

Animosity, Ambivalence and Co- operation:

Manifestations of heterogeneous German Identities in the Kitchener-
Waterloo area during and after the Second World War.

by

Bastian Bryan Lovasz

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AUTHOR'S DECLARATION

I hereby declare that I am the sole author of this thesis. This is a true copy of the thesis, including any required final revisions, as accepted by my examiners.

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Abstract

Much has been written about how the city of Berlin, Ontario – long a centre of Germanic industry and culture in Canada – changed its name to Kitchener in 1916 in the face of anti-German sentiments. Studies by Geoffrey Hayes and Ross Fair have particularly identified how a more acceptable form of German identity evolved in Kitchener after 1918, emphasizing the Pennsylvania Mennonite origins of many of the area’s first non-native settlers, instead of the continental German identity of much of the citizenry. But what of the Second World War, and the wave of German immigrants that came to Waterloo Region in its aftermath? Through what means did this community of immigrants establish its identity, and come to terms with the legacy of wartime Germany? How did the German community continue to evolve and react to political and social currents reverberating in Europe? This study addresses these questions by examining a number of episodes in the twentieth century that both celebrated and divided local German communities. Three examples will be discussed to help elucidate the concept of complex German identities in Kitchener-Waterloo. The formation of the *Deutsche Bund Canada* at the time of the Second World War, the creation of Oktoberfest in Kitchener-Waterloo in the late 1960s, as well as the visit of David Irving to Kitchener in 1992 represent events in the history of the area that lend themselves very naturally to further examination. While German immigrants have historically been regarded as a cohesive community, unified by attributes such as a shared language, it will be argued here based on these three examples, that Germans in Kitchener-Waterloo are comprised of unique groupings of ‘Germans’, whose identities vary depending on attributes such as geographic origin and time frame of emigration.

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Any errors or omissions contained within this thesis are solely my responsibility.

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Introduction:

In the early fall of 2006, a group of exchange students from a Mennonite village in Germany visited their Canadian host families in Kitchener, Ontario. A heritage tour of the area, planned to provide insight into the unique history and Germanic character of the Kitchener-Waterloo area, was to be one of the highlights of their stay. Fortunate as they were, the annual ‘tapping of the keg’ ceremony at city hall in anticipation of the weeklong Oktoberfest celebrations took place that day and served as a unique starting point for their tour. A member of the regional heritage association then guided the group on a bus tour through the various villages and landmarks in and around Kitchener, such as the pioneer tower on the banks of the Grand River, white washed Mennonite meetinghouses, farmsteads and cemeteries. What was intended as a snapshot of the region’s heritage earned the solemn musings of a student wondering why it had been necessary to travel to Canada to see all things ‘German’. What is interesting about this anecdote is that Kitchener’s heritage seems to have been blended into a generally accepted mixture of Pennsylvania Mennonite Pioneer roots, with a continental German event added, Oktoberfest, to make for the Germanic character Kitchener seems to exhibit so proudly today. A group of young visitors from Germany almost a century later would therefore without question accept Kitchener as a ‘German’ city. That Kitchener’s heritage and indeed its German identity is far more complex than what the two examples of the tour imply, and the fact that it has not always been so positively received, will be examined in this paper.

Much has been written about how the city of Berlin, Ontario – long a centre of Germanic industry and culture in Canada –changed its name to Kitchener in 1916 in the face of anti-German sentiments. Studies by Geoffrey Hayes and Ross Fair have particularly identified how a more acceptable form of German identity evolved in Kitchener after 1918, emphasizing the

Pennsylvania Mennonite origins of many of the area's first non-native settlers, instead of the continental German identity of much of the citizenry.¹ But what of the Second World War, and the wave of German immigrants that came to Waterloo Region in its aftermath? Through what means did this community of immigrants establish its identity, and come to terms with the legacy of wartime Germany? How did the German community continue to evolve and react to political and social currents reverberating in Europe? This study will attempt to address these questions by examining a number of episodes in the twentieth century that both celebrated and divided local German communities. After a cursory scan of local newspapers and a number of informal chats with local residents, three events continued to emerge as having been significant. These events were remembered to have created controversy within the community or were significant in other ways to have received substantial newspaper coverage over the years. Through detailed newspaper analysis, consultation of secondary resources and interpretation of archival materials, these events will be discussed to help elucidate the concept of complex German identities in Kitchener-Waterloo. The formation of the *Deutsche Bund Canada* at the time of the Second World War, the creation of Oktoberfest in Kitchener-Waterloo in the late 1960s, as well as the visit of David Irving to Kitchener in 1992 will be examined. While German immigrants have historically been regarded as a cohesive community, unified by attributes such as a shared language, it will be argued here based on these three examples, that Germans in Kitchener-Waterloo are comprised of unique groupings of "Germans", whose identities vary depending on attributes such as geographic origin and time frame of emigration.

When it comes to the study of German immigration and German settlement in Canada, quite a number of monographs have been published on the topic as early as the 1920s. While a detailed analysis of all of these works cannot be included in this project, a brief overview of the

most relevant ones is nonetheless useful in order to highlight some aspects of German immigration to Canada the authors examine in their works. To better suit the structure of this paper, these publications will be examined based on works dealing with German immigration to Canada in general, as well as those dealing specifically with the settlement of Germans in the Kitchener-Waterloo area.

Some of the most notable works dealing with German immigration to Canada are Heinz Lehmann's works on the German Canadians, published in Germany between 1931 and 1939. Originally written as his doctoral dissertation in 1931, Lehmann began to look at Germans in Canada as part of a much larger project, prepared by Professor Wilhelm Dibelius at the University of Berlin. Published by the *Deutsches Ausland-Institut* (the German foreign institute), his study was part of a series of publications on Germans abroad. As such, Lehmann focuses on the accomplishments of Germans in Canada in maintaining their ethnic identity and their contributions to the development of Canada. Following in the footsteps of A.B. Sherk and Ezra Eby's founding myth, Lehmann continues this trend in his 1931 study. His books had been largely forgotten, since his manuscripts, source materials and the majority of copies of his first edition were destroyed during a bombing raid in the Second World War. However, Gerhard P. Bassler recovered Lehmann's research and translated and combined his two books, two articles and his map interpretation of western Canada in a condensed volume entitled *The German Canadians 1750-1937, Immigration, Settlement & Culture*, which was published in 1986.

In this edited volume, Lehmann² covers German migration to Canada, beginning with the settlement of Germans in Halifax and Lunenburg, Nova Scotia in the 1750s. Lehmann also traces the immigration of German Mennonites from Pennsylvania to Ontario in early 1800, as well as from Germany to Ontario in the 1830s. After a detailed account of Germans settling westward

from the Maritimes, moving into Quebec and Ontario, Lehmann examines the opening of the Western Frontier, when the Canadian government took over the lands held by the Hudson's Bay Company in 1869. A subsequent German migration of about 7,000 German Mennonites from South Russia to Manitoba ensued, as a result of the homestead law of 1872, or the *Dominion Lands Act*, and on special invitation of the Manitoba government.³ Lehmann then examines settlement patterns in Western Canada in a well-detailed account, since much of his time in Canada was spent traveling the prairies. After examining social and religious practices of German Canadians, as well as language and cultural ethnic identity retention, Lehmann concludes with a call for greater cooperation between German Canadians and the Canadian government and institutions in general to be able to retain the unique German identity that contributed to the founding of Canada.⁴ As such, Lehmann's account is very similar to Eby and Sherk's writings, in that it situates Germans within Canada's founding history, to prove that they were not enemies of the Dominion.

At the same time that Lehmann's publications appeared, Gladys Heintz wrote her Master's Thesis on *German Immigration into Upper Canada and Ontario from 1783 to the Present Day*, which appeared in 1938. Working on a much smaller scale than Lehmann, she nonetheless identifies similar themes, providing valuable insight into early Palatine German settlements and Mennonite settlements in Ontario and the Niagara Region in early 1780. She then examines the hardships the pioneers faced, providing a personal element to her analysis which many other authors lack.

Apart from Heintz's MA thesis, nothing was published on German immigration or German settlement for the duration of both World Wars and well thereafter. Rudolph Helling's work on the Germans in Canada did not appear until 1984, only a few years before the end of the

Cold War in 1989. His book was the first of a renewed wave of immigration studies on German-Canadians. Local studies however were quite different, with publications on the history of the cities of Kitchener and Waterloo appearing between the two World Wars, as well as during the Cold War period, in 1957. It seems that during the time of the collapse of the Soviet Union and just a few years before the reunification of Germany in 1989, examinations of German immigration patterns and ethnic identities in Canada became interesting again.

Two years before Bassler and Lehmann's edited volume appeared, Rudolf A. Helling, along with a number of co-authors wrote *A Socio-Economic History of German-Canadians, they too founded Canada*. The influence of Heinz Lehmann's works of the 1930s is clear⁵, however the authors begin their account with German settlement in 1783 and take their analysis to the late 1820s. In particular, settlement in the Niagara Peninsula and Ontario provide the opening background to a brief discussion of German pioneer settlement.⁶ Over the course of 150 pages, the authors briefly discuss German settlement throughout Ontario and the Prairies between 1830 and 1900, outlining the four groups of settlers (disbanded soldiers and adventurers, empire loyalists, Mennonites and colonists) and echoing Lehmann's opinion that the Germans were in fact one of the founding peoples of Canada.⁷ Similarly to Lehmann, this reaffirms the German loyalty to the British Empire situating the German immigrants within Canadian founding history, thus making German immigration to Canada a positive event.

In 1985, Kenneth McLaughlin, published *The Germans in Canada*, as part of the Canadian Historical Association's booklet series *Canada's Ethnic Groups*. McLaughlin's account is unique in being one of the first to identify the difficulty in defining a German identity, due to the shifting geo-political boundaries of the German states before their unification and to comment on the varying origins of immigrant groups and its influence on their settlement

patterns in Canada. He categorizes German immigration in three waves, beginning with the first wave of German immigration to Lunenburg, Nova Scotia and Mennonite settlement in Ontario between 1749 and 1870. The second wave of Mennonite immigration to the western provinces of Canada (also outlined in Lehmann's book) took place between 1870 and 1914. The third wave McLaughlin identifies, took place between 1914 and 1939, though the majority of immigrants came to Canada after the repeal of wartime restrictions in 1923.⁸ This wave consisted of Mennonites and Germans from Russia, Austro-Hungary, the US and Germany itself. McLaughlin concludes with a section on immigration since 1939, and a comparative analysis of Germans within different geographical areas in Canada.

A very useful account of German immigration to Canada, unfortunately only available in German thus far, was published by Andrea Koch-Kraft in 1990, through the Institute for Canada Studies at the University of Augsburg, Germany, bearing the title *Germans in Canada – Immigration and Adaptation*⁹. Koch-Kraft provides a theoretical model of aspects of immigration and assimilation and then systematically discusses German immigration to specific provinces in Canada until the Second World War. She then discusses Canadian immigration policies and their influence on German immigration and provides a detailed profile of German ethnic identity and the socio-economic make-up of German immigrants interviewed in Edmonton, Alberta. While much of the latter half of her study focuses solely on German immigrants in Edmonton, her study is unique in that she does not identify German immigrants as one cohesive group, but rather emphasizes the differences between the various groups of German immigrants in Canada. Her focus on Germans in Alberta serves as a useful model which would be useful to adopt for the study of German immigrant groups throughout Canada, to highlight their different experiences and identities.

Gerhard P. Bassler's monograph *The German Canadian Mosaic, Today and Yesterday: Identities, Roots, and Heritage*, published in 1991, follows closely in the footsteps of his previous work with Heinz Lehmann, and provides an English alternative to Koch-Kraft's work. Bassler provides an exhaustive overview of Germans in Canada, beginning with Germans in Canada in the nineties and works backwards chronologically and geographically to the days of the earliest German settlers of Canada. Rather than commenting solely on different waves of German immigration to Canada, Bassler chooses to focus on specific immigrant groups, such as the Lunenburg Germans in Nova Scotia, Mennonite and Hutterite Groups in Ontario and Western Canada, as well as German Americans within Canada, including the challenges they faced and socio-economic factors they had to deal with. After a very detailed examination of German Canadians in Canada, and certain periods of influx in immigration, Bassler returns to myths of earliest settlement in Canada, potentially as far back as 1001 A.D. His intention to create a book used in classrooms and for graduate courses is reflected in the detailed structure and division of topics within the book, oftentimes reducing them to chapters of five to ten pages. Overall however, Bassler again provides a study of German immigrants that hints at the cohesiveness of German communities and fails to highlight the uniqueness of each immigrant group. Much like Eby and Sherk's account, Bassler's book seems to reaffirm the homemaking myth Fair outlines, in seemingly trying to create again "an unbroken connection between Europe and Pennsylvania and nineteenth century settlement in Upper Canada."¹⁰

The most recent publication on German migration to Canada is Jonathan Wagner's *A History of Migration from Germany to Canada 1850-1939*, published in 2006. Wagner rather arbitrarily divides German immigration to Canada into four periods, from 1850 to 1860, from 1870 to 1890, from 1890 to 1914 and from 1919 to 1939, based on political changes in both

countries. What is important to note is that he is not writing about the migration of German speakers who resided outside of Germany, but rather examines only the migration of Germans from Germany itself.¹¹ Since he neither analyzes assimilation nor integration aspects of German migration, nor the interpersonal relations between Germans and Canadians, his work leaves much to be desired when compared to those accounts previously examined. It is, as he states, a contribution to migration studies in general, and provides a very structured and theoretical approach to German-Canadian migration than the works mentioned previously. His work is useful to note, because Wagner examines political and societal changes, which indicate that there are factors in both Canada and Germany that contributed to the movement of German people. Even though he does not make it overly clear, these factors account for differences between the various groups of émigrés. His study of German, as well as Canadian immigration policy and political and societal changes between 1850 and 1939 helps in providing some background to the currents that influenced the mindset of these immigrants during the various time periods.

A question that may arise when reading the above is why Wagner's account would be limited by looking at migrants from within Germany's borders. Would this not in fact be the definition of what it is to be German? And also would that not imply that the other authors would be examining the same group of people? While Wagner focuses solely on migrants from within Germany's borders, most authors mentioned above examine German immigration to Canada as a whole. One of the difficulties one encounters when writing about Germans in Canada is to define "Germanness", or what makes one German. For Wagner the definition is very clear cut, it is someone who was born and lives within the borders of the (modern) German state. This definition however is problematic, given the changes occurring in Germany between 1815 and 1933. Revolutions broke out in France, Germany, Austria and Prussia in 1848. An attempt to

create a unified Germany in 1848 failed. With a rise of economic prosperity in the 1850s, Prussia had the economic advantage over Austria and under Bismarck defeated the surrounding neighbours, creating the second German Empire in 1871.¹² Until that time, ‘Germany’ had been made up of separate entities, in competition with each other. After the First World War, the Weimar Republic included many areas to the east that had previously not been part of the German state. As a result, Wagner’s definition of migrants from within Germany’s borders is problematic, since the borders kept being redrawn during the time period he examines.

Kenneth McLaughlin defines German-Canadians by their language. He states that:

“The shifting geo-political boundaries of the German states prior to their unification and the twentieth-century conflicts between nationalism and ethnicity have played havoc with the concept of a common German identity. Until the creation of a modern Germany in 1871 most German-speaking immigrants to Canada came from within the boundaries of the Holy Roman Empire [...] first emigrating to the United States. Many did not possess a strong sense of German nationalism [...] [and] after 1871 most German immigrants to Canada did not come from within the boundaries of the German state at all, but primarily from German-speaking settlements in Russia, Poland, Romania and Czechoslovakia.”¹³

This fragmentation of a German identity based on geographic parameters or political or nationalist beliefs resulted in the ‘language definition’ that most of the above authors adhere to. Rudolph A. Helling, writing a year earlier than McLaughlin, makes his study about “those who consider themselves as Canadians of German origin or background, German speaking Canadians.”¹⁴ Gerhard Bassler, in the introduction to *The German Canadians 1750-1937, Immigration, Settlement & Culture*, asks “whether the German Canadians actually do constitute one identifiable ethnic group that is united by more than the coincidence of their mother tongue.”¹⁵ He comments on Heinz Lehmann’s earlier findings in the 1930s, indicating that German Canadians were an ethnic community *sui generis*, a group unique in its characteristics.

They migrated to Canada from various areas in Europe, oftentimes landing in the US first, and yet were able to associate and interact easily based on their shared German cultural heritage. However Lehmann does not qualify this statement further. It seems the interactions took place largely within groups of the same geographic origin. In fact, they desired to associate with each other “regardless of their former homelands or places of origin.”¹⁶ While attempting to define German-Canadian Identity based on shared cultural values, however, Bassler describes these cultural processes as those of “German-speaking immigrants”¹⁷, thus inadvertently linking German identity back to language.

In his 1991 book *The German-Canadian Mosaic Today and Yesterday*, Bassler offers the very straightforward linguistic and cultural definition of ‘Germans’ as being “German-speaking immigrants and those of their descendants who acknowledged their German cultural roots, regardless of geographic origin and linguistic assimilation.”¹⁸ Andrea Koch-Kraft, writing a year earlier in 1990, advocates a similar definition for German Canadians, based on the definition of ethnicity by Wsevolod W. Isajiw, which correlates with the 1981 census of Canada definition of ethnic groups as being “an involuntary group of people who share the same culture or to descendants of such people who identify themselves and/or are identified by others as belonging to the same involuntary group.”¹⁹ Both Koch-Kraft and Bassler however find the notion of ethnic identity based on cultural commonalities too narrow and add an additional level of differentiation. Due to the shifting geo-political boundaries McLaughlin mentions, Germans are divided into *Volksdeutsche*, Germans from Eastern Europe (Russia, Hungary, Poland etc.) and *Reichsdeutsche*, Germans from within the state, where Koch-Kraft places the German state historically within the boundaries of 1937.²⁰ For the purposes of this paper, Bassler’s 1991

definition will be used, including the differentiation between *Volksdeutsche* and *Reichsdeutsche* where necessary within the specific chapters.

Apart from the large-scale studies of German immigration to Canada, a number of localized studies were also published over the years. Along with studies on German immigrants to Lunenburg Nova Scotia²¹, a number of monographs have been written on the history, development and heritage of Kitchener and the surrounding area. These however did not appear until after the Second World War. Both the German, as well as the English version of Gottlieb Leibbrandt's *Little Paradise, the Saga of the German Canadians of Waterloo County, Ontario, 1800-1975*, published in 1977 and 1980 respectively and Bill Moyer's *Kitchener, yesterday revisited*, published in 1979, earmark the first forays into the local German history of Kitchener-Waterloo. John English and Kenneth McLaughlin's 1983 book *Kitchener: An Illustrated History*, William Chadwick's *The Battle for Berlin, Ontario*, published in 1992, Elizabeth Bloomfield's *Waterloo Township through Two Centuries*, published in 1995 and Geoffrey Hayes' *Waterloo County: An Illustrated History*, published in 1997 add to the historiography with their accounts of the forays of the Pennsylvania Mennonites into Upper Canada. In doing so, they seemingly acknowledge the 'founding' Pioneer identity put forth by William H. Breithaupt and B. Mabel Dunham in response to anti-German sentiments after the First World War, which will be explored further below. That the general public accepted the Pioneer Mennonite Identity until well after the Second World War is illustrated in Geoffrey Hayes' 1999 article. However, the continental Germans that prompted Ebytown to be renamed Berlin, and who contributed to the industrial development of the town are favourably mentioned in the monographs published from the 1970s onwards, thus taking emphasis away from the Mennonite lore. In fact, Ulrich Frisse provides an in-depth analysis of the various groups of immigrants to Kitchener-Waterloo in his

2003 book *Berlin, Ontario (1800-1916)*, in which he emphasizes the continental European immigrants and their contributions to the area. This post-war shift or return to a renewed ‘German’ identity will also be explored further in the following chapters. The common theme of Pennsylvania Mennonite Pioneer settlement of the Kitchener-Waterloo Region of these publications will serve as the basis for the discussion within this paper. As such, this paper will broaden the discussion to include themes from the post-Second World War years, in order to highlight some of the shortcomings of the literature available thus far.

