

# IN FEAR OF THE BARBED WIRE FENCE

*Canada's First National Internment Operations  
and the Ukrainian Canadians, 1914-1920*



LUBOMYR LUCIUK

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*In Fear of the Barbed Wire Fence:  
Canada's First National Internment Operations  
and the Ukrainian Canadians, 1914-1920*



*Foreword by Ian Hunter*

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National Library of Canada Cataloguing in Publication Data

Luciuk, Lubomyr Y., 1953-

In fear of the barbed wire fence : Canada's first national internment operations and the Ukrainian Canadians, 1914-1920

Includes bibliographical references.

ISBN 1-896354-22-X

1. World War, 1914-1918--Concentration camps--Canada. 2. Ukrainian Canadians--Evacuation and relocation, 1914-1920. I. Title.

D627.C2L85 2001

940.3,1771

C00-900233-2

Published by the Kashtan Press, in co-operation with the Ukrainian Canadian Civil Liberties Association

*Cover illustration: "Where could we escape to?" by Peter Shostak from the series, For Our Children*



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More than a decade ago Lubomyr Luciuk wrote, and Limestone Press first published, an account of Canada's internment operations undertaken against Ukrainian Canadians from 1914 to 1920. Professor Luciuk has now revised and expanded the text, and more than doubled the number of period photographs diligently searched out in archives and family albums. It is an honour to be invited to write a Foreword.

Professor Luciuk relates, and the photographs - with at times an almost unbearable poignance - depict, what was a shameful and unnecessary decision made many decades ago by the Government of Canada, a decision for which neither that Government of the day, nor any of its successors in office to the present day, has seen fit to apologize for.

Like most who are the product of a Canadian education, I had never heard of Canada's first world war internments. It was not a subject covered in History classes at my schools; if the situation has since changed (which, frankly, I doubt) it would be due to the perseverance of Professor Luciuk and the Ukrainian Canadian Civil Liberties Association.

The idea that the Government of Canada would round up and forcibly intern thousands of people, some recent immigrants, some Canadian citizens, and would indiscriminately label them "enemy aliens", simply on the grounds of ethnicity, seems improbable; indeed it seems fantastical and abhorrent. Yet that is just what happened. As one scholar put it: "The alien became a problem for the Government not because he was disloyal - in fact the evidence indicates the contrary - but because many native born Canadians suspected him of being disloyal."

I had my eyes opened to this hidden corner of Canadian history when, in December 1999, I was retained by the UCCLA to prepare a legal opinion on a possible Charter challenge. Because almost a century had passed since the events in question, I started the project believing that there was little chance of success. However I was delighted to be proved wrong, and to discover that the jurisprudence might provide solid grounds for hoping that such a challenge would receive favourable judicial consideration if only the case could be brought before a Court of competent jurisdiction. True, Canada has no obligation to provide redress for historical wrongs; but our contention was that, having once decided to do so, and having set the precedent for Japanese Canadians, then section 15 of the Charter required that the Canadian Government treat Ukrainian Canadians equally.

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The application for funding to the Court Challenges Program was completed and sent off with high hopes.

It was turned down. Ms. Claudette Toupin, Executive Director of the Program, wrote back: “Panel members were concerned that the s. 15 arguments were expressed in formal equality terms. Although this type of argument might win this particular case, it could have an important negative impact on the jurisprudence”.

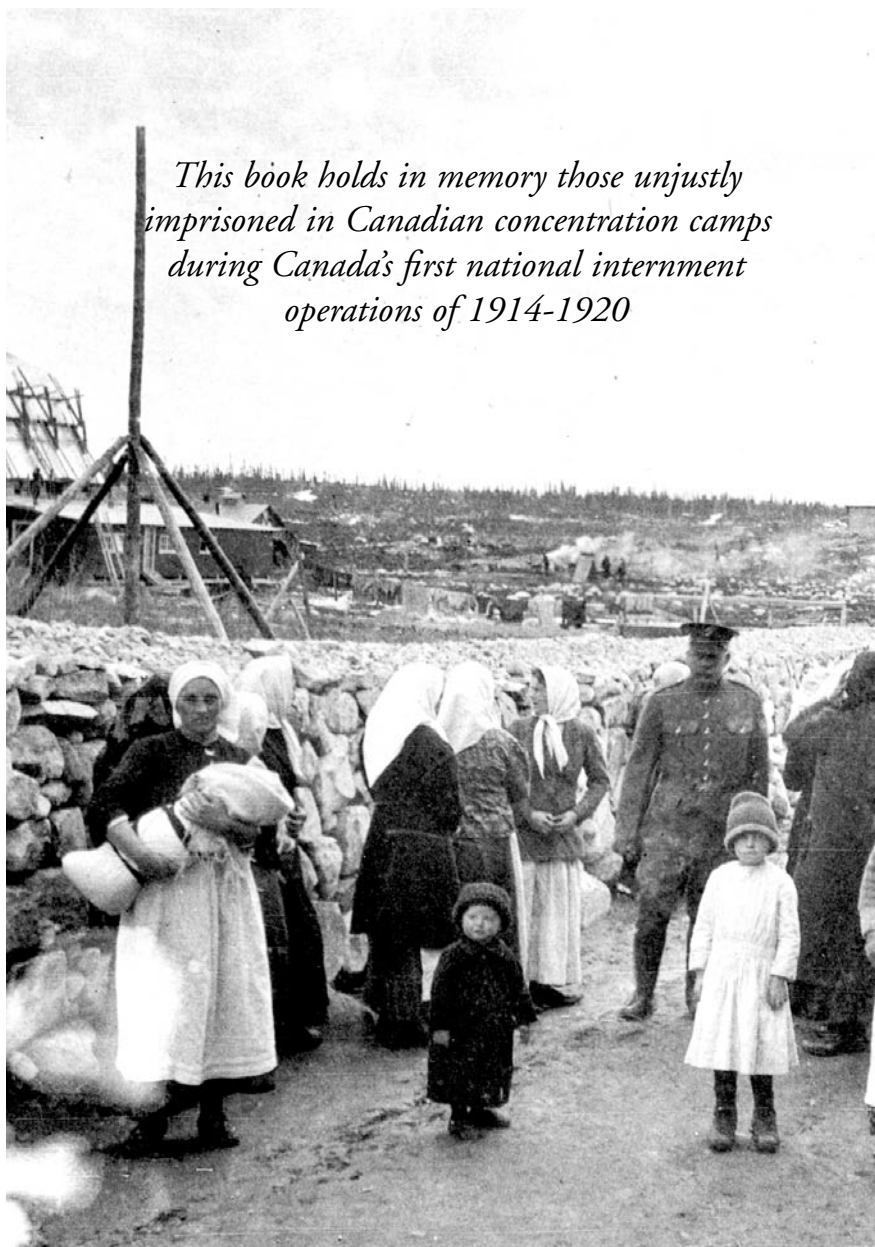
The translation of this particular bit of Orwellian newspeak is that the Panel promotes an agenda of substantive equality [an Alice-in-Wonderland term summed up in the notion of equality of outcome rather than equality of opportunity]; therefore the Panel is unwilling to assist with a case based on formal equality [i.e. treating like cases alike] however good its probability of success.

