the street and took a walk down to the barracks myself and saw a bunch of men talking in groups and asked to see the bust and he was interned in the detention room and they unlocked the door and I saw it.

Capt. Fraser: Was there a crowd there?

A: There was a bunch of men gathered around talking while I was there. They had a flag down there.

Capt. Gregory: What flag?

A: The flag they paraded the streets with. They had a Union Jack. They had just returned with it. Then the colonel came out and was giving some of the boys a speech, out on the parade ground where the men gathered. I listened to part of that speech.

Capt. Fraser: Who else would be there then?

A: Listening to that speech? Not more than thirty men, perhaps twenty-five, perhaps only twenty at times.

Q: Did you know any of them?

A: I saw the Colonel speaking personally to Corp. Brennan. I didn't take the trouble to ascertain any one present there.

Capt. Fraser: Did Brennan ever say anything to you about what they were going to do that night.

A: There was nothing organized. I would say that the bunch that started last night was not organized.

Q: You personally had nothing to do with it?

A: I personally had nothing to do with it. I was not surprised.

Capt. Routley: I understand they made two trips.

A: After the Colonel spoke to them, he spoke to me. He gave me certain advice. I said, now we have the flag we will go and have a recruiting parade and as soon as the crowd gathers around, make recruiting speeches. We right wheeled up to the post office, and left wheeled down to the Roma.

Capt. Gregory: How many men?

A: not more than 35.

Q: How many non-commissioned officers?

A: We started with about four and gradually more.

Q: Did the NCOs assume control?

A: Yes, sir, on parade. We had them all marching in sections of four with the standard bearer carrying the flag.

Capt. Fraser: Who would that be? Brennan? Deal? Hayward?

A: I couldn't say who it was. I have a notion it was Sergt.

Elvy. We called all the boys to join us in the parade that we saw in the streets. We got to the Roma Theatre and left wheeled again and came back on the other side of King Street.

Capt Gregory: On the right?

A: Yes, sir.

Col. Martin: How far did you come?

A: As we were coming up sir, a few from the previous raid came down from Concordia Hall and carried some framed pictures of the Emperor of Germany.

Capt. Gregory: The present emperor?

A: Yes, sir. As soon as the boys saw that...

Q: What time would this be? Nearly 9 o'clock?

A: It would be a little after nine, probably. We were not down there very long. 10 or 15 minutes and they joined the parade. In fact, the parade had already left the barracks. While Col. Lohead was speaking to me in the mess room giving me advice as a non-commissioned officer, the parade left barracks and were some way up around the AXXsen's place and I doubled all the way up and fell in with them.

Col. Martin: What happened down at Concordia Hall?

A: When the boys came in from of the ranks with these pictures or stood on the edge of the parade the boys reached for them. They said that there were German pictures, of the Kaiser, and others in Concordia Hall and they gave that evidence to the parade.

Q: What happened to the parade then?

A: After this evidence had reached the parade of where these pictures came from, and that there were more similar pictures and also flags and German standards, the parade says "we will go and get them." They turned about and marched back again. They had passed the Concordia Hall, and were somewhere near the recruiting office. They turned about to get the pictures in Concordia Hall. These boys who discovered the flag and pictures said "come and we will show you where the others are."

Capt. Gregory: Who said that?

A: I could not say sir. Evidently the men in the first raid

had paid another visit and found the stuff, and when they saw the parade coming by, they broke the parade up, especially since they had evidence to prove it, and the boys rushed it; getting the pictures.

Capt. Routley: Anybody there to stop them?

A: No sir. I was thinking they had just gone to get those pictures and they didn't return immediately as I went up myself. When I got there I found a group of boys, soldier boys, smashing up a picture of the German emperor, framed pictures of the German emperor.

Capt. Fraser: Did you make any effort to stop them going up there?

A: No, sir. Not to get pictures. I had no desire to stop them from getting those pictures.

Col. Martin: How many pictures were there of the Kaiser? How many did you see? Did you know how many there were?

A: Well I saw six, possibly more.

Q: The Kaiser, the Crown Prince were they? All Kaisers or some Crown Princes?

A: As evidence of the kind of pictures I brought one down or rather passed one down. Somebody started to mutilate it, and last night that same picture rested in the detention room. This morning the boys went in and ripped it up. Some one came in and said "here is your part of the picture."

Capt. Routley: Off the screen on the stage?

A: No sir, this picture did not come off the stage. There is a part there (producing a portion of it). Other men had gotten the head of the Kaiser off that same picture.

Capt. Gregory: Did they have framed pictures? Or only lithographs?

A: No sir.

Q: more than one picture of the present Kaiser?

A: We wrecked three or four of them.

Q: Did you see the picture of King George with the German flag over it?

A: Yes, sir.

Q: Where was it? When you saw it?

A: It was hanging in the center of the wall in the place where they sell the beer.

Capt. Gregory: In the beer room?

Capt. Routley: In the card room?

A: On the wall towards the Assembly Hall.

Capt. Gregory: Were there other pictures on the wall, and what class of pictures?

A: Yes, sir.

Q: Surrounding King George's picture?

A: When I went up, all the German pictures had been taken off the wall.

Q: Was the German flag around the picture?

A: When I went up there it was not. The boys reported to me that in the previous visit the King's photograph was draped with German flags. I can't name the boys. But I can name some who can. Corp. Brennan says he can.

Q: The destruction was going on when you went up there?

A: Yes, sir. Things were going fast and I took the picture of King George off the wall to protect it. And I brought it down out of the building.

Col. Martin. Were there any windows broken at this stage?

A: Yes, sir. At this state, windows were rattling all over. And from there I went into the theatre room and when I entered, there was a whole bunch of boys.

Capt. Gregory: Were they all soldiers?

A: While I was there in the room, there were crowds of people rushing up the stairs.

Q: You mean civilians?

A: Yes, sir. At that stage when I reached the beer room everything was demolished. I took the picture of King George and left the building.

Col. Martin. You brought the King's picture down?

A: Yes, sir. When I came down King Street, the windows were being knocked out and all the upstairs, falling out onto the sidewalk. Groups of civilians went into the building while I was down.

Capt. Fraser: You didn't see it?

A: I can bring witnesses that saw civilians wreck windows.

Col. Martin. What happened to the picture?

A: It is now hanging in "B" company room.

Capt. Gregory: Have you any German flags available?

A: I had the picture of the German emperor from which his was taken (showing a piece of the picture) and a big German flag in the detention room. This morning, they opened the detention room and tore it up.

Capt. Fraser: Who let them in?

