

Internment Operations at the Halifax Citadel, 1914-1916

Prepared for the Parks Canada Agency
by Roger Marsters, PhD
Hindsight Historical Consulting
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Canada, Empire, and Internment

On December 3, 1914, 24-year-old John Prigge was escorted from a detention cell at Halifax City Hall to a military internment camp inside the walls of the Halifax Citadel. Here he joined more than eighty others interned in the Citadel's strongly reinforced casemates: German sailors captured in the Atlantic by the Royal Navy, Canadian residents born in central and eastern Europe, and business travellers of undetermined nationality who touched at Maritime ports in 1914 or 1915. Prigge was born in Bremerhaven and had served briefly in the armed forces, as was required of all able-bodied men in Germany and the Austro-Hungarian Empire at this time. He left Europe after his service at the age of 17, working in the United States then moving north to Canada where he had lived for the previous six years. Prigge shoveled coal in Canadian Pacific steamships on the St. Lawrence River before moving west to the polyglot commercial city of Winnipeg, where he worked as a teamster. Politically idealistic, he became active in international socialist organizations. Eight days after the outbreak of war in August 1914, Prigge entered a recruiting office in Brandon, Manitoba, and joined the 90th Winnipeg Rifles, 8th Battalion, Canadian Expeditionary Force. The Kaiser, he later stated, was killing socialists, and had to be stopped. Once overseas Prigge, like many other foreign-born CEF members, found military life very difficult. Fellow-soldiers doubted their loyalty and made their mistrust clear to the men and to their officers. Prigge and other foreign-born enlistees were detained, discharged as "undesirable," placed on west-bound ships, and sent for internment in the growing system of camps then

established to house Canada's large wartime population of enemy aliens and prisoners of war.¹

In December 1914, Prigge was one of 22 men who had volunteered to fight for Canada and the British Empire, and then detained at the Halifax Citadel as prisoners of war. Their experience says much about the character of Canadian society at the onset of the First World War. In the preceding 30 years, Canada had welcomed hundreds of thousands of people like Prigge: young migrants seeking a new life relatively free from the arbitrary authority and customary strictures of life in parts of Europe and the Near East. These migrants opened the Prairie West to agricultural settlement, building the nation's population and providing markets for the growing industries of central and eastern Canada. In cities like Winnipeg they built multilingual societies that combined North American material abundance with European cultural richness and intellectual vitality. By 1914, Canada was a multicultural society in fact, if not yet in self-conception.

The outbreak of war brought this broad cultural shift to a sudden halt. Further migration ceased for the duration of the conflict. Categories of identity that were remarkably fluid in the pre-war welter of international migration and exchange became fixed and immutable. The complex elements of Prigge's self-conception—German, American, Canadian, socialist—were, within the first six months of war, radically simplified: he was, for the duration of the conflict, a German naval reservist and prisoner of war. Fighting a total war in an advanced industrial society, especially a multicultural one, required administrative categories to vouchsafe loyalty. Canadian internment facilities, like those at the Halifax Citadel, implemented these categories.

¹ LAC, RG24, vol. 4542, file 73-1-15, Interrogation Typescript, 7 December 1914; LAC, RG24 vol. 4542, file 73-1-15, "Additional Information re. Nos. 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 152 and 155," n.d.

Canada's chief means of coming to terms with the fact of ethnic complexity in a time of war was through a system of registration and internment in which Canadian residents born in enemy combatant states ("enemy aliens" in official parlance) were closely monitored and, if deemed necessary, deprived of their liberty. Internment stations were established across the country to accommodate internees; over the course of the war, 8579 individuals were so detained.² A central administrative body for Internment Operations was established in Ottawa under the direction of veteran military officer Sir William Otter; Otter's office coordinated the activities of local registrars and of the internment station system. Enemy aliens were required to report to their local registrars, were offered the opportunity to sign a parole document requiring them to report regularly, to remain in the country, and to remain strictly neutral in the conflict. Failure to sign this undertaking or breach of its conditions was grounds for internment.

Internment operations in the Maritime Provinces were overseen by the Officer Commanding, Canadian Military District 6, headquartered at the Halifax Citadel. This officer and the staff he commanded oversaw the operation of three prisoner-of-war internment camps in Nova Scotia: at Melville Island on Halifax's Northwest Arm (September 8, 1914 to January 25, 1915), at the Citadel itself (October 1, 1914 to October 3, 1916), and at Amherst (April 17, 1915 to September 27, 1919).³ Internee arrivals at all three camps were coordinated at the Citadel: internees arriving without information regarding their origins were interrogated by the Fortress Intelligence Officer and all were given an official, consecutive "Bureau Number". Internees housed in Halifax between

² For a concise overview of internment administration nationally, see William Otter, *Internment Operations 1914-1920* (Ottawa, ON: Thomas Mulvey, 1921).

³ "Internments in the Maritimes during the First World War at the Halifax Citadel, Melville Island, and Amherst," Manuscript Report, Parks Canada, n.d., p. 1. This document presents an excellent introduction to operations in Military District 6, with particular focus on Ukrainian internees held in the region.

October 1914 and October 1916 were assigned numbers running from 1 to 253. Internees who were reservists or active-duty military personnel were considered “first class” (officers) or “second class” (other ranks), and received different treatment on this basis. The Citadel initially hosted both first and second-class internees, before becoming an exclusively first-class facility in early May 1915. Citadel internees were first housed in casemates in the northeast salient and Cavalier Block; after May 1915 internment operations were consolidated in the Cavalier Block. Guards at the Citadel internment station were drawn from a Composite Battalion comprising personnel from militia units raised in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island.⁴

While Halifax’s position on the rim of the Atlantic theatre of war gave operations there a distinct character, many elements of the internment experience in Military District 6 paralleled those in Canada more generally.⁵ The Maritime Provinces had largely been bypassed by the intensive waves of migration, of agricultural and urban settlement, that had characterized Canadian national development between 1880 and 1914. Nevertheless, some non-British settlement did take place in the region in this period, and foreign-born workers were drawn to the region’s mining and manufacturing industries. When the outbreak of war engendered demands for unambiguous loyalty and for categorical

⁴ M. Stewart, Hunt, *Nova Scotia’s Part in the Great War* (Halifax, NS: Nova Scotia Veteran Publishing, 1920), 268-271.

⁵ Extant analyses of First World War internment operations focus on the Canadian West and in particular on the large proportion of internees of Ukrainian descent; see, for example, James Farney and Bohdan S. Kordan, “The Predicament of Belonging: The Status of Enemy Aliens in Canada, 1914,” *Journal of Canadian Studies* 39:1 (2005), 74-89; Bohdan S. Kordan, *Prisoners of War: Internment in Canada during the Great War* (Montreal, QC and Kingston, ON: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2002); Lubomyr Luciuk, *In Fear of the Barbed Wire Fence: Canada’s First National Internment Operations and the Ukrainian Canadians, 1914-1920* (Kingston, ON: Kashtan Press, 2001); Bill Waiser, *Park Prisoners: The Untold Story of Western Canada’s National Parks, 1915-1946* (Saskatoon, SK: Fifth House, 1993); Bohdan S. Kordan and Peter Melnycky eds., *In the Shadow of the Rockies: Diary of the Castle Mountain Internment Camp, 1915-1917* (Edmonton, AB: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press, 1991); David J. Carter, *Behind Canadian Barbed Wire: Alien, Refugee, and Prisoner of War Camps in Canada 1914-1946* (Calgary, AB: Tumbleweed Press, 1980).

national identities, native-born residents in the region responded as did their counterparts to the west: with demands that people of enemy ancestry or otherwise ambiguous loyalties be subject to surveillance, detention, and internment. Internment Operations headquarters in Ottawa, national and local police forces, and the Officer Commanding and intelligence officers of Military District 6 were flooded with correspondence from the summer of 1914 onward, as Canadians reported on the apparently suspicious behaviour of their foreign-born neighbours, and sought protection for strategically important local facilities and resources. At Stellarton, Nova Scotia, miners threatened to strike unless co-workers of enemy origin were fired.⁶ Civic authorities in Sydney and Inverness wrote to Military District 6 headquarters seeking to intern dozens of out-of-work, foreign-born miners.⁷ In Yarmouth, the chief of police suspected three German residents of conspiring to attack the steamships that connected Nova Scotia to ports in the United States. Local sentiment against them was so strong that he feared for their safety, and sought internment for their protection.⁸ A concerned citizen in Falmouth reported the suspicious actions of a man named Lunstrum who owned an island off Nova Scotia's Eastern Shore; the island, he felt, might house an enemy wireless station or an advance base for invasion. The political realities of the war—of allies and enemies—demanded unambiguous loyalty to Canada and to the war effort. People whose identities were ambiguous in this respect became subject to Canadians' dark fears and imaginings. As the Falmouth correspondent

⁶ LAC, RG24, vol. 4542, file 73-1-25, A.A.G., Military District 6, to Chief Commissioner, Dominion Police, 27 June 1915.

⁷ LAC, RG24, vol. 4542, file 73-1-25, A.A.G., Military District 6, to Chief Commissioner, Dominion Police, 27 June 1915; LAC, RG24, vol. 4542, file 73-1-25, B.A. Ingraham, Sydney NS, to A.A.G. Military District 6, 12 December 1914; 42 73-1-25 1915 06 27

⁸ LAC, RG24, vol. 4542, file 73-1-25, A.J. Fuller, Mayor, Yarmouth NS, to O.C., Military District 6, 12 November 1914.

wrote to the Fortress Intelligence Officer, “we do not know who to trust.”⁹ Many early internees at the Halifax Citadel were resident enemy aliens caught up in this effort to establish unambiguous loyalties in the putative interest of national security.¹⁰

Halifax’s status as a strategically important port on the rim of the Atlantic theatre of war meant that internment operations in Military District 6 also differed in important ways from the pattern followed elsewhere in Canada. The outbreak of war made Canada’s reliance on maritime communications immediately visible, as east coast port facilities filled with material and personnel supplying European battlefronts transatlantically. Halifax provided a base for ships of the British Royal Navy’s North America and West Indies Squadron, and in consequence many of those interned at the Citadel were captured at sea in the course of blockade and anti-cruiser operations. Internment operations in Halifax were part of a broader effort to dismantle German naval power and overseas empire in the Atlantic basin.¹¹ Britain blockaded German maritime trade to deprive its rival of the overseas resources necessary to continue the war; it sought, in effect, to starve Germany into capitulation. This entailed containment of the German navy in Europe and the destruction of its armed cruisers overseas, a process that resulted in the transfer of many active-duty German navy personnel to Halifax in 1914 and 1915.

⁹ LAC, RG24, vol. 4542, file 73-1-25, William Salt, Falmouth NS, to F.N. Bremner, 17 December 1914.

¹⁰ The national and ethnic composition of Citadel internees is detailed in the section “Internees in Military District 6, 1914-1916” in this report.

¹¹ For discussions of German commercial and imperial activities in the Atlantic basin, see Matthias Schulze et al., *German Diasporic Experiences: Identity, Migration and Loss* (Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2008); Phillip Dehne, “From ‘Business as Usual’ to a More Global War: The British Decision to Attack Germans in South America during the First World War” *Journal of British Studies* 44:3 (2005), 516-535; Frederick C. Luebke, *Germans in the New World: Essays in the History of Immigration* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1990); Victor Wolfgang von Hagen, *The Germanic People in America* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1976); Thomas Baecker, “The Arms of the ‘Ypiranga’: The German Side.” *The Americas* 30:1 (1973), 1-17; Paul B. Ryan, “Ten Days at Veracruz,” *U.S. Naval Institute Proceedings* 98:6 (1972), 64-73; Melvin Small, “The United States and the German ‘Threat’ to the Hemisphere, 1905-1914,” *The Americas* 28:3 (1972), 252-270.