The first chapter of this paper draws on the secondary sources available on German settlement in Canada, in particular the early German settlement patterns of Waterloo Region in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, to establish an outline of the immigration patterns to the region. This brief discussion on immigration provides some necessary background information to better understand when Germans¹ chose to come to Canada, where they settled and their reasons for immigration. A discussion of the various German Clubs in the Kitchener-Waterloo Region during various years of immigration is also included in this discussion. This serves as a foundation to examine aspects of public memory and identity creation, as well as societal impacts on public memory and identity creation of ethnic groups in a larger context. Of particular interest is the way memory relates to the Pennsylvania Mennonite identity and the Pioneer myth attached to it in Kitchener in the early twentieth century. Included in this discussion is also a brief examination of important aspects of the Mennonite and German settlement of the Kitchener-Waterloo Region during the early 1800s. In particular issues of German identity, such as the Berlin/Kitchener name change in 1916, as well as the aftermath of

¹ An in-depth examination of the definition of “German” is provided in chapter 1.

the First World War and the years leading up to and including the Second World War are discussed.

The second chapter of this paper closely examines the Second World War years and issues within the community that arose during that time. In particular, this chapter deals with the attempted creation of a *Swastika Club* in Kitchener by Otto Becker in 1933, as well as the successful formation of the *Deutscher Bund Canada* in 1934, a Nazi organization sponsored largely by the office of overseas propaganda of Nazi Germany. Drawing on many themes from Jonathan Wagner's book *Brothers beyond the Sea, National Socialism in Canada*, the formation of the *Deutscher Bund* in Waterloo, Ontario, and the creation of a local chapter of the *Deutscher Bund* in Kitchener will be discussed, along with the distribution of the *Deutsche Zeitung für Kanada* (a pro-Nazi newspaper published in Winnipeg).

Chapter three examines post-war immigration of Germans to Canada, in light of the tensions of the Cold War, as well as positive manifestations of German identity in the Kitchener-Waterloo area. In particular, the creation of Oktoberfest in 1969 will be discussed as a move away from the Pennsylvania Mennonite identity of the post-World War One era as put forth by Mabel Dunham in her 1924 book, *Trail of the Conestoga*, and celebrated with landmarks such as the Pioneer Tower, and more towards a celebration of continental German heritage and culture. In keeping with symbols of positive manifestations of Germanic Pioneer identity such as the *Sängerfeste*, (singing conventions which were held in Kitchener during the late 19th and early 20th century), the post-war German community, together with the city of Kitchener's Chamber of Commerce, established a city-wide annual German cultural celebration in 1969, Oktoberfest. It became known as North America's largest of its kind. The inspiration for the event came from Munich's Oktoberfest in Bavaria, Germany, and serves well as an example of a positive

manifestation of German identity in Kitchener after the Second World War, an expression and tribute to the continental German origin and heritage of the region's citizenry. The positive events associated with Oktoberfest experienced a damper with the controversy of David Irving's visit to Kitchener in 1992, which will be the topic of the next chapter.

The fourth chapter of this paper deals with the visit to Kitchener of David Irving, a Hitler apologist and Holocaust denier, in November, 1992. Despite being denied entry into Canada from the US, David Irving spoke in Victoria, BC, as well as in downtown Kitchener, on the invitation of Michael Rothe, owner of the European Sound Imports store on King Street. The event allegedly sold over 200 tickets three months before the scheduled appearance and the downtown store was the site of weekly protests from members of the community. David Irving was eventually deported, however the event illustrates the sensitivity of the community towards controversial issues surrounding the Second World War. Also covered in this chapter will be the court trial of David Irving vs. Deborah Lipstadt, as well as the trial of Ernst Zündel (The Leuchter Report used as evidence at Zundel's trial made Irving reconsider some of his theories about Hitler and the Holocaust). Overall, the appearance of David Irving and the general lack of response from the German community, as well as the enormous public outcry against Irving supporters by the local community serve as an example of a negative manifestation of a German identity in Kitchener, as well as a reason for debate within the German community.

Much of the research for this project is original. For example, research on the David Irving affair involved a thorough examination of weekly issues of the *Kitchener-Waterloo Record*, the *Globe and Mail*, as well as the *Toronto Star* between August and December of 1992. They have provided much insight into the controversial Irving affair at the time and the sentiments prevalent within the community. Newspaper articles as well as documents held by the

Doris Lewis rare book room and Archives at the University of Waterloo have provided insight into the formation of Oktoberfest. Documents held at the Grace Schmidt local history reading room at the Kitchener Public library have supplemented the information found at the UW archives, in particular in the form of oral history tapes, documenting interviews with organizers and individuals involved in the founding of Oktoberfest. In addition to the newspapers, the Kitchener Public Library also holds a number of valuable vertical files pertaining to the Jewish community, the Holocaust and the David Irving affair. The Concordia Club archives are also a valuable resource to document club activity, in particular through the meeting minutes, available only in German. It was only towards the end of this project that, as the first person since its dissolution a few years prior, the author was granted complete access to the archives of the Trans-Canada Alliance of German-Canadians (TCA), an umbrella organization for German clubs and organizations founded in Kitchener in 1952. With six large metal file cabinets and over 35 banker's boxes of documents, meeting minutes, private files, pictures and other artifacts and ephemera, this invaluable find of resources relating to German-Canadians could unfortunately not be included in this study due to the sheer volume of material, as well as the deadlines and time constraints of this project. Overall however, the expansive original research based on primary documents from a large variety of local repositories shows that historically, German-Canadians, particularly in the Kitchener-Waterloo area, cannot be defined as a homogeneous group of German speaking individuals, as presented in the historiography to date. Despite having cultural and linguistic similarities, German Canadians maintained separate groups and organizations based on their geographic origin, periods of arrival in Canada, as well as ideological commonalities. Their identity differed as much as the political and ideological identity of their homeland(s) changed.

Chapter 1: German Immigration to Canada
*The Germans of Waterloo County always formed
the majority of the population.- P. McKegney*

This quote by Patricia McKegney is largely true, in that historically, a majority of Waterloo County's population could trace its roots back to Germanic origin. This chapter however will show, that the German population in Waterloo County was not simply one large 'German' group based on language commonality or similar such factors. In fact, the German community of the Kitchener-Waterloo area was made up of separate groups of individuals who moved from different parts of Europe at different times in history, thus forming complex groupings of German immigrants in this area. Much of the settlement period of the Kitchener-Waterloo area has been covered in great detail. For the purpose of this paper however, it is useful to re-examine some aspects of the area's history, in order to set the stage for the following discussion. While the K-W area has long been regarded as a predominantly 'German' area, the concept of a German identity has undergone significant changes over the years, especially during times of conflict, such as the two World Wars. As mentioned earlier, immigrant studies of the past have attempted to portray German immigrants as a more or less homogeneous cultural group, arriving from Europe and settling in various parts of Canada, connected by their common language and traditions. This paper will establish that there existed differences in identity within the German groupings in the community, based on geographic origin and socio-political background. Janet M. Fuller expresses this concept well in her chapter in a forthcoming book on German Diaspora when commenting on immigration discourse to date. She outlines that:

German emigrants left different regions with diverse cultural practices and distinct and sometimes mutually unintelligible varieties of German. In many cases, they left before a sense of German national identity had developed, and from areas that may or may not be part of contemporary Germany. In other words, emigrants left as Hessians, Mecklenburgers, or Alsatians; they arrived in their new homelands as simply Germans.

Settlements in the new homeland may have been treated like enclosed, homogenous groups of immigrants, but were more likely to be heterogeneous and dispersed.²²

Given the inability of Canadian census definitions to categorize German immigrants properly based on a variety of identifying factors, such as geographic origin, census data is limited in expressing the differences and finer nuances of identities of immigrant groups as outlined above. In the literature, German Canadians have been identified as one cohesive immigrant group making up one part of the Canadian cultural mosaic, as opposed to being identified as a German cultural mosaic of the different German immigrant groups within the Canadian cultural mosaic.

Using the survey works on German immigration and the working definition of “German”, in order to put the events discussed in this paper into proper perspective, a few words need to be said about general immigration patterns of Germans coming to Canada. The arrival of the first Germans in Canada varies from one account to the next. Most authors agree however that Germans have been present in Canada since the mid-17th century. According to Koch-Kraft, the first German was registered in the present-day province of Quebec in 1664.²³ Their numbers however remained fairly low, totaling not more than 40, until later in the 18th century.²⁴ The first cohesive group of about 2300 German immigrants arrived in Canada between 1750 and 1753, recruited by the British government from Switzerland and Germany. Composed mainly of skilled farmers and tradesmen, their community south of Halifax, Lunenburg, Nova Scotia was a self-sufficient one. However being cut off from subsequent waves of immigration, the community quickly assimilated into the English culture.²⁵

The next wave of immigrants arrived in 1784 in what was to become Upper Canada seven years later. They consisted largely of Empire loyalist farmers from the German Palatinate

region, who settled along Lake Ontario and Lake Erie.²⁶ They were joined by a group known as the Pennsylvania Dutch Germans (Dutch was a play on Deutsch) between 1792 and 1837, who came to Canada from Pennsylvania and New Jersey. The first of these Mennonite groups came from Bucks County, Pennsylvania, under the leadership of Jacob Bechtel and settled in the Niagara Peninsula, in today's Welland, Lincoln, and Haldimand Counties.²⁷ A second group followed soon after, settling at Whitechurch in York County.²⁸ After Jacob Bechtel had scouted Block 2 of the Indian lands, he told the Schörg (Sherk) and Betzner families about them, prompting Joseph Sherk and Samuel Betzner, along with a number of other Mennonite families, to travel from Franklin County in Pennsylvania in 1799, to settle along the Grand River west of Lake Ontario.²⁹ This group of German-speaking Mennonites is often credited with laying the foundation for the Germanic character of the region, which attracted a large number of continental *Reichsdeutsche* settlers to join them on the German Company Tract, the area around today's cities of Kitchener-Waterloo. These newcomers who arrived in the 1820s were driven out of Germany by the end of the Napoleonic wars and changes in German landholding practices and were generally artisans, craftsmen, as well as farmers.³⁰ They were accommodated by the Mennonites and helped develop the area around the Mennonite settlement. In 1830, Jacob Hailer from Baden, Germany, established a chair factory on one acre of land he had purchased from Mennonite Bishop Benjamin Eby. In 1833, Friedrich Gaukel established an Inn in the same settlement that had been renamed Berlin by Benjamin Eby, in recognition of these German newcomers.³¹ In August of 1835, Heinrich Wilhelm Petersen established Upper Canada's first German weekly newspaper, the *Canada Museum und Allgemeine Zeitung*.³² A number of German Catholic and Lutheran congregations also formed during those years, giving Waterloo County (when it was formed in 1853) a considerable Germanic presence.³³ Overall, 69 Catholic

families had moved to the area from Alsace, followed by German Lutherans who settled in the surrounding area.³⁴ By Confederation, as McLaughlin states, 60 percent of all Germans in Canada were living in or near Waterloo County, Ontario.³⁵

The Dominion Lands Act of 1872 sought to attract newcomers to Canada's western lands and thus rerouted *Volksdeutsche* immigrants to Canada's Prairies in the future provinces of Manitoba and Saskatchewan. In the years before the First World War, around 7000 immigrants to the west were Mennonites from Southern Russia who settled in Manitoba. 18% of western German settlers came from the Galicia, Bukovina and Banat regions, as well as 6% from areas in Rumania. Another 18% came from the United States, as well as 2% from Ontario and 12% of *Reichsdeutsche*, emigrating directly from Germany.³⁶ By 1890, the Mennonites had outgrown the land set aside for them in Manitoba and settled in Saskatchewan, north of Saskatoon.³⁷ Important to note is that a large number of these immigrants were *Volksdeutsche* German Mennonites from Russia, who managed to, much like the Pennsylvania Germans in Waterloo County, uphold their own customs and traditions, without assimilating into mainstream Canadian Society. In Waterloo County, non-Mennonite Germans soon began to outnumber the Pennsylvania Mennonites. In fact, by 1901, 3 685 Lutherans and 2 035 Roman Catholics together accounted for almost 60 percent of Berlin's population, while Mennonites only made up 4.2 percent of the population.³⁸ With dwindling immigration numbers in the early 20th century, continental Germans started to establish their own community.

The next substantial wave of German immigrants arrived in Canada after the First World War, particularly after 1923 and was absorbed by rural and urban areas all over Canada. The just over 200,000 newcomers however did not feature the desire to uphold the German culture as immigrant communities before the war had.³⁹ The German immigrants arriving after the Second

World War are also of some interest for the later chapters of this study. Between 1946 and 1967, a total of 289,258 immigrants, largely refugees and displaced persons, arrived from the Federal Republic of Germany, settling mostly in urban centers such as Toronto, Montreal, Vancouver and Kitchener.⁴⁰ Of the various groups of German immigrants to Canada, the Pennsylvania Mennonites and German *Reichsdeutsche* of the early-19th century, as well as those arriving after the Second World War will be examined further.

The area along the Grand River that later developed around the town of Berlin was initially settled by Pennsylvania Mennonite Pioneers, who were soon joined by artisans and craftsmen from Germany. The town developing on the German Tract, was first named Ebytown, after the revered Bishop Benjamin Eby⁴¹, who renamed the town Berlin in honour of the German artisans and craftsmen who joined the Mennonites.⁴² His grandson, Ezra E. Eby was the first individual to document the settlement history of the area. He was a local schoolteacher, and published *A biographical history of Waterloo Township* in 1895. Eby's work outlines the hardships the original settler families endured on their way to Canada, and provides a substantive amount of biographical and genealogical information on the settler families. Ross Fair discusses Eby's 'filiopietistic'⁴³ book in some detail, along with a 1903 address by Reverend A.B. Sherk to the United Empire Loyalist Association of Ontario, identifying them both as first attempts at creating a Mennonite homemaking myth. Using Orm Øverland's hypothesis that "virtually all immigrant groups from Europe shared in the creation of stories that emphasized how members of their ethnic group did more to found, defend, and impart [American] values than any other individual group"⁴⁴, Fair applies his American Model to the case of the Pennsylvania Mennonite settlers. He argues that both Eby and Sherk attempted to situate the Mennonite settlers in a larger United Empire Loyalist history in order to guarantee their acceptance in Canada's founding

history. By successfully combining the various religious settler groups from Pennsylvania into one cohesive unit, supposedly loyal to the British crown, even if in reality that was not the case, Eby and Sherk provided the foundation to what was to become local lore after the Great War.

The German “Kultur” that the German immigrants and their families brought with them from Europe was of great importance to these groups long before the First World War broke out. As early as 1853, a men’s singing association of Berlin, Bridgeport and Waterloo had been formed. Germans also gathered for sporting events and the “Turnvereine”, the various sports clubs, met once a year for a celebration of sports, although performances of plays, songs and dances were part of these “Turnfeste”. When the Franco-Prussian war ended in Europe, Berlin, Ontario hosted the 1871 “Friedensfest”, a German Peace Jubilee, which almost 10,000 people attended.⁴⁵ Physical activity was soon replaced by the interest in music and annual “Sängerfeste” took over. At these song festivals, church choirs, men’s choirs and singing groups exhibited their musical talent.⁴⁶ It was around the same time that Berlin/Kitchener’s largest German Club was formed. On October 7th, 1973, Martin Grebenstein, Friedrich Gottlieb and Wilhelm Stein, three tailors from the area founded the Men’s choir ‘Concordia’, its name chosen on the recommendation of John Motz, publisher of the local German-language newspaper, the *Berliner Journal*. Their meeting space was the upstairs hall of the *Berliner Journal*’s print shop.⁴⁷

Through the annual song festivals and the regular meetings, the various musical groups maintained the German language, customs, art and mindsets. Gottlieb Leibbrandt argues, that they provided what was considered necessary for intellectual development and healthy civilization and culture.⁴⁸ In the late 1890s, the men’s association became more of a family oriented organization, admitting women and children. The traditional nationalistic celebrations of

birthdays of the Kaiser and other notables were enriched with the adoption of cultural programs. Musical demonstrations such as dances and balls, poetry recitals, as well as art exhibitions alternated with the choir presentations. The Concordia Club also participated in the celebration of Dominion days and expressed equal patriotism to Queen Victoria, as they did to the Kaiser in Europe. International “Sängerfeste” took place in Berlin, along with cultural celebrations that carried the reputation of the Concordia Club and Berlin throughout Canada. In 1893, the Concordia Club had an active membership of 150, 80 of whom were choir members.⁴⁹ At the 1897 ‘Sängerfest’, the Concordia Club erected a memorial to Kaiser Wilhelm I in Victoria Park that attracted much negative attention during the years of the First World War. In 1900, the Concordia also established the German School Association, in order to encourage German instruction in local schools, and maintain their cultural links to the continent. When German language education in public schools was halted once war had broken out in Europe, the Concordia continued with its weekly activities, assuming that if they fulfilled their duties as citizens, the Canadian government would protect them. The disposition to the German language and German culture of the members of the Concordia Club, some of whom were non-German Canadians, had nothing to do with their political affiliation, according to Gottlieb Leibbrandt, thus supporting the idea that these individuals had greater loyalty for the Queen than the Kaiser. Leibbrandt seems to be echoing the words of W.G. Weichel, the Member of Parliament for Waterloo North, who argued in a statement made in 1915, that: “the people of German origin in this country are loyal to their King and loyal to the Empire should the German-Canadian be asked to forget the land of his forefathers, its traditions and past history?”⁵⁰ Nonetheless, the events of the First World War outlined below forced the Concordia Club to close, its members swept up in the events of the war.

Started by the Pennsylvania Mennonites and continued by settlers from Germany, Waterloo County became known for its frugal, industrious and enterprising German population, particularly when Berlin became Canada's 18th city in 1912.⁵¹ The future of the prosperous area looked bright. Unbeknownst to the Germans in Berlin, Canada, trouble was brewing at the onset of the Great War in Europe and Berlin was soon to undergo yet another name-change. On February 3rd, 1916, while war was raging in Europe, a fire destroyed the Parliament buildings in Ottawa. Most people quickly reached the conclusion that German incendiaries were the cause and even Sir Wilfrid Laurier, then leader of the Opposition, blamed "the disciples of German kultur" for the event.⁵² A perceived attack on the government fueled the anti-German sentiments growing within Canadian society. The ripple effect of this event spread throughout Canadian society and the increasingly negative attitude towards German-Canadians was especially felt in Berlin, Ontario. The industrial town had profited from wartime production. However, rumours abounded that merchants were considering a boycott of goods manufactured in Berlin.⁵³ Economic rivalries were also at play here, for as the St. Thomas Times noted, "why should we perpetuate in Ontario the name of the capital city of the arch-fiend?"⁵⁴

With the city's economic prosperity in jeopardy, a group of Board of Trade members with a vested economic interest began pushing for a name change. Louis J. Breithaupt, a prominent German-Canadian manufacturer in Berlin noted in his diary in February of 1916 that "public sentiment in Canada is very anti-German & so to some extent against anything connected with or reminding one of Germany."⁵⁵ As a result of this anti-German sentiment, the label "Made in Berlin" was not one looked upon proudly anymore. Members of the City Council called a meeting on Friday, February 11, 1916, to decide on a name change for the city of Berlin that would be "more in keeping with our National sentiment."⁵⁶ The negative sentiments against the

German character of the city became more and more felt from the upheaval the 118th Battalion, Canadian Expeditionary Force caused in Berlin/Kitchener, a battalion North Waterloo had to raise on request of Sir Sam Hughes, the Minister of Militia and Defence.⁵⁷

Since recruits were difficult to find, Sgt. Major Granville Blood, and groups of soldiers speeded the recruitment efforts by gathering up young male residents and marching them to the recruiting office where they were persuaded to join the force.⁵⁸ Some accounts provide a colourful account of the events that ensued. After a particularly heated recruiting meeting, which was compulsory for the members of the 118th, a mob of 40 to 50 soldiers, “well fortified with alcohol”⁵⁹ (according to one account) marched to the Concordia Society’s meeting rooms to recapture the Kaiser’s bust that had been recovered from the Victoria Park lake where some youth had dumped it in August 1914. Through the course of the night, the mob returned to the club a number of times and removed most of its assets.⁶⁰ In March of 1916, just after his resignation and before he was scheduled to leave Berlin, the American-born Reverend C.R. Tappert, who was very outspoken on numerous war issues, was pulled from his house and roughed up by a group of soldiers.⁶¹ Events such as these seemed to make the need for a name change of Berlin and for a general distancing from all things ‘German’ even more necessary.