Professor Ian Brodie, a political scientist who has intensively studied the Court Challenges program, has concluded that the Panel generally funds those groups with which it has an ideological affinity and refuses those groups with which it does not. Obviously, redressing an historic wrong done to Ukrainian Canadians is not a high priority for the Court Challenges Panel. Or is it, perhaps, that an injustice committed against Ukrainian Canadians by one generation continues to be covered up by succeeding generations?

For those whose minds are less closed to the truth than that of the Government of Canada, and its minions at the Court Challenges Program, Professor Luciuk has here told a story of harassment and of heartache, but also, in no small measure, of heroism.

Ian Hunter  
Professor Emeritus, Faculty of Law  
University of Western Ontario

*This book holds in memory those unjustly  
imprisoned in Canadian concentration camps  
during Canada's first national internment  
operations of 1914-1920*





Since *A Time For Atonement* was published, in 1988, the Ukrainian Canadian community has acted to ensure that Canada's first national internment operations are not forgotten. To date, 17 trilingual historical plaques have been installed across Canada, mainly at internment camp sites, as have three life-size statues (see *Table I, pages 120-121*). Several more commemorative plaques are scheduled for unveiling and consecration over the next few years. These initiatives have most often involved community-based volunteers working with little, if any, government support. Whereas a decade ago few Canadians knew that Ukrainians and other Europeans had been needlessly imprisoned as "enemy aliens" in Canadian concentration camps, knowledge about this unhappy episode in our national history is becoming more commonplace. The school curricula of several provinces now discuss the internment operations, and they are referenced in academic books dealing with Canadian immigration and ethnic history. A Canadian-made documentary film, *Freedom Had A Price*, twice shown on *CBC-TV*, and a children's book, *Silver Threads*, which incorporates the internment operations as its central theme, have further informed the public. Occasionally, the internment operations are also recalled in the national media.

The publication of *In Fear of the Barbed Wire Fence*, a much expanded and revised version of *A Time For Atonement*, has been made possible by a generous grant from the Ukrainian Canadian Foundation of Taras Shevchenko and through the support of the Ukrainian Canadian Civil Liberties Association, Ukrainian Self-Reliance Association—Edmonton Branch, Branch 360 of The Royal Canadian Legion, the John Stashuk Estate, and the Ukrainian Studies Foundation of British Columbia. A grant from the Royal Military College of Canada's Academic Research Program allowed for the additional research that complements this edition. Archival photographs and documents were located in the Cumberland County Museum and Archives, the Fort Steele Heritage Town Archives, the Glenbow Museum and Archives, Greater Vernon Museum and Archives, Calgary, the Ron Morel Memorial Museum, Kapuskasing, the National Archives of Canada, Ottawa, the Public Records Office, London, the Harry Spring album at Fort Henry (the St Lawrence Parks Commission, Kingston), US State Department Archives, Washington and at the Whyte Museum of the Canadian Rockies, Banff or provided by Anne Lindsay, Yuriy Luhovy and Zorianna Hrycenko-Luhova, Eugene Motluk, the late N. Sakaliuk and Barb Thompson. Newspaper articles were collected by Vicki Benn and Heather Nicol and surviving records searched for individual internee names by Natalka Yurieva and Roman Zakaluzny. Many of the photographs of western Canadian internment camps were located originally by Dr. Bohdan S. Kordan

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(University of Saskatchewan) and by Borys Sydoruk (UCCLA, Calgary). Professor Paul R. Magocsi of the Chair of Ukrainian Studies at the University of Toronto, Marco Carynnyk, and J. B. Gregorovich, UCCLA's chairman, helped edit the brief on which that booklet was originally based. Thanks are also due to Professor Richard Pierce, the editor of The Limestone Press, which published *A Time For Atonement* and to Peter Dorn who designed it. The current edition reflects the graphic design talents of Gerry Locklin.