Equally important was the need to deprive Germany of trained mariners, upon whom German naval power ultimately relied. This was accomplished primarily through the capture and internment of German merchant seamen and officers who, under the strictures of German reservist regulations, were required to return and serve with the navy at war's outbreak. The British Royal Navy accordingly captured and detained naval reservists from German and neutral merchant ships encountered at sea, interning them in British dominions and colonial possessions adjacent to the world's deep-sea shipping lanes. During the course of the war these internment operations were consolidated in Nova Scotia, first at the Citadel and Melville Island in Halifax, and then at the much larger, dedicated facility in Amherst. Accordingly, large numbers of German businessmen, migrants, and settlers resident in Central and South America were captured and carried to Halifax in consequence of their former military service or reserve status. Halifax internees thus included not only enemy aliens who resisted registration or who breached parole, but also active-duty German military personnel and reservists. To a degree unseen elsewhere in Canada, Halifax internees were prisoners of war in the strict sense: a majority of those detained were combatants under international law, many taken in active naval combat.

Internees in Military District 6, 1914-1916

Legal Framework of Internment

The legal foundation for Canadian internment operations during the First World War was put in place with the passage of the War Measures Act in August 1914. This act effectively suspended the normal operations of Canadian Parliamentary government for the duration of the war, superseding existing law (including fundamental protections of civil liberties, such as habeas corpus), and effectively allowing the federal cabinet to govern by decree. Cabinet used the Act to impose widespread censorship, to outlaw organizations and associations, to institute preventative detention, and to create a system for the registration and internment of foreign-born residents (designated “enemy aliens”) and prisoners of war.¹² Developing policies for treatment of foreign-born residents was an especially urgent and difficult task for government. Tremendous popular animus was directed towards persons in Canada who were born in Germany and the Austro-Hungarian Empire, large numbers of whom had migrated to Canada in the preceding decades. In the 1911 census, more than one in ten Canadian residents had been born outside the country, including nearly 393,320 in Germany and 129,103 in the territories of Austro-Hungary.¹³ The constitutional status of these residents was complicated. While many were naturalized Canadians, the British government did not recognize their naturalization and considered them to be subjects of belligerent enemy governments. As

¹² Patricia Peppin, “Emergency Legislation and Rights in Canada: The War Measures Act and Civil Liberties,” *Queen’s Law Journal* 18 (1993), 131-134. See also Jeff Keshen, *Propaganda and Censorship during Canada’s Great War* (Edmonton, AB: University of Alberta Press, 1996).

¹³ James R. Carruthers, “The Great War and Canada’s Enemy Alien Policy,” *Queen’s Law Journal* 4 (1978), 50; Desmond Morton, “Sir William Otter and Internment Operations in Canada during the First World War,” *Canadian Historical Review* 55:1 (1974), 32.

its international relations were subsumed in the country's status as a British Dominion in this period, Canada considered them to be enemy aliens as well. This situation was exacerbated by the fact that the German and Austro-Hungarian governments did not recognize naturalization either, requiring both allegiance and military service from those born within their borders but living overseas. These facts created very real dilemmas for many migrants Canada: Eithel Fritz Vidal of Denmark, Nova Scotia, for example, signed the parole document offered by his local registrar. Concerned about his continuing obligation to serve Germany, he wrote to the German consul in New York for clarification. This act was sufficient to result in his internment at the Citadel.¹⁴ Whatever the personal views of foreign-born Canadian residents, their officially divided constitutional status made their loyalties suspect by definition.¹⁵

At the beginning of the war, the federal government announced that persons born in enemy nations could remain in Canada unmolested as long as they did not engage in hostile acts; at the same time, enemy reservists (a very broad category, given that both Germany and the Austro-Hungarian Empire implemented mass conscription prior to the war) were prohibited from leaving the country. On October 28, 1914, the government instituted a policy of registration for enemy aliens. Under the system mandated by this policy, individuals were given the opportunity to sign an undertaking—a parole document—requiring them to report to authorities at regular intervals and to remain

¹⁴ LAC, RG24, vol. 4542, file 73-1-15, Interrogation Typescript, Eithel Fritz Vidal, 18 December 1914; LAC, RG24, vol. 4542, file 73-1-15, F.I.O. Halifax, to G.S.O. Military District 6, Internments-Prisoners of War," 7 December 1914.

¹⁵ For a thorough discussion of the ambiguous status of enemy aliens resident in Canada during the First World War, see James Farney and Bohdan S. Kordan, "The Predicament of Belonging: The Status of Enemy Aliens in Canada, 1914," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 39:1 (2005), 74-89.

strictly neutral. Failure to observe the terms of parole would result in internment.¹⁶ Registrars (who were often subject to xenophobic pressure from local populations) were empowered to determine who would be interned. Failure to report monthly was grounds for internment, as was unemployment. Enemy aliens who attempted to leave the country were interned, as were those found assisting enemy forces in any way. The vast majority of these domestic internees posed no threat to Canada and its war effort, a fact recognized more acutely by internment authorities than by the Canadian population in general: in many cases, internment was undertaken to protect enemy aliens from the excessive patriotic zeal of native-born Canadians. By 1916, most enemy alien internees resident in Canada prior to the outbreak of war were released on parole, and were working in the domestic wartime economy.¹⁷

Canada, unlike most nations during the First World War, treated domestic enemy aliens and foreign prisoners of war in the same way. Most nations observed a distinction between civilian enemy aliens resident in their territory and foreign-born residents who were enrolled in armed forces reserves, or who were members of the merchant marine of enemy states (both categories being considered combatants under international law). Reservists and merchant mariners were treated as prisoners of war and were held under military discipline. Civilian enemy aliens were subject to restriction on civil liberties, including internment, but were not generally placed under military discipline. In Canada, however, the two categories of internees received identical treatment and were housed in the same facilities (including the Halifax Citadel) under identical regulations, primarily

¹⁶ Desmond Morton, "Sir William Otter and Internment Operations in Canada during the First World War," *Canadian Historical Review* 55:1 (1974), 35.

¹⁷ Patricia Peppin, "Emergency Legislation and Rights in Canada: The War Measures Act and Civil Liberties," *Queen's Law Journal* 18 (1993), 143-144.

those mandated by international law under the Hague Convention of 1907.¹⁸ As a result, internment facilities like the Citadel housed a remarkably diverse range of detainees, from long-term local residents to active-duty enemy military personnel captured during the course of combat operations. In practice, Citadel internees fell into one of three categories: foreign-born Canadian residents interned by local registrars, German (and, in smaller numbers, Austro-Hungarian) mariners and military reservists, and foreign-born members of the Canadian Expeditionary Force discharged as “undesirable” and returned to Canada for internment.

Citadel Internees: A Statistical Overview

All internees who arrived at Halifax without accompanying identification were brought before the Military District 6’s intelligence officer at the Citadel and interrogated. Each internee was asked a standard suite of questions intended to determine categorically their nationality, and to assess their involvement in martial activities and the degree of potential threat they represented to allied interests. Place of birth was the key means through which nationality and loyalty were determined. This was an imprecise process, as ethnicity and identity did not necessarily correspond to the geopolitical status of birthplace. This was especially so for Austro-Hungarian internees, nominal subjects of a large, multicultural empire whose identities were often determined primarily by ethnicity or local relationships. Internees were asked to detail their age, when they were last in enemy territory, their occupation, their travels overseas and in British possessions, their military service history and present military activities, and, for internees taken in

¹⁸ James R. Carruthers, “The Great War and Canada’s Enemy Alien Policy,” *Queen’s Law Journal* 4 (1978), 74-76; James Farney and Bohdan S. Kordan, “The Predicament of Belonging: The Status of Enemy Aliens in Canada, 1914,” *Journal of Canadian Studies* 39:1 (2005), 74-75.

transit, their intended destination. These were the facts deemed relevant elements of wartime identity.

Extant records allow the reconstruction of a broad overview of Halifax Citadel internment operations during the war, showing the number and types of internees held and how this changed over time during the Citadel camp’s two-year existence. The results of this breakdown reveal patterns that differ in important ways from the character of internment activities elsewhere in Canada during the war. Overall, internees in Canada were most often migrants or naturalized settlers born in the Austro-Hungarian Empire or in Germany, who were Canadian residents at the outbreak of war, and who were subsequently interned as enemy aliens.¹⁹ In Military District 6 internees were statistically more likely to be ethnic Germans resident in Germany itself, in Central or South America, or who were working at sea at the outbreak of war. Most were captured outside of Canada itself, often in the course of military operations, and interned as members of Germany’s armed forces reserve.

Nationality	Type		Disposition		
German	195	Taken at Sea	161	Amherst	231
Austro-Hungarian	25	Enemy Aliens	51	Escaped	13
Turkish	4	In Transit	26	Paroled	7
Other	29	Unknown	15	Unknown	2
Total	253	Total	253	Total	253

Table 1: Internees at Halifax, 1914-1916

¹⁹ James R. Carruthers, “The Great War and Canada’s Enemy Alien Policy,” *Queen’s Law Journal* 4 (1978), 44.

A total of 245 internees were held at the Halifax Citadel for varying lengths of time between 1 October 1914 and 3 October 1916.²⁰ Of these, 187 were of German nationality, 25 Austro-Hungarian, four Turkish (that is, derived from regions under the authority of the Ottoman Empire), three were from the United States, three Russians, one Swiss, one British subject, one Belgian, and one of mixed Swedish and Russian parentage. The national origins of 19 others cannot be determined from the extant records. The circumstances of Citadel detainees' arrests likewise diverge from the broader Canadian pattern: 154 internees were taken at sea by British Royal Navy forces and were transferred, sometimes after a period of detention in Newfoundland or the British West Indies, to Canadian jurisdiction. A much smaller number, 50 in total, were enemy aliens resident in Canada at the outbreak of war. A further 26 internees were removed from ships in Canadian ports while in transit; the circumstances of arrest for 15 other detainees cannot be determined. When, in October 1916, all internment operations in Military District 6 were shifted to Amherst, 80 internees remained at the Citadel to be transferred; these men joined 150 others who had been shifted from Halifax to Amherst in May 1915. Of the 245 total internees held at the Citadel, 231 were ultimately transferred to Amherst; five successfully escaped; seven were paroled; the fate of two more cannot be determined from extant sources.

While Citadel detainee records are partial, they preserve information sufficient to construct an overview of the number and character of internees present during three discrete periods in the camp's life: December 1914, late January 1915, and May 1915. Existence of this longitudinal data makes it possible to track the camp's demographic

²⁰ Eight internees who were interrogated by the Intelligence Officer, Military District 6, successfully escaped internment at Melville Island before its closure in January 1915, and so were never actually held at the Citadel.

change over time, a process characterized by a growing preponderance of German internees captured at sea by the British navy.²¹ The first roll of detainees dates from December 7, 1914 and records details for 85 men then confined at the Citadel. Of these, 43 were of German nationality; 20 Austro-Hungarian; four Turkish; three Russian; three from the United States; one Belgian; one Briton; and one of Swedish/Russian parentage. The nationality of nine additional internees cannot be determined from extant sources. At this time the demographic profile of Citadel internees resembled those in internment camps outside Military District 6 more closely than it would at any other point in the war. The largest single category of internees at this time was enemy aliens; 37 of 85 internees had been resident in Canada at the outbreak of the war. This included 23 volunteers serving overseas with the Canadian Expeditionary Force who were returned to Canada as “undesirable”, either because of their own provocative actions or because they were shunned by their fellow soldiers for assumed disloyalty. The next largest category of internees at this time was German merchant seamen and officers: 38 of these were interned at the Citadel in late November 1914, half having been removed from ships in local ports while in transit, and half taken at sea during Royal Navy operations. Citadel internees at this time were thus almost evenly divided between resident enemy aliens and prisoners of war captured at sea. It is useful to compare this to the composition of detainees then interned at Melville Island: there, 80 of 84 internees were of German

²¹ The November 1914 data represents the earliest full accounting of Citadel internee numbers; the late January numbers follow the closing of the Melville Island detention camp and the transfer of internees to the Citadel; the May 1915 data reflects the Citadel’s transformation into a camp for “First Class” internees only. Citadel internee numbers remain largely stable after this date. See LAC, RG24, vol. 4542, file 73-1-15, F.I.O. Halifax, to G.S.O. Military District 6, Internments-Prisoners of War,” 7 December 1914; RG24, vol. 4542, file 73-1-15, G.S.O. Military District 6, Halifax, to Chief Commissioner of Dominion Police, Ottawa, 17 May 1915; RG24, vol. 4542, file 73-1-15, G.S.O. Military District 6, Halifax, to Chief Commissioner of Dominion Police, Ottawa, 1 June 1915.

nationality, and only five were resident in Canada at the time of their arrest. The preponderance of these detainees, 75 in total, were captured at sea by naval forces.