A: I don't know sir. One of the boys came into the Sergeant's Mess this morning and reported that the Kaiser's bust had been removed from the detention room during the night.

Q: What time did you leave the building first to go downtown.

A: A little after six sir, and I went down to MacCallums for a newspaper and went home with Q.M.S. Cottingham.

Q: You were home?

A: Yes, Sir. I had just been home.

Q: You didn't have any drink last night?

A: I had one drink after I came back.

Capt. Gregory: Were any of the men under the influence of liquor in the parade.

A: I don't think I should be asked that question sir. If I see a man under the influence of liquor and likely to become a disgrace I tell the nearest two privates to take him to detention or put him to bed.

Capt. Gregory: were any of the men on the street acting disgraceful?

A: No sir. None that could not act like gentlemen. I saw none of them on the street.

[In answer to another question, the witness answered: I saw one big German flag, that would reach two-thirds of the way across King street.]

Capt. Routley: What became of that flag?

A: The boys brought it down and unfolded it on King Street.

One man stood at each corner so everybody could see it. The fellows threw boxes of matches on it and it would not burn and a fellow poured a bottle of gasoline on and it was burned on King Street. The Wrecking was going on meanwhile in the building.

Capt. Gregory: You didn't see that flag in the building?

A: I saw a man bring it out of the building folded up. As soon as he got near the door, it was partially opened.

Q: Can you say who that was?

A: No, sir.

Q: Did you see any broken glass strike a woman?

A: No, sir.

Col. Martin: What would be the extent of civilians on the street when that flag was burned?

A: A huge crowd. The sidewalk was probably packed for a distance of 75 yards. We had this picture of the King and requested the soldiers to hold it up while we sang God Save the King.

[Capt. Fraser asked about a man being knocked down, and if soldiers had anything to do with it.]

A: Yes, sir, that man complained to me and I took him to you sir.

Q: You didn't see the thing did you?

A: No, Sir.

Col. Martin: He was the C.P.R. agent out here.

Capt. Fraser: You had a book and were taking down some notes?

A: No, sir. I had a little black book and the membership cards of the Concordia Society.

Q: When I sent you home, where did you get to?

A: You told me to go home and I went up to King Street. I went in the restaurant and had a cup of coffee. When I came out of the restaurant, I was told that a bunch of men had gone over to visit Tappert. I, with Brennan and Hayward, and I believe Sergt. Kuhl, I am not sure about the latter...

Capt. Fraser: Deal?

A: No, he didn't leave with me. I went into the restaurant. I said that the men had gone far enough, and that we better go up to Tappert's and see that no damage is done. When we got to Alma street, there was not a soul in sight, and we returned to King Street.

Q: Where did you go after that?

A: I came back the post office way and as I was going down by the post office I saw a group of men marching down Queen from King St. and they marched to the barracks.

Q: What time?

A: I don't know. A bunch marched down before you (col. Martin) marched us down. I saw a group of men coming down and I stood on the corner. While I was there, a Toronto traveller came up and we entered into conversation. Crowds of people anxious to hear the conversation gathered around and made another recruiting speech, as did Corp. Brennan. After recruiting speech, the adjutant came along and ordered me back to the barracks.

Col. Martin: You were making recruiting speeches as Col. Lohead came along.

A: Yes, sir, and then we marched back to the barracks.

Capt. Fraser: When we were coming down the street a lot of hurraing was going on. What was that?

A: They were cheering my recruiting speech or Brennan's.

Q: When did you join him?

A: Brennan was coming down with many other soldiers towards Concordia Hall from an easterly direction. Where he came from I don't know.

Q: There was nothing organized between you and Brennan during the night?

A: No, sir. I didn't know where Brennan was while this racket was going on.

Capt. Gregory: Did you see any police officers?

A: No, sir.

Capt. Fraser: They were there when I came down.

A: None of them said anything to me or the soldiers.

Capt. Routley: Did any of the civilian population try to stop you.

A: No, sir. They cheered everything, all the recruiting speeches. Several of the boys tried to persuade the boys to go and do another search the same night.

Col. Martin: What would be the number of civilians?

A: Width of the sidewalk for a distance of 75 yards.

Q: On the street?

A: No, sir. Only on one side.

Capt. Routley: In that case there would be about 300 people, in the width of the sidewalk.

A: I think there would be three or four hundred people. Perhaps more than that. They gathered all the time.

Col. Martin: What did Col. Lohead tell you?

A: As far as I remember he said to me “you are a non-commissioned officer. If you are up town with these men anytime you see that they moderate themselves and don’t let their enthusiasm run away with their better judgement.” Something of that kind. I can’t remember it word for word.

Capt. Routley: Col. Lohead said something to all of you men about bringing the bust of the Kaiser?

A: I heard him make a speech to a bunch of 25 or 30 men. As a matter of fact, I stayed myself, as I wanted to see the bust. I was going up town and nearly walked passed before I heard the colonel at all. I turned around and marched back, and he was giving a confidential talk to Corp. Brennan.

Capt. Fraser: Didn’t you think that you should have used your influence to stop this? Apart from any sentiment of pro-Germanism.

A: No, Sir. I do not believe that any such thing has any place in the British empire.

Capt. Fraser: A part from that?

A: I don’t think it should be necessary for the boys to have to clean up these things.

Q: Anybody thinks that.

A: I think there should be sufficient legislation in the Dominion of Canada to keep it clean.

Q: You think it is all due to pro-German sentiment? You think it is due to feeling?

A: Insulting remarks of civilians. The night before last we met some boys on the street and we said “would you like to be in khaki?” and a German looked around with a sneer at us. That is what we have to take when we ask them to join the army.

Capt. Gregory: What definite object was there in going to

Concordia Hall in the first place?

A: To get the bust of the pro-German organization which is working against recruiting.

Q: Primarily to get the bust?

A: Yes, sir.

Q: It is a matter of general knowledge in this city that this bust was to be in the charge of the Concordia society.

A: Yes, sir. Civilians in the last few weeks have approached soldiers and told us about the Bust of Kaiser Wilhelm I in Concordia Hall, saying why don't you go and get it?

Capt. Gregory: Did any of the officials of the town use any deterring influence?

A: No, sir. I never say any men with any social or municipal standing say anything to anybody. I think I should be excused from putting my weight on the side of anything un-British. I want you to judge me as having been brought up since the war broke out to destroy everything that is German. I have been trained to destroy everything of any military advantage to the enemy.

Q: So far as you know, you have never heard any suggestion of any destruction of property.

A: No, Sir.