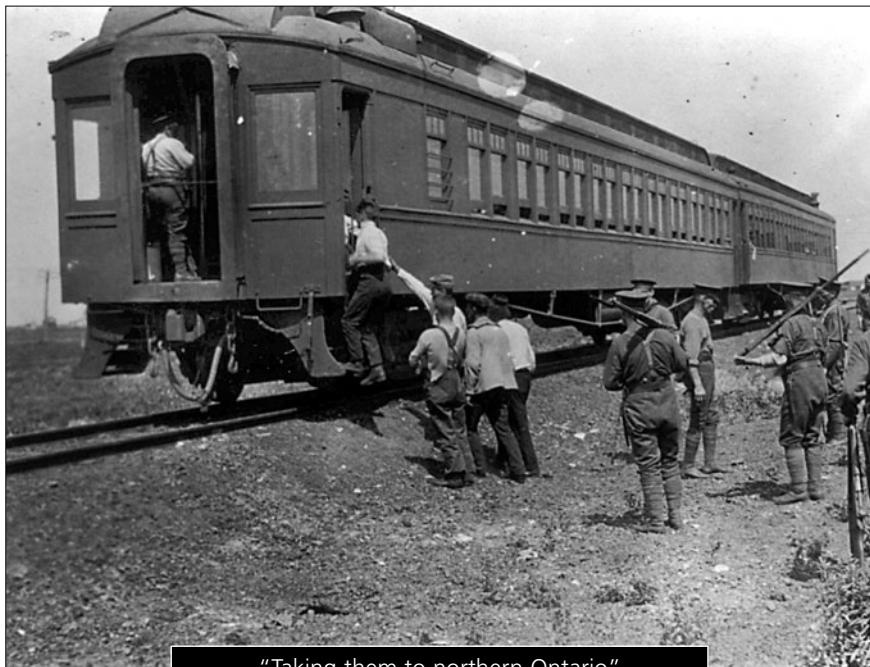
Also gratefully acknowledged is the assistance of Mitch Andriesky, Petro Bilash, Andy Blicq, Dr. Harold Byrdy, the late Louis Byrdy, David Carter, Morris T. Cherneskey, Eugene Cholkan, Alexandra Chyczij, the late Walter Doskoch, Olya Grod, Walter Halchuk, Eugene Harasymiw, Fran and Mary Manko Haskett, the late Barry Hill-Tout, Professor Ian Hunter, Gerry Kokodyniak, Inky Mark, MP, Dr. Myron Kuropas, Stefan Lemieszewski, Dr. Leonard Leshuk, Craig Mahovsky, Lady Ann Lucas of Chilworth, Barbara Major, Andrea Malysh, Stefa Mielniczuk, Peter Milliken, MP, Myron Momryk, Kari Moore, MST Bronze Ltd, the late Stefan Pawluk, Taras Podilsky, Marsha Skrypuch, Mrs. Julia Stashuk, Lydia Shawarsky, Borys Sydoruk, Professor Paul Thomas, Myroslav and Luba Trutiak, Dr. Stephen Worobetz, Katharine Wowk, Natalka Yurieva and Roman Zakaluzny.

Contemporary newspaper articles and documents, which provide a sense of the temper of the times, have been included in the text, the former being shaded, the latter bordered.

The Government of Canada has not acknowledged this injustice and continues to refuse to negotiate the restitution of that portion of the internees' confiscated wealth which remains in government coffers to this day. But Ottawa's men can no longer deny, as they once did, that these internment operations happened, or refuse to admit that many Ukrainians were among the unfortunates imprisoned or otherwise censured. While the campaign to secure recognition of this historical injustice and a return of the internees' looted wealth is thus far from over, its principal goal, hallowing the memory of those Ukrainian Canadians and others who experienced this grievous wrong, has been achieved. Some have tried to kill Canadian history by burying what happened to these innocent men, women, and children. They have lost.

LYL, Kingston, 4 August 2001

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"Taking them to northern Ontario"

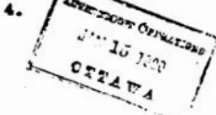
570

This is to certify that I, WILLIAM DOSKOCZ  
a subject of AUSTRIA  
who was interned as a prisoner of war in Canada at KAPUSKASING, Ont.  
KAPUSKASING, Ont., described for identification as  
follows:-

Age 28 yrs. Height 5' 7 1/2" Weight 140 lbs.  
Complexion Fair Hair D. Brown Eyes Brown  
Marks \_\_\_\_\_

have been discharged from internment subject to the following  
conditions:-

1. That I will not leave Canada during the period of hos-  
tilities without an exeat issued by competent authority;
2. That I will observe the laws of the country, abstain  
from espionage or any acts or correspondence of a hostile nature  
or intended to give information to or assist the enemies of the  
British Empire;
3. That I will report as directed by the R.C.M.P. Police on  
arrival, Ft. Saskatchewan, Alta. and thereafter as often as that Officer  
may direct.



Dated at Kapuskasig, Ont. this \_\_\_\_\_ Ninth \_\_\_\_\_ day  
of January 1920

Walter Dorskoch Signature  
#3055

Witness Richard Major  
Commandant, Internment Station  
KAPUSKASING, ONT.

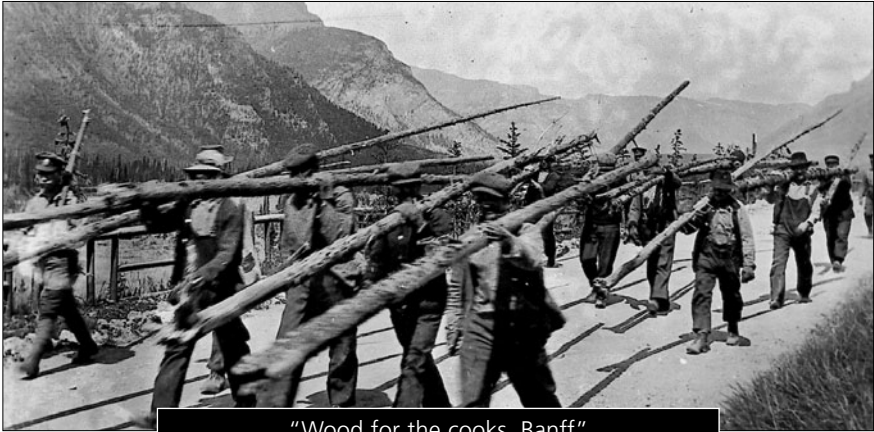
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*In Fear of the Barbed Wire Fence*

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"Coming in" at Castle Mountain



### *Needlessly interned*

Innocent of any disloyalty, thousands of Ukrainians and other Europeans were nevertheless needlessly interned in Canadian concentration camps as “enemy aliens” following the outbreak of the First World War on 4 August 1914. Following the British Empire’s declaration of war the Government of Canada issued an order-in-council providing for the registration and, in certain cases, for the imprisonment of aliens of “enemy nationality” (*see Document II, pages 3-4*). Reassuring official proclamations to the contrary, the government instituted often draconian measures against those deemed to be alien enemies. [1]

Thousands of Eastern European immigrants, including naturalized British subjects and even Canadians categorized as being of “foreign-born” origins, found themselves herded together into what were often makeshift encampments, located in some of the Dominion’s frontier hinterlands. [2] They were afforded no grounds for legal recourse. [3] Wartime hysteria, ignorance, xenophobia, and racism would combine over the following six years to fuel various repressive measures directed against them. Since Ukrainians were also known at the time by such regional names as “Galician”

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160 акрів - 130 моргів австр.  
❁ ВІЛЬНОЇ  
ЗЕМЛІ ❁  
200 мільонів акрів під управу  
в західній  
**КАНАДІ**  
ДЛЯ  
КОЖДОГО  
ОСЕЛЕНЦЯ

Lured to Canada with promises of free land and freedom



Ukrainian pioneer settlers en route to Edna-Star, Alberta, 1897

COPY

EXHIBIT NO. 1.