In late January 1915, the demographic composition of internees changed permanently, as the Melville Island facility was closed and its remaining internees were transferred to the Citadel. Henceforth, Canadian-resident alien internees would represent a shrinking minority, as the Citadel increasingly became a facility devoted to the detention of German reservists and active-duty military personnel captured in the course of the Royal Navy blockade of Germany, and operations against armed merchant cruisers. Of 77 internees transferred to the Citadel, 72 were reservists captured at sea or seamen taken in transit. As a result, on January 25, 1915 the Citadel housed 161 internees, 130 of whom were captured somewhere in the Atlantic basin. Only 31 internees at this time were resident Canadian enemy aliens. The shift was strongly reinforced in early May 1915, when the Citadel was converted into a camp for “first class”, or officer internees only. This entailed the movement of 146 non-officer-class internees from the Citadel to Amherst, and their replacement by 64 German internees taken at sea from the ships *Kaiser Wilhelm de Grosse*, *Navarra*, *Bethania*, *Spreewald*, *Thor*, and *Loranzo*. By mid-May the Citadel housed a total of 80 first-class internees: 78 were of German nationality and two were Austro-Hungarian; all were reserve or active-duty officers; 78 had been taken at sea, one taken at a local port while in transit, and one had been resident in Canada at the outbreak of war. The Citadel population remained stable thereafter until the closing of the internment camp on October 3, 1916. During the first two years of the war, internment operations at the Halifax Citadel changed markedly in character. Initially characterized by a diverse population of international and resident

Canadian internees of various occupations and social backgrounds, by mid-1915 it housed military detainees of the officer class only. In doing so the Citadel had become, in effect, an adjunct to Royal Navy military operations in the Atlantic basin.

Profile of Internees at the Halifax Citadel

As the preceding analysis shows, a fundamental element of Canada's internment process in the First World War was the reduction of complex identities to the unambiguous administrative categories through which internment regulations were implemented. An example demonstrates how this distillation of identity took place at the Halifax Citadel internment station: in December 1914 an employee of a Halifax merchant firm, representing interested parties in London and New York, inquired after Citadel internee Andreas Fahr. Fahr had been born in Hamburg 28 years earlier and, like many of his contemporaries, left his home country to pursue economic opportunities overseas. For over ten years he had worked in the United States and in Central America, with a brief return to Europe to complete his mandatory military service. Fahr's friends sought to arrange bond and have him released, so that he could return home to Guatemala. This proved impossible. The response of Citadel internment officials demonstrates how complex identities formed by the processes of pre-war international exchange were simplified by wartime determinations of loyalty: "...this man, according to his own statement, is a German, was born in Hamburg, has served in the German Army, and at the present time is on the reserve. He is detained here as a prisoner of war, having been taken at sea..." For the purposes of internment operations, status as a prisoner of war was all

that mattered about Fahr.²² Behind the administrative categories, however, were lives lived, lives that reveal much about contemporary Canada and its relations to the broader world in the First World War period.

Biographies of the three broad categories of internees detained at the Halifax Citadel between 1914 and 1916—resident enemy aliens, mariners and reservists, and returned CEF members—offer a remarkable snapshot of a highly mobile, interconnected world suddenly disrupted by the outbreak of war. As is evident in the case of internee Eithel Fritz Vidal, the processes of migration and exchange that had characterized the preceding three decades of Canadian national life continued right up until the outbreak of war. Vidal's relatively brief tenure in Canada—he had arrived in Nova Scotia only in the spring of 1914—undoubtedly contributed to his uncertainty as to whom his loyalties were ultimately due. Some of those interned locally had lived remarkably cosmopolitan lives before settling down in the Maritime Provinces: 38-year-old Arthur Lauf [127]²³ had lived in Antwerp, New York, Montreal, and Mexico in the years after leaving Germany in 1903. By 1914, he had been living in Halifax for several years and was well integrated into the community: he had worked at retail shops in the city's downtown, for the *Chronicle* newspaper, for the Plant Line shipping company, and for two years he had served as an interpreter for the Immigration Department. Lauf's long residence in Canada did not protect him, however, from internment regulations that defined him as an enemy alien.²⁴ Others whose experience of life in Canada was less rooted felt compelled to make their allegiances explicit. Accordingly, some enemy alien residents confronted with the

²² LAC, RG24, vol. 4542, file 73-1-15, F.W. Bissett to Intelligence Officer, Halifax Fortress, 8 December 1914; LAC, RG24, vol. 4542, file 73-1-15, G.S.O. Military District 6, Halifax, to F.W. Bissett, Halifax, 23 December 1914.

²³ Internees' bureau numbers are given in square brackets in this report.

²⁴ LAC, RG24, vol. 4542, file 73-1-15, Interrogation Typescript, 28 October 1914.

opportunity to sign parole documents declined to do so. Yuri Szymko [143] was born in Galicia and completed his mandatory military service there; in the eighteenth months prior to August 1914 he had worked as a railway construction labourer in Canada. Presented with a parole undertaking at Saint John, New Brunswick, he refused to sign it and was transferred to Halifax, where he was interned at the Citadel on November 22, 1914.²⁵ Others, like German-born mariner Gustave Hartwig [68], eagerly sought Canadian naturalization to avoid military service in their countries of birth. Hartwig had left Germany seven years earlier, at age 15, and had spent much time in the United States and Canada. His willingness to embrace Canadian nationality was unavailing, however, in the face of internment regulations that defined him—in consequence of his maritime vocation—as an enemy combatant.²⁶ Still other foreign-born residents of Canada did sign parole documents and were subsequently interned, either when they were unable to find employment (a common circumstance, as nativist prejudice cut off many employment opportunities) or when they otherwise breached the terms of their undertakings.²⁷

A very large proportion of detainees held at the Halifax Citadel and in Military District 6 generally were German (and to a much lesser extent) Austrian men—army and naval reservists—captured at sea by the Royal Navy and brought to Halifax directly or from British possessions in the Caribbean and Newfoundland. This meant that the profile of many internees in the region differed markedly from the broader Canadian pattern.

²⁵ LAC, RG24, vol. 4542, file 73-1-15, Interrogation Typescript, 23 November 1914; RG24, vol. 4542, file 73-1-15, F.I.O. Halifax, to G.S.O. Military District 6, Internments-Prisoners of War,” 7 December 1914.

²⁶ LAC, RG24, vol. 4542, file 73-1-15, Interrogation Typescript, n.d., p.18.

²⁷ This seems to have been a frequent occurrence among itinerant miners: many arrived in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick seeking work in the mines, only to be denied employment on chauvinistic grounds. Subject to internment as a result of their unemployment, many sought to leave the region and thereby broke their parole. See, for example, the experiences of Antone Fransrek [123], George Corzac [182], and Franck Webber [183]; LAC, RG24, vol. 4542, file 73-1-15, Interrogation Typescript, 28 October 1914.; LAC, RG24, vol. 4542, file 73-1-15, Intelligence Officer, Halifax Fortress, “Statement of prisoners-of-war interned thru this office during last week,” 17 April 1915.

Most were detained as a result of military activity, specifically the British blockade of Germany and associated regulation of neutral shipping activities in the Atlantic. Many internees—merchant seamen and officers in particular—were highly skilled practitioners of disciplines directly relevant to Germany’s war effort, and so were treated as an acute threat to the naval preeminence upon which Britain’s military success in the First World War ultimately rested. Halifax internees included active-duty German military personnel, some captured in the course of military action against British interests.²⁸ Many overseas German nationals—even among those with long experience in the Americas—were patriotic and eager to serve their nation’s interests, and were in the act of returning to serve when detained. In consequence, a significant number of Halifax internees were trained and militant, with few connections to the local community. Whereas many people of German and Austro-Hungarian nationality were detained, at least in part, to protect them from the excessively zealous patriotism of the broader Canadian population, most in Halifax were detained to prevent them from actively joining in open warfare against Canada and the British Empire.

The least ambiguous internees at the Citadel, those who most aptly match the category “prisoner of war”, were active duty German naval personnel. Men such as George Bitter [41], Hermann Kuhn [45] and Karl Lehmjuhl [54], were crew members of SMS *Dresden*, a powerfully armed cruiser that, in the first year of the war, fought repeated battles with Royal Navy forces off the coasts of South America. Bitter, Kuhn, and Lehmjuhl were part of a shore party dispatched before the outbreak of war to protect

²⁸ Many of the German naval personnel interned in Halifax were taken in Royal Navy operations against German armed merchant cruisers in the Atlantic. For details of these actions, see John Walter, *The Kaiser’s Pirates: German Surface Raiders in World War One* (London: Arms and Armour Press, 1994); Paul Schmalenbach, *German Raiders: A History of Auxiliary Cruisers of the German Navy, 1895–1945* (Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 1979).

German assets in Mexico City during the Mexican Revolution; they were taken from the Spanish merchant ship *Montserrat* while travelling to resume active service.²⁹ Similarly, many of the internees brought to Halifax in May 1915 were crew members of the *Kaiser Wilhelm de Grosse*, a well-known German transatlantic liner converted into an armed merchant cruiser in August 1914. The ship successfully preyed on allied shipping before being destroyed off the western coast of Africa, where surviving crew were taken aboard HMS *Highflyer*. Merchant seamen taken under less dramatic circumstances were often trained naval reservists captured en route as they sought to report for duty. In peacetime, W.A. Basting [100] was second officer on Atlas Line ships working routes between Germany and the Americas; he was also a trained officer in the naval reserve whose skills were directly applicable to Germany's war effort.³⁰ In 1914, J.H. Miebach [89] had been working as a waiter in Argentina for three years; he was also a trained torpedoman whose skills were essential if Germany were to successfully challenge British naval hegemony.³¹ In Halifax itself, William Wegner [126] was employed on Water Street after a career in the coastwise shipping trades of Europe, North and South America; his two years' service as a naval signalman nevertheless made him a potentially dangerous man to leave at large.³²

Many of the reservists taken at sea and interned at Halifax were members of a global German diaspora, and their lives closely paralleled those of migrants long-established in Canada or the United States by 1914. They had families and property in their adopted countries in Central and South America, and often sustained only limited

²⁹ LAC, RG24, vol. 4542, file 73-1-15, Interrogation Typescript, n.d., pp. 9-10, 12.

³⁰ LAC, RG24, vol. 4542, file 73-1-15, Interrogation Typescript, n.d.

³¹ LAC, RG24, vol. 4542, file 73-1-15, Interrogation Typescript, n.d.

³² LAC, RG24, vol. 4542, file 73-1-15, Interrogation Typescript, 28 October 1914.

contacts with their nominal homeland. Karl Crampe [11] was born in Guatemala and lived most of his life there, working on coffee plantations.³³ Otto Kruger [22] had left Germany at age two and had lived in Mexico for over 20 years, working for a sugar company. He was forced to flee that country during the turmoil of its revolutionary struggles, during which rebels looted all his possessions, forcing him to leave without baggage or documentation.³⁴ Others were widely travelled cosmopolitans: Wilhelm Carnap [19] was a sales representative for a silk manufacturer whose travels took him to India, Java, China, Japan, and the United States; he was also a former lieutenant in an artillery regiment, interdicted while returning to join his unit.³⁵ E.A. Berndt [52] worked in the international hospitality industry in Mexico, Switzerland, France, Italy, including a stint at the Adelphi Hotel in Liverpool, England, before the Royal Navy interrupted his effort to enlist in the German armed forces.³⁶ Some, like Wally Velte [134], were young men with the ill-luck to be exploring the world at an inopportune time. After pursuing musical studies, Velte went to sea to explore the world, a decision that put him in the administrative category of enemy combatant when war broke out in Europe.³⁷ In the decades prior to 1914, tens of thousands of young men tracked the same course Velte had, taking advantage of a burgeoning global transportation network to become a member of an international maritime workforce; after 1914, such fluid passages across oceans and international boundaries were no longer possible.