Berlin’s City Council met again on June 5th to deliberate on a possible amalgamation with the town of Waterloo, since the six names left over after the selection process (HURONTO, BERCANA, DUNARD, HYDRO CITY, AGNOLEO, RENOMA) had become the laughing stock of the press in Ontario. The sinking of the cruiser H.M.S. *Hampshire* near Orkney, carrying Field Marshall Lord Kitchener, solved the squabbling. ‘Kitchener’ seemed a strategic choice to express loyalty to the British crown. On May 19, 1916, 3 057 citizens of Berlin voted on the name change, though it is alleged that numerous Germans were turned away at the polls and

others did not show up for fear of being physically beaten as tempers ran high. Over the course of four days, six new names (BROCK, KITCHENER, CORONA, ADANAC, KEOWANA, BENTON) were selected, the first two being the only ones seriously considered. Of the over 15,000 citizens of Berlin⁶² just 892 cast a ballot, 163 of which were spoiled by people voting for Berlin or Waterloo. The name Kitchener won over Brock with 346 votes to 335.⁶³ Berlin officially became Kitchener on September 1, 1916.⁶⁴

Berlin was likely the largest municipality to face such pressure in Canada, but it was not the only one. Bassler explains that towns founded “by German immigrants prior to World War I, such as Berlin, Coblenz, Waldorf, Prussia, and Düsseldorf, were renamed Kitchener, Cavell, Béthune, Leader, and Freedom.”⁶⁵ Gladys Heintz notes that Germans often Anglicized their family names to make their lives easier during the First World War. As a result, she argues, families “took the opportunity of adopting the English forms – e.g. Steins became Stones, Müllers became Millers etc.”⁶⁶ In addition, census counts after the war showed that individuals of German ethnic origin declined in number, while those claiming to be of Dutch or Austrian origin doubled and tripled in 1921.⁶⁷ Over the next decade the public image of Kitchener would change from being a ‘German’ city, to being an industrial, small-town urban center. After the war was over, Kitchener was left to grapple with the pieces of what had once been a proud, Germanic city and attempt to come up with an acceptable version of its Germanic identity that would fit within the broader context of English-Canadian society.

William H. Breithaupt, a prominent resident of Kitchener and local industrialist saw it his mission to place the past of Waterloo County within the accepted history of Canada, with other members of the Waterloo Historical Society, which he helped found in November of 1912.⁶⁸ To this end, Breithaupt began to express the loyalty of the local population to Britain by publishing

the names of those who had fallen during the war in the Waterloo Historical Society's journal, even taking some liberties to include the great-great-grandson of Bishop Benjamin Eby, despite his having grown up and enlisted in Saskatchewan.⁶⁹ The year 1924 was a significant year in the creation of a new identity for Kitchener. W.H. Breithaupt headed The Ontario Historical Society⁷⁰ and began publishing articles in a magazine devoted to the story of Ontario, *Mer Douce*, which gave an important legitimacy to the area's past.⁷¹ He also pushed for a national monument to commemorate the Pioneer roots of the area to be built in a parcel of land overlooking the Grand River, which Breithaupt and the Waterloo County Pioneers Memorial Association had purchased a year earlier. In the same year, B. Mabel Dunham, librarian of the Kitchener Public Library published her well-known book *The Trail of the Conestoga*. With a foreword by Canada's Prime Minister at the time, W.L. Mackenzie King, her fictional account of the first Mennonite settlers journeying to the Canadian wilderness from Pennsylvania contained enough references to local history to supply it with an air of legitimacy, easily letting it be regarded as fact. It provided a 'safe' and acceptable background story to the heritage of Kitchener, a Mennonite identity in a time when the German identity was too uncomfortable to remember. Two years later, the memorial Breithaupt had been promoting was finally built. The Pioneer Memorial Tower overlooking the banks of the Grand River was recognized as a national memorial site by the federal government and fitted with a historic plaque.⁷² The story of the first Mennonites from Pennsylvania settling the interior of Upper Canada, and the Swiss spire on top of the tower left little to be asked about the origin of the settlers. Recognized as 'builders of Canada', the homemaking myth of Ezra Eby and A.B. Sherk, as well as the efforts of William H. Breithaupt had come to fruition in 1926.

Commenting on Eby and Sherk's attempts at situating the Pennsylvania Mennonites into a United Empire Loyalist history, Ross Fair argues that their claims rested on silences for proof.⁷³ Using Michel-Rolph Trouillot's assessment in *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History*, Fair states that "it is the creation of a simple, single moment that facilitates a narration of history; chronology replaces process, and context fades away. In doing so, the single moment becomes an historical 'fact'."⁷⁴ Martha K. Norkunas augments Fair's argument. Norkunas argues that, "the writing and exhibition of history is not something preserved from the past but rather 'what has been selected, written, pictured, popularized and institutionalized by those whose function it is to do so'."⁷⁵

K.M. Fierke, in an edited volume entitled *Memory, Trauma and World Politics*, argues that,

the habit of remembering is also a habit of forgetting in that the memory becomes tied to a specific narrative that focuses selectively on elements of the past. Habits of behaviour are learned in much the same ways as habits of language, that is from 'living with people who habitually behave in a certain manner'.⁷⁶

Both Fair's evaluation of Eby and Sherk, as well as Norkuna's and Fierke's arguments can be applied to the memory and identity creation of W.H. Breithaupt and Mabel Dunham, as well as immigration studies at large. By situating the Mennonites within the founding history of Kitchener, Breithaupt and Dunham downplayed the influence the continental Germans had on the development of the city. Authors of immigration studies on the other hand, by situating German immigrants within the Canadian founding history, played up the influence German immigrants had on Canada's historical development.

After the First World War, Germans in Kitchener continued to develop their own identity, irrespective of Breithaupt and Dunham's attempts to alter Kitchener's identity. Five

individuals met in their own family circles and decided to resurrect the Concordia Club. On Dec. 4, 1924, Charles Panhofer, Henry Herzog, Tony Schmitter, Albert Bader and Joseph Moert founded the German Club of Kitchener. Its certificate of foundation states, that: "Every German-speaking individual can become a member of the German Club on the recommendation of two current members."⁷⁷ Its stated aim was "to spread the spirit of sociability amongst its members, in case of emergency to support those in need and to educate newcomers on the customs and conventions of their new home country."⁷⁸ Newly arrived immigrants from Europe were thus quickly absorbed into Canadian society and found a new home amidst the 'old' members of Kitchener's Concordia Club. While individuals such as W.H. Breithaupt and Mabel Dunham worked to emphasize the Pennsylvania Mennonite heritage of the area, German-Canadians in Kitchener spent similar efforts to resurrect symbols of their past and reminders of their own heritage that were so popular before the war. New celebrations, such as the 'Deutsche Tag' in Toronto, or German Day, were held before the Second World War and offered proof of the thriving German-Canadian community in Canada.

Even in light of declining membership numbers in recent years and talk of amalgamation, the individual identities of the various groups are too distinct to seriously consider such a proposal. When examining social aspects of the German-Canadian population in Canada, not only does one have to consider the various waves of German immigration to Canada, but also the origin, identity and make-up of the various groupings within the country. As for the German population of Kitchener and its surrounding area, it is not only varied in combining all these different influences, it also had to compete with a newly created Pioneer founding myth after the war. This struggle of identity will become more evident in subsequent chapters.

Chapter 2: The *Deutscher Bund Canada*

“German migrants seldom shared their experiences of encountering the Nazi past in North America” - Alexander Freund

Despite the peaceful co-existence of the Pioneer founding myth and the re-emergence of German Clubs in Kitchener-Waterloo in the 1920s, the Second World War put renewed strain on the Kitchener-Waterloo community. However, this time the German communities were ready to avoid events similar to those of the First World War. When Canada declared war on Germany in September of 1939, the Concordia Club halted its operations in order to not have its cultural activity misinterpreted and to avoid similar sentiments as during the First World War. The furniture of the club halls was sold to the Moore Lodge for \$400 dollars and all activity was suspended for the duration of the war.⁷⁹ German identity seemed to have become less important during those years. Exhibiting loyalty to the country was the first and foremost priority for Germans in Kitchener-Waterloo. While enlistment of Germans in the First World War had been an issue, casualty lists of the Second World War, published in the Waterloo Historical Society's annual report, reveal that numerous individuals with German background had enlisted in Kitchener to support the war effort. Names such as Eisenmenger, Fahrenholtz, Fischer, Schmidt and Spaetzel⁸⁰ indicate that German Canadians in Kitchener-Waterloo saw their loyalties to be with Canada, as opposed to Hitler's Germany. While groups supporting the National socialist government of Germany attempted to grab a foothold in Canada, these efforts found little resonance in German-Canadian communities. As a result, these isolated groups were short-lived and disappeared once the war broke out.

The Germany community had undergone significant changes after the First World War, but so had Kitchener as a Canadian city. A new generation of leaders, younger businessmen and professionals, emerged in Kitchener, realizing the need for “the passing of civic leadership to a

younger generation with fainter memories of wartime antagonism”⁸¹, in order to increase Kitchener’s prosperity in the post-war period. Service clubs and organizations such as the Kitchener Young Men’s Club were founded to help with all matters concerning public welfare, and “to reunify the community”.⁸² Despite these efforts and despite the rapid growth in manufacturing in the region, Kitchener nonetheless experienced the same national trends as the rest of Canada, such as the depression in the 1930s. Residents of Kitchener focused their efforts towards increasing economic prosperity, rather than engaging in expressions of their culture and heritage, such as found in the German language newspapers, language schools and clubs of the years before the First World War. If at all, their ethnic identity found expression in those ethnic associations, which John Norris defines as being “established to perform the functions of mutual aid in coping with economic vicissitudes and difficulties of integration, of social fellowship, and of preserving and transmitting ethnic characteristics and culture.”⁸³ As such, any clubs that did resume operations after the First World War were determined to have their activities interpreted as purely social, which is why the Concordia Club immediately halted its activities once the Second World War broke out. The tensions of the Second World War, which put significant strain on German identities in Kitchener-Waterloo, began as early as 1933.

In March of 1933, (two months after Adolph Hitler took power in Germany) a Jewish group in Toronto joined a world-wide protest against Hitler and in April openly asked Canadians to boycott the New Germany. In the same month, groups in Vancouver held a protest against Hitler. Given these societal attitudes, Walter Pannicke, president of the Concordia Club, published an article in the *Kitchener Daily Record* to express the position of the German community he represented. Distancing the German community in Canada from the events taking place in Germany, Pannicke outlines that:

as Canadians of German parentage [...] we chose Canada as our new home, not for the purpose of quarreling with our neighbours who might happen to be of a different nationality or faith, but in order to concentrate on obtaining a new existence and on building a permanent home, and to become worthy and loyal citizens having a deep respect and consideration for other people's opinion and religious beliefs.⁸⁴

Pannicke distanced himself and the members of the Concordia Club from developments in Germany, reiterating the purely social and economic goals of the German members of the community he represented.

Other groups emerged during the 1930s with more contentious aims, though with little success. For example, Otto Becker, who was born in Germany in 1893 and had moved to Canada in 1930, was living in Kitchener by 1933, after having moved from Windsor and was unemployed and on relief. In 1933, he attempted to organize a local group, a Swastika Club, to combat the Communist-Jewish conspiracy, which he blamed for his unemployment.⁸⁵ With the aid of two individuals from Toronto, Becker organized the inaugural meeting of Kitchener's Swastika Club on August 14, 1933. Becker made it clear that no Jews would be allowed to attend the meeting.⁸⁶ The citizens of Kitchener however distanced themselves immediately from Becker, including the Concordia Club and his attempts to organize a Swastika Club were downplayed by the local Jewish community. The August 14th meeting was broken up by police half an hour into Becker's speech, since most people were there to protest Becker and the meeting erupted in chaos.⁸⁷ A resolution by City Council on August 14th stated that:

this city council looks with disfavour upon any organization that among their aims and objectives brings oppression upon and discrimination against any creed [...] and discourage [...] the fostering of such an objective by any club or organization.⁸⁸

Becker's attempt to create a Swastika Club was thus unsuccessful, being ill-received in Kitchener, a course which the *Friends of the New Germany*, a group with similar aims, soon followed.

In 1933, the head of the newly formed and American-run *Friends of the New Germany* appointed Hans Strauss to found and organize Nazi cells in Canada. He entered Canada in August of 1933 and established branches in Toronto, Kitchener, St. Catharines, Montreal, Winnipeg and Vancouver.⁸⁹ When the head of the organization in the US, Heinz Spanknoebel, was arrested in the US for failing to register as an agent of a foreign government, he fled to Germany. This left the newly formed cells in disarray and the movement collapsed six months after its inception.⁹⁰

Recognizing the difficulties the *Friends of the New Germany* had encountered in the US, five Hitler supporters from Waterloo, Ontario, decided to establish a similar organization led by Canadian Germans, to avoid arousing governmental opposition and to avoid suffering a similar fate as the *Friends*. Ernst Kopf, Otto Geisler, Georg Messer, Paul Lechscheidt, and Karl Gerhard founded the *Deutscher Bund Canada* on January 1st, 1934, insisting that it was not a National Socialist organization and that their goals were social and cultural, not political.⁹¹ Officially, the *Bund* came into being to unify Germans from coast to coast. That the *Deutscher Bund Canada* had different aims soon became apparent.

According to Jonathan Wagner, the membership of the *Bund* was initially left open to all Germans living in Canada; both those who were German through ties of blood and language (*Volksdeutsche*) and those who were linked to Hitler's Germany (*Reichsdeutsche*). With half a million Germans living in Canada, the *Bund* never sought to become a mass organization. Although Lita-Rose Betcherman, claims that the *Bund* and local fascist groups in Canada often

consisted of the same individuals, and as such sought to combine their interests with like-minded groups⁹², Wagner, disagrees, stating that:

Bundists did not amalgamate with the English or French fascists for several reasons. The *Bund* was very sensitive of its insecure position in Canada and to the possibility of suffering adverse effects for becoming involved with native fascists who, in Heinrich Seelheim's words, had 'earned only the sharpest disapproval of the Canadian government.'⁹³

Membership in the *Bund* was exclusive (ideological orientation was far more important than blood or language) and consisted of a small number of reliable individuals who would "obey absolutely the commands of the *Bund*'s leadership"⁹⁴ and spread their beliefs and attitudes throughout the rest of the German community. In order to achieve this, the *Bund* was organized much like the Nazi party in Germany.

One central *Führer* in Montreal oversaw three district leaders in Quebec and the Maritimes, in Ontario and in the four western provinces. Each district was further subdivided and each subdistrict had its own leader, overseeing the activities of the local units of the *Bund*. The local units (*Ortsgruppe*, 15 or more members, or *Stützpunkte*, at least 5 members) also had specific leaders. Although a paramilitary discipline prevailed, according to Wagner, members of the *Bund* rejected uniforms in order to appear more informal than the SA in Germany and wore only a swastika armband. Requirements for *Bund* members included mandatory attendance at *Bund* meetings, acceptance of leadership decisions, avoidance of discussing religious issues or Canadian politics and a commitment to propagate the German cause among fellow Germans, to support German schools, German cultural events, to defend German honor by combating anti-German propaganda and by battling Bolshevism.⁹⁵

Of the various groups throughout Canada, greatest interest in the Bund was found in urban centers such as St. Catherines, Hamilton, Toronto, Windsor and Kitchener-Waterloo, due to their large concentration of young and very recent German immigrants.⁹⁶

What is also important to consider in the organization of the Bund, is that the *Deutscher Bund Canada* received much support from Germany. The Nazi party had established an *Auslands Organisation* (overseas organization, henceforth AO), since Hitler and his chief followers deemed it useful to create a section of the party in foreign countries.⁹⁷ Under E.W. Bohle, the AO created membership cards for new members to sign, pledging allegiance to the Nazi party, regular newsletters to be sent abroad, as well as contact with German nationals in other countries. In Canada in particular, the AO found a well-established organization in the *Bund*, with Karl Gerhard boasting that there were already 40 branches in existence throughout Canada.⁹⁸ At the height of the *Bund*'s existence, between 1937-38, membership in Canada was likely around 2000. Given that these 2000 members were spread throughout Canada, it becomes obvious that the *Deutscher Bund* was never a very large organization, but rather small groupings of sympathetic individuals spread out all over the country. The exact figure is difficult to determine, as Wagner states, because "a good deal of fluctuation in membership seems to have taken place and because existing records are fragmentary."⁹⁹ Gerhard departed for Germany in November 1934, returning to Canada in February of 1935 and remained in charge of the Nazi movement in Canada until August 1936.¹⁰⁰

The *Deutscher Bund Canada* also received much support from the *Deutsche Zeitung für Canada* which Heinrich Seelheim, the German Consul for western Canada founded together with Bernhard Bott, in order to have an independent Nazi-controlled newspaper to reach Germans in Canada.¹⁰¹ The newspaper layout was said to be 'modern and popular', and cleverly mixed

international news and descriptions of local events with pro-Nazi sentiments.¹⁰² A two-page English supplement was also included. This supplement provided Nazi propaganda in news stories in English, and was published by the *Fichte Bund* in Hamburg, an organization established to represent the *Third Reich* in a favourable light abroad.¹⁰³ Between 1937 and 1938, according to Wagner, the *Deutsche Zeitung* was at the height of its success and had reached a circulation in Canada of 6000.¹⁰⁴ Although the subscription lists have disappeared, it is safe to assume that through the *Bund*, copies of the *Deutsche Zeitung* would have circulated in the Kitchener-Waterloo German community. The aims of the *Bund* however were well-known by the late-1930s. Two years before Canada declared war on Nazi-Germany, Ken W. MacTaggart examined the attitudes of the German communities in Canada and outlined them in an article in the Nov. 25th, 1937 edition of the *Globe and Mail*. In the article, titled *Nazism is Anathema to German-Canadians*, he sheds some light on the lack of support for the *Bund* in Kitchener. After days of visiting German clubs, homes, offices, and stores he determines that the general attitude among scores of Germans in the community is that “they want no part in any strutting, race-antagonizing movement” in Canada.¹⁰⁵ Two days later, MacTaggart outlines the aims of the *Deutsche Zeitung* to support the *Bund*. In his article he quotes from the *Deutsche Zeitung*’s declaration, that:

The *Deutsche Zeitung* must be supported to such an extent that it is equipped and developed to wield great influence. The propaganda and Membership Committees of every branch [of the *Bund*] have the responsible task [...of...] demanding that the [DZ] be read generally in towns and cities, as well as the remotest settlements.¹⁰⁶

He goes on to quote that:

Every member of the *Bund* has the duty of bringing at least one of his compatriots into the *Deutsche Bund* within one season and must personally guarantee his character.¹⁰⁷

Given these aims and powerful recruiting strategies, it might be surprising then, that only 800 German Canadians were interned during the Second World War, compared to 9000 in the First World War.¹⁰⁸ However, by 1939, only 16 000 of the 60 000 German Canadians born in Germany had not yet become Canadian citizens and of these 16 000, there were thousands of refugees from Nazism, leaving only a small number of non-citizens, largely in Canada's rural areas in the west.¹⁰⁹ Many of these spoke German in religious groupings, much like the Mennonites of Kitchener-Waterloo. Only seven of the individuals interned as enemy aliens during these years were from Kitchener.¹¹⁰ The majority of the German population in Kitchener was not interested in the politics of Nazi Germany.