Order in Council respecting alien enemies.  
(2721)

AT THE GOVERNMENT HOUSE AT OTTAWA.

Wednesday, the 28th day of October, 1914.

PRESENT:

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE GOVERNOR GENERAL IN COUNCIL.

The Committee of the Privy Council have had before them a report, dated 28th October, 1914, from the Minister of Justice, stating that it is expedient and necessary to take measures to prevent espionage and also to prevent alien enemies in Canada who are likely to render effective military assistance to the enemy from returning to the enemy's service, and to provide for the proper supervision and control of such aliens as may be so prevented from leaving Canada, and the detention under proper conditions and maintenance where required of such of said aliens as it may be found necessary to intern as prisoners of war, and that it is likewise desirable considering the lack of opportunity for employment that aliens of enemy nationality who are not likely to add to the strength of the enemy's forces and who desire and have the means to leave the country be permitted to do so.

The Minister observes that it is considered probable that aliens of both classes will be found grouped in particular localities, principally within or in the immediate neighbourhood of the large cities and towns.-

The Minister, therefore, recommends that it be enacted by the Governor in Council under the authority of the War Measures Act as follows:-

(1) One or more offices of registration shall be established in such cities, towns and other places as may be from time to time designated by the Minister of Justice, and an officer shall be appointed by the Governor in Council for each of the offices so established who shall be called "Registrars of Alien Enemies".

(2) The Registrars shall be under the immediate direction of the Chief Commissioner of Dominion Police who shall exercise general supervision over them in the performance of their duties and to whom they shall report as may be required. The Minister shall appoint such assistants to such registrars, clerks and other officers as may be necessary for the proper carrying out of the provisions of the present order.

(3) It shall be the duty of a registrar to examine each alien of enemy nationality attending before him, and to register in a book to be provided for the purpose the name, age, nationality, place of residence in Canada and in the country of nationality, occupation, desire or intention to leave Canada and the names of the wife and children (if any) in Canada of every such alien and such other particulars necessary for identification of such alien of enemy nationality or otherwise as may seem advisable.

(4) Every alien of enemy nationality residing or being within any of the cities, towns or places so designated as aforesaid or within twenty miles thereof, shall as soon as possible after the publication in the CANADA GAZETTE of a proclamation designating such city, town or place as one wherein a registry office is to be established under this ordinance, attend before the registrar or one of the registrars, for the city, town or place within or near which he is or resides and truly answer such questions with regard to his nationality, age, residence, occupation, family, intention or desire to leave Canada, destination, liability and intention as to military service, and otherwise, as may be lawfully put to him by the registrar.

(5) No alien of enemy nationality shall be permitted to leave



COPY

-2-

Canada without an exeat from a registrar; provided that the Chief Commissioner of Dominion Police may in any case, grant or cancel an exeat to an alien of enemy nationality who is registered.

(6) The registrar may issue an exeat to an alien of enemy nationality if satisfied upon the examination and registry that such alien of enemy nationality will not materially assist, by active service, information or otherwise, the forces of the enemy.

(7) If it appears to the registrar that any alien of enemy nationality who is not permitted to leave Canada may consistently with the public safety be suffered to remain at large, such alien of enemy nationality shall be required to declare whether or not he desired and has the means to remain in Canada conformably to the laws and customs of the country, subject to obligation to report monthly to the Chief of Police of the city where or in the neighbourhood of which he is registered. If yea, such alien of enemy nationality may be permitted his liberty, subject to the conditions aforesaid and the provisions of this ordinance. If nay, he shall be interned as a prisoner of war. The registrar shall report to the Chief of Police the names and addresses of those who elect to remain at liberty. Any alien of enemy nationality who in the judgment of the registrar cannot consistently with the public safety be allowed at large shall be interned as a prisoner of war.

(8) If any alien of enemy nationality who is by the terms of this ordinance required to register, fails to do so within one month after publication of the proclamation referred to in section 4 of this ordinance or within seven days after the date when he shall by reason of his residence come within the description of those required to register, whichever date shall be last, or if he refuse or fail to answer truly any of the questions put by the registrar, or if, being registered he fail to report as hereinbefore required or to observe any of the conditions on which he is permitted to be at liberty, he shall in addition to any other penalty to which he may be therefor by law liable be subject to internment as a prisoner of war.

(9) Where any alien of enemy nationality interned under the provisions of this order has wife or children living with and dependent on him, such wife and children shall be permitted to accompany him.

(10) Such provision as may be necessary for the maintenance of aliens of enemy nationality interned as prisoners of war shall be made by the military authorities who may require such prisoners to do and perform such work as may be by them prescribed.

(11) No alien of enemy nationality who is required to register shall be naturalized unless in addition to other requirements he produces and files with his application a duly certified certificate of a registrar that he is registered pursuant to the provisions of this ordinance and that his application for naturalization is approved by the registrar.

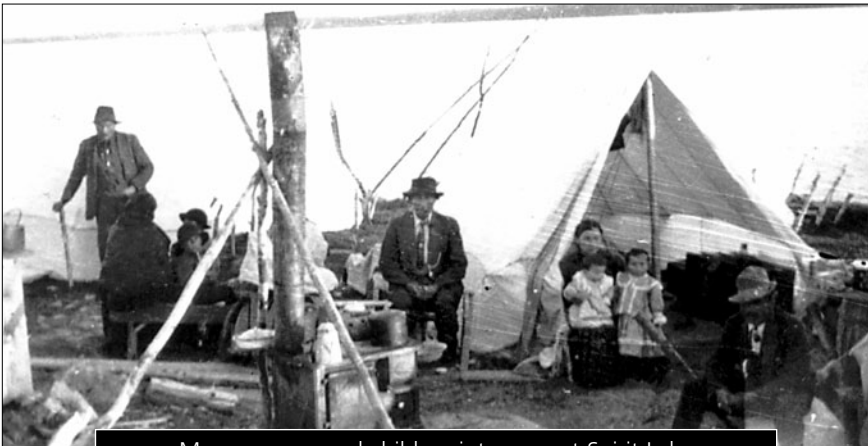
The Committee submit the same for approval.