The final broad category of internees held at the Halifax Citadel—members of the Canadian Expeditionary Force discharged and returned from overseas service—conveys

³³ LAC, RG24, vol. 4542, file 73-1-15, Interrogation Typescript, n.d., p. 3.

³⁴ LAC, RG24, vol. 4542, file 73-1-15, Interrogation Typescript, n.d., p. 6.

³⁵ LAC, RG24, vol. 4542, file 73-1-15, Interrogation Typescript, n.d., p. 5.

³⁶ LAC, RG24, vol. 4542, file 73-1-15, Interrogation Typescript, n.d., p. 12-13.

³⁷ LAC, RG24, vol. 4542, file 73-1-15, Interrogation Typescript, 21 November 1914.

the clearest picture of the fraught politics of loyalty that characterized life for foreign-born Canadian residents and citizens during the First World War. Like John Prigge, most of these men were migrants from Germany and the territories ruled by the Austro-Hungarian Empire, working in industry and agriculture in western Canada or the United States. Some joined the Canadian military for explicitly patriotic reasons. This was the case with Charles Korthals [148], who was born in Hamburg to English-born parents in 1896. Educated in England, Korthals worked as a clerk in London before taking up farming in Canada. He enlisted in the 9th Mississauga Horse Regiment and went overseas with the CEF's first contingent. Despite the fact that he was culturally British, unable to speak the German language, and a patriot, his birthplace and the fact that he had relatives in the German armed forces were sufficient to discredit him among his fellow soldiers and with his officers.³⁸ More common among CEF internees were migrants to western Canada like Thomas Duski [144] and Nicholas Derryk [146], who were put out of work by economic hard times and by native-born Canadians' unwillingness to employ enemy aliens, and who joined the armed forces to gain their sustenance.³⁹ Many of these men found their military experience untenable, as national and ethnic prejudices manifested in hazing and shunning. H. Czaajkowski [171], a Galician-born member of the CEF's 9th Battalion, reported to the Citadel's intelligence officer that he wanted "to return to Canada, as he feels quite miserable with the Canadians who do not treat him well."⁴⁰ The ill-treatment suffered by some CEF members helped turn them definitively against Canada and its war effort; German-American J. Barden [159], who had crossed the

³⁸ LAC, RG24, vol. 4542, file 73-1-15, Interrogation Typescript, 7 December 1914.

³⁹ LAC, RG24 vol. 4542, file 73-1-15, "Additional Information re. Nos. 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 152 and 155," n.d.

⁴⁰ LAC, RG24, vol. 4542, file 73-1-15, "Information concerning 14 undesirable aliens interned on 14th instant—received from Headquarters, Ottawa," 19 February 1915.

border to enlist, told his interrogator that “he does not like soldiering, and hopes the Canadian Forces will get smashed up...”⁴¹ Finally, some CEF internees at the Halifax Citadel were not necessarily enemy aliens at all, but were sent home as potentially subversive elements. It seems that several of these were, like Prigge, involved in radical political activities; their exclusion from the CEF prefigures the Canadian government’s post-war efforts to suppress radical political thought and action.⁴²

⁴¹ LAC, RG24, vol. 4542, file 73-1-15, “Information concerning 14 undesirable aliens interned on 14th instant—received from Headquarters, Ottawa,” 19 February 1915.

⁴² LAC, RG24, vol. 4542, file 73-1-15, “Information concerning 14 undesirable aliens interned on 14th instant—received from Headquarters, Ottawa,” 19 February 1915. On Canada’s post-war treatment of political radicalism, see Barbara Roberts, “Shovelling Out the ‘Mutinous:’ Political Deportation from Canada before 1936,” *Labour/Le Travail* 18 (1986), 77-110.

Experience of Internment at the Halifax Citadel

Facilities

The physical structure of the Halifax Citadel, and in particular the relatively small area of the complex used for internee operations, comprised almost the entirety of the prisoners' world and conditioned their experience of life in captivity, in some cases for a period of two full years. Because the Citadel remained an active military facility for the duration of the war, exclusive of its internment functions, prisoners' freedom of movement was constrained in ways that had no real parallel in Canadian internment operations generally. Halifax was directly involved in the prosecution of the war in a way unmatched by any other Canadian city: in addition to serving as headquarters for military operations in the Maritime Provinces, the Citadel was a key element of a defensive complex charged with securing Canadian and British imperial interests in the northwestern Atlantic region. Halifax became an important station for the Royal Navy's operations in the Atlantic, and an important transshipment point for military personnel and material heading for the European battlefield. The Citadel maintained an important signal station. The city was designated a "defended harbour", a crucial locale afforded extraordinary protections under the War Measures Act.⁴³ Military and civil authorities and the public in general were alert to the possibility of sabotage and covert attack. Sites across the Halifax region—dams, bridges, power stations—were placed under armed guard. Derelict fortifications were reactivated and rearmed. Artillery units kept guns ready for immediate

⁴³ Patricia Peppin, "Emergency Legislation and Rights in Canada: The War Measures Act and Civil Liberties," *Queen's Law Journal* 18 (1993), 135.

use. Sentries patrolled with full magazines and with orders to use deadly force if necessary.⁴⁴

Accordingly, military personnel warned of the Citadel's unsuitability for use as an internment station, fearing both offensive activities by internees and the possibility of military personnel being misidentified as escaping prisoners and shot.⁴⁵ Soon after internment operations began at the Citadel on October 1, 1914, measures were taken to ensure prisoners' confinement was made as secure as possible. Casemates used for internment—in the northeast salient and, from January 1915, the Cavalier Block—were enclosed in barbed wire and illuminated with electric lights.⁴⁶ During the first half of 1915, internment space was consolidated in Cavalier Block, which was taken over entirely for internee accommodation.⁴⁷ Following the transfer of second-class prisoners to Amherst in May 1915, changes were made to prepare the Cavalier for occupation as an officers-only facility. Sanitary facilities were prepared; floors, doors, and windows repaired; shelves and cupboards constructed; electrical lighting installed; the barbed wire enclosure at the east side of the block was enlarged; windows were barred and alarm bells installed.⁴⁸ Seven casemates in the block were prepared to accommodate 11 officers each, and additional furniture was added to provide officers a degree of material comfort.⁴⁹ At

⁴⁴ Brenda Dunn, *The Halifax Citadel, 1906-51: The Canadian Period* (Ottawa, ON: Parks Canada, 1977), 2; M. Stewart, Hunt, *Nova Scotia's Part in the Great War* (Halifax, NS: Nova Scotia Veteran Publishing, 1920), 243-244.

⁴⁵ RG24 vol. 4543, file 73-2-1, C.R.C.A., Halifax, to D.A.A. and Q.M.G., Halifax Fortress, "German Prisoners in Citadel," 1 October 1914.

⁴⁶ RG24 vol. 4543, file 73-2-1, C.R.C.A., Halifax, to D.A.A. and Q.M.G., Halifax Fortress, "German Prisoners in Citadel," 1 October 1914, pencilled note

⁴⁷ RG24 vol. 4543, file 73-2-1, D.A.A. and Q.M.G., Halifax Fortress, to C.R.C.A., Halifax, 12 February 1915.

⁴⁸ RG24 vol. 4543, file 73-2-1, G.S.O. Military District 6, Halifax, to G.O.C. Internment Operations, Ottawa, "Buildings occupied by Prisoners of War, Halifax N.S. Incidental Repairs to," 27 July 1915.

⁴⁹ RG24 vol. 4543, file 73-2-1, "Cavalier Block, Present Occupation," nd; RG24 vol. 4543, file 73-2-1, A.A.G. Military District 6, Halifax, to C.R.C.E, Halifax, "Accommodation. Officer Prisoners. Citadel," 30 April 1915.

the same time, changes were made to the disciplinary regime to reflect officer internees' status: sleeping room doors, for example, would no longer be locked at night.⁵⁰ Despite these material improvements, internment facilities at the Citadel remained compact and strictly isolated from the broader life of the fortress and the city that surrounded it; this had important implications for prisoners' experience of internment.

Order and Discipline

The lives of Citadel internees, including both military personnel taken at sea and enemy aliens resident in Canada, were subject to strict regulation as outlined in the 1907 Hague Convention provisions for the treatment of prisoners of war. All internees were under military discipline, subject to the same regulations as were enemy combatants taken in the course of active operations.⁵¹ In practice, internment regulations combined Hague Convention rules with Canadian military practice, as outlined in the Royal Warrant of August 3, 1914, "Maintenance of Discipline among Prisoners of War."⁵² Internees were required to follow both written regulations and verbal orders; disobedience was subject to punishment, including the use of force. Escape would be prevented with lethal violence, and internees caught in the attempt were subject to stringent disciplinary measures. Prison routines were structured on a military model. Internees were organized into companies and messes under "captains" who were designated to communicate officially with prison authorities. Quarters were cleaned and inspected daily. Days were strictly structured between reveille and lights out: prisoners were allowed out of their sleeping

⁵⁰ RG24 vol. 4543, file 73-2-1, O.C. Internment Station, Halifax Fortress, to A.A.G. Military District 6, Halifax, "Prisoners-of-War. Privileges," 5 June 1915.

⁵¹ William Otter, *Internment Operations 1914-1920* (Ottawa, ON: Thomas Mulvey, 1921), 7.

⁵² RG24, vol. 4541, file 73-1-3, "Maintenance of Discipline among Prisoners of War. Abstracts from Royal Warrant of August 3rd 1914 and Subsequent Amendments," n.d. The following account of routines at the Halifax Citadel Internment Station draws heavily on this document.

rooms from 9 a.m. to noon and 2 to 5 p.m. daily; thereafter they were locked in for the night (a practice that was changed when the Citadel became an officers-only facility). Prisoners paraded and roll was called at least twice daily; rooms were checked and prisoners counted at random intervals. All movement was monitored by armed guards who acted as sentries, who escorted internees movements outside the camp's wire enclosure, including to the latrines, who policed internees' speech, and who maintained order in domestic spaces. Internees' behaviour was subject to constant surveillance. Regulation of everyday life combined with conditions of close physical confinement to enhance prisoners' near-total isolation from the world around them.

Prisoners' communications and associations were strictly monitored: they were not permitted to speak with anyone other than fellow prisoners or military personnel without the explicit permission of internment authorities. Informal social relations between prisoners and guards were not permitted: communication between the two groups was limited to official matters only.⁵³ Internees' correspondence was limited to two outgoing letters per week, and could be reduced to one or to none as a punishment. Outgoing and incoming correspondence were both subject to censorship, and only "unobjectionable" material was forwarded. Objectionable items were forwarded to the Officer Commanding, Internment Operations, in Ottawa for further action. Internees who could write in English were required to do so; letters in languages other than English were limited to two pages. Non-English correspondence was subject to long delays, in part a result of the difficulty of finding and retaining local censors proficient in the

⁵³ RG24, vol. 4543, file 73-2-1, "Orders for the N.C.O. in Charge of the Guard at Citadel over Prisoners of War," n.d.

required languages.⁵⁴ The distinction between permitted and prohibited correspondence could be obvious—as when the United States Consul in Halifax, acting on behalf of the German government, sought to send photographs of the Emperor to the prison—but it was not always so clear.⁵⁵ Incoming parcels were watched especially closely, as they were means through which prohibited materials including money, weapons and tools applicable to escape attempts could be introduced into the station.⁵⁶ Reading material was made available at the discretion of the camp commander. Initially, all newspapers and other reports of contemporary world events were banned from internment facilities, further isolating prisoners from the world outside the Citadel’s walls. Eventually, limited access to British journals was permitted.

Infringements of internment regulations were subject to a range of punishments ordered by the prison commander or by the highest-ranking officers of Military District 6 or of national internment operations. Punishments were not arbitrarily executed: none could be carried out before the accused was presented with the evidence against him and was given the opportunity to offer a defense. Use of physical restraints was restricted to cases of “urgent necessity” and limited in duration to 24 hours. The effect of punishments was monitored by medical personnel. Solitary confinement in the Citadel guard room or detention cells at Melville Island was the most common punishment to which delinquent internees were sentenced. Except under exceptional circumstances internees could not be confined for more than 14 consecutive days. Restricted diet was the next-most-common

⁵⁴ LAC RG24, vol. 4541, file 73-1-3, G.O.C. Internment Operations, Ottawa, to O.C. Internment Station, Halifax Fortress, 19 March 1915.