Calls to unify Germans in the 1930s were less appealing to those German-Canadians who had long established themselves in Canada. Most Bund members, for example, were new immigrants or at least first-generation Canadian-Germans who, like Otto Becker, faced difficulties finding work. In Saskatchewan, Bundists were generally found in towns founded after the turn of the century where new arrivals from Europe were concentrated, such as Togo, Walpella, St. Walburg and Regina.¹¹¹ As for the German settlements in Ontario that were established in the eighteenth or nineteenth century, such as Waterloo, Bruce, Grey, Perth, and Huron counties, the *Bund* failed to establish support. The same was true in Nova Scotia.¹¹² However, in urban centres which contained the largest concentrations in Ontario of very recent German immigrants, a substantial interest in the *Bund* did exist.¹¹³ Despite Kitchener being an urban centre with a number of recent immigrants from Germany, the majority of its German population had been living in the city for generations, and thus had little to no ties to the 'new' Germany under Hitler.

Though seemingly better organized than the *Friends of the New Germany* in the US, the *Bund* members could not maintain their organization when Canada joined the war against Germany in 1939 and the government began to intern German nationals. In a matter of hours, the RCMP rounded up the leadership of the *Bund* and the organization ceased to exist.¹¹⁴ The *Deutsche Zeitung für Canada* equally ceased to exist, its last issue appearing on August 30th, 1939. What is interesting to note is that despite its 2000 members throughout Canada and no impediment by the Canadian government until 1939, the *Bund* failed to establish a strong foothold in Kitchener in the local German community, and more importantly failed to establish strong support throughout the country.

Only months before the *Deutsche Bund* was dissolved, Hollywood added to the paranoia and fear against German nationals as spies of Nazi Germany. On May 18, 1939, the *Kitchener Daily Record* printed an ad for the Lyric theatre in Kitchener, announcing the screening of the Warner Brothers movie *Confessions of a Nazi Spy*. The movie dealt with the establishment of a German Nazi spy ring in the United States and was the first blatantly anti-Nazi film produced in Hollywood. Over the course of five days the ads continued to increase in size and in a very dramatic way pictured headlines such as “They don’t want you to see this picture” backed by a large Swastika. The film was touted as “the first film that dares call a swastika a swastika...because it will open the eyes of 130,000,000 Americans...because it will forever blast the Nazis out of the America they betray.”¹¹⁵ On the day of the first screening, the ad contains a bright banner at the top, stating that “It was our American Duty to Make this Picture! ...It is your American Privilege to See it!...”¹¹⁶ Despite Hollywood’s efforts to fuel anti-German and anti-Nazi sentiments, it was not until 1940 and 1941, that the US government began to actively consider war with Germany.

The film exposed some division within the local German community. While the leader of the Sachsen and Schwaben Club in Kitchener, Philip Bettendorff, dismissed the movie as a farce and fabrication, as well as a pack of lies, George Imhoff, from the German-Canadian League endorsed the movie. Admitting that the movie may have been dramatized for the purpose of a more colourful picture, he pointed out that it indicated the manner in which Nazi spies work and that the movie was a true representation of what was taking place.¹¹⁷ Imhoff also stated that similar activities to those depicted in the movie were the type of thing his organization was attempting to combat in Canada.¹¹⁸

Despite organizations such as the *Deutscher Bund* in Canada, as well as movies such as *Confessions of a Nazi spy*, aimed at creating paranoia within the general public, by the end of the war, German Clubs in Kitchener-Waterloo began to flourish again after only a few years. On May 16, 1949, the Concordia Club officially resumed its activity.¹¹⁹ Along with the culture clubs that had existed in the area for a number of years before the war, new cultural groups and organizations began to emerge through new waves of post-war immigrants, as mentioned in Chapter 1, who in their own way attempted to reconcile their past experiences and to reestablish their individual German cultural identity within a newly found Canadian context.

The Concordia Club and the Schwaben Club were the only two clubs that had been in existence before the war, though the Schwaben Club was more formally organized after the war. In 1948 and 1953, a large number of Banat Swabians migrated to Canada and the Schwaben Club was the first club in Kitchener to resume its activities after the Second World War. It did so in 1947, picked up again by a small group of Banat Swabians that had formed the Canadian-Swabian Sick Benefit Association Inc. in 1931, and who were joined by these new immigrants in 1948 and 1953. Many of the newcomers of the late 40s and 50s who settled in Kitchener were

very active in the Schwaben Club.¹²⁰ In 1948, the Concordia Club resumed its activity with 300 members, thus maintaining its status as the oldest and largest German Club in Kitchener.

Between 1926 and 1931, a number of families arrived in Canada from the Gottschee region in Slovenia. One of them, Joe Mausser, became very prosperous in Canada and enabled over 100 of his countrymen to come to Canada. Members of this group founded the Alpine Club in 1953, which, by 1958, had 100 members. By 1980 that number had grown to over 300. In the 1950s, almost 300 families of Transylvania Saxons¹²¹ joined those who had moved to Canada in the 1920s. They formed the Transylvania Club in Kitchener in 1951.¹²² A few smaller clubs include the Kitchener-Waterloo Gun Club and the German-Canadian Hunting and Fishing Club, both formed in 1960, as well as the German Ethnic Cultural Association, formed at the University of Waterloo in the 1960s. While the formation of these clubs can attest to the thriving development of the German community in Kitchener in the years following the Second World War, it is also a running testament to the individual nature of the identity of each of these groups.

After the war, Dr. Albert Hess, a local resident, accepted Mackenzie King's call for "Humanity above all" and organized the Canadian Society for German Relief in 1946 in Kitchener. Many prominent members of the community took part in garnering support from individuals throughout the country to collect donations in the total amount of \$150,000, which was sent overseas for food, clothes and medical supplies.¹²³ By 1947 the first wave of displaced persons and "*Volksdeutsche*" arrived in Canada, many of whom came to Kitchener, Toronto, Hamilton, London and Windsor. By 1950, Frank Lehnert and Clive von Cardinal of the Canadian Society for German Relief called for a central umbrella organization that would unite the various social and church groups, as well as individual German-Canadians throughout Canada. On April 1, 1951, they created a Canadian German Alliance, which received its charter

as the *Trans-Canada Alliance of German Canadians – Trans-Kanada Vereinigung der Deutsch-Kanadier* on September 25, 1952. By forming an umbrella organization that would unite all of the German clubs and associations in Canada the TCA was to enhance the lives of German-Canadians throughout the country and tried to do so for many years. With the arrival of newcomers from Europe after the war, the large number of social clubs that developed in Kitchener and its surrounding area benefited from an organization such as the TCA. Much like the literature on German-Canadians, the TCA attempted to unify Germans in Canada and to provide support for newcomers. The TCA's aims based on its 1952 charter are as follows:

1. To develop good citizenship and democratic ideals among Canadians of German ethnic origin.
2. To encourage immigration to Canada of persons of German origin or speaking the German language, and to assist such persons before and after entering Canada;
3. To preserve German traditions of religion, music, literature and the arts, and to promote mutual understanding and co-operation with the like traditions of other groups in Canada;
4. To relieve distress amongst German-speaking people both within and without Canada;
5. To encourage international trade and exchange of progressive ideas between Canada and countries containing German-speaking groups in their population.
6. To use all available means of publication and communication to carry out these objects.

The problems in unifying German-Canadians in Canada under an umbrella organization are outlined in Fritz Wieden's account of the organization. Given the complex cultural background of German immigrants arriving in the 1950s and 1960s, the TCA gradually declined in cultural and other aspects, failing to provide a unified structure for German-Canadians in Canada.¹²⁴

Wieden explains this decline by outlining the complex make-up of newcomers to Canada in the 1950s and 1960s. Most immigrants during that time came from Germany directly, both eastern and western parts. Others came from Austria and German-speaking cantons in Switzerland, as well as Sudeten Germans from Czechoslovakia, ethnic Germans from eastern provinces that

were never part of Germany. For example “Transylvanian Saxons, Danube Swabians, groups from Galicia, the Bukowina and the Hungarian hinterland.”¹²⁵ Ethnic Germans from the Baltic republics, the Ukraine, Poland and the Caucasus also arrived in Canada at the time. Wieden makes the point that these groups were not only different in geographic origin, but also in religious and political affiliations, thus making attempts to unify these groups under a German-Canadian national umbrella nearly impossible.¹²⁶ Another reason for the decline of the TCA, as Wieden outlines, was the take-over of the organization in 1974 by a leadership which had been educated under the Nazi regime and thus joined the TCA for personal glory or material gains.¹²⁷ While Wieden’s view may be correct, further study of the archival material of the TCA mentioned in the introduction could provide further insights into his allegations. This however will have to be the topic of a future study. While much of the literature discussed earlier examines German-Canadians as a homogeneous group in Canada, and tries to unify them under the auspices of the home-making myth Ross Fair describes, the efforts of the TCA prove the difficulties of such an enterprise and reaffirms the thesis of this paper, that Germans in Canada, and especially in Kitchener-Waterloo, were divided into separate groups, with separate identities, based on their geographic origins.

The new wave of post-war immigrants that organized these clubs brought with them a new set of issues. German immigrants in Canada had to deal with the Nazi past often and in various ways. In fact, while people in Germany could choose to be silent about the events of the Second World War, events such as the movie *Schindler’s list*, the various war crime trials in Europe were topics of conversation in North America that could hardly be avoided. For Germans in Canada, Alexander Freund argues that:

“several factors made *Vergangenheitsbewältigung*¹²⁸ abroad a greater

challenge than in Germany. They included language problems, cultural differences, and, most important, the fact that at stake for German migrants was not only their German identity but also their attempt to form an identity in their new homeland.”¹²⁹

Germans in Canada were thus challenged to deal with Germany’s past during the war, as well as find a place within Canadian society to create their personal identity. One might think that these Germans would have formed a homogeneous group in Canada, based on their common experiences and difficulties. Freund however posits, that the thousands of German immigrants from Europe after the Second World War, were divided by gender, class, religion and politics, generation and age, region and even language. Freund also claims that most immigrants tended to blend into Canadian society as opposed to maintaining links to other Germans.¹³⁰ This poses an interesting challenge to German groups in Kitchener-Waterloo, where post-war immigrants established German clubs to continue being connected to other Germans, albeit within a group that featured very few of the dividing characteristics Freund mentions. What does become apparent is that German post-war immigrants in Kitchener-Waterloo stayed within their own groups and rather established their own clubs than joining an existing one, such as the Concordia Club. Once organized into these ethnic clubs however, these Germans focused on cultural activities from before the Third Reich, dismissing Hitler and the Nazi period as an ‘un-German’ event.

Chapter 3: Festival Identity

*We've got German Bands here, German dance groups,
why don't we throw an Oktoberfest? – Owen Lackenbauer*

The Kitchener-Waterloo Oktoberfest was not established as haphazardly as the quote above might suggest. Given the discussion of the previous chapters, the establishment of the festival in Kitchener-Waterloo becomes a very interesting one to consider as a manifestation of German identity. Having covered in some detail the difficulties of identity and 'Germanness' in Kitchener-Waterloo in Chapter 1, especially as it relates back to Germany, the celebration of Oktoberfest in Kitchener-Waterloo, mentioned briefly in the introduction, requires further explanation. Considering the events of the Second World War, the formation of the '*Deutscher Bund*' and the halting of German Club activities, the question naturally arises how it is that an almost two-century old Bavarian folk festival is celebrated in Kitchener-Waterloo in the 21st century. Its implications in regards to a German-Canadian identity within a broader Canadian context are also of interest. It is not surprising that the exchange students from Southern Germany could hardly believe their eyes when they witnessed the 'tapping of the keg' opening ceremony at city hall in 2006.

Danielle Matheusik, claims that "K-W Oktoberfest was not an expression of German heritage so much as it was an assertion of the region's German-Canadian heritage"¹³¹. It will be argued here that the first Oktoberfest in 1967 was indeed nothing but an expression of German heritage and culture. Also, similar to the adaptation of the Pennsylvania Mennonite Pioneer lore in creating a safe identity for the Kitchener-Waterloo area, Oktoberfest was adopted by non-Germans to capitalize on an event that could be situated within a well-established 'Germanic' community, thus further manifesting the ideal of a cohesive German-Canadian identity. Any

potentially lingering memories of the Second World War period, it was hoped, would be forgotten amidst the suds and sausages of Oktoberfest.

In 1952, Julius Rauchfuss emigrated to Canada with his wife and 12-year old son, in the hopes of escaping the poor economic prospects he faced in Germany after the war. Travelling to Windsor, Ontario to begin working at an automotive plant, Rauchfuss made it as far as Hamilton, where he began working as groundskeeper for three years before taking on a management position at the Hamilton German Club. After a number of successful years, during which he founded the German-Canadian Choir Association, Rauchfuss moved to Kitchener in 1959, after being offered a manager position at the Concordia Club. The fact that he could speak German in almost any store he walked into in Kitchener facilitated the decision to move for him and his wife. Following the government's call for celebration during Canada's 1967 centennial year, Rauchfuss suggested to the Board of Governors of the Concordia Club to hold an Oktoberfest. His idea was accepted but was threatened since the club could not obtain a banquet license for such an event, it being a private members club. Out of necessity, therefore, the Concordia Club collaborated with the Big Brother's association, as well as the Multiple Sclerosis Association, who acquired the necessary permits and Kitchener-Waterloo's very first Oktoberfest was thus made a four-day charitable event.¹³² An attendance of around 2000 individuals on each of the four days proved K-Ws first Oktoberfest to be a success. The Concordia Club financed the event and managed to raise \$1600 for each of the two charities. The aim, according to Rauchfuss, was to "include everyone and anyone to make them feel good and show them what the Germans could do."¹³³

Although many other German clubs had featured Oktoberfest as a one-night private dance evening for their members, the Concordia Club, under Julius Rauchfuss' leadership, made

Oktoberfest a community event for the first time. In a letter to the mayor of Kitchener, William Butler, the Board of Directors of the Concordia Club proudly boasted to be holding a

“truly traditional Oktoberfest. The opening ceremonies for this gala event will take place on Wednesday October 11th. The program will continue daily until the closing ceremonies on Saturday, Oct. 14th. We have planned features comparable to those of the original Oktoberfest held annually in Munich, Germany. These will include folkdancing, music, supplied by 3 brass bands, including the Rothenburger brass band from Germany.”¹³⁴

Having sold out for all four days in its first year, last-day attendance at Oktoberfest during the following year, in 1968, had doubled, totaling 3500 people, as well as an additional 300 people who had to be turned away on both Friday and Saturday, October 4th and 5th. Even though the Concordia Club was able to get its own banquet permit for the second year of its Oktoberfest celebration¹³⁵, the net proceeds from the event were still donated to charities, the Crippled Children Fund and the Canadian Cancer Society.¹³⁶ For these first two years, Oktoberfest was not only a successful celebration of continental German heritage and culture, it was also a not-for-profit event aimed at entertaining the community by showcasing this aspect of German culture.

Owen Lackenbauer was born in Kitchener in 1936 but left the area at age 16 when he joined the Canadian army. Working in Edmonton and the US, Lackenbauer received most of his education through the armed forces. When he left the army in 1964, Lackenbauer moved to Calgary to work for a public relations firm as press secretary for Peter Lougheed, leader of the Conservative party at the time. More importantly however, Lackenbauer also worked for the Calgary Exhibition and Stampede, where he gained much of his knowledge and expertise on promoting and publicizing large events, how to attract tourists and how to merchandise an event.¹³⁷ Lackenbauer's father worked for the *Kitchener-Waterloo Record* for 41 years as a linotype operator and was an active member of the press club in Kitchener. Owen Lackenbauer

himself took a reporter's course with the *Calgary Herald* (one of two non-reporters in the course) and was subsequently offered a job at the Herald. He turned down the offer however, because of the significantly lesser pay than his consulting job. In 1966, Lackenbauer met Trevor Jones, the public relations manager for BF Goodrich in Kitchener at his dad's press club. After a string of conversations that lasted for over a year, he accepted a position as supervisor for public relations at BF Goodrich in 1968.

That same year, he joined the Chamber of Commerce of the City of Kitchener, where he met Darwin Clay, the president of Budd Automotive and head of the Visitors and Convention Bureau. Clay was in charge of creating an event that would attract tourism to Kitchener and raise the city's national profile.¹³⁸ Together with Richard Hermansen, a member of the local Lion's club and the general coordinator of the Oktoberfest committee¹³⁹, they worked to establish a tourist attraction for Kitchener. The result of their labours was a Heritage Festival and the Kitchener Winterfest. Featuring a Mennonite inspired mascot (a snowman with a Mennonite hat), named "Schnickelfritz", Winterfest was marred by disappointment. The festival attracted countless local citizens but did little to attract tourists from outside the city. Since the Barrie and Quebec winter carnivals were going on around the same time, the concept of Winterfest was nothing new and thus failed to create excitement that would attract tourists. The mild weather and January thawing conditions also impeded the smooth operation of Winterfest, making ice skating events and dog sled races almost impossible to stage. As a result, Winterfest only experienced a two-year run and was not repeated after 1969.¹⁴⁰

It was therefore a fortunate coincidence that both Richard Hermansen and Owen Lackenbauer attended the second Oktoberfest the Concordia Club held in 1968. Even though it was only his first year back in Kitchener, Owen Lackenbauer immediately recognized the

potential this festival had in becoming a tourist attraction for Kitchener. Given that there were four German clubs in town, German heritage in the community and over 32 percent of the population was either German or came from a German background, as he states in the 1991 interview, Lackenbauer told Hermansen that:

“[there are] German Bands here, German dance groups, why don’t we throw an Oktoberfest. That’s something that people can get excited about from out of town, it’s unique there’s nothing like it in Canada.”¹⁴¹

Lackenbauer then took this idea to the Chamber of Commerce, which decided on a vote of confidence to start the first Oktoberfest in 1969.

Heather Daly, et al. state that “Community unity, cooperation and the celebration [of] the area’s German heritage”¹⁴² were a priority, not necessarily tourist dollars. However, the aims of this community-wide festival become very clear when listening to the 1991 interview with Owen Lackenbauer. Lackenbauer very clearly outlines the benefits of Oktoberfest to attract tourism especially since:

“Tourist revenue is good for community prosperity, [it] creates jobs, every tourist dollar turns over two and a half times. People come in from outside and it’s found wealth and generates wealth for people within a community.”¹⁴³

As a result, community unity and cooperation within the community may have been motivators once the festival’s success was established, however when the event was created, the main motivator was to create a festival that would be attractive to the local community and thus garner its support, but also be unique and interesting to a large group of tourists from out-of-town, thus making it a profitable event for the city of Kitchener.

By 1968, German post-war immigration to Kitchener and the area significantly contributed to the ‘German’ character of the community. Particularly with the establishment of

the various local German clubs mentioned earlier, the Concordia Club, the Schwaben and Transylvania Club, as well as the Alpine Club. As a result, non-Germans like Clay, Lackenbauer and Hermansen recognized the well-established German presence in the community and the strong continental German identity that had formed within each of these clubs. What neither Matheusik nor Daly et al. comment on in their respective papers, is the fact that these three organizers instinctively assumed that the dance groups, bands and clubs represented a cohesive German community that could be rallied around an event like Oktoberfest to support their efforts. The German identity that seems so self-evident in the portrayal of Oktoberfest as “Canada’s great beer festival” and later on as “Canada’s great Bavarian festival” is not nearly as simple as that.