RODOLPHE BOUDREAU,  
Clerk of the Privy Council.

and “Bukovynian,” or as “Ruthenes” or “Rusyns” or “Ruthenians,” the nationality or ethnic identity of many of these victims of Canada’s first national internment operations has sometimes been misunderstood. Most commonly those interned have been referred to only as “Austrians, Germans and Turks,” or described even more simply as prisoners of war, (POWs) if they are even mentioned by Canadian historians writing about the First World War. [4] The majority of those interned were neither soldiers but civilians of “Austrian” origin, of whom many were Ukrainians.

### *Canadian concentration camps*

Most of the estimated 170,000 Ukrainians who had been lured to Canada with promises of free land and freedom were, by 1914, settled in western Canada’s Prairie region, although significant communities had begun forming, after 1905, in Ontario and Quebec, where Ukrainians worked in the timber and mining industries, on construction, and in various factories. [5] These immigrants had mostly come to Canada from the Habsburg Austrian crownlands of Galicia and Bukovyna. [6] Their citizenship, but not their nationality, was officially therefore described as “Austrian” or “Austro-Hungarian.” Those so categorized were, under the terms of the same War Measures Act (1914) that would later be used against Japanese Canadians (1941) and the Quebecois (1970), subject to imprisonment



Men, women and children internees at Spirit Lake

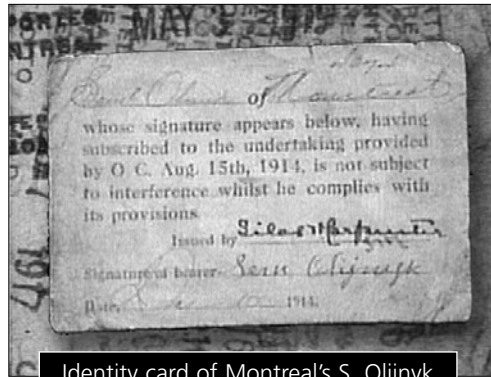
in one of the 24 receiving stations and “concentration camps” established across Canada (see *Map I, pages 8-9*) or at the very least subject to registration as “enemy aliens.” [7]

**German prisoners of war are likely to be brought to Vernon in the near future, the military authorities having taken over the large building fronting on Lorne Street, just west of Mara Avenue, to be used as a military prison. The building, which was originally a provincial jail, but until last autumn was used as a branch of the Provincial Hospital for the Insane, is well suited to the purposes for which it will be used.**

- *Vernon News, 17 September 1914, page 1*

### *Civilians interned - men, women and children*

Between 1914 and 1920, 8,579 “enemy aliens” were incarcerated, among them 81 women and 156 children, as reported by Major-General Sir William Dillon Otter, the Officer Commanding the internment operations for the Department of Justice. [8] Of this number only 3,138, according to General Otter’s calculations, could be properly classed as “prisoners of war,” all others being civilians. [9] Of the remaining 5,441 many were of Ukrainian origin (see *Document XI, page 160*) . Over 80,000 others, of whom a majority were also Ukrainian, were categorized as “enemy aliens” and obliged to report regularly to special registrars or to local or North West Mounted Police forces. They were issued with identity papers that had to be carried at all times. Those failing to do so could be subjected to arrest, fine, even imprisonment. [10]



Identity card of Montreal's S. Olijnyk

In “Keeping tab on the aliens,” the *Brandon Sun* described these procedures for its readers:

*When first reporting each man is given a card which must be signed every month by the chief of police, postmaster, or justice of the peace, at the place where he is staying. Thus a record of the movements of each foreigner is kept. Should a policeman see a foreigner's card that has not been properly signed by an official, the man is liable to be placed under arrest for breaking parole and interned with the other alien enemies [at the Winter Fair Building.] There are a few of the foreigners enrolled in Brandon who have not been reporting and these are being hunted up and placed under arrest. [11]*

Thus when an “Austrian” found “lurking in the bush” in October 1914 refused to explain his movements he was arrested by the military authorities and, as reported by the *Winnipeg Free Press*, would “probably be sent to the detention camp at Kingston.” [12]

### **Enemy Alien Is Held By Police On Theft Charge**

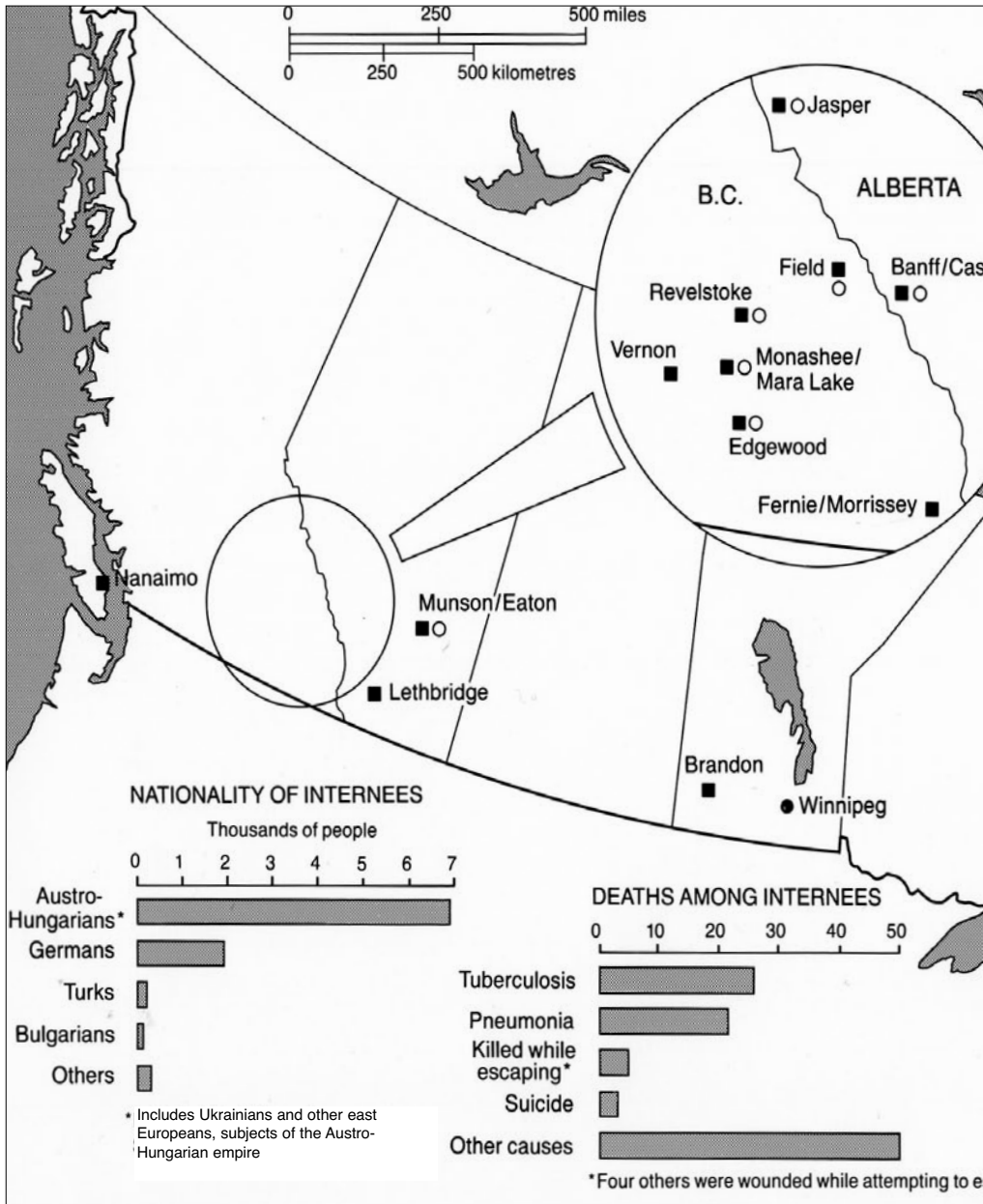
**Henry Wock, alias Wolf, was taken in custody by the police today charged with stealing \$580 from Mike Fegiw, 141 Meade street, while the latter was asleep. He will appear in police court Saturday.**