⁵⁵ Censored communications preserved in the records of Military District 6 suggests that the most objectionable material described internment facilities and personnel in scathing, sometimes scatological, terms. Sometimes, objectionable material passed censors and was forwarded to its destination. For an example of this material, see LAC RG24, vol. 4543, file 73-2-11, Copy of translation, George H. Ehihorn to John Karl Kugel [83], n.d.

⁵⁶ William Otter, *Internment Operations 1914-1920* (Ottawa, ON: Thomas Mulvey, 1921), 12.

punishment. Punishment diets restricted the nutritional value and variety of permitted foodstuffs, most frequently by alternating days of regular fare with bread and water or with “stirabout”, a porridge of oatmeal, cornmeal, potatoes, and salt made deliberately bland for punitive effect.⁵⁷ Prisoners’ normal diet was required to be equivalent to that enjoyed by allied service members, and was generally ample and relatively varied; in conditions of close confinement with limited sensory stimulation, food was an important comfort for internees and its restriction could seriously affect their quality of life.⁵⁸

In theory internment regulations provided internees with the means to cultivate social activities to mitigate the boredom of confinement, but these proved difficult and often impossible to implement in the context of the Halifax Citadel’s intensely urban setting. Internees were permitted, for example, free exercise of religion to the extent that this was in conformity with local laws. They were officially permitted one outside visitor per month for a period of 15 minutes; these visits could be restricted to English-language communication only, and visiting privileges could be withdrawn altogether as a punitive measure. Given that by early May 1915 all but one of the Citadel internees were from outside Canada, it seems unlikely that visiting privileges were frequently exercised, and so this means of respite was probably of limited utility. Internees were, initially at least, permitted to engage in limited commercial exchange among themselves and with designated internment personnel. This was a welcome and necessary provision, as many internees taken at sea arrived in Halifax with few if any personal belongings. Commercial exchange was soon closely regulated, however, limited to a prescribed slate of goods and

⁵⁷ RG24, vol. 4541, file 73-1-3, “Maintenance of Discipline among Prisoners of War. Abstracts from Royal Warrant of August 3rd 1914 and Subsequent Amendments,” n.d.

⁵⁸ RG24, vol. 4541, file 73-1-3, Internment Operations Orders, Rations, 7 April 1915.

administered by internment officials.⁵⁹ Commercial exchange of this limited variety did little to relieve the austerity of internment.

The most important means through which the monotony of prison life could be relieved were recreation and work, opportunities for which proved difficult to provide at the Citadel. Internment regulations required that recreation facilities be established at all internment camps, and that small funds be made available to purchase sporting equipment and other material to facilitate prisoners' leisure.⁶⁰ Because of the Citadel internment camp's extreme compactness—from mid-1915, it was restricted to the Cavalier Block and a small, adjacent wire enclosure—and proximity to sensitive military facilities, internees struggled throughout the period of their confinement to secure adequate recreation facilities. Initial plans envisioned recreation grounds on the roof of the Cavalier building or on the Citadel's ramparts, but these were halted on security grounds. Access to high points in the Citadel would allow prisoners to observe the city and its military and transportation infrastructure, and might afford them opportunity to communicate with subversive elements outside the Citadel's walls. Because of these objections, prisoners' recreation was limited almost exclusively to gymnastic equipment installed inside the barbed-wire enclosure.⁶¹ While attempts were made to provide outside recreation under guard, in the form of sporting events on the Wanderers' Grounds or escorted "marching out" (prisoners' preferred recreational activity), security concerns and

⁵⁹ RG24, vol. 4543, file 73-2-1, D.A.A. and Q.M.G., Halifax Fortress, to Superintendent Detention Barracks, Halifax, 2 November 1914; RG24, vol. 4543, file 73-2-1, D.A.A. and Q.M.G., Halifax Fortress, to Superintendent Detention Barracks, Halifax, 6 November 1914.

⁶⁰ William Otter, *Internment Operations 1914-1920* (Ottawa, ON: Thomas Mulvey, 1921), p. 11.

⁶¹ RG24, vol. 4543, file 73-2-1, "Re. Cavalier Block, Prisoners of War, Citadel," n.d.; RG24, vol. 4543, file 73-2-1, G.O.C. Internment Operations, Ottawa, to G.S.O. Military District 6, Halifax, 19 July 1915; RG24, vol. 4543, file 73-2-1, O.C. Internment Station, Halifax Fortress, to D.A.A. and Q.M.G., Halifax Fortress, "Prisoners of War-Exercises," 22 July 1915.

a lack of guard personnel meant that these efforts were sporadic.⁶² In consequence, prisoners' lives were lived almost entirely within the confines of the Citadel itself, their range of vision never extending beyond a few hundred yards, stopped short by stone walls. Prisoners complained that living in this truncated physical environment damaged their eyesight. While medical investigation suggested that this was not in fact the case, internees suffered from psychological effects of this close confinement, and this fuelled their frustrations and resistance.⁶³ As the internees' chosen representative wrote to the Internment Station's commander in the wake of a failed escape attempt, a "spacious and attractive place, where sporting games can be made, where a man has a chance to get away from the crowd now and then, and where he does not continually look against high stone walls being fenced in a narrow dusty yard bare of any shadow, would perhaps be a less fertile soil for plans of that kind to ripen."⁶⁴

In the absence of adequate leisure and recreation, internees sought respite through work. Second-class prisoners could not be made to do work beyond that required for their own personal maintenance, while first-class prisoners continued to receive officers' pay and were not required to undertake additional employment. As the monotony of internment took hold, however, prisoners eagerly sought out additional work as diversion from the regimentation of life in military confinement. Although he was a multilingual,

⁶² RG24, vol. 4543, file 73-2-1, pt. 2, O.C. Internment Station, Halifax Fortress, to D.A.A. and Q.M.G., Halifax Fortress, 2 September 1915; RG24, vol. 4543, file 73-2-1, pt. 2, G.S.O. Military District 6, Halifax, to G.O.C. Internment Operations, Ottawa, "Prisoners-of-War—Recreation of," 25 September 1915; RG24, vol. 4543, file 73-2-1, pt. 2, G.O.C. Internment Operations, Ottawa, to G.S.O. Military District 6, Halifax, 12 November 1915; RG24, vol. 4543, file 73-2-1, pt. 2, O.C. Internment Station, Halifax Fortress, to D.A.A. and Q.M.G., Halifax Fortress, 25 September 1916. On the Wanderer's Grounds and their relation to the broader life of Halifax in this period, see Nancy Kimber MacDonald, "The Wanderers' Amateur Athletic Club of Halifax, 1882-1925: Its Contribution to Amateur Sport" (MA thesis, Dalhousie University, 1974).

⁶³ RG24, vol. 4543, file 73-2-1, pt. 2, O.C. Internment Station, Halifax Fortress, to D.A.A. and Q.M.G., Halifax Fortress, 15 September 1915.

⁶⁴ RG24, vol. 4543, file 73-2-15, O.C. Internment Station, Halifax Fortress, to G.S.O. Military District 6, Halifax, 11 August 1916.

highly trained metallurgical engineer, German internee Max Weirauch [38] preferred any kind of employment to the strain of prolonged idleness. He begged the intelligence officer “to get some work for me, because I cannot endure to be for more time without anything to do. I should gladly and without conditions accept the simplest work...”⁶⁵ For internees resident in Central and South America, the desire for work was given added urgency by the need to provide for families that had no other means of support.⁶⁶

Internment in the Citadel offered few opportunities for even the simplest and least remunerative forms of work. Local internment authorities developed plans to put internees to work (at allied soldiers’ rates, as was required under Hague Convention rules) constructing recreation grounds and improving road access to the Citadel. These plans were interrupted by the transfer of second-class prisoners to Amherst in early May 1915.⁶⁷ In the following month, representatives of the Nova Scotia Automobile Association contacted the Commanding Officer of Military District 6 with a proposal to have internees improve roads in the Halifax area, citing similar work then being done by internees in Ontario. The commander responded that the head of Internment Operations, Sir William Otter, was then in discussion with the Nova Scotia premier to undertake such work in the Amherst area, but that similar activities in Halifax were impossible given the difficulty and expense of mounting sufficient guard over parties working in a region

⁶⁵ RG24, vol. 4541, file 73-1-6, Max Wierauch [38], to Intelligence Officer, Halifax Fortress, 23 November 1914.

⁶⁶ RG24, vol. 4543, file 73-2-1, Frank Schmidt [36], to Intelligence Officer, Halifax Fortress, 15 November 1914.

⁶⁷ RG24, vol. 4541, file 73-1-6, “Estimates for work to recreation grounds, roads to Citadel, and promenade,” 20 March 1915; RG24, vol. 4541, file 73-1-6, G.S.O. Military District 6, Halifax, to G.O.C. Internment Operations, Ottawa, 10 March 1915; RG24, vol. 4541, file 73-1-6, G.S.O. Military District 6, manuscript note, 15 March 1915.

where virtually all roads bordered on dense forests.⁶⁸ Work for Citadel internees ultimately proved too expensive and difficult for local military authorities to secure.

Resistance and Escapes

Prisoners' frustrations with the closeness of their confinement and with enforced idleness manifested in declining mental health, in incidents of violence, and in repeated efforts to escape internment. Internees sometimes struck out against the narrowness of their surroundings, as was the case with Galician-born CEF returnee Yuri Szymko [143] who, after repeated instances of disorderly conduct, attacked a sentry and put his arm through a window at the Citadel on December 14, 1914. Confined to the guard room, he remained violent, damaging his cell before being committed to military hospital with a diagnosis of "acute mania."⁶⁹ At times, simmering resentments among internees threatened to break into violence, as when disagreements between resident alien internees and military prisoners of war held in detention barracks resulted in "constant bickering" and the threat of open conflict. Internment authorities' response in this instance was to identify the ringleaders and transport them to Amherst.⁷⁰

The most extreme and persistent resistance to internment took the form of escape. Escapes and escape attempts were a regular feature of internment operations from the autumn of 1914 until the end of the war. Already in October 1914, ten prisoners escaped internment at Melville Island, most evading recapture. At the Citadel, there were five

⁶⁸ RG24, vol. 4541, file 73-1-6, Ralph P. Bell to A.A.G. Military District 6, Halifax, 30 June 1915; RG24, vol. 4541, file 73-1-6, A.A.G. Military District 6, Halifax, to Ralph P. Bell, "Employ—Prisoners of War," 2 July 1915; RG24, vol. 4541, file 73-1-6, O.C. Internment Station, Halifax Fortress, to A.A.G. Military District 6, 15 July 1915.

⁶⁹ RG24, vol. 4542, file 73-1-15, Sgt. G.W. Hutchinson, Citadel, Halifax, "J. Szymko, Prisoner of War," 14 December 1914.

⁷⁰ RG24, vol. 4543, file 73-2-1 pt. 2, A.A.G. & Q.M.G., Halifax, to Superintendent, Detention Barracks, Halifax, 18 August 1915.

separate escapes or escape attempts between January 1915 and August 1916. The character of these attempts demonstrates the extreme ingenuity that resulted from long periods of captivity and under-stimulation. On April 30, 1915, German internee Hans Neu [42] put on a pair of blue overalls, dirtied his face, shouldered a length of pipe and walked past sentries, out of the internment enclosure and into the city. He was recaptured at the city's train station the same evening. The sentries on duty were summarily disciplined after admitting their ignorance of internment regulations.⁷¹ On the evening of January 25, 1915, a shortage of personnel meant that only one sentry, rather than the usual two, was posted outside the Cavalier Block. Nine internees took advantage of this to effect an escape that they had long planned. Using a file fashioned from a broken table knife, they cut through window bars at the building's then-unguarded west side, and passed through the ditch with a ladder made from a smuggled rope and clothes hooks. Internment authorities learned of the escape when Halifax city police called to say that they had recaptured two of the absconding prisoners. Two more were taken later, but five internees—four Germans and one Austro-Hungarian reservist—successfully eluded recapture and presumably left the region. This escape was attributed to inadequate sentries being posted and to laxness in counting prisoners; changes to guards' routines were instituted in response.⁷²

Two similar escapes were attempted in the following year. On February 18, 1916, three German naval reservist internees, carrying cash and extra clothes, cut the wire of the Cavalier Block enclosure, climbed the ramparts, and dropped into the ditch. They

⁷¹ RG24, vol. 4543, file 73-2-15, "Court of Inquiry assembled at the Citadel on the 1st of May 1915[...]for the purpose of investigation and reporting upon[...]Escape of Prisoner of War from Detention Barracks, Citadel," 1 May 1915.