The fact that Oktoberfest served to reinforce the German identity of the community and furthered cultural associations mattered only marginally to the organizers. None of the three organizers for the Chamber of Commerce spoke German or had any real German background. Darwin Clay was from the US, Richard ‘Dick’ Hermansen was from Denmark and Owen Lackenbauer’s family had lived in Kitchener for over three generations, himself living elsewhere in the country and the US for most of his life. When asked about this in the 1991 interview Lackenbauer responds that “We didn’t feel we had to be German or speak German. You could be any nationality and enjoy the type of good time that the Germans are capable of putting on. Oktoberfest is a delightful festival.”¹⁴⁴ As such, the German Canadian identity of the community served as a useful backdrop for a German identity of the festival, important to the organizers insofar as it ensured the support of the community for a unique event that could draw tourism into the city.

One criticism of the festival was its lack of focus, too many different festhalls spread throughout the Kitchener-Waterloo area, which garnered the recommendation that Oktoberfest would benefit from a central location for thousands of people similar to the 'Theresienwiese' in Munich. Some of the German clubs, however, viewed this proposition as a threat to their own success.¹⁴⁵ The three major German clubs maintained their own identity by celebrating in their own club facilities, by organizing their own musical program and by featuring their own dance groups. Each club, other than the Concordia Club represented a regional variation of the German identity and each saw this as a vital part of their purpose well after the Oktoberfest celebrations ended each year. Each club maintained its own cultural parameters as expressed in the décor, music, food, dances and cultural activities. Before 1967, Oktoberfest was a one-evening affair at the Concordia Club, open only to its members. In 1967, the Concordia Club invited members of the community to participate in the event, but did not approach any of the other German clubs.¹⁴⁶ The cohesive 'German' identity of Kitchener that organizers tried to portray by creating the 1969 Oktoberfest formed around the individual identities of the various German communities within Kitchener-Waterloo, none of which were Bavarian, thus celebrating their own 'Germanic' version of the festival.

The first Kitchener-Waterloo Oktoberfest organized by the Chamber of Commerce took place from October 14th to 19th in 1969. A K-W men's interservice club dinner at Bingeman Park, including their female friends, kicked off the celebrations on the evening of the 14th. The Oktoberfest program in the *Kitchener-Waterloo Record* also outlined that "Fourteen of the twin cities' most attractive German girls will appear at the dinner as contestants in the Oktoberfest Queen contest. Guests will elect a Queen by ballot to reign over Oktoberfest."¹⁴⁷ A beauty queen pageant seems to have been a useful way to increase attendance for the first event. Following the

dinner, guests moved on to the Concordia Club, where the Burgormeister (correctly: Bürgermeister - mayor) of Munich would tap the first barrel of Oktoberfest beer, alongside both mayors of Kitchener and Waterloo.¹⁴⁸ In order to ensure the first Oktoberfest to be as successful as possible, the three organizers arranged for daily craft and industry exhibits at Bingeman Park. On Wednesday the 15th, the Shoe Manufacturers Association of Canada, as well as the United Shoe Machinery Company put on exhibits of their craft, the latter featuring an exhibit of historical footwear. On Thursday, woodworkers and furniture makers were featured, followed by exhibits from the rubber industry on Friday, Oct. 17th. These exhibits, featuring old photographs to remember the time when these crafts were the backbone of the area's industrial scene, bear a strong resemblance to a heritage festival, rather than a Bavarian cultural affair.

After the success of the first festival was established, these industrial exhibits were “no longer needed”.¹⁴⁹ The tourist attraction and economic viability of the festival seem to have been the main goal of the organizers. Despite the efforts of the organizers, it seems only the various celebrations at the Concordia and Schwaben Club during the week, as well as the Alpine and Transylvania Club on the weekend had the closest resemblance to a German/Bavarian festival. Even the Oktoberfest Parade, though modelled after the Munich parade, featured “costumed marchers”.¹⁵⁰ Owen Lackenbauer mentions that all German clubs needed to be brought on board for the festival to be successful, however the 1969 program shows that only the two largest clubs, the Concordia Club and the Schwaben Club operated during the week, the smaller clubs only participated on the weekend. By the second Oktoberfest in 1970, all clubs were operating for the entire duration of the festival, realizing the economic advantage of participating for the whole week.

Oktoberfest was not only profitable for the German Clubs which had hosted the celebrations in their fest halls. A full-page advertisement in the K-W Record on Oct. 16th boasts a total of 63 stores to be open until 9 pm in acknowledgement of Oktoberfest. Similarly, the Kitchener Market downtown experienced its second largest crowd of visitors in 21 years, helping merchants sell out their stock for the first time in years.¹⁵¹ Downtown stores also reported 30 percent increases in business on the Saturday, mainly attributed to the Parade getting people downtown, and the downtown merchants lamented the fact that there were no Oktoberfest activities downtown, since most of the festival's events took place at Bingeman Park and at the various German Clubs.¹⁵² This situation was rectified when the tapping of the keg ceremonies took place in downtown Kitchener,¹⁵³ thus bringing tourists and visitors to the downtown core, where local businesses could profit from the increased traffic.

Not only was Oktoberfest a very lucrative enterprise for Kitchener-Waterloo and the German clubs, it was also upheld as an event that would add to Kitchener's identity and reputation outside of the immediate K-W area. On October 18th 1969, Susan Mertens contributed an article to the *Kitchener-Waterloo Record* arguing that Kitchener found its identity at Oktoberfest. She argues that much like the Elmira Maple Syrup festival and the Fergus Highland Games, Kitchener established its community identity with Oktoberfest.¹⁵⁴ Only two days later, Owen Lackenbauer claimed that Oktoberfest could match the Calgary stampede within ten years in its size and success.¹⁵⁵ Given the fact that Lackenbauer worked on publicity for the Calgary Stampede, his knowledge and expertise were well employed to promote Oktoberfest. In fact, publicity campaigns, such as his idea to take a group of representatives from the city and local German clubs to Toronto on a bus, dressed in Bavarian garments, offering up Oktoberfest

sausages and beer, as well as bringing along a band to perform German polka music at a radio station helped putting Oktoberfest on the map.¹⁵⁶

During these events, Julius Rauchfuss was one of the most charismatic individuals, epitomizing the spirit of Oktoberfest and the concept of ‘Gemütlichkeit’, the idea of coziness and sociability. As a result, he earned the title ‘Mr. Oktoberfest’. In this role, Rauchfuss was able to animate any crowd.¹⁵⁷ His enthusiasm for Oktoberfest was captured in a photograph showing Rauchfuss in traditional Bavarian dress, holding a large foaming Stein of beer and raising his left index finger. This picture became the staple icon for countless Oktoberfest advertisements in the *Kitchener-Waterloo Record* leading up to Oktoberfest and throughout the days of the event. Rauchfuss’ popularity went so far, that the first Oktoberfest beer, brewed by Formosa Springs Brewery, even featured Rauchfuss on its label.¹⁵⁸ Even though Mr. Oktoberfest had never attended the Munich Oktoberfest, he made up for it in enthusiasm and charisma. In fact, being Mr. Oktoberfest became a very rewarding enterprise for Rauchfuss when he established ‘Mr. Oktoberfest productions’, his own company producing everything connected to the festivals, including the authentic beer Steins. As a goodwill ambassador for Formosa Springs, Rauchfuss helped create the first Bavarian village in Canada. Kimberley in British Columbia is a replica of a Bavarian village, an initiative that Rauchfuss continued to advocate for downtown Kitchener to adopt. He proposed that the downtown business association dress up the downtown area to resemble a Bavarian village.¹⁵⁹ The idea was to coin the Bavarian/Oktoberfest character of the city, thus making it a tourist attraction year round. This again serves as an indicator that organizers of Oktoberfest were willing to employ any feature, authentic or not, to make Oktoberfest a successful tourist event.

Whether or not the event was authentic, compared to the Munich Oktoberfest, or not mattered little. Organizers still underestimated the success of the first Oktoberfest. Over 8500 people attended the Concordia Club on the first weekend in 1969, 1500 having to be turned away. 2500 people attended Oktoberfest at the other three German Clubs that weekend, the Alpine, Transylvania and Schwaben Club. Nine thousand people were in attendance at the Arena in Kitchener during the week and Bingeman Park was sold out throughout the week as well. Given the success of the three planners with their first Oktoberfest, it is thus likened to a young couple, expecting their first child, who prudently bought in advance a crib, a high chair, six feeding bottles and two dozen diapers. And then they had triplets.¹⁶⁰

Given the positive publicity and the prosperous outcome of the 1969 festival, the German identity of the festival was readily accepted by people in the community as well as elsewhere. The following year, Oktoberfest expanded. All German Clubs were open for the entire duration of the festival, the craft and industry exhibits of the previous year had disappeared by 1970 and the Oktoberfest beer brewed by Formosa breweries, as well as the Oktoberfest sausage created by Schneider's meats in Kitchener, were seemingly enough to entertain the masses that flocked to Kitchener during the nine days of Oktoberfest, extended from the previous year's five days.¹⁶¹

While the first year had been a great start for Oktoberfest, subsequent years, although still well promoted, did not pass by without some discord, mainly due to effects the event had on the community. The promotion for the second year of Oktoberfest began in early September, with newspaper articles outlining the dates and types of events to be featured at the festival. While the K-W Record did not advertise the Concordia Club's Oktoberfest in 1967¹⁶², by 1970 its full support was behind the city initiative. Full page, hard to miss ads outlined the highlights of Oktoberfest and the classified pages were loaded with ads of local businesses featuring

Oktoberfest sales and specials. The first sign of disharmony came from the Liquor License Board of Ontario (LLBO) at the end of September, 1970, when the chairman of the LLBO, James Mackey, ordered one thousand posters to be removed from sight. The posters advertising 'Canada's great beer festival' featured a blonde model from Hamilton wearing a Dirndl (a non-German coincidentally) and holding six steins of beer. Advertising beer drinking at a licensed establishment could not be done, according to Mr. Mackey, neither could the word beer, or images of beer, be displayed publicly. The LLBO conceded to the posters being put up in licensed hotels given the removal of the word 'beer'. However it would not allow them to be displayed in public even with the word gone.¹⁶³ The LLBO also refused to issue special permits for beer tents, citing safety reasons. With around one thousand dollars spent on posters and a number of tents already being constructed, the LLBO put a damper into the success of the 1970 Oktoberfest. It came especially as a surprise, given that the LLBO did not object to the establishment of beer tents the previous year.

Despite the seemingly arbitrary rules the LLBO imposed, the episode turned out to be fortuitous for the organizers of the festival. The order to take down the posters was a publicity man's dream come true. Overnight, local television stations CBC and CTV descended on the town, MacLean's and Time magazine carried the story with a photograph of the poster¹⁶⁴ and a flood of editorials and stories appeared in the *Kitchener-Waterloo Record*. As a result, Oktoberfest benefited from an advertising campaign and publicity reaching far beyond the Kitchener-Waterloo area. In fact, the posters became a sought after collector's item.¹⁶⁵

Apart from the CBC, CTV and Time and MacLean's coverage of the poster debate, local citizens also responded in the *Kitchener-Waterloo Record*. The former president of the Kitchener chapter of the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) at the time, Mrs. L.C. Shantz,

lauded the LLBO for banning the posters, claiming that “it’s a crazy thing these beer commercials all the time [... the whole festival] is just a case of drinking beer and getting drunk.”¹⁶⁶ Similarly, the then current president of the WCTU stated that Oktoberfest should be held “without all this drinking business”.¹⁶⁷ George G. Boukydis, the president of the Ontario Region Canadian Restaurant Association, disagreed, being appalled by the LLBO decision. He argued that while pot smoking at Rockfestivals and nude magazines are allowed, beer is considered forbidden. However the real culprit, Boukydis said is not the LLBO, but the government of Ontario which passes liquor legislation.¹⁶⁸ A ‘Small Schlupper’¹⁶⁹ comments that the LLBO ruling is an insult. The writer lauds his or her German cousins in Kitchener-Waterloo for having increased their numbers enough to add some zest to the otherwise rather staid burg. With a sense of humour, the writer argues Oktoberfest should have been banned in its entirety, since an Oktoberfest without beer tents can be likened to a rummage sale invitation without the word sale, or a wedding without a bridegroom.¹⁷⁰ With the exception of the WCTU, the majority of people sending letters to the editor supported Oktoberfest, judging the LLBO ruling to remove the posters harshly.

When the time of the second Oktoberfest had arrived, the event did not need the posters for advertisement. High-profile visitors to the K-W Oktoberfest were proof that the event was well publicized throughout the province. When the Governor-General Roland Michener and his wife visited Kitchener on Saturday, October 3rd, they were served German food said to be in keeping with “the German heritage of the community”¹⁷¹ and were entertained by the Schwaben Club dance group, the Boettinger accordion band and the Concordia Club’s original Oktoberfest band, as a preview of the Oktoberfest entertainment that was to take place five days later.¹⁷² The visit of the Governor-General helped to raise Kitchener’s public profile, as did the attendance of Otto

Lang, federal minister of manpower and immigration, as well as the provincial cabinet member Robert Welch and his wife. Both were to be hosted on Thursday, October 15th, 1970, at the Bingeman arena.¹⁷³ It is not surprising therefore that by the time the festival began, 80 percent of individuals called for a random survey by the *Kitchener-Waterloo Record* knew about Oktoberfest.¹⁷⁴ In general, the second Oktoberfest seemed to be bigger and better than the first. The Parade had grown from its original three quarter of a mile long parade to a solid three-mile long parade.

Financially as well, Oktoberfest promised to be profitable in 1970. The organizing committee projected \$1.5 million in revenue, however by October 15th, the projected revenues had reached the \$2 million dollar mark. Not only was this seen as a healthy financial injection into the local economy, it also put Kitchener-Waterloo on the tourist map. According to the *Kitchener-Waterloo Record*'s business editor Henry Koch, not only will local businesses benefit from the revenues of Oktoberfest, but the community itself had been noticed on a federal level, resulting in plans to list the Kitchener Oktoberfest in travel guides and publications to be distributed in the US and in Europe, thus increasing tourist travel to Kitchener. Additionally, numerous industrialists and private individuals requested information on housing, living conditions and the like, with the thought of potentially relocating to Kitchener or starting new plants or branch plants of their industries in Kitchener.¹⁷⁵ As a result of these inquiries, a separate booth to provide answers to these and similar questions was planned for the 1971 Oktoberfest.

Although there was a great appreciation for the festival from out-of-towners, as shown in the numerous requests mentioned above, a number of visitors had some criticisms for the organizers of the festival. While the evenings at the various fest halls were well-received, visitors noticed a lack of entertainment during the first half of the day. In fact, the lack of festive atmosphere and

daytime entertainment was frustrating, since many individuals travelled to Kitchener from the US and other parts of Ontario. Visitors mentioned a need for more daytime colour and revelry in the German tradition. Suggestions on a survey conducted at the festival included the need for information booths at the entrances to the city, better marked highways and more decorations on the outskirts of the city, as well as in stores.¹⁷⁶ Considering these comments, it seems Julius Rauchfuss' suggestion to decorate the city based on a Bavarian theme would have done much to make the event more attractive to visitors from out of town. However, the suggestions made by visitors were taken seriously by the organizers as an article in the K-W Record ten days after the festival shows. Darwin Clay, one of the three organizers, commented on the need for a visitor's guide to the Twin Cities and the fact that it should be a top priority for the following year. As such, organizers incorporated visitor's feedback and were eager to improve the festival. Given the amount of inquiries for lodging, the manager of the Chamber of Commerce, Archie Gillies, requested Kitchener-Waterloo needed to create more opportunity for good tourist homes in the area. At the festival, an accommodation bureau organized by the Chamber directed visitors to hotels and motels in Galt, Guelph and Stratford.¹⁷⁷ Based on these suggestions and recommendations, there seemed to be no expectation of a slowing down for Oktoberfest but only an increase in business each subsequent year.

As a result of a group trying to publish its own program to earn advertising revenue, and another group attempting to operate a beer tent in a location that would detract business from official Oktoberfest outlets,¹⁷⁸ the board moved to incorporate Oktoberfest as a non-profit no-share corporation in late 1970, in hopes to address these issues. Darwin Clay commented on the fact that "without a permanent legal structure for Oktoberfest, there is a definite danger of fragmentation, opportunism and confusion. This could turn Oktoberfest into a tourist trap."¹⁷⁹

After the board incorporated Oktoberfest, individuals had to apply to Oktoberfest Inc. to use any of the symbols or the name Oktoberfest. Groups applying for membership would also have to pay the corporation a certain percentage of their proceeds, thus ensuring the profitability of Oktoberfest in the future. Under the newly formed board of directors, food and drink prices, as well as admission prices would be standardized, along with the hours of operation and types of entertainment.¹⁸⁰ By incorporating Oktoberfest, the organizers hoped to ensure that the festival would be around for generations to come.¹⁸¹

After Oktoberfest was incorporated, 1971 was said to be the make-it or break-it year for the Kitchener-Waterloo Oktoberfest. Owen Lackenbauer, in an October 2nd article in the K-W Record, stated that the third year of Oktoberfest could put it into the big league for Canadian celebrations – along with the Calgary Stampede and the Quebec Winter Carnival. While 169 000 people visited Oktoberfest the previous year, over 300 000 were expected to participate at the 1971 Oktoberfest. The preparations included new features such as an opening ceremony at city hall in Kitchener (attended by 3000 individuals), as well as Waterloo's largest beer hall, the Heidelberg Haus at the Glenbriar Curling Club, which Oktoberfest Inc. was operating on its own. Dignitaries and local elected representatives of the provincial and federal Parliaments were also expected to attend in 1971. The initial prospects looked good for Oktoberfest, with nineteen beer halls open for business for all nine days of the event. Unfortunately, discontent began to emerge in editorials and newspaper articles, questioning the motives and successes of Oktoberfest.

Sandy Baird, who became publisher of the Kitchener-Waterloo Record four years later, opened the debate with his October 2nd, 1971, article *Ein Prosit? It can be an October pest*. Baird outlines that for natives of Kitchener, Oktoberfest is not all beer and schnitzels. In fact, he claims that local citizens have heard enough oom-pah-pahs since they started to be incorporated into

local events as early as Labour Day. He claimed that Oktoberfest lasts too long and was bothersome for residents since many find themselves suddenly obliged to house friends for the duration of the festival.¹⁸² In fact, when the hotels and motels had filled up by the weekend, the Chamber of Commerce put out a radio appeal for local residents to open their doors and house festival goers in their private homes.¹⁸³ Another thing Baird argues, is that despite Oktoberfest becoming incorporated to avoid Oktoberfest being a tourist trap, “a taint of commercialism has set in”.¹⁸⁴ He also lamented the lack of citizen participation, claiming that were it not for some banners, one could walk down King Street during Oktoberfest and never know it was taking place. Neil Bissoondath, a Canadian writer and critic of multiculturalism, comments on this phenomenon of commercializing cultural events. In *Selling Illusions*, he comments on culture in Canada having become a commodity, “a thing that can be displayed, performed, admired, bought, sold or forgotten.”¹⁸⁵ Much like Baird, Bissoondath calls this process a “devaluation of culture [reducing it] to bauble and kitsch”¹⁸⁶, thus reducing cultures to easily digested stereotypes, much like what Baird argued was taking place with Oktoberfest. Baird’s comments were echoed by Dave Bolender in an October 9th letter to the editor, in which he renamed Oktoberfest Oktoberfarce. The goal of Oktoberfarce, he claimed, is to make as much money off the festival as possible, through beer, even at the expense of becoming known as the beer guzzling Germans or the drunken city of Canada. Bolender also lamented the heritage he sees Oktoberfest creating for future generations, the image of beer drinking Germans, pie-eyed city of Canada.¹⁸⁷

Both Baird’s and Bolender’s comments about commercialism were echoed again in an October 15th article by Bill Duff commenting on various complaints from festival goers. While most complaints were in regard to widely varying prices between the different fest halls, others

voiced their discontent over food tickets of five dollars that included a one dollar parking fee. Visitors who arrived by taxi or bus were especially outraged by this. As well, out of town visitors repeatedly received preferential treatment over locals, being ushered into the fest halls while local residents were waiting in line outside in the cold. Commenting on the situation, Owen Lackenbauer argued that Americans having a good experience will return the next year and local residents “can always come back the next night or go to another beer hall”.¹⁸⁸ It becomes obvious therefore, that the main motivation for the organizers was to stimulate tourism and capitalize on tourist dollars, not to provide Kitchener residents with a festival that would exhibit the city’s German heritage.