**It is alleged that Fegiw before going to bed Monday, placed his roll under his pillow. He was awakened during the night and saw Wock pacing the floor and asked him why he could not sleep. Wock told him that the rats in the house made him nervous. Next morning the roll was missing.**

**Wock is an alien and it is said has been keeping under cover in a house in Elmwood since Tuesday but was forced to come out to report to the intelligence department today. He walked into the arms of two policemen who were waiting to receive him.**

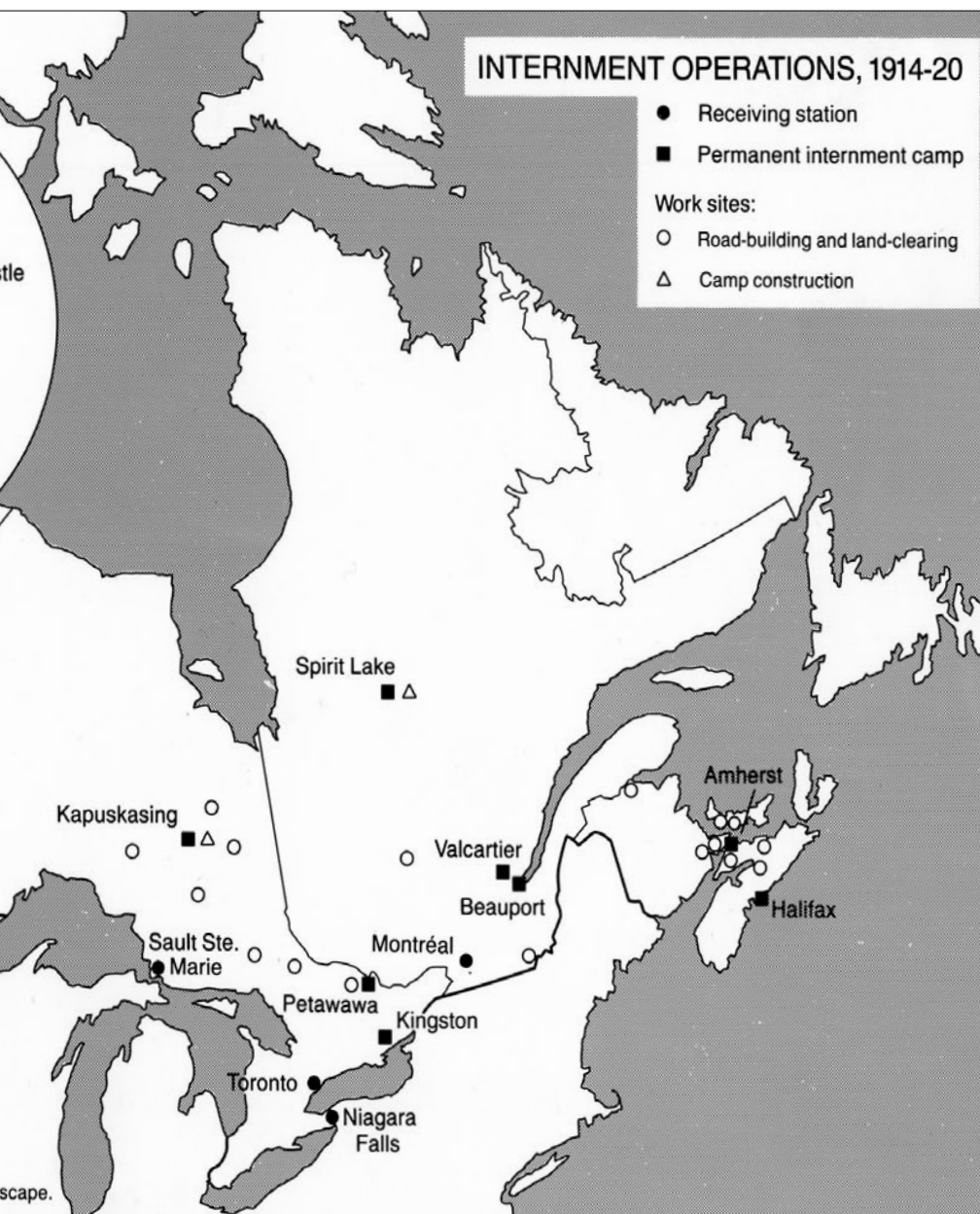
*- Winnipeg Telegram, 14 December 1917, page 3*