Q: Was there any plans to destroy any property in Concordia Hall.

A: No, sir. There was nothing premeditated to destroy any property in Concordia Hall.

Q: Did you find beer there? How much?

A: I saw one keg rolled down the street. Somebody was about to open it and I stopped them. I said there would be no drunkenness on this street. I told men to take it off King St.

Q: Was there anything in the hall except the picture of King George as would ordinarily be found in a hall?

A: No, sir. That was the only thing I saw in there worthy of being saved while I was there. The rest was German; everything.

Witness dismissed

Witness: Corp Brennan

[Brennan, like Blood, would also point to pro-Germanism in Berlin as a trigger for the hostility among the men of the Battalion. He included a number of earlier instances where German men refused to enlist and spoke unfavourably about the British Empire.]

Col. Martin: You were out last night?

A: Yes, Sir.

Q: What time did you leave the barracks?

A: I left the barracks with Sergt. Deal about 6:30

Q: Where did you head for?

A: We went up town and we met Sergt. Hayward, and him and I went and had supper.

Q: At the restaurant?

A: Yes, Sir. We came out of there five minutes to 8 and the boys were coming past the street then with the Kaiser's bust.

Q: Who was carrying it?

A: I don't know the boy's names. We went and helped them to carry it then. We took it down to the barracks and put it in the detention room. The boys said while they were up there, they said they noticed German flags.

Q: Would it be twenty feet long?

A: Yes sir, all of that. There was also a little flag about four feet long right along the side of King George's picture. We burned those flags. One was too green to burn and then we burned the big flag. We took them down and put them into the detention room. This morning the men went down there and the corporal of the guard opened the door, when it was found the bust was gone. They then tore the picture and the flag and everybody took a little piece of it.

Capt. Routley: Did you see any liquor up in there?

A: In the card room. Yes sir there was liquor and a lot of glasses and two kegs of beer. We have one keg now.

Q: Where?

A: I couldn't exactly tell you where it is. But I know where it is.

Col. Martin: it is not in headquarters?

A: No, sir.

Capt. Routley: Whisky?

A: Yes sir, I had one drink out of a bottle. I saw two civilians and they each had a bottle that they had taken.

Col. Martin: Where were these bottles?

A: I believe they were in the drawers.

Capt. Fraser: Who did the smashing?

A: These civilians. They threw something out the window.
They took a picture and were going away with it. I didn't know what they were, German, and they took it and kicked it in. The other pictures of the Kaiser was carried down and put in the detention room, and then one of the boys stuck a cane through it.

Capt. Gregory: Did this liquor look as if it had been stored away?

A: I couldn't tell about that, but I can tell you there was no dust in the glasses.

Q: Did you see this German standard in the room upstairs?

A: Yes, sir.

Capt. Routley: You were not in the party then that got the bust?

A: No, sir.

Capt. Fraser: When did you join them?

A: About at the recruiting office.

Q: When they came back?

A: Coming with the bust. I helped to carry it around, we took it up and showed everybody, and then we came down and put it in the clink.

Col. Martin. Did Colonel Lohead say anything to you?

A: Yes sir, I told him we were going up the street singing patriotic songs. He told us not to do anything in any way destructive and to be soldiers, and we promised him we would. We went up street and were walking down the sidewalk when we started to hear about flags being up there.

Capt. Fraser: Who started it?

A: The boys. Practically everybody was hollering about the flags being around the King's picture.

Capt. Routley: Did the police or any civilians try to stop you?

A: No, sir. Nobody.

Q: Were the civilians in favour of your actions?

A: The majority that I seen were telling us to go on it, and the policeman was laughing.

Q: You saw some policemen there?

A: Yes, some standing over on the corner laughing.

Capt. Gregory: So far as you know there was nothing premeditated?

A: No, sir.

Q: The only thing premeditated was the removal of the bust in a peaceable manner?

A: Yes, sir.

Capt. Fraser: Did you see anybody touch any books.

A: No, sir. No soldiers touched any to my knowledge, except the flags. The civilians started to pull the pictures down and about ten of them were around the piano so that I could not get near it.

Capt. Routley: The civilians helped then from the first?

A: As soon as we started, the civilians started.

Q: You are aware as a citizen of Berlin that this is the headquarters of Germanism in this town?

A: Yes sir, I know that to be a fact. One man two weeks ago, the Sunday before last, said he would fight for his Kaiser any time. He told me that and I whipped him for it.

Capt. Gregory: It was down here at some house?

A: We were talking. He had a couple of drinks in him, but he was not drunk. Another night in the saloon, with a bunch around, I was talking to a man from Stratford. He was telling me about the British empire and a big German standing there said "Fuck the British empire!" I hit him and cut my finger there. That was in the Brunswick Hotel, and the proprietor came to me and began to talk. I think that bunch are all pro-Germans.

Witness dismissed

Witness: Sergt. P. Hayward

[Hayward would testify that there was no intention to destroy the premises of the Concordia club and only to take the bust. The sight of the flags, on the other hand, was the breaking point for them men. He would also say that civilians were far more rowdy than the soldiers and he, at one point, was hit in the head with a chair.]

Col. Martin: We are taking evidence here this morning in reference to the affair last night. You tell us what you know about it.

A: I was downtown last night, leaving here about five o'clock.

Q: Where did you go?

A: Downtown to the restaurant, and had supper there.

Q: All alone?

A: Yes, sir.

Q: Where did you go?

A: I was just simply walking up and down until the crowd came down.

Q: What was the nature of the parade on the street?

A: it was just a bunch of soldiers walking down.

Capt. Gregory: They had come from the barracks?

A: I don't know where they came from.

Capt. Routley: Did you join the parade going after the bust?

A: No, sir.

Q: After they got the bust?

A: Yes, sir. I came down to the barracks and then turned around and went to town again.

Capt. Fraser: Alone?

A: No, sir. Some more went down with me.

Q: You didn't go with Sergt. Blood at any time?

A: Yes, sir. I was with Sergt. Blood.

Capt. Routley: You know that after they got the Kaiser's bust, the broke up the premises?

A: Yes, sir.

Q: Finishing up after nine o'clock. What do you know about that?

A: I saw the crowd bringing the big German flag down. That just got me a little mad and I went up into the breaking up.

Capt. Gregory: Any civilians up there?

A: Yes, sir, a whole lot of them.

Q: Were they doing any damage?

A: Yes, sir. Kicking the piano when I was there.

Capt. Fraser: Young men?