⁷² RG24, vol. 4542, file 73-1-27, G.S.O. Military District 6, Halifax, to Chief Commissioner of Dominion Police, Ottawa, 29 January 1915.

remained there for several hours evading sentries' gaze; one managed to get out and descend into the city, heading to the north-end train station. Missing his train, he returned to the Citadel to find that his compatriots had been discovered in the ditch that same evening. No culpability was assigned in this incident, but authorities recommended that the number of gates in the enclosure be reduced from two to one, that the number of sentries posted at the rear of the Cavalier Block (instituted after the January 1915 escape) be increased to two, and that roll calls be taken more frequently. At 3 a.m. on July 22 of the same year, German naval reservist Adolf Peters [220] crawled under the wire of the enclosure, entered the ditch with the assistance of a clothesline, and exited it via the Citadel's main gate bridge. Peters searched the waterfront for a neutral ship on which to leave the province; failing this, he boarded a train for Digby before being apprehended by customs authorities at Yarmouth as he attempted to board a ship bound for Boston.

The final and most ambitious attempt to escape from the internment barracks was disrupted on August 7, 1916 when guards found three men digging in a ten-foot-long, westward-sloping tunnel concealed by a bed in room 9 of the Cavalier Block. Work on the tunnel had gone on undetected for a week or ten days; internees had used their stove equipment as shovels and a picks. A system of knocks alerted diggers to the presence of guards. Statements endorsed by the internees stated that virtually all of the prisoners were aware of the digging and approved of it, and that at least half of them had actively worked on the tunnel. They accordingly asked that the three men caught in the tunnel not be singled out for punishment. Internment authorities apparently agreed with this assessment, and imposed the collective punishment of suspending internee activities

outside the prison enclosure.⁷³ Conditions of close confinement helped to foster a collective sense of resistance among internees, but their actions ultimately made the experience of internment even more constrained.

By the autumn of 1916, national internment operations had undergone a process of consolidation: the majority of interned enemy aliens were granted parole and went to work in agricultural and industrial employment in support of Canada's burgeoning wartime economy. The number of camps nationwide was reduced from 24 to four. In Military District 6, the Amherst internment station was enlarged to accommodate growing numbers of German prisoners of war captured at sea. As part of the enlargement, cottages were built to house first-class prisoners; on October 3 the remaining 88 officer internees were transferred to Amherst, formally bringing First World War internment operations at the Halifax Citadel to an end.⁷⁴

⁷³ RG24, vol. 4543, file 73-2-15, O.C. Internment Station, Halifax Fortress, to G.S.O. Military District 6, Halifax, 11 August 1916; RG24, vol. 4543, file 73-2-15, Internee petition to O.C. Internment Station, Halifax Fortress, 8 August 1916.

⁷⁴ "Internments in the Maritimes during the First World War at the Halifax Citadel, Melville Island, and Amherst," Manuscript Report, Parks Canada, n.d., pp. 10-11.

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Appendix 1: Internees at Halifax, 1914-1916

The following abbreviations are used in this appendix: A—Amherst internment station; C—Halifax Citadel internment station; E—escaped; M—Melville Island internment station; R—released. For source information and analysis, see pages 12 to 17 of this report.

Name	Number	Nationality	Age	Type	07.12.1914	25.01.1915	06.05.1915
Henle, Sigfried	1	German	37	army reserve	C	R	R
Kunkel, Richard	2	German	27	army reserve	M	C	C
Schultze, Paul	3	German	46/47	army reserve	C	C	C
Schuppius, Carlos	4	German	29	navy officer	C	C	C
Roth, Hans	5	Austro-Hungarian	30	army officer	C	C	C
Crouskey, Grossfried Dam	6	Austro-Hungarian	25/26	army officer	C	C	C
Mertens, Bodo	7	German	31	army reserve	C	C	C
Schubert, Frederick Wilhelm	8	German	24	army reserve	M	C	A
Iranyi, Rudolf	9	Austro-Hungarian	21	army reserve	M	C	A
Bernsdorf, Christian Conde de	10	German	24	army reserve	M	E	E
Crampe, Carlos	11	German	32	army reserve	M	C	C
Gartner, Sigfried	12	German	26	army reserve	M	C	A
Schlamme, Lothar	13	German	20	army reserve	M	C	A
Kleinwort, Georg	14	German	23	army reserve	M	C	A
Pjeiffer, Robert	15	German	23	navy active	M	C	A
Hohman, Max	16	German	35	army reserve	C	C	A
Zimmerman, Reinhold	17	German	43	army reserve	C	C	A
Biesterfoldt, Henry	18	German	34	army reserve	C	C	A
Carnap, Wilhelm	19	German	26	army officer	C	C	C
Richter, Gustav Adolf	20	German	24	navy reserve	M	C	A

Name	Number	Nationality	Age	Type	07.12.1914	25.01.1915	06.05.1915
Reinecke, Carl Heinrich	21	German	25	army reserve	M	C	A
Kruger, Otto	22	German	24	army reserve	M	C	A
Besthorn, Hans [Schuppius, Carlos]	23	German	21	army reserve	C	C	C
Sauerbrey, Otto	24	German	26/27	army reserve	M	C	A
Matter, Juan [Sporhn, Adolf]	25	German	32	army reserve	M	C	A
Fischer, Ludwig	26	German	30	army reserve	M	C	A
Frank, Paul Richard	27	German	28	army reserve	M	C	A
Reinecke, Paul	28	German	24	army reserve	M	C	A
Sohlstermund, Hans	29	German	25	army reserve	M	E	E
Kirschning, Paul	30	German	21	army reserve	M	C	A
Niehus, Freidrich	31	German	21	army reserve	M	C	unknown
Iden, Peter [Eden, Peter]	32	German	30	army reserve	C	C	A
Hennies, Herman Ferdinand	33	German	23	army reserve	C	unknown	unknown
Griepinkerl, Wilhelm	34	German	26	army reserve	M	C	A
Moll, Adolf	35	German	33	army reserve	M	C	A
Schmidt, Frank	36	German	41	army reserve	C	C	E
Honicka, Rudolf	37	German	23	army reserve	M	C	A
Weirauch, Maximilian	38	German	35	army reserve	M	C	A
Schliephake, Hermann	39	German	25	army reserve	M	C	A
Schier, Oscar	40	German	21/22	army reserve	C	C	A
Bitter, Georg	41	German	22	navy active	M	C	A
Neu, Hans	42	German	29	army officer	M	C	A
Hagall, George	43	German	28/29	army reserve	M	E	E
Gussmann, Hieronymus	44	German	27	navy active	M	C	A
Kuhn, Hermann	45	German	22	navy active	M	C	A
Foerster, Julian	46	German	27	army reserve	M	C	A
Danckwerts, Herman	47	German	31	army reserve	M	C	A
Gerke, J.H.	48	German	22/23	army reserve	C	C	C

Name	Number	Nationality	Age	Type	07.12.1914	25.01.1915	06.05.1915
Brandenburg, Juan	49	German	26	army reserve	M	C	A
Munchmeyer, Roberto	50	German	37	army reserve	M	C	A
Krische, Walher	51	German	24	army reserve	M	C	A
Berndt, E.A.	52	German	34	army reserve	C	C	A
Biedhardt, Arno	53	German	31	army reserve	M	C	A
Lehmjuhl, Karl	54	German	28	navy active	M	C	A
Lehr, Richard	55	German	27	army reserve	M	C	A
Eder, Paul	56	German	21	army reserve	M	C	A
Tenscher, Wilhelm	57	German	24	army reserve	M	C	A
Fahr, Juan A.	58	German	28	army reserve	M	C	C
Griesinger, Augustin	59	German	25/26	army reserve	C	C	A
Kuhuek, Ernst [Johannssen, Ernst]	60	German	23	army reserve	M	C	A
Alves, Gustave	61	German	24	army reserve	M	C	A
Schultz, Walter	62	German	25	army reserve	M	C	A
Schwartz, Euward	63	German	28	navy reserve	M	C	A
Burkard, Johannes	64	German	30	army reserve	M	C	A
Timn, Adolph	65	German	36	army reserve	M	C	A
Kormendy, Alex	66	Austro-Hungarian	24	army reserve*	M	C	A
End, Karl	67	German	41	army reserve*	M	C	A
Hartwig, Gustave	68	German	22	army reserve*	M	unknown	unknown
Alexander, Peter [Aritzanuk, Petro]	69	Austro-Hungarian	33	army reserve*	M	C	A
Petzold, Alfred	70	German	35	navy reserve	M	C	A
Martin, Freuce [Boy, Hans]	71	German	23	army reserve	M	C	A
Mechlenburg, Karl	72	German	26	army reserve	M	C	A
Kuhuel, Hubert	73	German	28	army reserve	M	C	A
Fricke, Friedrich	74	German	28	army reserve	M	C	C
Byl, Frierich	75	German	25	navy reserve	M	C	C

Name	Number	Nationality	Age	Type	07.12.1914	25.01.1915	06.05.1915
Borchert, E.W.H.	76	German	21	navy reserve	M	C	A
Stock, Carl William	77	German	21	navy reserve	M	C	A
Schroder, Wilhelm	78	German	21	navy reserve	M	C	A
Likaitis, Johann	79	German	32	navy reserve	M	C	A
Brandtsnedter, Fritz	80	German	20	navy reserve	M	C	A
Federowski, Walther Otto	81	German	27	navy reserve	M	C	A
Reidmuller, August	82	German	29	navy reserve	M	C	A
Kugel, John Karl	83	German	20	navy reserve	M	C	A
Cichan, M.	84	German	22/23	navy reserve	M	E	E
Ueckerman, Ernst Louis Karl	85	German	27	navy reserve	M	C	A
Barzel, Franz	86	German	29	navy reserve	M	C	A
Jackert, F.A.R.	87	German	23/24	navy reserve	M	E	E
Matthiesen, Gregers	88	German	21	navy reserve	M	C	A
Miebach, J.H.	89	German	24/25	navy reserve	M	E	E
Bauernfiend, Fritz	90	German	21	army reserve	M	C	A
Vogt, August	91	German	29	navy reserve	M	C	A
Kemper, Paul Christoph	92	German	34	army reserve	M	C	A
Pohl, Friedrich	93	German	24	navy reserve	M	C	A
Schopf, Friedrich	94	German	31	army reserve	M	C	A
Schwenke, P. [Schubert, F.C.]	95	German	27/28	army reserve	M	E	E
Wehling, John	96	German	25	army reserve	M	C	A
Freese, Wilhelm	97	German	32	navy reserve	M	C	A
Thielecke, Friedrich Wilhelm	98	German	26	army reserve	M	C	A
Blum, Otto Karl	99	German	25	army reserve	M	C	A
Basting, W.A.	100	German	26/27	navy officer	C	C	C
Miksitz, Casfear	101	Austro-Hungarian	25	army reserve*	M	C	A
Schreiter, Gustave	102	German	35	army reserve*	M	C	A
Harang, Paul	103	German	33	army reserve*	M	C	A
Hinnimill, William	104	German	38/39	navy reserve	R	R	R