Map 1: Canada's First National Internment Operations



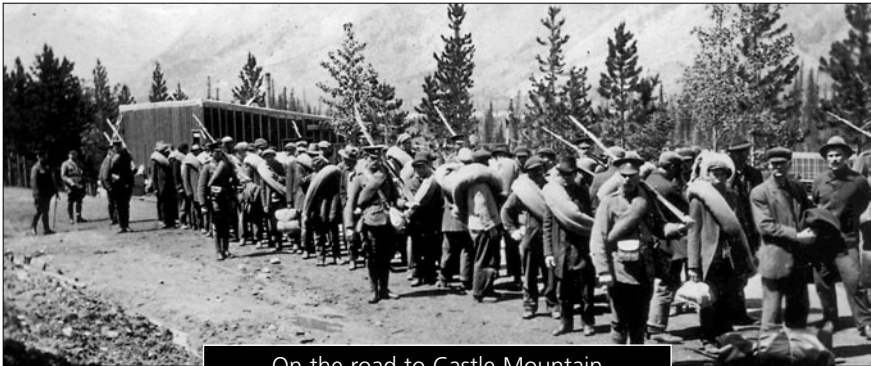
## INTERNMENT OPERATIONS, 1914-20

- Receiving station
  - Permanent internment camp
- Work sites:
- Road-building and land-clearing
  - △ Camp construction



*State-sanctioned censures*

Restrictions were imposed on freedom of speech, association and movement for “enemy aliens.” Municipalities received instructions to “keep a watchful eye” on all Germans and Austrians domiciled within their jurisdictions, lists being drawn up to ensure that the whereabouts and travels of these foreigners could be “checked in a systematic fashion.” [13] The latter’s state-sanctioned misery was compounded by the actions of those employers who, out of patriotic zeal, however misplaced, dismissed their “Austrians” from work, furthering their distress. [14] All “enemy aliens” were prevented from leaving the country, ostensibly so as to prevent those of military age from being able to return to their homelands, there to serve in the ranks of the Central Powers. Those who had suddenly found themselves out of work, their modest resources insufficient to keep body and soul together for more than a few months, who therefore attempted to cross the international border to find work in the as yet neutral United States of America, were often apprehended attempting to do so. Being so caught, in direct violation of the prohibition against leaving the country, they were interned. Regulations even prevented some “enemy aliens” from accessing their own bank accounts. [15] Efforts made by many recent immigrants to secure their naturalization papers, to thereby avoid confinement as “enemy aliens” were stymied. [16] As for those whose conditions were precarious enough as a result of the pre-war economic depression many of them were sometimes interned simply because they had become, or were made, “destitute,” a rather illiberal means for dealing with the unemployed. [17]



On the road to Castle Mountain

**Private McDonald**

**He'll Tell You To Cuss The Guard To Be Sure That You Land Right**

There's a chance for everyone who figures that freedom is an undesirable condition during this time of stress, to make a free trip to the internment camp and live on the fat of the land until the war is over. The idea is promoted by Private McDonald of the 51<sup>st</sup> regiment, who made a suggestion to an Austrian the other night when the latter applied for the Government free lunch and board.

The representative of the enemy did not have employment and his appearance bore out his statement that he was suffering from hunger. He applied to McDonald at the armory door for a berth at the internment camp, and met the reply that there was nothing doing unless he was guilty of some offence which brought him under the attention of the military authorities.

"I'm a good man," said the Austrian. "Speak no English but want to go to camp."

"Start something," said Mac. "Otherwise beat it. You're not on the report list and you're behaving yourself."

"What can I do?" said the Austrian, "I must go to the camp or starve."

"Go down there and cuss the guard," said Mac. "He'll fix you up."

"No! no! He'll shoot me," said the applicant for Government favor.

He never came back.

*- Sault Daily Star, 23 July 1915, page 1*

Later an order-in-council was proclaimed which precluded any person of "enemy alien" origin from acquiring any land, power rights or other benefits from Dominion lands in western Canada for the duration of the war and thereafter, until otherwise ordered. [18]



### *A multicultural internee population*

Determining the nationality of the internees or of those registered as “enemy aliens” is difficult, since relevant archival materials were deliberately destroyed at the National Archives of Canada after the Second World War (see *Document IV*, page 23). [19] Today there are few survivors left to provide eyewitness testimony. [20] However, those records which were preserved suggest that a large number of the so-called “Austro-Hungarians” were of Ukrainian origin. This was certainly the largest eastern European immigrant community in Canada at the time. However among the “Austrians” rounded up there were also Croatians, Serbs, Slovaks, Poles, Italians, Bulgarians, Slovenes, Hungarians, Russians, Jews, Romanians and other Europeans, a truly multicultural internee population. An equally multinational Ottoman Empire was likewise represented by the “Turks” who were interned. [21]

### *“First Class” versus “Second Class” internees*

Prisoners of war of German nationality and German-speaking Austrians were quickly separated from the other internees and placed into a “first class” category. This meant that, generally, they were kept in relatively more comfortable camps, such as the one established at Fort Henry, near Kingston, Ontario, [22] at “The Citadel” in Halifax, [23] or at the Malleable Iron Works in Amherst, Nova Scotia [24]. However, the majority of those described as “Austrian” (on lists of prisoners these men were often more precisely categorized as “Galicians” of “Greek [Ukrainian] Catholic” religious affiliation, as Bukovynians, or as “Ruthenians,” although the word Ukrainian was also used in some official reports) were



Internee construction crew  
near Edgewood,  
British Columbia



Internees in Fort Henry courtyard



Internees celebrating Ukrainian Christmas, Fort Henry, 1916



Vernon internment camp, British Columbia, *circa* 1916

sent to work camps in Canada's hinterlands, to places like Kapuskasing, Ontario, Spirit Lake, Quebec [25], Castle Mountain or Jasper, Alberta and Fernie or Morrissey, British Columbia. [26]

### **Canada's New Detention Camp**

**The four hundred alien enemies who were transferred from Fort Henry are now safely installed in their new quarters. Kapuskasing Camp is the largest of any of the Canadian detention camps and is said to be like a band of steel, escape being the next thing to an impossibility. The camp is located on the National Transcontinental line, beyond McPherson, but the train service is for those carrying proper credentials only. As to anyone riding the bumpers that is also impossible and as to anyone walking away there is no place to go, as there are no settlements east, west, north or south for many miles, and a man would have little chance of getting to a far-away settlement. The camp has its schools, stores, home and its own churches, which fact shows the gigantic nature of it.**