A: Yes, nearly all young men.
Q: Did you see any liquor up there?
A: I saw a keg of liquor coming out of there.
Q: Did you have any liquor last night?
A: Yes, sir. A couple of drinks.
Q: How did you get that scar on your head?
A: A chair hit me.
Capt. Routley: Why did all you men want to go up there and break things up last night?
A: We had no idea of doing that until we saw the chairs coming down, and the flags.
Q: That seemed to be the breaking point?
A: I could not hold my temper any longer.
Q: Any civil authorities trying to stop it?
A: No, sir.
Capt. Gregory: what was the attitude of the civilians.
A: They seemed to be enjoying it.
Capt. Fraser: How many of the troops up in that hall when you went up?
A: Forty or forty-five I would say.
Q: In the hall?
A: Yes, sir.
Q: How long would that be before I told you to go home?
A: I could not say.
Capt. Routley: The commanding officer Captain Fraser and I arrived there about one quarter to ten. Was it nine o'clock? Any ideas?
A: I think it was between nine and ten.
Q: Then it lasting half an hour?
A: When I got up there it was pretty nearly all smashed up.
Q: You mean it was lasting nearly half an hour and the police never went up to stop it?
A: No, sir. When I got up there it was nearly all smashed up. When I got there, the piano was being tumbled over on the floor.
Capt. Gregory: Wrecked by civilians?
A: Yes, sir. But there were soldiers around too.
Q: What evidence of pro-Germanism did you see around there?
A: I think there was a German flag alongside of King George's picture.
Col. Martin: The lights were on then?
A: Yes, sir. The flag was draped and I could not tell what it is.
Capt. Gregory: How close was it?

A: Right alongside of it on the wall.
Q: That picture was in the beer or card room?
A: I would not say which room.
Q: Were the pictures all destroyed when you were there?
A: Two or three were left.
Q: And they were all pictures of Germans?
A: I didn't take notice.
Q: Was there any premeditated scheme of destruction?
A: Absolutely none as far as I am concerned.
Capt. Fraser: Where did you go to when I told you to go home?
A: I didn't go home, I just stood down.
Q: Who did you stay with?
A: I stayed with Sergt. Major Blood.
Q: You went into the restaurant?
A: Yes, sir.
Q: What time did you get in the barracks at night?
A: I could not say just what time.
Q: You came in with the last bunch?
A: Yes, sir. Of the time I could not say.
Col. Martin: You marched in?
A: Yes, sir.
Capt. Fraser: You knew what you were doing all the time?
A: Oh, yes, sir.
Capt. Gregory: Were there any men in any state of intoxication that you saw?
A: No sir, I didn't see any.
Capt. Routley: To sum up the whole thing, the finding of these flags and beer put destruction in you boy's minds?
A: Yes, sir. Absolutely.

Witness dismissed

Witness: Sergt. Deal

[Deal transferred to the 118th from the 71st Battalion, London and took part in the initial parade of the Bust from the Concordia Hall to the Barracks. He also stated that the procession made a stop at the skating rink to show that they had recovered it. He would be drilled by the examiners, especially Captain Fraser and Colonel Martin, for failing to produce a logical timeline of events of the night and for failure to remember the names of any of the men in the procession that he himself lead. He was killed in action and is buried in Abbeville France.]

Col. Martin: This Court of Inquiry is enquiring into the
affair of last night. You can tell us in a few words what you know

A: I saw all the men going along King St. in the direction
of Concordia Hall and I had nearly reached that place when I met the procession
heading up the street, headed by the Union Jack.

Capt. Fraser: Did you have anything to do with the
procession?

A: No sir, none whatsoever. Of course seeing the parade lead
by the Union Jack, I jumped in, and practically lead the procession.

Capt. Routley: Did you know about this?

A: No sir, I was on my way home. I was uncertain where
Concordia Hall was.

Capt. Gregory: You were in the 71st Battalion. You would know
all the men of "A" Company?

A: By sight, not by name.

Q: You knew practically all of them. Who was carrying the
bust?

A: It was not carried expressly by anybody in particular.

Q: Who were they that were carrying the bust?

A: I couldn't say for sure who was carrying it. No sir I
could not say. I was so excited on seeing the procession, I turned my back on the
parade. As far as I was concerned I knew nothing.

Q: Who was carrying the flag?

A: He was a stranger to me, sir.

Q: A 118th man?

A: I'm pretty sure of that.

Q: Where was the bust in the procession?

A: In the front, or near the front most of the time.

Q: What men were walking beside you in the procession?

A: Sometimes two or three, and sometimes only one. Sometimes
I was walking alone.

Q: Who were they?

A: As far as I am concerned, I told you I practically led the procession.

[In answer to another question about the procession: I noticed they were singing this bugle march, Hail! Hail! the Gangs All Here! I stopped that singing, and started them singing Rule Britannia, and the parade proceeded on again.]

Col. Martin: You didn't know who the men were that went to get the bust?

A: No, sir.

Q: Can you give us the name of any men in the procession?

A: Corp. Brennan.

Q: Where did you join the parade?

A: It was somewhere about there (pointed to the recruiting office on the map)

Q: Who were the others carrying the bust?

A: I think they were mostly privates.

Capt. Gregory: Did you see Sergt. Elvy there?

A: No, sir. I would not have considered I had any right to put myself in front if any other sergeants were there.

Q: What private did you see there?

A: One fellow I noticed in particular.

Q: What does he look like?

A: A fair fellow.

Q: Elmslie?

A: I could not say.

Capt. Fraser: We want a frank statement. If we see you are trying to keep back anything...

A: I am trying my best to give it to you. I can't say I knew anybody. My wife was on the street and she shouted and said, "Albert don't get so excited!" That was the state I was in. It was merely a state of excitement.

Capt. Gregory: How many men were there in the parade?

A: I would judge at the time I was there, some 45.

Q: Do you mean to tell us there was not a single man in the parade whose name you knew?

A: Yes, sir. I do mean to tell you that, unless I was given a little time maybe I could think of somebody who was in it.

Capt. Fraser: Where did you go to.

A: Up to the skating rink.

Q: What did you do in there?

A: The boys were exhibiting the bust in the gallery.

Q: was there skating?

A: Yes sir, mostly young couples. The manager, I don't know who he was, some young fellow came up and seemed terribly excited because his skating rink was upset. I told him not to worry and the boys will go along in a few minutes. They were holding the bust over the gallery then. I said "left turn" and we went away.

Capt. Routley: Who was holding the bust over the gallery? It was 200 pounds.

A: Not over the gallery.

Capt. Gregory: What gallery were you in?