Complaints were also raised about the lack of authenticity at some fest halls, either due to a lack of proper decorations or bands without German musical repertoire.¹⁸⁹ Despite the incorporation of Oktoberfest to avoid the above mentioned issues, it seemed the make-it or break-it year for Oktoberfest continued to operate with the same problems as the previous year. The only benefit of incorporating the festival, given the complaints of festival goers, seems to have been the percentage of revenue registered organizations and clubs had to pay to be able to use the name Oktoberfest. Apart from the discontent of the general public, Oktoberfest Inc. had a number of internal issues to grapple with.

Starting in 1970, Oktoberfest Inc. took over the responsibility to run one of the fest halls, Heidelberg Haus, in order to provide a venue in Waterloo. As a result, the Glenbriar Club on Weber Street in Waterloo was transformed into the Heidelberg Haus for the duration of Oktoberfest. By the end of the 1970 Oktoberfest, Heidelberg Haus had contributed to a festival profit of almost \$9000. Projections for the following year were set at a \$7000 profit through Heidelberg Haus, bringing the overall estimated net profit of Oktoberfest to almost \$85 000.¹⁹⁰

However, when the 1971 Oktoberfest was over, Heidelberg Haus had not been profitable, but had in fact incurred substantial losses. In decorating the Curling Club for Oktoberfest, false panels were attached to the front and the sides of the building, which were painted by a professional artist. Costs of staffing and operating the hall were also not offset by the sale of souvenir programs and other sales. Slow souvenir sales and less than anticipated support from participating organizations were also an issue for other parts of the festival. For such a crucial year in the development of Oktoberfest, 1971 ended with an operating loss of around \$20 000.¹⁹¹ To offset the budgetary losses, the board of directors asked the local German clubs for money. Each of the four German clubs, as well as Bingeman Park loaned the organization \$4000 each. As a result of the ‘Glenbriar incident’, the board of directors of Oktoberfest Inc. decided to limit their activities to organizing and promoting Oktoberfest, instead of running its own fest hall.¹⁹² Even though the three organizers of Oktoberfest decided to incorporate the festival as a non-profit organization in order to avoid the potential for people to capitalize on the event financially¹⁹³, it seems that by 1972 financial profit was nonetheless still the main driving force behind Oktoberfest.

By 1976, Owen Lackenbauer had left the board of directors and moved into a more inactive role on the advisory council. Together with a number of professors from Wilfrid Laurier University and the University of Guelph, Lackenbauer developed a long-term strategy for Oktoberfest to keep it viable and profitable for years to come. Despite submitting a thick portfolio of suggestions and recommendations, few of them were adopted by the board.¹⁹⁴ In the mid- to late 1980s, Oktoberfest had reached a plateau, where the festival could no longer grow exponentially to attract more people.¹⁹⁵ Since the venues could not get larger, people eventually got bored of the sameness of the festival.¹⁹⁶ What becomes apparent was that the business

concept created for Oktoberfest in order to attract tourists to Kitchener-Waterloo had been successful in that the festival continued to grow and expand each year.

Clever advertising and promotion helped to make Oktoberfest a popular festival, injecting millions of revenue dollars into the local economy. More and more adjustments were made each year to accommodate visitors and to incorporate their suggestions to improve the attractiveness of Oktoberfest to visitors, a preference clearly being given to out of town visitors. The tireless efforts of the initial three organizers to make Oktoberfest a festival that could rival the Calgary Stampede seemed to be successful during the first two years of running the event. By 1972 however signs began to appear that local support for Oktoberfest and community participation in the event began to dwindle. Even incorporating the event to protect its assets and to make it a non-profit organization owned by the community did not help to make the crucial third year of the event more successful.

While Danielle Matheusik claims that Oktoberfest was not an expression of German heritage, but rather an assertion of the region's German-Canadian heritage, neither of the two points ring true for the post-1969 celebrations. Certainly the Oktoberfest first held at the Concordia Club in 1967 was an attempt to showcase aspects of continental German culture in the community, however German-Canadian heritage took a backseat to attracting tourist dollars during the Oktoberfest event organized by three non-German businessmen in 1969. It was a business enterprise situated within a convenient social context to secure financial revenue for the city. The fact that the various German Clubs participated in Oktoberfest within their own club settings and cultural parameters, each offering very different Oktoberfest activities, foods, and musical entertainment, is yet another example of the complexity of the German communities in Kitchener-Waterloo. Oktoberfest did allow these different German clubs a chance to showcase

their abilities, talents and traditions, thus connecting with the community surrounding them.

Over the years, the term 'German' was no longer synonymous with the horrible events of the two World Wars, instead, at least in this community, it became known again for its cultural aspects, if only in a very haphazard manner. Memories of the Second World War and the atrocities of the Holocaust were never far below the surface however as the next chapter will show.

Chapter 4: The David Irving Affair
*Not all Germans are Nazis, and not
all Nazis are German – Monna Zentner*

During the 1960s and 1970s, it seemed as if the two World Wars had long been forgotten in Kitchener. Regional borders were redrawn and Waterloo County evolved into the Regional Municipality of Waterloo in January 1973.¹⁹⁷ Issues such as the name change during the First World War and the German Club closures of the Second World War in light of Nazi clubs attempting to form continued to become more distant in the memory of the public each day. They gave way to modernization and progressive development. German immigrants from the 1950s and 60s had experienced a Germany divided into East and West and integrated into Canadian society with very different experiences and memories than those German-Canadians who had been living in the area for a two or three generations. Much of the re-education that took place in Germany had taken place by the time this generation of immigrants arrived in Canada. Those who were living in the area already had never undergone such a process and their opinions and ideologies were shaped mainly by pre-war events. Few of the controversies, such as the events that coincided with the Berlin/Kitchener name-change that had once been prominent in the area were apparent, in the 1990s, especially when celebrations of Oktoberfest took over the city. Kitchener seemed to have found its niche within the progressive climate of the newly formed region and the new identity that had been created for it had successfully manifested itself in events such as Oktoberfest.

Regional differences and debates about Kitchener's past faded away to make room for much larger national or international debates. The failure of the Meech Lake constitutional Accord in 1990, prompted a renewed initiative, the Charlottetown Accord, that would be decided by a national plebiscite. The Constitutional debate was at the forefront of the country's attention,

leaving little room for local debates that seemed trivial in comparison. And yet, in August 1992, a case before the Supreme Court of Canada made headlines and would give rise to an event that would engage the citizens of Kitchener-Waterloo for months. If Oktoberfest and the Pioneer imagery was a positive manifestation of the relationship between German-Canadians and English-Canadians in Kitchener, the event outlined below was to be a blemish on that record.

In August 1992, the Supreme Court of Canada ruled that the conviction of Ernst Zündel for knowingly spreading false news was unconstitutional¹⁹⁸ based on the Freedom of Speech provisions of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms. Zündel, a Toronto publisher, became well-known for distributing materials that claimed that the Holocaust had been greatly exaggerated, or had never occurred at all. The acquittal of Zündel, and the precedent thereby set, allowed for freedom of speech in such cases and triggered a renewed effort by sympathizers to voice their opinions and views without having to fear strong repercussions. Many supporters and like-minded individuals would continue to cite freedom of speech in months to come and to denounce any opposition to those denying the Holocaust.

Michael Rothe, owner of the European Sound Imports store in Kitchener, moved to Canada from Southern Germany in 1984 for "...a better life, more rights and freedom of speech."¹⁹⁹ Likely in response to his friend Ernst Zündel's acquittal, Rothe invited controversial British author David Irving, one of the 'expert witnesses' at Zündel's trial, to speak at his store on November 14, 1992. Irving, who Barrie Ries in his October 3rd article in the *Kitchener-Waterloo Record* calls a lightning rod for trouble²⁰⁰, had at the time published over 30 books on Germany and the Second World War. While he had drawn considerable praise for his earlier publications, such as his work on the bombing of Dresden and his biographies of prominent Nazi individuals, his view had changed by 1992.

Richard J. Evans, a key witness in the libel case Irving vs. Lipstadt, writes in his book *Lying about Hitler*, that Irving himself admitted that his views had changed. Irving's 1991 edition of *Hitler's War* had been revised to exclude earlier edition's references to the Nazi killings of Jews.²⁰¹ Instead, Irving later claimed that the Holocaust has been greatly exaggerated²⁰², that Hitler did not know about the 'final solution', and that maybe 100,000 or more Jews died from a variety of causes.²⁰³ Evans pinpoints this change of heart to have occurred around the time Ernst Zündel was first convicted in 1988.²⁰⁴ In fact, Irving himself stated during the second Zündel trial that during the 1960s and 1970s he believed everything he heard about the extermination camps. While he was waiting to testify in Canada he read the Leuchter Report, published by Zündel's Samisdat Publishers Ltd. in Toronto. The report changed Irving's mind.²⁰⁵

Fred Leuchter, was the author of the Leuchter Report, An Engineering Report on the Alleged Execution and Gas Chambers at Auschwitz, Birkenau and Majdanek, Poland. Leuchter, who had no formal engineering training, was approached by Zündel to go to Poland and examine the gas chambers at the three concentration camps and to testify on Zündel's behalf. Leuchter spent eight days taking samples from the walls, floors and ceilings of the gas chambers and other buildings at Auschwitz and Birkenau and concluded that the buildings could not have been used as gas chambers due to a lack of cyanide residue.²⁰⁶ Zündel's supporters held up the Leuchter Report as a “precious document that could shatter a major historical myth such as the Holocaust.”²⁰⁷

A University of Waterloo civil engineering professor emeritus Jerzy Pindera dismissed the Leuchter Report as “very poor engineering”.²⁰⁸ Pindera, who himself survived Sachsenhausen, maintained that the report's conclusions were nonsensical, especially since the SS blew up the Auschwitz gas chambers as the war ended. The buildings at Auschwitz and

Dachau were then later rebuilt as a museum. It was no surprise that Leuchter would not have found any cyanide residue in his samples. While a prisoner of war at the Sachsenhausen concentration camp for more than five years, Pindera worked in the design office on the gas chambers himself. He estimated that between 150,000 and 200,000 people died at Sachsenhausen alone.²⁰⁹ Pindera's estimate of deaths is a little too high, though it corresponds with the total number of inmates that passed through the camp. Konnilyn Feig, in *Hitler's Death Camps*, states that the camp built for 10,000, held up to 60,000 inmates by the end of the war. Of the 200,000 victims delivered to the camp by the SS, 100,000 died.²¹⁰

Professor Pindera was responding to the news that Rothe had invited David Irving to speak in Kitchener. Pindera argued that Nazism was an illness and that not the entire German nation can be blamed for Nazism, since not everyone was involved, however he also did not want Irving to speak in Canada. He was quoted as saying that "Hateful propaganda leads to destruction. They [Nazi sympathizers] should never be allowed to [speak]. Any distortion of the truth helps [people like Zündel] but is not honorable, not moral."²¹¹

Michael Rothe however seemed to be of the same opinion as Zündel and Irving. Local newspaper reports suggested that he sold pamphlets and books in his store, claiming that "Hitler was a good man, [and that] the era from 1930 to 1945 was a good time. Hitler was the best for Germany."²¹² Books sold at his store included *Other Losses* by James Bacque,²¹³ the 34-page Leuchter Report, as well as a variety of other materials on similar topics. In August, 1992, Rothe also put up six posters in his storefront windows, referring to Irving as a "world famous British historian and hoax buster who will reveal the astounding hidden truth about the Holocaust, Allied war crimes, [...] Hitler's true intentions and other Second World War topics."²¹⁴

Not long after the posters went up in Rothe's store windows, Rothe alleged that someone called his store on Thursday, August 27th, 1992, asking him to remove the posters and threatening that otherwise “nobody comes in the store and we make you bankrupt”.²¹⁵ The office of Kitchener's Business Improvement Area, almost directly across from Rothe's store, as well as the Kitchener-Waterloo Record and Mayor Dominic Cardillo's office, also received complaints about the posters. The mayor's office contacted the city's lawyer, the Waterloo Regional Police, as well as MPP Will Ferguson, to see if anything could be done about the posters. The MPP's office then forwarded the matter to the Minister of Citizenship, Elaine Ziemba, who in turn asked the Ontario government's Anti-racism Secretariat to investigate the posters.²¹⁶

Public responses to Irving's appearance in the *Kitchener-Waterloo Record* started as early as two months prior to the visit. Not only was there a significant public response, it was also of a varied and opinionated nature. On Saturday, September 5th, 1992 for example, the president of Beth Jacob Synagogue in Kitchener, Howard Rotberg, sent a letter to the Editor of the Record, explaining the anger and anxiety of the local Jewish community. Rotberg wrote that people like Zündel and Rothe could promote Holocaust denial with impunity, even though it is simply hate literature, because they were cloaked in the mantle of free speech...²¹⁷ Rotberg also explained that one of the posters in Rothe's store windows asked people to “destroy that that destroys you. No more lies about history”²¹⁸. Such sentiments led to anxiety within the local Jewish community that “these absurdities will be used to plant a seed – a seed that if not prevented by our laws from germinating will someday, under conditions of social discord or wartime, grow and flourish into renewed Nazism and genocide.”²¹⁹ Rotberg also called upon all 'good people' of Kitchener and Waterloo to speak out against Holocaust deniers and against genocide of any ethnic group. He also called on neighbours in the local German community to take specific

action to disassociate themselves from such a group. He concluded that everyone held the responsibility to make sure the Holocaust never happens again.²²⁰ While his letter received a number of responses, they largely came from private individuals, not from leaders of the German clubs or other representatives of the German community

The idea that 'Holocaust deniers' could cloak themselves in the mantle of free speech was picked up by the *Kitchener-Waterloo Record* four days earlier in an editorial entitled *Holocaust deniers abuse free speech*. According to the newspaper, Irving's attempt at purveying his own 'truth' about the Holocaust leaves room for other 'truths', such as bigotry and hatred, which will provide mental nourishment for racist thugs in Germany and their fans in Canada. The right to free speech, according to the editorial, implies an obligation to the public to sincerely reflect the provable facts about a given issue, "Irving and his ilk show no such respect for the facts".²²¹ The author then called upon Canada to use the laws in place against such practices to keep Irving out of the country.²²²

Both the editorial, as well as Rotberg's letter received a number of responses criticizing their opinions. On September 22nd, Inge Kornhauser responded to Howard Rotberg's letter to the editor, expressing her anger over the fact that unless someone believes in the Holocaust, they can be labelled as hate-mongers or worse. She also condemned Rotberg's opinion that the Ontario Attorney General should lay charges against Ernst Zündel under the hate law, Section 319, of the Criminal Code, since anyone, including Zündel has the democratic right to doubt any part of history, even the Holocaust. She went on to state that: "No court can force people to believe in something they are unwilling to believe in."²²³ In fact, Kornhauser regards the equation of Holocaust denial with anti-Semitism as a threat, forcing people to either believe in the Holocaust

or be framed as a hate monger or anti-Semite. Under circumstances like that “anyone can be charged and eventually silenced, is this Canada's democracy in action?”²²⁴

In a very similar manner, Ford Grafinger responded to the Record’s editorial. In his letter to the editor, he questioned Canada's freedom of speech, and wondered if certain groups were afraid that David Irving's writings were true. Grafinger noted that the English Sunday Times had engaged David Irving to transcribe the diary of Joseph Goebbels implying that people should give Irving the benefit of the doubt. The fact that groups are rallying to have Irving denied entry into the country, as Grafinger states, is “suppression of free speech, the deadly hallmark of dictatorships.”²²⁵

Also coming to Zündel's, Rothe's and Irving's defence was Gerhard Stoltze in his September 12th letter to the editor. Quoting the 19th century German philosopher Friedrich Hebbel ('There is no absolute truth – as little as there is no absolute fallacy'), Stoltze makes the case that all possible views and proofs need to be openly discussed and presented, even if it hurts. He maintained that one-sided information on the Holocaust leads to the German people being condemned forever, to be the scapegoats of history. Men like Michael Rothe, according to Stoltze, should not be prematurely discredited for upholding and believing in this fundamental constitutional right. The passionate appeal by previous writers in the Record to speak out against those who deny the Holocaust, in Stoltze's opinion, deserves a counter appeal for those who believe in the right of free speech to speak up.²²⁶ “Only then can the majority, not an offended minority, decide whether blatant lies and the spread of hatred are hiding behind the right of free speech”.²²⁷ That it was not just an offended minority that opposed Irving's visit to Kitchener became clear very soon.

The discontent with the posters in Michael Rothe's store window expressed in the newspaper editorials was only one aspect of the controversy that developed. Jewish groups and community leaders appealed to the Canadian government as soon as plans of Irving's visit to Canada became known to the public. After holding speeches in Los Angeles, California, David Irving received a hand-delivered letter from the Canadian consul-general in Los Angeles on Friday, October 9th, informing him that he was considered inadmissible into Canada based on Section 19 of the Immigration Act.²²⁸ Irving would be denied entry into Canada because he “might commit a crime here and because he was convicted in Germany of violating a law that makes it illegal to deny the Nazi extermination of Jews.”²²⁹ The decision by Canada's Immigration Minister was based on Irving's conviction in Germany on the charge of 'insulting the memory of the dead'.²³⁰ Irving was fined 10,000 Marks in Munich Germany, after a 1990 speech in a Munich beer hall in which he denied the wartime existence of gas chambers at Auschwitz. Ministry spokesperson Wendy Bontinen stated that the German law would be compared to a Canadian law prohibiting public incitement of hatred against an identifiable group.²³¹ One part of Section 19 bars those from entering the country who were convicted of an offence outside of Canada that would be punishable as an indictable offence by up to ten years in prison if committed in Canada. Another Section, according to the *Globe and Mail*, bars anyone from entering Canada if there are reasonable grounds to believe the person will commit an indictable offence.²³² Irving had planned a speaking tour in a number of Canadian cities, including Calgary, Toronto, Hamilton, Ottawa and Kitchener. A stop in Milton had been cancelled after a public outcry caused the restaurant owners to cancel Irving's appearance at their restaurant.²³³

On Saturday, September 26th, 1992, Monna Zentner, a local Jewish resident began protesting with a few friends in front of Michael Rothe's store on King Street. While they received a lot of support from people walking by, a man in his mid-40s allegedly told Zentner that "Hitler is what we need to run this country". An elderly German woman asked her about the importance of so many Jews dying and for her to prove that they were actually dead.²³⁴ One man allegedly uttered death threats against the protesters. Another would do the same nearly a month later, when tensions had increased further. The man, Harold Eidt of Kitchener, was given a suspended sentence two years later, on July 25th, 1994. Eidt, 19 at the time he uttered the threats, had driven past the protesters and entered into an argument with them. Police said that Eidt threatened to get a gun and kill them all after one of the protesters had spat on him and another had kicked in his car window. The Judge was lenient, since he was not certain Eidt was equipped to have understood the nature of the protest.²³⁵ Both Michael Lubin and Miriam Somer, the two complainants, had met with Eidt at the time of the trial and both agreed that he was "more deluded and misguided than anything else."²³⁶ This incident is one example of the high extent to which emotions ran at the time.