Name	Number	Nationality	Age	Type	07.12.1914	25.01.1915	06.05.1915
Lembeke, Otto	105	German	18/19	army reserve	R	R	R
Schimmelman, Count Ernest	106	German	unknown	army reserve*	C	C	C
Gortz, Fritz	107	German	24/25	army reserve	C	C	A
Burgando, Anton	108	Austro-Hungarian	27/28	army reserve	C	C	R
Gertmeyer, Rudolf	109	German	23	army reserve	C	C	A
Weller, Otto	110	German	20/21	army reserve	C	C	A
Tofan, Peter	111	Austro-Hungarian	38	army reserve*	C	C	A
Hill, Charles	112	German	32	army reserve*	M	C	A
Psaila, Luigi	113	British	30	army reserve*	C	C	R
Danchuk, Metro	114	unknown	unknown	unknown	C	C	A
Mullar, Thomas	115	unknown	unknown	unknown	C	C	A
Katheneny, Henry	116	unknown	unknown	unknown	C	C	A
Ealmen, Otto	117	unknown	unknown	unknown	C	C	A
Peiper, Kerney	118	unknown	unknown	unknown	C	C	A
Vogt, Albert	119	unknown	unknown	unknown	C	C	A
Bergner, Gustav	120	unknown	unknown	unknown	C	C	A
Klumbus, Michael	121	unknown	unknown	unknown	C	C	A
Kroll, Wielen	122	unknown	unknown	unknown	C	C	A
Fransrek, Antone	123	Austro-Hungarian	48	army reserve*	C	C	A
Fransrek, Vladislow	124	Austro-Hungarian	16	army reserve	C	C	A
Kach, Petro	125	Austro-Hungarian	54	army reserve	C	C	A
Wegner, William M.	126	German	21	navy reserve*	C	E	E
Lauf, Arthur	127	German	38	navy reserve*	C	C	A
Blackhill, Robert W. [Schwermberg]	128	German	25	army reserve*	C	E	E
Knigge, Christian	129	German	16	army reserve	C	C	A
Petroltdt, Willie	130	German	17/18	army reserve	C	C	A
Bernhardt, Carl [Bernhardt, Paul]	131	German	26	navy reserve	C	C	C

Name	Number	Nationality	Age	Type	07.12.1914	25.01.1915	06.05.1915
Trede, Hans	132	German	42/43	navy reserve*	C	C	A
Buergumester, August	133	German	31/32	navy local	C	C	A
Velte, Wally	134	German	18/19	navy reserve	C	C	A
Nolan, Frank	135	German	24/25	navy reserve	C	C	A
Thomas, Charles	136	German	18	navy reserve	C	C	A
Gurnous, Alexander	137	German	17/18	navy reserve	C	C	A
Christle, Joseph	138	Austro-Hungarian	unknown	navy reserve	C	C	A
Giesler, Albert	139	German	47/48	navy reserve*	C	C	A
Andreass, Ludrick	140	German	20	navy reserve*	C	E	E
Maruchich, John	141	Austro-Hungarian	29/30	army reserve*	C	E	E
Rodje, Antone	142	Austro-Hungarian	19/20	army reserve*	C	C	A
Szymko, Yuri	143	Austro-Hungarian	27/28	army reserve*	C	C	A
Duski, Thomas	144	Austro-Hungarian	22	CEF	C	C	A
Prigge, John	145	German	24	CEF	C	C	A
Derryk, Nicholas	146	Austro-Hungarian	27	CEF	C	C	A
Berecki, Harry	147	Austro-Hungarian	22	CEF	C	C	A
Korthals, Charles	148	German	17/18	CEF	C	C	A
Burski, James [Broski, James]	149	Austro-Hungarian	21	CEF	C	C	A
August, Joe	150	German	19	CEF	C	C	A
Andrew, Peter [Andryzow, Andru]	151	Austro-Hungarian	45	army reserve*	C	C	A
Poragski, Joseph [Tabinski, T.]	152	Austro-Hungarian	26	CEF	C	C	R
Mometh, Valli	153	Turkish	unknown	army reserve*	C	C	A
Kerke, Chamle	154	Turkish	unknown	army reserve*	C	C	A
Brod, William A.	155	German	26	CEF	C	C	A
Vidal, Eithel Fritz	156	German	24	army reserve*	C	C	A
Krasselb, Max	157	German	17	navy reserve	C	C	A
Kading, Paul	158	German	17	navy reserve	C	C	A

Name	Number	Nationality	Age	Type	07.12.1914	25.01.1915	06.05.1915
Barden, J.	159	German-American	22	CEF	unknown	C	A
Lindwall, J.A.	160	Swedish/Russian.	24	CEF	unknown	C	A
Yazenchuk, J.	161	Austro-Hungarian	22	CEF	unknown	C	A
Chenomar, N.	162	Austro-Hungarian	23	CEF	unknown	C	A
Ittis, G.	163	Turkish	29	CEF	unknown	C	R
Ford, A.P.	164	German	unknown	CEF	unknown	C	A
Weidrich, E.C.	165	German-American	31	CEF	unknown	C	A
Wagner, H.M.	166	German-American	34	CEF	unknown	C	A
Spector, N.	167	Russian	32	CEF	unknown	C	A
Offsovsky, H.	168	Russian	22	CEF	unknown	C	A
Rottenburg, W.	169	Russian	19	CEF	unknown	C	A
Wyss, A.	170	Belgian	27	CEF	unknown	C	A
Czajkowski, H.	171	Austro-Hungarian	26	CEF	unknown	C	A
Ittis, R.	172	Turkish	24	CEF	unknown	unknown	unknown
Riedel, Reinhold	173	German	34	army reserve*	unknown	unknown	A
Schafer, Willhelm	174	German	26	army reserve*	unknown	unknown	A
Schmidt, Walter	175	German	26	army reserve*	unknown	unknown	A
Phillips, John	176	German	24	army reserve*	unknown	unknown	A
Zadlo, Martin	177	Swiss	20	neutral	unknown	unknown	A
Petermichl, Leopold	178	Austro-Hungarian	22	army reserve	unknown	unknown	A
Sommer, Carl	179	German	53	army reserve*	unknown	unknown	A
unknown	180	unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown	A
Achilles, Herbert	181	unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown	A
Corzac, George	182	unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown	A
Webber, Franck	183	unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown	A
Corzac, T.	184	unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown	A
Saskanck, W.	185	unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown	A
Horwatt, George	186	unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown	A
Donnya, Frank	187	unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown	A

Name	Number	Nationality	Age	Type	07.12.1914	25.01.1915	06.05.1915
Srizorzy, Michael	188	unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown	A
Korinski, Anton	189	unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown	A
Wallwitz, Otto	190	German	unknown	navy reserve	unknown	unknown	C
Sheehusen, Bruno	191	German	unknown	navy reserve	unknown	unknown	C
Bazetti, William	192	German	unknown	navy reserve	unknown	unknown	C
Frolich, Paul	193	German	unknown	navy reserve	unknown	unknown	C
Schulze, Alex	194	German	unknown	navy reserve	unknown	unknown	C
Raeder, Leo	195	German	unknown	navy reserve	unknown	unknown	C
De Vries, Adolf	196	German	unknown	navy reserve	unknown	unknown	C
Pagensticher, Reinholder	197	German	unknown	navy reserve	unknown	unknown	C
Becker, Edmund	198	German	unknown	navy reserve	unknown	unknown	C
Erasmi, Walter	199	German	unknown	navy reserve	unknown	unknown	C
Graeling, August	200	German	unknown	navy reserve	unknown	unknown	C
Hashagen, Henrich	201	German	unknown	navy reserve	unknown	unknown	C
Haug, Wilhelm	202	German	unknown	navy reserve	unknown	unknown	C
Stenber, Elfried	203	German	unknown	navy reserve	unknown	unknown	C
Brand, Rudolf	204	German	unknown	navy reserve	unknown	unknown	C
Tiellier, Hans	205	German	unknown	navy reserve	unknown	unknown	C
Garus, Walter	206	German	unknown	navy reserve	unknown	unknown	C
Setzerman, Paul	207	German	unknown	navy reserve	unknown	unknown	C
Behrendt, William	208	German	unknown	navy reserve	unknown	unknown	C
Brugmann, Gustave	209	German	unknown	navy reserve	unknown	unknown	C
Weichmann, Adolf	210	German	unknown	navy reserve	unknown	unknown	C
Moller, Kurt	211	German	unknown	navy reserve	unknown	unknown	C
Olbermann, Heinrich	212	German	unknown	navy reserve	unknown	unknown	C
Rebenstorf, Hans	213	German	unknown	navy reserve	unknown	unknown	C
Knuth, Martin	214	German	unknown	navy reserve	unknown	unknown	C
Koerster, Franc	215	German	unknown	navy reserve	unknown	unknown	C
Behnke, Max	216	German	unknown	navy reserve	unknown	unknown	C

Name	Number	Nationality	Age	Type	07.12.1914	25.01.1915	06.05.1915
Meyer, Fritz	217	German	unknown	navy reserve	unknown	unknown	C
Meissner, Rudolf	218	German	unknown	navy reserve	unknown	unknown	C
Franck, Frederick	219	German	unknown	navy reserve	unknown	unknown	C
Peters, Adolf	220	German	unknown	navy reserve	unknown	unknown	C
Ottejen, John	221	German	unknown	navy reserve	unknown	unknown	C
Volkman, Paul	222	German	unknown	navy reserve	unknown	unknown	C
Whitt, Otto	223	German	unknown	navy reserve	unknown	unknown	C
Polley, Bruno	224	German	unknown	navy reserve	unknown	unknown	C
Kromer, Alfred	225	German	unknown	navy reserve	unknown	unknown	C
Tissom, Georg	226	German	unknown	navy reserve	unknown	unknown	C
Kellner, Felix	227	German	unknown	navy reserve	unknown	unknown	C
Bockhalt, Robert	228	German	unknown	navy reserve	unknown	unknown	C
Hintze, Hermann	229	German	unknown	navy reserve	unknown	unknown	C
Weiler, Albert	230	German	unknown	navy reserve	unknown	unknown	C
Schulz, Karl	231	German	unknown	navy reserve	unknown	unknown	C
Seffner, Felix	232	German	unknown	navy reserve	unknown	unknown	C
Rantzan, Fritz	233	German	unknown	navy reserve	unknown	unknown	C
Heidemann, Heinz	234	German	unknown	navy reserve	unknown	unknown	C
Wetzel, Gustave	235	German	unknown	navy reserve	unknown	unknown	C
Mukel, Walter	236	German	unknown	navy reserve	unknown	unknown	C
Geisler, Oscar	237	German	unknown	navy reserve	unknown	unknown	C
Meinardus, Willy	238	German	unknown	navy reserve	unknown	unknown	C
Kellnar, Ernest	239	German	unknown	navy reserve	unknown	unknown	C
Verner, August	240	German	unknown	navy reserve	unknown	unknown	C
Reger, Paul	241	German	unknown	navy reserve	unknown	unknown	C
Lubben, Helnuc	242	German	unknown	navy reserve	unknown	unknown	C
Nolte, Franz	243	German	unknown	navy reserve	unknown	unknown	C
Borchert, Freidrich	244	German	unknown	navy reserve	unknown	unknown	C
Berger, Fritz	245	German	unknown	navy reserve	unknown	unknown	C

Name	Number	Nationality	Age	Type	07.12.1914	25.01.1915	06.05.1915
Buhler, Hantz	246	German	unknown	navy reserve	unknown	unknown	C
Horst, Paul	247	German	unknown	navy reserve	unknown	unknown	C
Manns, Otto	248	German	unknown	navy reserve	unknown	unknown	C
Ulke, Bruno	249	German	unknown	navy reserve	unknown	unknown	C
Bikel, Karl	250	German	unknown	navy reserve	unknown	unknown	C
Bouch, Heinrich	251	German	unknown	navy reserve	unknown	unknown	C
Quest, Heinrich	252	German	unknown	navy reserve	unknown	unknown	C
Schade, Paul	253	German	unknown	navy reserve	unknown	unknown	C

Appendix 2: Citadel Internment in Contemporary Media

Newspapers

“How Do Our Prisoners of War Get Out from Melville Island?,” *Halifax Herald*
1 November 1914.

**HOW DO OUR PRISONERS OF WAR
GET
OUT FROM MELVILLE ISLAND?**

A Visit to the Waegwoltic Was Made Recently by Two German Officers Who Were Escorted by Armed British Officers, But Headquarters Knew Nothing of It and Club Members Are Questioning.