A: Are there two?

Capt. Gregory: Yes.

A: That has got me.

Col. Martin. The one immediately above the entrance?

A: Yes, sir.

Capt. Fraser: Then you came out of the rink, what did you do?

A: Came out of the rink and came to the barracks. I opened the door and let them into the barracks.

Q: What did you do when you went in? with the bust for instance?

A: Placed it on the table and a few little speeches were made about it.

Q: What table?

A: In the left corner of the mess room.

Q: Did you deliver a speech with it?

A: No, sir.

Q: Who delivered the speeches?

A: Brennan.

Q: Who else was about there?

A: The same men that were in the procession.

Q: Did you know any of them?

A: No, sir. I was in that excited condition

Q: And yet you told the man you had them under control at the rink?

A: No sir, I had no control. I did not know they needed it.

Q: You took them into the hall?

A: They said the skating rink, and naturally I turned.

Q: And what happened to it after the speeches were finished?

A: Well, we came outside the barracks and then Col. Lohead came up and he addressed both me and Brennan then, and told us that we were non-commissioned officers and would be held responsible for anything that happened.

Capt. Gregory: Who made the speeches at the rink?

A: At the rink? No speeches were made there to my knowledge.

Col. Martin: I can't understand Deal how you can walk with
all those men down there and not recognize any, not even their faces. You have
been with them four months, right from London till down here. It strikes me I
would have been very excited if I could not have known some of them.

A: Perhaps if I was given some time I might possibly think.

Capt. Fraser: What happened after Col. Lohead made those
remarks?

Capt. Routley: Was the Kaiser's bust still on the table?

A: No sir, in the detention room.

Capt. Gregory: Who opened the detention room door?

A: I think the corporal of the guard.

Q: Did Sergt. Pawson open the door?

A: No, it was the corporal of the guard I am sure.

Q: Where did you see Sergt. Pawson first?

A: I didn't know he had anything to do with that.

Capt. Routley: Where did you first have knowledge of Pawson?

A: In quarters.

Q: Where did you see Bugle Sergeant Bowden first?

A: In quarters.

Capt. Gregory: Did you see him in that procession

A: No, sir.

Capt. Fraser: Where did you go when the bust was put in the
detention room?

A: Went back towards King St. until half way between the
Armories and King St. where I met my wife.

Q: How many men were there then?

A: There was Brennan, and we met Pte. Clarke.

Q: How many when they met up town again?

A: They dispersed out there. I was going away myself. I
asked how many had midnight passes, and said that those not having midnight
passes better stay in barracks. Then I met Pte. Clarke and two or three minutes
later ran into my wife. When I reached the corner of the Walper House, I said
excuse me, come straight along I can see something else going on. I believe I
stopped and you (Capt. Fraser) said go home.

Capt. Fraser: I didn't stop you, you were standing there.

A: Yes sir. You said "go on home Deal." I didn't exactly go
home because I went back with my wife and took her home.

Q: You went straight down to Concordia Hall after her?

A: I did, yes.

Q: It must have taken you considerable time?

A: No, it did not. I was not much more than the time of walking. In fact, I think I got there rather quickly.

Q: How long after Col. Lohead spoke to you before you went up town?

A: As soon as he finished, we started and went down.

Q: I can't reconcile your statements. The Commanding Officer came to the Orderly Room. We were out skating, and went down about fifteen or twenty minutes after you finished. You were dismissed twenty minutes before by the Commanding Officer and then I went down there. If you would say that you were there when I arrived.

A: I took my time to get there. Naturally I would not walk as fast with my wife as if I was alone. And after I left here I hurried on, but you were there when I got there.

Capt. Gregory: Who was the corporal of the guard?

A: I believe it was corp. Wilkins.

Q: You are quite sure that it was him that opened the door?

A: Anyway I saw him close the door.

Q: He was there; you were clear on that?

A: Yes.

Q: You must have had 45 minutes' blank in your memory last night.

A: I don't know how to account for it, sir.

Q: Is Pte. Clarke of "A" Company?

A: He is of "A".

Q: He was walking to barracks?

A: Yes, sir.

Q: He was alone?

A: Yes, sir.

Witness dismissed

Adjournment for Lunch at 12:15 pm

Reconvened 3:30 pm

Witness: Sergt. Bowden

[Bowden was a witness to the bonfire in the street and the lack of police intervention and denies being an active participant. He did however, harbour a degree of hostility to the local German population and had a personal conflict with Reverend Tappert.]

Col. Martin: This court has been assembled to elicit the truth. We want straightforward evidence and not hearsay. You might proceed and tell us what you know about the situation

A: Yesterday evening my wife and I went to the Grand. While in there I heard a crash and glass falling somewhere. When we came out I found out a number of people, civilians as well as soldiers had raided the Concordia Society. There was a bonfire still going on in the street with the remnants of flags and so forth being burned. We went over to the restaurant. In in there a number of people came in and a number of civilians. They were exhibiting anything from pieces of the piano, flags or legs and chairs. From what I can gather the citizens as well as soldiers did what they considered their duty in cleaning up some of the German element in the city. I took my wife up as far as the post office and came back to the next corner when Capt. Routley called me and told me I better get down to the barracks. As far as I know that is a straight forward story.

Q: Anything that led up to the affair?

A: Nothing at all, sir. From what civilians said, it was a job that should have been undertaken by the Government.

Q: You took no part in it?

A: Nothing except to cheer. If you had a mother that came within 100 yards of a German bomb you would have done more than that.

Capt. Routley: How do you know what civilians felt like?

A: They told me about it.

Capt. Gregory: From men or boys?

A: No sir, mature men

Capt. Martin: Up in the building?

A: No, sir.

Q: You saw the German flag burned?

A: Scraps of it sir.

Capt. Routley: You didn't see the police interfere with it?

Capt. Fraser: The thing was all over when you came out of the Grand?

A: Yes, sir. No police on the street at all last night. We have several and I don't know why. As far as I know it was not premeditated, just spontaneous when the boys saw the emblems of the enemy. And there is too much of it going on sir. I might say, that personally Mr. Tappert's boy threatened my boy.

Witness dismissed

Witness: Sergt. Pawsen

[Upon Sergt. Pawsen's examination, it was discovered that the locks to the detention room in the barracks where the bust was being held were recently changed. And men in procession of keys to the store room no longer had access.]

Col. Martin: This Court of Inquiry, Pawson, is to elicit the truth. We want something definite. If you have any evidence, definitely let us have it.