K-W Record staff writer Luisa D'Amato, writing at the time the protests began, commented in her column on the fact that every single person she had spoken to who had protested outside Rothe's store was attacked with hateful and anti-Semitic remarks. In her opinion, fighting the hatred was an important task, which local community leaders, such as the Oktoberfest organizers and heads of the German clubs, as well as the mayors, MPPs and MPs need to engage in. This opinion was echoed by a number of other individuals. An October 10th editorial in the K-W Record highlights the fact that German communities in the area had been all too silent in rejecting David Irving, since he should not find a receptive audience, especially not

in an area with such a proud German tradition. Silence could give “the false impression that their views are typical of [the] German communities [in the area], most of whose members clearly do not share the same beliefs.”²³⁷ Twin City residents of German stock, so said the editorial, held many reasons to celebrate their heritage and hold their heads high in response to a multitude of accomplishments. However, a clear message is needed that the views of these horrid events are not shared.²³⁸

Despite the unnecessary publicity and the allegations of inactivity, local community leaders did speak out against Irving's appearance in Kitchener. On October 10th, 1992, Kitchener's MP John Reimer sent a letter to the organizers of the protest outside Michael Rothe's European Sound Imports store on King Street. Michael Lublin, one of the organizers, read the letter out loud. Reimer stated that he was “distressed, disappointed and disturbed, that with all the historical information available, anyone would deny the Holocaust.” Reimer also stated that he would not want to “give any credence to people who promote such views.”²³⁹ On October 20th, 1992, Brice Balmer, on behalf of 15 pastors of the K-W Mennonite Clergy Cluster in Kitchener issued a statement that the Holocaust must not be denied. On November 7th, the day that Irving appeared in Kitchener, the church leaders of the community, as well as members of the Kitchener-Waterloo community and the University Communities submitted a collective statement to the K-W Record. The full-page advertisement contained a letter reaffirming the position of the undersigned towards racism and the Holocaust, denouncing David Irving. The letter stated that:

David Irving's racist views are not welcome in Kitchener-Waterloo. Instead we encourage your participation in our community's response to Holocaust Denial, [...] at Trinity United Church [...]. The response is entitled “The Unforgetting: Kitchener-Waterloo Confronts the Racism of Holocaust Denial.”²⁴⁰

The letter contained 127 signatures of various church, community and university leaders. Manfred Kuxdorf, a German professor at the University of Waterloo issued an article in the Record on the same day, lamenting the unnecessary attention Irving has received, but providing facts about the Holocaust. Kuxdorf's summary maintained that Hitler was a mass murderer, not a statesman, as Irving would like people to believe.

Laura Wolfson from Kitchener, thirteen days later, asked the local community not to be silent about the fact that Rothe invited Irving to come to Kitchener.²⁴¹ An October 30th headline visibly stated that "Germans should speak out". Howard Dyck a resident of Waterloo echoed the view that the local German community needed to condemn Irving and his followers. The community needed to send an unequivocal statement that Irving was unwelcome, in order to not have silence misinterpreted as compliance with the destructive view of a few misguided individuals.²⁴² Micky Gerchak, writing on November 20th, applauded Prof. Manfred Kuxdorf, a professor at the University of Waterloo, for having spoken out against Irving, but called for a greater response to a comment Ernst Zündel made when he attended Irving's appearance at Rothe's store. Zündel stated that the German community of Kitchener was always a favourite location because of its large German population. Gerchak called on the Kitchener German community to speak out and to distance themselves from such a distasteful implied association.²⁴³

While several local German-Canadians, such as Manfred Kuxdorf, as well as civic leaders, such as local MP John Reimer, did speak out against Irving's appearance in Kitchener, Fred Ambos tried to explain the initial silence of many leaders of the local German clubs in his October 26th letter to the editor.²⁴⁴ He stated that while only a few local Germans shared the views of Irving and Zündel, past German-Canadian statements against those who denied the

Holocaust were plentiful, and there was no further reason to comment on the matter. Political or cultural leaders, so Ambos wrote do not comment on anything at any time, which is the right thing to do. Irving, he stated, is not a German, but his views are still accepted by some Canadian, British and other nationals. As such, being a silent German should not arouse suspicion of agreement. In fact, he expressed concern that the continuous coverage of Irving's appearances and views were possibly unintentionally helping a resurgence of hate or violence.²⁴⁵ While the publicity Irving received had a similar effect as the poster debate during the first years of Oktoberfest, in that it created free publicity for his cause, thus providing him with a public forum he otherwise would not have had, leaders of the German clubs should have responded to his appearance if only to reaffirm their opposition to the views Irving expressed.

In Kitchener, Michael Rothe meanwhile proceeded with renovations to his store, in order to accommodate the expected audience of 200 to 300 people.²⁴⁶ In early October, Rothe had sold around 200 tickets for the event, each ticket costing ten dollars.²⁴⁷ While Rothe continued his renovations, members of the Jewish community in Kitchener decided to stage noon-hour “community responses” in front of Rothe's store at 109 King Street West in downtown Kitchener, regardless of whether Irving would make it into Canada or not. “Michael Rothe is a local problem that has to be smoked out, essentially”, Rabbi David Levy, a member of Kitchener’s Beth Jacob Synagogue, commented.²⁴⁸ Levy, as well as Monna Zentner and Michael Lublin, two of the key protest organizers, welcomed the news that Irving had been banned from coming to Canada. “It is a feather in Canada's cap”, Levy stated. Zentner, a faculty member at Rension College in Waterloo who moved to Kitchener from Philadelphia in 1974²⁴⁹, was not as optimistic, arguing that just because Irving was banned did not necessarily mean that he would not show up.²⁵⁰ Knowledge of his entitlement to an Immigration hearing before an immigration

adjudicator, and the fact that he would be allowed to stay in the country while waiting for the hearing likely led David Irving to ignore the notice about being barred entry into Canada. Irving admitted in a closed meeting with Immigration Commission lawyer Murray Wilkinson, that he had lied when he entered Canada at Niagara Falls by telling border officials that he would only spend two weeks travelling in Ontario.²⁵¹ Being scheduled for a speaking tour in Canada at the above mentioned stops, Irving only appeared in Victoria, B.C., (a notorious hotbed of German Canadians and of free speech) before police arrested him on Wednesday, October 28th, 1992, in a Chinese Restaurant, just after he had concluded a speech in front of about 100 supporters.²⁵² The audience consisted largely of members of the British Columbia based Canadian Free Speech League. In mid-October, the group planned to launch a court-fight to have David Irving allowed into Canada based on the fact that denying him entry was violating his rights. The Canadian Free Speech League had planned to award Irving a medal for fighting censorship at its meeting in Victoria.²⁵³ When Irving attended the meeting in Victoria, despite being barred from entering into Canada, the RCMP and Immigration Officials had to spend much of the day searching for him, since the location of the invitation-only dinner was kept a closely guarded secret.²⁵⁴

After two days in jail, Irving attended a deportation meeting in Vancouver on Friday, October 30th, where he was ordered by immigration adjudicator Paul Tetrault, to leave Canada within 48 hours, by midnight Sunday, November 1st.²⁵⁵ Tetrault opted to issue a departure notice, rather than a more severe deportation notice. The departure notice also had no conditions placed on it, allowing Irving to cross the country to get a rental car in Toronto and to cross the border at Niagara Falls. Irving acknowledged that despite the government's move to prohibit him from speaking in Canada, he "might even have time to speak to one or two audiences between [Oct. 31st] and then."²⁵⁶ Irving did just that, and spoke to a crowd of several hundred supporters at a

hotel in downtown Toronto, before attempting to cross the border into the US at Niagara Falls N.Y, on Sunday, November 1st. There, Irving was denied entry by US border officials.²⁵⁷ Irving was then held in a detention facility in Niagara Falls to await another hearing with an immigration adjudicator, which the supervisor of the Canadian Immigration Center, Tim Seburn, said could still take place during the afternoon of Monday, November 2nd. At the hearing, Irving's failure to comply with the departure order to leave Canada would lead the Immigration department to request that Irving be deported to Britain, if the US continued to deny him entry.²⁵⁸ After being denied bail during the Monday deportation hearing, an immigration adjudicator freed Irving on \$20,000 bail on Wednesday, November 4th. The bail was posted by Lewis Martens, a 76 year old retired St. Lawrence Seaway employee from nearby Thorold, after Martens visited Irving at the detention center.²⁵⁹ Irving claimed that it was unnecessary for him to have been detained, since he would have turned up at any planned hearing since he could not afford a deportation.²⁶⁰ He was relieved to be out after the three hour proceedings, which were then postponed again until Friday, November 6th at Irving's request, so he could produce evidence that he had complied with the departure order when he crossed the border into Washington State on October 30th, after his speaking engagement in Victoria.²⁶¹ The Friday hearing was again postponed until Thursday, November 12th, which gave Irving enough time to travel to Kitchener on November 7th, to speak at Michael Rothe's European Sound Imports store.

Irving's appearance was moved ahead to noon on November 7th, 1992, although the exact time was not confirmed by Irving for "security reasons".²⁶² On what turned out to be a sunny, but crisp Saturday, Irving's reception in Kitchener was cold as well. Over 100 protesters, holding picket signs denouncing racism and Nazis, had turned out in front of Michael Rothe's downtown store to protest Irving's appearance. Among them were Kitchener's mayor Dom Cardillo, TV

show Romper Room's 'Miss Fran', as well as Jeff Shallit, a 35-year old University of Waterloo Computer Science professor, who had been protesting in front of the store since August to signify to Irving that his kind was not welcome in the community.²⁶³ Irving was joined by a number of supporters, including Ernst Zündel from Toronto, Wolfgang Droege, the founder of the White Supremacist Heritage Front and former leader of the Ku Klux Klan in Canada, as well as David Cole, a 23-year old historical revisionist from California who claims a Jewish heritage.²⁶⁴ Most of the supporters therefore seemed to be from outside of the Kitchener-Waterloo area. When Irving appeared in front of the store for a brief television interview, tempers ran hot as he was shouted down, told to go home and spit at by one of the protesters. Irving subsequently quickly withdrew into Rothe's store, where he addressed about 50 people ranging from young skinheads to middle-aged members of the community.²⁶⁵ This constituted a small audience compared to the 200 tickets that Rothe claimed to have had sold weeks before the event. It was therefore another small victory for the protesters in front of the store, who were satisfied with what they achieved and, as Michael Lublin proclaimed, that they "...battered Irving tremendously when he came out [...] a major defeat for Irving ...a major victory for the community of Kitchener-Waterloo, not just the Jewish community."²⁶⁶ Inside the store, Irving talked about his attempts to stay in the country and the inability of his opponents to debate him on the historical facts. The opponent's goal, Irving claimed, was to get the vital word 'deported' into his passport, since one deportation order is enough to lock someone out of 30 to 40 other countries. Irving called it an international campaign by the Jewish community against him. After his speech, Irving received a standing ovation and, as Barrie Ries who attended the event states in his Nov. 9th article, numerous \$20 dollar contributions for the David Irving Defence Fund.²⁶⁷

Discontent with Irving's appearance continued to appear in the K-W Record. On November 10th, Adelheid Strack-Richter, a part-time professor of German language and literature at Wilfrid Laurier University, gave her opinion on the fact that the Holocaust was too well documented to deny. She argued against Irving, stating that few periods in history have been as well documented and thoroughly researched by professionals as the Third Reich. To make apologies for Hitler and his followers not only smeared the memory of Hitler's victims, but also raised doubts about the integrity of the modern German state.²⁶⁸ Guenter Firnau, a local German resident grew up next to the Buchenwald concentration camp in Germany and witnessed the extermination machinery when he visited the camp on the day of its liberation. The appearance of David Irving, who denied what Firnau had seen, was an insult Firnau stated. In addition, Firnau wrote that "We reject neo-Nazi ideas and hatred against Jews in this community".²⁶⁹

Both J.L. Granatstein, a history professor at York University, and William Kaplan, Associate Professor of Law at the University of Ottawa, as well as David H. Gladstone from Ottawa, commented on the fact that the way the Irving case was handled by the government only gave him unnecessary publicity and raised a serious issue of free speech. Agreeing with Fred Ambos' Oct. 23rd article, they argued that it would have been far better to let Irving enter the country quietly, speak to his tiny audiences and disappear again. Communities opposed should have focused on countering Irving's weak case with the readily available facts instead of letting him "obtain the halo of a martyr".²⁷⁰

David Irving's 'successful' appearance in Kitchener was shortlived however. A few days after appearing at Michael Rothe's store in Kitchener, Irving was deported from Canada on the night of November 13th, 1992. At the deportation hearing that had been postponed to that Friday,

the 13th, Ken Thompson, the immigration adjudicator ruled that Irving was to be deported to England, since Thompson found too many discrepancies in his testimony that he had left Canada for a brief crossing into Washington State after his speaking engagement in Victoria. Thompson told Irving that he could only speculate that Irving and his supporters concocted the story to garner further publicity and to prolong Irving's stay in Canada. Irving and a supporter of his claimed that they drove to nearby Ferndale, Wash., where Irving was to sign some Nazi lithographs. Thompson decided that they both contradicted their own evidence and sworn statements.²⁷¹ Irving departed the same night on an Air Canada flight to London, unable to return to Canada without permission from Immigration Minister Bernard Valcourt.²⁷²

His deportation was greeted with delight by the Jewish community in Kitchener, as well as those who had protested outside Michael Rothe's store for weeks. In a news-release on Friday, November 13th, the Toronto-based friends of the Simon Wiesenthal Center for Holocaust Studies stated that “Irving is a cause for complaint not because he is a wacky, unorthodox, generally inaccurate historian [...], but because he is a self-avowed fascist who has frequently visited Germany to address and stir up violent neo-Nazi groups.”²⁷³ Wilfrid Laurier University history professor Terry Copp would likely agree with the 'friends'. He states that “ten years ago [Irving] was just a bad amateur historian, now he's become a menace. Over the years he's become a raging anti-Semite.”²⁷⁴ Officials in Canada and protesters in front of the European Sound Imports store in Kitchener did what they could to illustrate that the opinions and views of David Irving were not accepted in the Kitchener-Waterloo region. Even more so, public opinions voiced in editorials and articles of the daily newspapers began to appear with the first announcement of Irving's visit in August of 1992. Going back as far as August before Irving was scheduled to appear in Kitchener, residents began to comment on the event. These newspaper editorials and

letters to the editor not only provide insight into the Irving affair and sentiments in Kitchener at the time. The opinions expressed in these newspaper editorials also speak volumes about the varying attitudes of the local residents. As such, it is valuable to backtrack and regard the newspaper commentary in some greater detail.

Monna Zentner, one of the first individuals to protest Irving, also responded to comments made about local German community leaders' quiet response, in a January 15th, 1993 letter to the editor, two months after Irving's appearance in Kitchener. Zentner states that through mediation of David Cooke, a meeting was arranged between a few concerned citizens and local, national and international dignitaries of German heritage at the time of the protests. Peter Kruse, Kitchener's Honorary German Consul at the time, arranged further meetings thereafter. The meetings, Zentner states, were all friendly and good-spirited and resulted in K-W's German and Jewish communities issuing a joint statement that bigotry and hatred were unwelcome in Kitchener- Waterloo. The reason for some of the discontent with the local German community, Zentner argues, is that there is a part of the population that confuses all Germans with Nazis and all Nazis with Germans. However, this simple minded prejudice overlooks the fact that there are Germans who are not Nazis, as well as Nazis who are not German.²⁷⁵

At the time of the protests in 1992, Zentner needed to repeat this point on a regular basis, since she frequently received phone-calls from elderly Germans, asking her why the Jews persisted in persecuting them.²⁷⁶ Zentner had been yelled and sworn at while protesting outside Rothe's store on King Street, but it was not until the same evening of the day that Irving appeared in Kitchener that her house in Kitchener burnt down causing \$100,000 damage. The fire was treated as suspicious by the Kitchener fire department, and confirmed as arson a day later.²⁷⁷ On August 14, 1993, a month after a White Supremacist rally at Rothe's store in Kitchener that

Zentner attended, her house burnt down a second time, with the fire once again deemed suspicious.²⁷⁸ Naturally, Zentner assumed the fires were deliberately set by people opposed to her protests outside the European Sound Imports store. The fire after David Irving's talk in 1992 also triggered a response from the Canadian Jewish Congress, demanding that Irving be kept in jail until his hearing on November 12th, since his presence in Canada could incite further violence.²⁷⁹ It goes without saying that many individuals in the community were relieved when David Irving was deported from Canada in November 1992. Monna Zentner certainly was glad. As for Germans in Kitchener-Waterloo, Zentner commented that what set the German community's response to the issue apart from that of most of the communities, was the fact that they did respond, which the Kitchener Downtown business association or local school trustees for example did not.²⁸⁰ It took the German community a long time to organize these meetings and to issue these statements. Considering the fact that David Irving had spoken to crowds in Kitchener before, at the Kitchener Transylvania club in October 1991, as well as downtown at Rothe's store in August 1991, it seems natural that the German community would be slow to respond to the pressures that built up over the issue.

After being deported from Canada, Irving continued to publish articles in the British press and continued receiving reviews from serious historians. Two years after Irving's appearance in Kitchener, Deborah Lipstadt, who had just joined the faculty of Modern Jewish and Holocaust studies at Emory University in Atlanta, published her 1993 book *Denying the Holocaust*, a scholarly study of Holocaust denial. In it, Lipstadt devoted

“a few hundred words to David Irving, describing him as a ‘Hitler partisan wearing blinkers’ who ‘distort[ed] evidence ... manipulat[ed] documents, [and] skew[ed] ... and misrepresent[ed] data in order to reach historically untenable conclusions.’ I considered him the most dangerous of Holocaust deniers because unlike other deniers, Irving was the author of numerous [well known] books about World War II

and the Third Reich.”²⁸¹

Given Irving’s public expressions of Irving’s Holocaust denial, Lipstadt thought her statements to be rather non-controversial, given the extensive documentation of all her sources in her book. Much to her surprise, in 1995, Irving sued her and her British publisher, Penguin, for libel. While American Law requires the plaintiff to prove that the libel is false, in Britain the burden of proof lies with the defendant, who has to prove that his or her statements are true. If David Irving had launched his libel suit in the United States, he would have had to prove that Lipstadt lied about him being a Holocaust denier. In Britain, Lipstadt had to prove that he was in fact a Holocaust denier. The difference in difficulty is very clear. According to Lipstadt, Irving had told a sympathetic audience a few years earlier that defendants tended to ‘crack up and cop out’ when they became aware that they were sued for libel in the UK. She therefore saw his lawsuit as an intimidation tactic and decided to fight his lawsuit and prove that what she had written was true.²⁸² Under British law, if Lipstadt and her publisher had not defended themselves, Irving would have won the lawsuit by default and Lipstadt would have been found guilty of libel. As a result, Irving would have had his views on the Holocaust legitimized by the case.²⁸³

With the help of Anthony Julius, previously Princess Diana’s divorce lawyer, and with the support of Emory University, as well as members of the American Jewish community Lipstadt organized a defence, recruited expert witnesses and raised the \$1.6 million of legal fees necessary to prepare for trial over the course of four years. Together with her legal counsel, Lipstadt recruited five expert witnesses who were to address Irving’s claims that Hitler had no role in the Final Solution, that the murder of Jews on the Eastern Front was not sanctioned by Nazi authorities, that there was no overall plan to murder the Jews of Europe, and that gas chambers were not used to murder vast numbers of Jews at Auschwitz and elsewhere.²⁸⁴ The

expert witnesses were Professor Richard Evans of Cambridge, Professor Robert Jan van Pelt of the University of Waterloo, Professor Christopher Browning, Professor Peter Longerich from the University of London, as well as Professor Hajo Junke of Berlin. Evans was chosen to analyze Irving's writings for historical accuracy. Van Pelt, an architectural historian, was to examine Irving's claims in regards to Auschwitz and the use of gas chambers. Professor Browning was chosen to examine Irving's assertion that Jews shot by Germans in Soviet territory were victims of rogue actions, and also to prepare a report on the use of gas vans and other concentration camps. Professor Longerich, a German-born specialist on Hitler, was asked to analyze Hitler's role in the Final Solution. Funke was asked to examine Irving's links to the German radical right and neo-Nazi fringe.²⁸⁵ Three of the five expert reports have been published since 2001 conclusion of the trial. Richard Evan's book *Lying about Hitler*, Peter Longerich's *The Unwritten Order*, and Robert Jan van Pelt's *The Case for Auschwitz* were published between 2001 and 2002.