• **HALIFAX, September 30.**—There is a good deal of talk about a visit to the Waegwoltic club recently of two German prisoners of war from Melville Island. They came over one evening after a sail on the Arm and had supper. The Germans were accompanied by two armed British officers, one of them chief of the intelligence department, and the statement made was that the prisoners were “out on parole.” The club officials were indignant when they learned what had taken place and the officer who brought the Germans there was frankly told that he had done wrong—that German prisoners of war were by no means welcome, and assurances were given that nothing of the kind would happen again.

An interesting phase of the matter is that no one in Halifax has power to grant a “parole” to these prisoners, and the question is “who is responsible?” The authorities will probably inquire into the affair and explanations will be demanded. The fact that the prisoners had been out was news to headquarters last night. The incident occurred some time ago. One of the prisoners is said to be a count and both are officers.

“Seven Germans Made a Bold Escape,” *Halifax Herald* 9 December 1914.

**SEVEN GERMANS
MADE
A BOLD ESCAPE**

From Melville Island Last Evening, But Were Captured by Scouts Near Bedford a Few Hours Later.

HALIFAX, December 8.—Seven German prisoners, quartered at Melville Island, cut their way to freedom between the hours of nine and eleven o'clock last night. Their liberty from the grey walls of the prison building, however, was short-lived, but during the time they were at large, military circles were agog with excitement.

CAPTURED AT BEDFORD AND WINDSOR JUNCTION.

The escaped prisoners were again in custody a few hours after gaining their freedom and their capture was a great relief to the military authorities. The prisoners were captured by scouts doing duty at the outposts, in the vicinity of Bedford and Windsor Junction, and were escorted to the city this morning under an armed guard, on the first incoming train. They attracted a great deal of attention, altho at that time, few outside of military circles were aware that they had made such a bold attempt to gain their freedom.

The escape of the prisoners was a bold one, and while official information of the escape is lacking, it is believed that certain tools were used. How these tools came to be in possession of the prisoners at the island, is a matter yet to be determined by a court martial. It is reported that the escaped prisoners were supplied with tools by newly arrived prisoners, who must have had them concealed in their clothing.

GERMANS REFUSED TO GIVE INFORMATION.

The escaped prisoners, along with about fifty others, were quartered in a large room. It is customary to call the roll several times during the night. The sentry does this. He is said that the roll was called as usual last night, and that during the early part of the evening the roll call found every prisoner present. When the roll was called about eleven o'clock or thereabouts, seven prisoners, who had previously responded to their names, failed to do so. This was the first intimation the sentry and his assistant had that any of the prisoners had escaped. The alarm was at once given and word sent to all sentries on outpost duty to keep a lookout. Scouts were called out and detailed to do duty at different places. The Germans remaining at the island disclaimed all knowledge as to how the prisoners escaped.

ESCAPED THRU HOLE IN WALL.

While the prisoners' plan of escape is not definitely known, it is reported that they escaped thru a hole they bored in the stone wall. It is customary for the Germans each night to sing in their native tongue, and last night they seemed to indulge more freely than for some time. The reason for this, it is now believed, was to drown the noise of the Germans punching a hole thru the wall. But for the arrival of the sentry about eleven o'clock, it is believed that nearly all of the Germans would have escaped.

The escaped Germans proved to be good travellers and managed to walk fourteen miles before any of them were rounded up. They were found travelling in twos and threes. Fortunately the prisoners were unarmed, otherwise they may have resisted capture.

“War Prisoners Escape: Nine Germans Get Out of Halifax Citadel,” *New York Times*
31 January 1915.

CLIMBED CITADEL WALL.

One German Got Clear at Halifax,
but Wouldn't Escape Alone.

HALIFAX, N. S., Feb. 22.—Three German prisoners of war, it was learned today, got outside the citadel a few nights ago by means of a rope made from bed clothes.

They jumped into a moat which surrounds the prison, and one of them scaled the outside wall. The other two, however, were unable to get clear of the ditch, and the man who had freed himself finally reported the break to the sentries voluntarily, saying that he had no wish to escape without his companions.

“Nine German Reservists Escape from Halifax,” *Globe* (Toronto) 2 February 1915.

NINE GERMAN RESERVISTS ESCAPE FROM HALIFAX

ONE OF THEM, LIEUT. SCHMIDT,
IN BOSTON, TELLS HOW THEY
GOT AWAY.

(Special Despatch to The Globe.)

Boston, Feb. 1.—Lieut. Frank Schmidt of the German Army Reserve is free in Boston, after escaping from the Citadel, a British military prison at Halifax, N.S. He is seeking means of transportation to the fatherland to join the colors. He escaped with eight comrades on January 23, after the forty or more Germans in the prison had celebrated the Kaiser's birthday.

In speaking of their escape to-day Lieut. Schmidt said:

“There were ten in the plot to escape. We crouched under the wall in darkness until the sentry's back was turned. Then we threw a rope with a hook attached over the top of the wall, and the hook caught. We were then able to climb over.”

“Of ten men who tried to get over the wall only one was caught. We separated and made our way to Halifax. A vigilant search was made for us, and four of my comrades were caught in the city. I do not know what became of the others.”

CARRANZA LEVIED TOLL.

New York, Feb. 1.—The Standard Oil Company steamer *Perfection*, which arrived here to-day from Tampico with oil barges in tow, was forced to pay an export tax on the cargo by the Carranza forces in possession of the city before she was permitted to depart, according to her commander. The ship of this account was delayed five days.

WEST NORTHAMBERLAND TONIES.

Cobourg, Feb. 1.—(Special.)—At the annual meeting of the West Northumberland Conservative Association Mr. W. G. Noble, Vice-President, occupied the chair. Addresses were made by the Chairman, C. A. Huxman, M.P.; F. H. Field, K.C., President of the Northumberland County Association; J. J. Kerr and others. Officers were elected as follows:—President, Dr. Kerr, Cobourg; Vice-President, W. G. Noble, Hamilton township; Vice-President for Alnwick, Charles Greig.

“Enemy Back to Canada: Fourteen More Aliens Picked Out of the Contingent,” *Toronto Daily Star* 15 February 1915.

ENEMY BACK TO CANADA.

Fourteen More Aliens Picked Out of the Contingent.

Halifax, Feb. 15.—Fourteen “alien suspects” from the first Canadian contingent at Salisbury Plain were marched off the C.P.R. liner *Mississauga*, which docked here from Liverpool yesterday, and imprisoned in the citadel. Each man was handcuffed to a soldier. Some of them are of German or Austrian birth, but there are others of various nationalities suspected of disloyal tendencies.

“German Prisoners Tried to Get Away. Three of them Attempted to Scale the Wall of the Citadel Moat: One Succeeded,” *Halifax Herald* 21 February 1916.

German Prisoners Tried To Get Away

**Three of Them Attempted to Scale the Wall of
the Citadel Moat: One Succeeded.—
All In Custody Again.**

There was “something doing” last night at the Citadel—three German prisoners attempted to escape, but fate had other plans for them, and they are today in safe keeping.”

The Citadel moat appeared in the role of fate, and obstructed successfully, the enterprising plans of the Teutons.

They planned to scale the moat with the aid of a rope—a nice strong new rope with which (how?) they had provided themselves. One man succeeded in getting out of the moat, but vainly his companions attempted it. When, after frequent attempts, it became apparent that they could not “do the trick,” the man who had been able to climb up, went around and gave himself up to the guard, also notifying him that his two friends were in the moat.

It is superfluous to say that the “parting guests” were all speeded—back whence they escaped.

The man who reported to the guard was found to have \$50 in his possession.

“Climbed Citadel Wall: One German Got Clear at Halifax, but Wouldn’t Escape Alone,”
New York Times 23 February 1916.

CLIMBED CITADEL WALL.

One German Got Clear at Halifax,
but Wouldn't Escape Alone.

HALIFAX, N. S., Feb. 22.—Three German prisoners of war, it was learned today, got outside the citadel a few nights ago by means of a rope made from bed clothes.

They jumped into a moat which surrounds the prison, and one of them scaled the outside wall. The other two, however, were unable to get clear of the ditch, and the man who had freed himself finally reported the break to the sentries voluntarily, saying that he had no wish to escape without his companions.

“The German Prisoners at Halifax,” *Halifax Herald* 9 August 1916.

THE GERMAN PRISONERS AT HALIFAX

The discovery was made yesterday at the Citadel that the German prisoners there had again attempted to escape. A trench had been dug by them already eight feet in length which was to lead to freedom. Three of the prisoners were caught digging the trench yesterday, and these three are now in solitary confinement. How they managed to secure implements to dig their way out is something that it is **UP TO THE AUTHORITIES TO FIND OUT.** There must surely be a looseness somewhere. — News Item.

THIS thing is getting on people's nerves. That the German prisoners, confined in the Citadel should be able to dig a trench eight feet long before being discovered would indicate that they were accorded a greater amount of freedom than is generally given prisoners. Where were the guards, or were there any guards? And how came they by the implements to dig themselves to freedom with? Would this not indicate that they are in touch with outside sympathizers? Shovels and picks cannot be smuggled past the guards in any man's pocket. They are bulky and easily detected. As the news item above quoted says “There must surely be a looseness somewhere.”

There seems to be a well grounded opinion or suspicion that the German prisoners at the Citadel have quite a number of sympathizers outside the Citadel walls who should be on the inside. It is time this question was taken up in earnest. They do not fancy the extreme leniency which is being shown the Germans, particularly when they read the accounts of the almost inhuman treatment meted out to the Canadian prisoners in German concentration camps. The news item quoted above indicates that whoever is in charge of the interned prisoners here wants to speedily get onto his job.

“Germans Interned Saluted the Duke: Governor General Converses with Officer Regarded as their Leader,” *Globe* (Toronto) 25 August 1916.

GERMANS INTERNED SALUTED THE DUKE

GOVERNOR-GENERAL CONVERSES
WITH OFFICER REGARDED
AS THEIR LEADER.

(Canadian Press Despatch.)

Halifax, Aug. 23.—An interesting episode in the visit of the Governor-General to Halifax, occurred yesterday when his Royal Highness was in the citadel. Interned there are about three hundred German prisoners, all officers, the rank and file being in the detention camp in much greater numbers at Amherst. The Duke was escorted into the enclosure where the prisoners are kept at the citadel, and was introduced to the officer who is looked upon as their leader. His Royal Highness conversed for some time with this German and paced up and down the lines where the other prisoners could see him and he them. They raised their hats and saluted as the Governor-General passed, and appeared pleased to have this visit from the representative of King George.

“Suspected of Being Spies: Three Inquisitive Americans Warned,” *New York Times* 1 September 1916.

SUSPECTED OF BEING SPIES.

Three Inquisitive Americans Warned
by Halifax Military Authorities.

E. J. Orkin, of 258 Riverside Drive, returned yesterday from Halifax, N. S., on the Red Cross Line steamship Florisel, accompanied by his brothers, Samuel and Joseph, with an interesting account of what he described was their narrow escape from being locked up as German spies. The three brothers went to the Citadel last Monday afternoon and asked the sentry on guard if they could have a talk with the Germans interned there. This request was refused. On the way back to the ship they made the acquaintance of a butcher named Neuman, who was under suspicion of having pro-German sympathies.

“Next morning,” said Mr. Orkin, “a British officer, with a guard of marines, came to the Florisel and said he had a good notion to put me under arrest on suspicion of having pro-German sympathies and talking with enemies of the empire. I told the officer there was no truth in the statement; that I was a good American; a Mason, and an Elk.”

The brothers were not actually molested, but were required to promise to return to New York on the Florisel without again going ashore.

Photograph

“With German Prisoners Enroute for Amherst June 6 1915.”

From a collection of photographs by William John Alexander Stewart of the 63rd Halifax Rifles. Shows a train transporting internees from Halifax to Amherst during the transfer of June 6, 1915. The train is stopped at a siding with two heads in the windows and three armed guards regularly spaced. Accessed <https://www.flickr.com/photos/streetcar356/3151915327/in/set-72157611500158287> (14 May 2014).