A: I was in the show last night, and coming out I saw a great bonfire in the street and heard civilians say that they had raided Concordia Hall. I went upstairs and saw they were carrying things out, and saw civilians breaking the piano and not the soldiers. There was with me, Mrs. Pawson and Mr. and Mrs. Locker.

Capt. Fraser: No police up there at all?

A: I never saw any sir.

Col. Martin: On the street?

A: I never saw any on the street.

Capt. Routley: The job was all done when you came out?

A: Yes, sir.

Capt. Fraser: Any police in that building, whatever?

A: Not what I saw sir.

Col. Martin: Were you at the show until the end of the program?

A: Yes, sir.

Q: They were taking things away?

A: Everything they could get hold of. I know two persons, civilians, who bought keys at 10 cents a piece.

Capt. Fraser: Do you know anything about the key that opens the detention room? Did you open the detention room?

A: No, sir.

Q: Have you a key that fits it?

A: No, sir.

Q: Does the key which you have to the store room fit it?

A: No, sir. It did. About a month ago we changed the lock when we found it cut?

Capt. Routley: Some little time ago we changed the lock, when we found that the detention key fitted it.

Witness dismissed

Witness: Sergt. Major Gillespie

[Wounded at Cambrai]

Col. Martin: Tell us your account.

A: No, sir, I was not implicated. I was in the Grand with my wife and I judge about a quarter to nine there was quite a racket starting. I turned around and everybody was chasing out of the gallery. They must have been frightened that they were going to get hurt. After the show, I came out and I went over to see what was going on and saw the bonfire of pictures and flags. There were no soldiers around, all civilians.

Q: You know nothing about the taking of the bust?

A: No, sir.

Q: Did you hear anything about it during the day?

A: No, sir. I got to the piano and there was no chance of my getting a piece of it, there were too many civilians around.

Capt. Gregory: There were no soldiers in the building?

A: Yes, Corp. Locker

Q: The damage was being done by civilians?

A: Yes, sir. They were about six deep around the piano.

Capt. Fraser: There was no police up there?

A: No, sir.

Q: None in the room?

A: No, sir.

Q: Anybody stop anybody from going in the building at the door?

A: No, sir.

Capt. Gregory: There was a policeman standing along the sidewalk and he made no attempt to stop it?

A: No, sir.

Witness dismissed

Witness: Corp Wilkins

Col. Martin: You were Corp. of the Guard last night?

A: Yes, sir.

Col. Martin: In connection with your duties I understand
this bust was brought down about 9:30 and landed in the detention room.

A: Yes, sir.

Q: Can you explain how it managed to get in there?

A: Four or five fellows carried it in.

Q: How could it get through the door?

A: The policemen let it in sir.

Q: Who had the key?

A: I had one sir.

Q: It must have been Gough?

A: Yes, sir. I didn't let him in. The flag came later on. I
certainly let that in beside the other.

Q: They wanted to go out again?

A: I warned them that all men who didn't have midnights,
better stay in or they would be reported.

Capt. Gregory: What door did they come in? What company did
they belong to?

A: That I could not say sir.

Q: were they all strangers to you?

A: No, sir.

Q: Who were they?

A: One of them was Sergt. Deal.

Q: Who else did you recognize?

A: There was Brennan, and Gough.

Q: Helping to carry it?

A: I don't think so.

Capt. Routley: Was private Kail among them?

A: No, sir.

Q: What others did you recognize?

A: Deal, Brennan. There was a lot of Machine Gun men and I
don't know them. I think that there was more of these than anybody else.

Capt. Routley: Did you go into the Mess Room and hear the
speeches?

A: No, sir. I was on guard. I didn't go out to any speech.

Q: What time did they bring the bust in?

A: About half past eight. It was about twenty past nine when
I warned Deal about the midnights. I certainly opened the door for the flag to go
in.

Capt. Fraser: Did you see them when they were going out earlier in the evening? Did they go out in bunches?

A: No, sir. The majority of them go through the other door and down the other stairs.

Capt. Routley: Did you know they were going to get that bust?

A: No, sir. No idea whatever.

Q: You know no others.

A: As I say, most of them were Machine Gun men.

Capt. Gregory: Did you open the detention room this morning?

A: Yes, sir.

Q: About what time?

A: It was, well the men were washing.

Q: About seven o'clock.

A: No, sir. A little later than that. They came and told me the bust was gone. I said I was sure the key had not left the guard room.

Capt. Gregory: Who were they that told you?

A: The majority of the men said so.

Q: Who was around when you opened the door this morning?

A: Brennan.

Q: Was there a big crowd around there?

A: No, sir. They came and said the bust was gone and I would not believe it. Gough said he slept on his key.

Q: The flag and the picture were in there?

A: Yes, the flag was lying on the floor.

Q: When was it torn up?

A: I locked the door. The flag was untouched. There was just a slight rant in the flag. This one was like an emblem flag.

Capt. Routley: Did you leave the door open so they could get in?

A: No, sir.

Q: Would you know any of these Machine Gun men? Could you pick one or two of them?

A: I daresay I could if I was confronted with them. I don't know any of their names at all.

Capt. Gregory: Would you know the men carrying the bust?

A: No, sir. I can honestly say I could not. In fact, there was such a flock, and they were all crowded in between those two doors.

Q: Who was the sentry on the front beat?

A: I could pick him out sir. After these men came in I said to the sentries it is up to you to keep a strict look out. And after what, I went around the building four times myself.

Witness dismissed

Witness: Pte. P. Quinn

Col. Martin: You were up street last night? Were you?

A: Yes, sir.

Q: You tell us in a few words as to your where-about last night.

A: I don't know any of the fellows here at all.

Capt. Routley: You helped carrying the bust down didn't you?

A: No, sir.

Capt. Gregory: Did you see the bust?

A: I saw the bust coming down the street and I followed the procession.

Q: That is down the street?

A: Yes, sir.

Q: What men out of "D" Company were carrying it?

A: I don't think any were sir.

Q: Who were the "B" Company men?

A: I don't know any of their names.

Q: You ought to know the names of "D" Company?

A: We all go by "Buddy."

Capt. Fraser: Were you drunk last night?

A: I had a few drinks, sir.

Q: The colonel sent you back and you ran away?

A: No, sir.

Q: You were standing at the fire when I sent you home?

A: Yes, sir, and I went home, and the boys said if I had a midnight I didn't need to.

Capt. Routley: How many kegs of beer were there up there?

A: Just two I saw sir.

Q: Were there liquors there?

A: I didn't notice any sir.

Q: Did you and Brennan have a drink last night?