With the help of these expert witnesses, Lipstadt prepared a defence against Irving's libel suit that earned her a complete victory and largely discredited Irving. Expert witness statements on the Holocaust, gas chambers at Auschwitz, as well as the Nazi organization under Hitler shored up the claim that Irving was a Holocaust denier. Richard Evans' expert report began with a summary on Irving's writings, stating that:

a knotted web of distortions, suppressions and manipulations became evident in every single instance which we examined. [...] The sheer depths of duplicity [...] in Irving's treatment of the historical sources, [and his] dishonesty permeates his entire written and spoken output. It is as all pervasive in his early work as it is in his later publications... His numerous mistakes...are calculated and deliberate.²⁸⁶

When Judge Charles Gray read his verdict two years later, he largely agreed with Evans, stating that Lipstadt's criticisms of his work were almost invariably well founded and that Irving's

“falsification of the historical record was deliberate and motivated by a desire to present events in a manner consistent with his own ideological beliefs, even if that involved the distortion and manipulation of historical evidence.”²⁸⁷ As a result, Judge Gray concluded, that

“it appear[ed] to [him] to be incontrovertible that Irving qualifies as a Holocaust denier. Not only has he denied the existence of gas chambers at Auschwitz and asserted that no Jew was gassed there, he has done so on frequent occasions and sometimes in the most offensive terms.”²⁸⁸

Despite Irving’s attempts to appeal the judgement, three other judges upheld Gray’s verdict and Irving was defeated and left to pay the legal costs associated with the trial. After the appeals process was over, Irving paid Penguin a portion of their legal expenses in 2002 and claimed that he was bankrupt and could neither pay Penguin nor Lipstadt the remainder of outstanding legal fees. After assessing Irving’s papers handed over during the trial for their monetary value they were returned to Irving, despite the fact that they contained a number of rare World War II era diaries and documents. After the case was finally concluded in 2002, very little was heard of Irving in Britain, though he still appeared in the US to hold lectures and sell his books.²⁸⁹ The precedence Lipstadt vs. Irving set in British courts, especially with the publication of the expert witness reports in 2001 and 2002, seems to have made the proponents of these ideas fade into the background. The *London Times* commented on the trial, stating that “history has had its day in court and scored a crushing victory.”²⁹⁰

Many of the sentiments expressed in editorials in the K-W Record on the eve of David Irving’s visit in 1992 were very similar to those expressed by individuals around the world at the time of the Lipstadt vs. Irving trial in London. Many individuals spoke out against Irving in Kitchener, as well as around the world, thus showing the tension that existed still around the topic of the Second World War and the Holocaust. What was a contentious issue in Kitchener in 1992 was still one on a much larger scale in 2001. Despite events such as Oktoberfest, launched

in 1969 with some intent to bridge the gap between Kitchener's English and German citizenry, caused by the First and Second World War, issues such as Holocaust denial immediately strained those relations again. Fortunately, after Irving was deported in 1992, the German and Jewish communities in Kitchener-Waterloo collaborated on a number of initiatives to improve relationships. The German identity of Kitchener Waterloo resumed to be that of an uncontroversial Beervarian festival, an identity that left little to criticize. Oktoberfest was once again the sole event representing the positive German heritage of Kitchener-Waterloo.

Conclusion

Pennsylvania Mennonite settlement in the Kitchener-Waterloo area began in 1799, when the first Mennonites arrived from Pennsylvania to settle along the Grand River. While these settlers broke ground for the first time to establish a community, they were soon joined by artisans and craftsmen from continental Europe who were attracted by the linguistic commonalities they shared with the Pennsylvania Mennonites. By the time the First World War began, 'busy Berlin' had become a thriving industrious community, featuring *Sängerfeste* that were known throughout Canada. The Concordia Male Choir was the earliest form of what would later become the oldest and largest German Club in the area. After the turmoil of the First World War, after Berlin had been renamed Kitchener in 1916, local residents quickly drew upon their Pennsylvania-German background as a more acceptable form of German identity. William H. Breithaupt, through the Waterloo Historical Society he created, immediately began to change the image of the city. Instead of the continental German industrious busy Berlin, the safer identity of the Pennsylvania Mennonites was adopted as the founding history of the county. The artisans, craftsmen and industrialists who had helped make Berlin the successful city of Kitchener were far less emphasized. Instead, the heroic Pioneer exploits of the Mennonites were highlighted in accounts like Mabel Dunham's *The Trek of the Conestoga*, and celebrated with memorials such as the Pioneer Tower. The continental German identity of the Kitchener-Waterloo region remained very visible despite these attempts however. German immigration to Canada continued to influence the multicultural image of Canada's population and Kitchener continued to receive new immigrants willing to contribute to the German image of the area.

The outbreak of the Second World War threatened to present a renewed struggle for the city, however German clubs were prepared to show their complete cooperation and their loyalty to the country they called home. Local recruitment offices were full and the community pulled together to contribute to the war effort of the country. Even the establishment of a local chapter of the *Deutscher Bund*, a Nazi organization that had chapters all over Canada and reached a membership of around 2000 individuals, with a newspaper circulation of 6000, did little to make citizens question the loyalty of the local German community. Members of the *Bund* were young individuals who very recently immigrated to Canada and as such were not representative of the well-established *Old German* community that had contributed to the establishment of Kitchener as a successful industrial city.

Once the war was over, post-war immigration challenged German identities in Kitchener-Waterloo anew and reaffirmed the complexity of German identity after the war. Immigrants from various German-speaking regions in Europe settled in Kitchener-Waterloo and established their own German clubs, maintaining their individual customs, traditions and celebrations. When city planners decided to put on an annual Oktoberfest celebration to attract tourism to the area, the German clubs participated hesitantly at first but all the more enthusiastically once it became clear that local German clubs could profit from these 'Bavarian' celebrations. While the organizers attempted to portray Kitchener as a German city, featuring a Bavarian festival, the make-up of the German community was far more complex. Each German club celebrated Oktoberfest in its own club halls, preparing their own traditional meals, featuring their own musical bands, as well as their own dance groups with traditional performances native to their regions. While Oktoberfest did much to transform 'German' with a jovial cultural celebration, its goals were purely financial, which was self-evident to many residents. Nonetheless, Oktoberfest created a

backdrop for the successful showcasing of cultural traditions and talents of the various German communities within Kitchener-Waterloo.

The visit of David Irving, a Holocaust denier, to Kitchener in 1992 threatened to become a controversy that questioned again the loyalties of local German citizens. Daily protests in front of the venue where Irving was supposed to speak, as well as newspaper editorials and articles calling on the German community to take a stand on the issue created strong sentiments within Kitchener-Waterloo. What is important to note however, is that the German community in 1992 was no longer the same as in the 1820s, or the 1930s, or the 1940s, or even the 1960s. Waves of German immigration throughout those years had altered the face of the German communities in the area. Each group of immigrants that came to Canada had different geographical origins, left a political system and state much different than the one the subsequent group had left. As well, linguistic and cultural differences differentiated these groups from each other. While post-war immigrants of the 1940s had to deal with their memories of the Nazi era, German immigrants from the 1950s and 60s had experienced a Germany divided into East and West and integrated into Canadian society with an entirely different mindset.

Studies thus far have examined immigrant settlement patterns of German immigrants in Canada and have attempted to create a German-Canadian identity that sought to unify Germans in Canada through their shared language. By showing the Germans as industrious and loyal people, contributing to the foundation of Canada, Germans were homogenized and situated within Canadian society. Positive and negative manifestations of German identity in a post-Second World War society, such as the *Deutscher Bund Canada*, Oktoberfest, as well as the visit of David Irving show, that German communities in Kitchener-Waterloo are not homogenous, but are in fact individual communities originating from different areas in Europe. German

communities have very different identities, based on the condition of the German state at the time they left Europe, the political climate in Germany and Canada at the time of their migration, as well as a myriad of other distinctions that them from other German groups native to the area.

This paper in no way attempts to present a concise and conclusive study of German-Canadian identity in Kitchener-Waterloo, nor Canada at large. It does however examine the historiography and point out approaches that have been used to describe German communities in the past. Rather than creating a German-Canadian melting pot in which all Germans are considered the same, getting along with each other because they can interact in each other's language, the concept of a Canadian mosaic needs to be applied on a micro level, to examine the variations in German communities and the differences that identify these different groups of Germans, Schwabens, Alsatians, etc. in Canadian communities. More work needs to be conducted to examine individual German immigrant groups in Canada in order to revise the existing historiography and to make it explicit that Germans in Canada are not a homogeneous group. During the course of writing this paper, the author has been granted access to the archival holdings of the Trans-Canada Alliance for German-Canadians, an umbrella group that sought to unify Germans in Canada. Access to this private archive unfortunately came too late to be included in this study, however detailed work needs to be conducted on the nature of German groups in Canada in the future, based on the files uncovered and as a continuation of this study.

Endnotes:

Introduction:

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- ¹³ McLaughlin, pg. 3
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- ¹⁷ Ibid., pg. xxxvii
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Chapter 1:

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- ²³ Koch-Kraft, pg. 17
- ²⁴ Koch-Kraft, pg. 17
- ²⁵ McLaughlin, pg. 3,6.
- ²⁶ Koch-Kraft, pg. 23, and McLaughlin, pg. 7
- ²⁷ Hayes, Geoffrey. Waterloo County: An Illustrated History. Waterloo: Waterloo Historical Society (1997), pg. 3, and Baetz, Reuben C. Hon. Ontario Ethnocultural profiles – Germans. Toronto: Ontario Ministry of Culture and Recreation (1982), pg. 1
- ²⁸ Baetz, pg. 1
- ²⁹ Hayes, Waterloo County, pg. 5, and Baetz, pg. 1
- ³⁰ McLaughlin, pg. 8
- ³¹ Hayes, Waterloo County, pg. 13
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- ³³ McLaughlin, pg. 8
- ³⁴ Hayes, Waterloo County, pg. 13
- ³⁵ McLaughlin, pg. 9 (Waterloo County was formed in 1853, for more detail see Hayes, Geoffrey, Waterloo County)
- ³⁶ Koch-Kraft, pg. 24, Lehmann & Bassler, pg. 97, McLaughlin, pg. 10
- ³⁷ McLaughlin, pg. 10
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- ⁴⁰ Ibid., pg. 17
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- ⁴³ Fair, pg. 661
- ⁴⁴ from Orm Øverland's book Immigrant Minds, American Identities: Making the United States Home, 1870-1930. Urbana: University of Illinois Press (2000),pg. 1, 8-9, 17, as quoted in Fair, pg. 655
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- ⁴⁸ Ibid., pg. 6
- ⁴⁹ Ibid., pp. 17, 18
- ⁵⁰ Ibid., pg. 35
- ⁵¹ Hayes, Waterloo county, pg. 108, and Tiessen, Paul. Berlin, Celebration of Cityhood, 1912.
- ⁵² Chadwick, W.R. The Battle for Berlin, Ontario. Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press (1992), pg. 56
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- ⁵⁴ Chadwick, pg. 58
- ⁵⁵ Louis Breithaupt diary, cited in Hayes, Waterloo County, pg. 119
- ⁵⁶ quoted in Hayes, Waterloo County, pg. 120
- ⁵⁷ Hayes, Waterloo County, pg. 113
- ⁵⁸ McKegney, P. The Kaiser's Bust. St. Jacobs: St. Jacobs Printery Ltd. (1991), pg. 155
- ⁵⁹ Chadwick, pg. 64
- ⁶⁰ McKegney, pp. 158, 159
- ⁶¹ McKegney, pg. 160, Hayes, Waterloo County, pg. 121, English & McLaughlin, pg. 116
- ⁶² English & McLaughlin, pg. 235
- ⁶³ Chadwick, pg. 148
- ⁶⁴ English & McLaughlin, pg. 119
- ⁶⁵ Bassler, pg. 4-5
- ⁶⁶ Heintz, G. German Immigration into Upper Canada and Ontario from 1783 to the present day. (unpublished) M.A. Thesis, Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario. (1938), pg. 139-140
- ⁶⁷ Urquhardt, M.C. Historical Statistics of Canada, Toronto: Statistics Canada (1965), p. 18, and McLaughlin, pg. 12
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- ⁶⁹ Ibid., pg. 137
- ⁷⁰ For a more detailed account on W.H. Breithaupt and the WHS refer to Mary E. Tivy's 06 PhD dissertation.
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- ⁷² Ibid., pg. 137
- ⁷³ Fair, pg. 666
- ⁷⁴ Ibid.,
- ⁷⁵ Norkunas, Martha K. The Politics of Public Memory. New York: State University of New York Press (1993), pg. 23
- ⁷⁶ Fierke, K.M. Bewitched by the Past: Social Memory, Trauma and International Relations. in Bell, Duncan (ed.) Memory, Trauma and World Politics. New York: Palgrave MacMillan (2006), pg. 122
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- ¹¹² Ibid., pg. 71
- ¹¹³ Ibid.,
- ¹¹⁴ Ibid., pg. 143
- ¹¹⁵ K-W Record, Tues. May 16, 1939
- ¹¹⁶ K-W Record, Fri. May 19, 1939.
- ¹¹⁷ K-W Record, Mon. May 22, 1939
- ¹¹⁸ Ibid.,
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- ¹²⁰ Leibbrandt, Little Paradise, English ed., pg. 291

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- ¹²¹ Transylvanians were actually Franks, displaced from the Rhine and Mosel River areas in Germany, according to Leibbrandt.
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- ¹³² Oral History Tape 221, Julius Rauchfuss, KPL
- ¹³³ *Ibid.*,
- ¹³⁴ *Ibid.*,
- ¹³⁵ *Ibid.*,
- ¹³⁶ K-W Record, *Oktoberfest outgrows Club Hall*, Oct. 7, 1968
- ¹³⁷ Oral History Tape 816, Owen Lackenbauer, KPL
- ¹³⁸ *Ibid.*,
- ¹³⁹ Heather Daly et al., pg. 33
- ¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*,
- ¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*,
- ¹⁴² Heather Daly, Kelly Hanson, Hans Lo and Stephanie Wilson wrote a piece of original scholarship, based on the Oktoberfest Inc. files that had been donated to the Dana Porter library archives at the University of Waterloo, entitled *A History of Oktoberfest Inc.*, which is available at the St. Jeromes library, as well as the Dana Porter rare book room. Heather Daly et. al, pg. 37
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- ¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*,
- ¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*,
- ¹⁴⁶ Oral History Tape 221, Julius Rauchfuss
- ¹⁴⁷ K-W Record, Sat. Oct. 11, 1969
- ¹⁴⁸ The individual tapping the keg was not in fact the mayor of Munich, but one Otto Hiebel, the tourist director of the city of Munich. Hans Johann Vogel was mayor of Munich at the time, but Owen Lackenbauer assumes that Dick Hermansen gave Hiebel the title Buergermeister in the Oktoberfest program. Source: Oral History Tape 816, Owen Lackenbauer, KPL
- ¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*,
- ¹⁵⁰ K-W Record, Sat. Oct. 11, 1969 (Authenticity seems to have taken a backseat in the organization of a festival that would resemble the Munich Oktoberfest as closely as possible to make it attractive to tourists).
- ¹⁵¹ K-W Record, Oct. 21, 1969
- ¹⁵² *Ibid.*,
- ¹⁵³ Oral History Interview 816, Owen Lackenbauer
- ¹⁵⁴ K-W Record, Oct. 18, 1969
- ¹⁵⁵ K-W Record, Oct. 20, 1969
- ¹⁵⁶ Oral History Interview 816, Owen Lackenbauer, KPL
- ¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*,
- ¹⁵⁸ Oral History Tape 221, Julius Rauchfuss, KPL, and K-W Record, Oct. 2, 1970

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- ¹⁵⁹ Ibid.,
¹⁶⁰ K-W Record, Oct. 22, 1969
¹⁶¹ See K-W Record, Oct. 11, 1969 and Sept. 25, 1970 for exact dates, duration and program
¹⁶² Oral History Tape 221, Julius Rauchfuss, KPL
¹⁶³ K-W Record, Wedn. Sept. 30, 1970
¹⁶⁴ Oral History Tape 816, Owen Lackenbauer, KPL
¹⁶⁵ K-W Record, Fri. Oct. 2, 1970
¹⁶⁶ K-W Record, Mon. Oct. 5, 1970
¹⁶⁷ Ibid.,
¹⁶⁸ Ibid.,
¹⁶⁹ As per the first Oktoberfest flyer, a *Small Schlupper* is someone who drinks less than half from their Stein while the song *Ein Prosit* is playing, while a *Burp Meister* drinks half their Stein. A Bier Doktor is someone who manages to empty their Stein entirely. This individual signed their letter to the editor as ‘Small Schlupper’
¹⁷⁰ K-W Record, Oct. 6, 1970
¹⁷¹ Ibid.,
¹⁷² Ibid.,
¹⁷³ K-W Record, Tues. Oct. 13, 1970.
¹⁷⁴ K-W Record, Thurs. Oct. 8, 1970
¹⁷⁵ K-W Record, Oct. 15, 1970
¹⁷⁶ K-W Record, Oct. 19, 1970
¹⁷⁷ K-W Record, Oct. 28, 1970
¹⁷⁸ K-W Record, Oct. 20, 1970
¹⁷⁹ Ibid.,
¹⁸⁰ Ibid.,
¹⁸¹ Ibid.,
¹⁸² K-W Record, Oct. 2, 1971
¹⁸³ K-W Record, Oct. 12, 1971
¹⁸⁴ K-W Record, Oct. 2, 1971
¹⁸⁵ Bissoondath, Neil. Selling Illusions. The Cult of Multiculturalism in Canada. Toronto: Penguin Books (2002), pg. 77
¹⁸⁶ Ibid.,
¹⁸⁷ K-W Record, Oct. 9, 1971
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¹⁸⁹ Ibid.,
¹⁹⁰ Daley et al. K-W Oktoberfest, pg. 39
¹⁹¹ Oral History Tape 816, Owen Lackenbauer, KPL
¹⁹² Daley et al. pp. 40-41
¹⁹³ Oral History Tape 816, Owen Lackenbauer, KPL
¹⁹⁴ Ibid.,
¹⁹⁵ Ibid.,
¹⁹⁶ Ibid.,

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²⁰⁰ K-W Record, David Irving: the man with a controversial view of Hitler, Oct. 3, 1992
²⁰¹ Evans, Lying about Hitler, pg. 112-114
²⁰² K-W Record, David Irving: the man with the controversial view of Hitler, Oct. 3, 1992
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²⁰⁴ Evans, pg. 114
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- ²⁰⁸ K-W Record, Irving influenced by report on gas chambers, Aug. 28, 1992
- ²¹⁰ Konnilyn Feig, Hitler's Death Camps, pg. 72
- ²¹¹ K-W Record, Irving influenced by report on gas chambers, Aug. 28, 1992
- ²¹² K-W Record, Zundel supporter says he's defending the right to free speech, Aug. 29, 1992
- ²¹³ Which argues that the allies knowingly killed over a million German prisoners in war-camps and compares this to the Holocaust.
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- ²²³ K-W Record, Rights denied, Sept. 22, 1992
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- ²²⁷ Ibid.,
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- ²⁸² Ibid., pg. xxi
- ²⁸³ Ibid., pg. 31
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