A: No sir, I never spoke to him last night.

Capt. Fraser: What happened to the beer you helped to carry out?

A: I don't know. I got one drink. I was at the flag, sir.

Q: You mean to tell me you can leave a keg of beer?

A: I can say that sir today.

Col. Martin: Was the keg empty?

A: It was running when I left it. They just pumped it and let it run.

Q: On King St.?

A: Yes.

Capt. Routley: What other men helped break up the chairs and tables?

A: I don't know, I knew them as "buddy."

Capt. Gregory: Did you see any "A" Company men there?

A: I can't say. I know them as "buddy."

Q: Did you see any Machine Gun Section men there?

A: There was a few of them fellows there.

Capt. Fraser: How did you know they were Machine Gun?

A: I saw one fellow there. I think he was Machine Gun.

Col. Martin: Any civilian up when you were there?

A: No, sir. Not when I went up there.

Q: What hour was this?

A: I could not say.

Q: Did you march down with the boys that came in?

A: Yes, up to the barracks. Yes sir, I carried the flag.

Capt. Routley: This racket started about half past eight?

A: It must have been quarter to nine, sir.

Capt. Fraser: When did you leave?

A: I was down there and told to go home and I was going and the boys said if I had a midnight I didn't need to.

Witness dismissed

Witness: Lance-Corporal Gough

Col. Martin: You are provost corporal?

A: Yes, sir.

Q: Where were you last night when the boys brought in the bust?

A: I was in the barracks.

Q: Did you see it come in?

A: Yes, sir.

Q: What became of the bust?

A: I put it in the detention room thinking that it would be the best place as it would not be disturbed.

Q: That hour was this?

A: About nine o'clock.

Q: How did you come to open the door? Did the boys request it?

A: Well, I was talking to Mr. Coyne, and I thought it would be a good place to put it to keep the fellows from smashing it up, and I suggested they put it in the detention room.

Capt. Routley: Who were carrying it?

A: Just one I could recognize.

Q: That is all you recognize.

A: Yes, sir.

Q: Which way did they bring it in?

A: Through the guard room.

Col. Martin: When they got in the mess room, which way did they go?

A: They put it on the table in the mess room and made a speech.

Q: Who made the speech?

A: One fellow from the Machine Gun. Brennan made one. Mr. Coyne made one.

Capt. Gregory: Would you know the Machine Gun man?

A: No, sir, he was just on the table two or three seconds.

Capt. Gregory: How many of the men did you recognize of the crowd in the mess room?

A: Just the two who gave the speech, sir.

Q: How many did you recognize in the crowd?

A: There were a lot of men there. Several from the Machine Gun.

Q: What faces can you remember? Who was the tall fellow there?

A: Williamson was there.
Capt. Gregory: Was not Morneau there? He used to be in "B" Company?
A: I could not say whether he was there.
Capt. Gregory: Did you see any other men there? You have charge of the C.B's.
A: I recognized one other. That was McCaffrey and he could not have been out.
Q: Did you know the names of any Machine Gun men?
A: No, sir.
Capt. Routley: Could you not go through and recognize them?
A: I might but I would not be sure of it. The one was speaking only two or three seconds when Mr. Coyne stopped him.
Q: He also proposed going down to wreck the building?
A: There was nothing said about the building. Just about the minister.
Capt. Gregory: When did you first open the detention room this morning?
A: Just after I had my breakfast.
Q: And who got the bust then?
A: There was no bust there. There were three or four fellows who wanted to see it and I took them in to see it and when I got in, it was gone.
Q: Any idea?
Col. Martin: Where was the key?
A: In my pocket in my pants. And I rolled them up and slept on them.
Capt. Gregory: Any other keys?
A: Yes sir, two more. I asked him (Pawson) about it this morning, and he said he turned two keys in.
Capt. Routley, Yes, sir.
Col. Martin: There are other men in quarters who know you carry the key?
A: Yes, sir.
Q: Do you suppose they would remove it?
A: They could not take my key. I can swear my key never left my ring, as I always sleep on my pants.
Capt. Routley: You don't know where that bust is now?
A: No, sir.
Q: Who was the first man who asked about the bust this morning?
A: We were talking about the bust this morning. One of the

men said, "has the Kaiser had his breakfast?" I said, "no and we better take him some in."

Capt. Gregory: Who was that?

A: I think it was Starkey, but I could not swear to it.

Q: And that is the first you knew that the bust was gone?

A: Yes, sir.

Q: Who else came around?

A: They all flocked in.

Q: Did any of the Machine Gun men go in?

A: Yes, sir. They all came in. They were mad.

Capt. Fraser: Why should they be mad?

A: Because they said they wanted to take it up to their room last night.

Q: Why should they be interested at all? Do you think they have any particular interest in the bust at all?

A: I could not tell. They seemed to be the fellows who wanted it.

Q: How many would there be in that parade?

A: I should say close to 40 or 50.

Capt. Fraser: And when the bust was taken into custody, what Happened?

A: Well they all went outside and Col. Lohead talked to a bunch of them.

Q: What happened after that?

A: They formed up and went down the street.

Q: Where did they go?

A: They went down as far as Water St. and turned back. They went as far as the recruiting office and turned around and saw some fellows coming with pictures in their hands.

Col. Martin: Pictures of Kaiser and Emperor?

A: Yes, sir.

Q: Was that before the big flag was burned?

A: Yes sir, way before.

Capt. Gregory: Were you in the hall last night?

A: No, sir, I have never been in that hall.

Capt. Routley: Did the policemen try to stop you?

A: No, sir.

Q: Did you see any policemen around.

A: Two or three standing around.

Capt. Fraser: Were you down locking up?

A: Yes, sir.

Q: Did you see anybody at the windows?

A: No, sir.

Q: Who did you see coming down?

A: Machine Gun Section. Fellows I didn't know anyway.

Witness dismissed

Witness: Pte. Williamson

Capt. Gregory: You were coming home behind the bust last night?

A: Yes, sir.

Q: Who was carrying the bust?

A: I don't know who was carrying the bust. I know I was back of the fellows.

Q: Were you away at the back?

A: Back and sides. I was never against the bust as I could not get near it.

Q: Who was there in the procession you recognized?

A: Gough, we got down to the New Grand and they were carrying the bust.

Q: Then you met them?

A: Yes.

Q: Who was carrying it?

A: We could not get near the bust.

Capt. Routley: Who was helping to carry it?

A: I would say if I could say so.

Q: Did you recognize any one?

A: No, sir.

Capt. Gregory: Were they all strangers to you?

A: All strangers, yes.

Q: You were here when the bust was put on the table in the mess room?

A: Yes. The fellows were strangers to me. Brennan spoke and said we are going to carry him off the table and we will put him in the clink. After that, we put him in the clink and went outside again. Sergt. Major Blood came and wanted to see it so they opened the detention room door and went outside after. Col. Lohead made a speech to us, and told us not to do any breaking of property, and they said they were not going to do anything.

Q: Did you go up town?

A: Yes, I fell in with them. They said they were going to sing patriotic songs.

Q: Were you up in the Concordia Hall?

A: Not until the raid was over.

Q: Where were you?

A: We were outside among all the people, among the women and civilians.

Q: Any policemen there?

A: Yes one, I didn't know his name, but I could recognize

him again.

Capt. Routley: Did anybody try to stop you?

A: No, sir. I didn't see two kegs of beer come down, but I saw one, and an automatic pump.

Capt. Gregory: Did you see the big Union Jack?

A: Yes, sir, I saw that one on the pole.

Q: What became of it.

A: I don't know sir.

Q: Did you see the big German flag as it came out of the building?

A: Yes sir, and I saw a little German flag.

Capt. Routley: The citizens were quite in accord with what you were doing?

A: Never heard anyone say anything against it. They all kept saying hurrah. Heard Blood say if we have to get to fight them in Berlin, we might as well fight them here and in Germany too. I saw some spectators brought some books down and things, and threw them out.

Col. Martin. Civilians?

A: No, sir. Soldiers.

Q: It was music?

A: I don't know if it was music. Yes some of it was music. I never heard nothing about the piano. I don't know they were breaking the chairs against the car tracks.

Capt. Gregory: Soldiers? All of them?

A: Yes, sir. All soldiers. The Kaiser's picture was brought out and they were going to bring it to the armouries, when past the recruiting office someone threw something at it and cut a hole through it.

Witness dismissed

Witness Pte. Morneau

Col. Martin: Do you know anything about this business last night?

A: Very little sir. We went up the street and went down but we didn't do any damage I know of.

Capt. Fraser: Yourself you mean?

A: Yes, sir.

Q: What part did you take in the procession?

A: I was just leading in the procession.

Q: In taking the bust up?

A: Yes, sir.

Capt. Fraser: Who else?

A: Brennan and Sergt. Fotheringham.

Q: Who was carrying the bust?

A: I don't know that sir?

Q: Who carried it down the stairs?

A: I don't know sir.

Q: You were standing at the door?

A: yes, but outside.

Q: You have no idea?

A: No, sir.

Capt. Routley: You joined in the procession?

A: Yes, sir.

Capt. Fraser: Why didn't you go upstairs? Did you stay downstairs to watch?

A: I thought that it would be better for me to be on watch,

Q: Kind of sentry.

A: That was my attitude.

Capt. Routley: You know that they were going to get that last night? It was all fixed.

A: No sir, I didn't know anything about it.

Capt. Fraser: When did you join them?

A: It was about 8:15 or 8:20.

Q: Where did you join them?

A: Near the recruiting office.

Col. Martin: How many would be in the crowd?

A: 75 or 100.

Capt. Routley: Went down to the Roma Theatre?

A: Yes, sir.

Capt. Routley: You helped break up the furniture in there later on. What do you know of the bust? You didn't help bring it up here?

A: no, sir.

Capt. Fraser: How many went up to the hall?

A: There must have been fifteen or twenty.

Q: Instead of going upstairs, you remained downstairs at the door?

A: Yes, sir.

Capt. Routley: You sleep beside the Machine Gun Section.

Their faces are familiar to you. Were there many of the Machine Gun men in this crowd?

A: I will admit there was more of the Machine Gun section than somebody else. Not that I want to put the blame on anyone else.

Capt. Fraser: We want to clean up this thing. It is nothing to us.

Q: Your idea is that you think most of the Machine Gun men were there?

A: Yes, sir.

Capt. Routley: Did the police or anybody try to stop the men going up there?

A: No, sir.

Q: You stayed on guard?

A: No, sir. I was not there all the time.

Col. Martin: What was your intention of standing there? Did you know the bust was being raided?

A: No sir, I didn't. I never knew there was anything up there.

Capt. Gregory: Was there any discussion as to what they were going after? You never heard Concordia Hall mentioned?

A: No, sir.

Q: How did you know where they were going?

A: I found out where they were.

Q: Who led the procession?

A: I don't think anyone really led to the procession. I would not say for sure, but it was either Sgt. Blood or Coporal Brennan. When they came by, they asked for me to join in and I fell in the rear.

Q: And they didn't tell you where you were going? Who asked you to stand downstairs and watch?

A: Nobody sir. I did that of my own free will.

Capt. Fraser: I can't see any reason why you should watch. What put the idea of watching in your mind?

A: Well of course...

Capt. Routley: This must have been formerly arranged.

Capt. Fraser: What was the idea of watching? Was it the

police you were afraid of?

A: No, sir. My own idea of it was not that it was made up or anything, but to see there was not too many civilians going up at the same time.

Q: You think it was them doing the damage?

A: Yes, sir.

Witness dismissed

Machine Gun Section

The entire Machine Gun Section was next called, and gave evidence in unison.

Questioned by Capt. Fraser, they said they all took part in the affair, and put the bust in the clink. There was no particular leader, and Sergt. Blood and Corp. Brennan were not leading. They Stated that such a bust should not be allowed in Canada. They stated that they saw no big German flag draping the King's picture.

We wear the King's uniform and we intend to stand by the King all the way.

Witness: Provost Sergeant W. Caswell

Capt. Fraser: Did you know anything about this last night.

A: I was there last night. There is part of the German flag torn off of the large one. I had a row with the Mayor after going to hold a masquerade on Friday night.

Capt. Gregory: It is to be a protest against the changing of the name?

A: The Mayor criticized me and asked why I wasn't wearing my policeman's uniform and attempting to stop the affair. I told him I was no longer on the force.

Capt. Gregory: You are not a police officer any longer?

A: No, sir.

Q: Were there police officers around?

A: There were three but they would have been killed.

Capt. Routley: As far as you could see, last night the civilians were with the boys?

A: Yes, sir.

I certify that the above is an accurate copy of the evidence of the Court of Inquiry taken at Berlin, Ont. On February 16th 1916

Sergt. G.W. Martin

Declared before me at Berlin, Ont. February 19th 1916 in the County of Waterloo, the Dominion of Canada

Lieut-Col. W.M. Lohead