*- Pembroke Standard, 30 May 1917, page 1*

### ***Obligated to work, exploited labour***

Internees were obliged not only to construct the very camps in which they were immured but also to work on road-building, land-clearing, woodcutting and railway construction projects (*see Document X, page 159*). [27] By November 1915 it was being reported that some 5,000 "enemy aliens" were interned at different camps across Canada, working for the state and performing labour "which is computed at \$1,500,000 a year," principally consisting of clearing land for experimental farms in northern Ontario and Quebec and in western Canada's national parks. [28]

As the need for soldiers overseas led to a critical shortage of workers in Canada many of these “Austrian” internees were released on parole, although not without public debate. They were allowed to work for private business concerns, for municipal, provincial and federal levels of government, and for the railway companies. [29]



Funeral procession, Spirit Lake internment camp

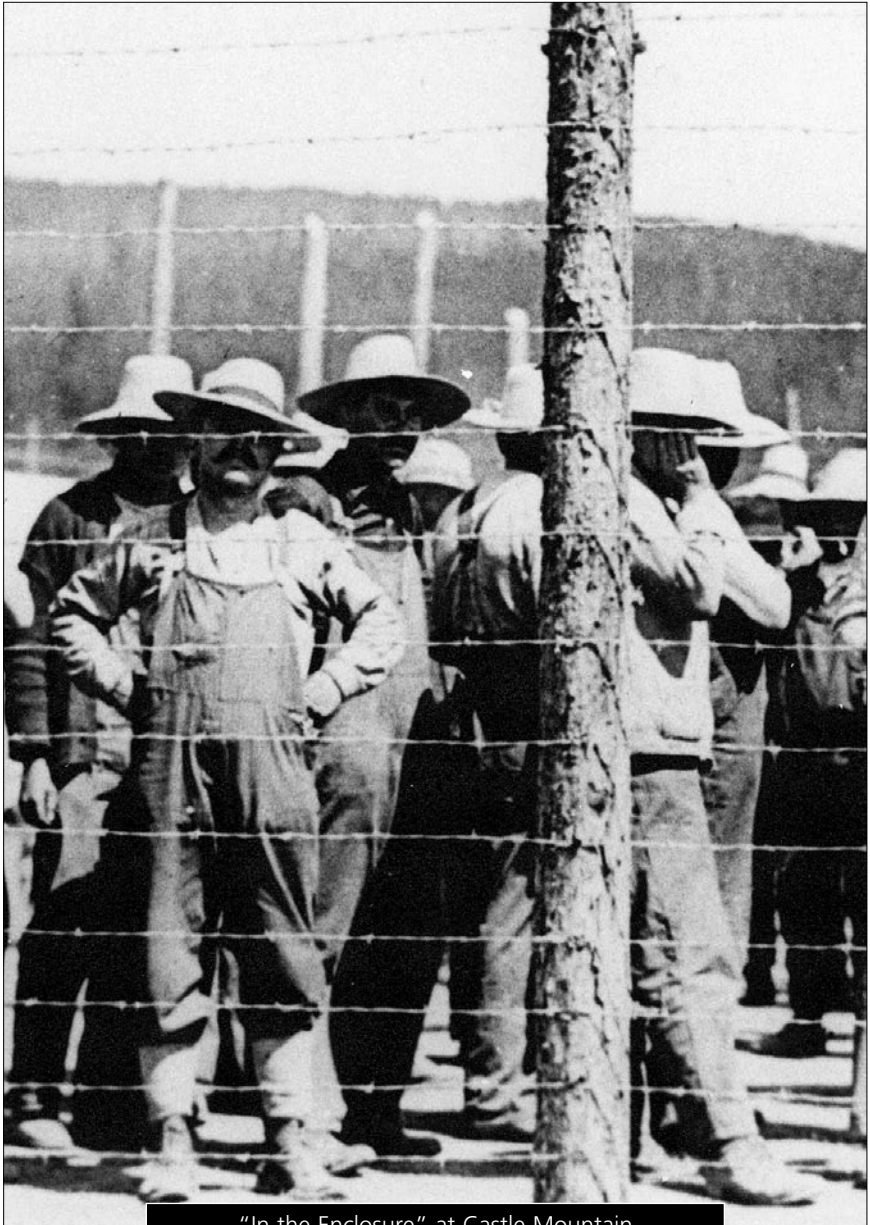


Wood cutters at Spirit Lake internment camp, Quebec

### **Alien Enemies**

When peace is declared will the enemy aliens who are now confined to internment camps in Canada be sent to the country of their allegiance as part of the process of exchanging prisoners? That they will be turned loose into the free life of this country to share in the abounding opportunities it presents is hardly conceivable, says a Toronto paper. Men who were a public danger in time of war ought not to be trusted in time of peace, and ought not to have thrown open to them all the careers and advantages that should be reserved for our own loyal people and brave defenders. Canada has nurtured too many serpents in its bosom. One lesson the war has taught is the necessity for rigorously excluding every alien immigrant who does not give reasonable assurance of readiness to renounce his foreign allegiance and embrace the British citizenship to which after due probation all worthy candidates ought to be admitted. Men who proved themselves so hostile to this country's welfare as did the enemy aliens now interned ought to be shipped to the land of their birth and their preference. They cannot be put on the same footing as our own people. They cannot be allowed to snap up the prizes of business and industry before our own men have returned to Canada and been discharged from military service. We must give first thought to our own. That there are in Canada employers of labor who now at least as readily give work to any alien enemy as to a loyal citizen is, we regret to say, a fact. They, too, ought to be in the internment camps but they are British subjects in name and are not so indiscreet as to proclaim that self-interest is to them more than patriotism. All the positions in the industrial and business establishments of this country will be needed by the men who will be returning from the war and by immigrants of the right stamp from the United Kingdom. Loyalty to the men who are enlisting requires that we do not allow released enemy aliens to gobble up the livelihoods that have been relinquished for sacrifice against Germany. While the war lasts the labor of interned enemy aliens may be utilized for productive purposes, but once the war is over these foreigners should be sent to the country where their heart is.

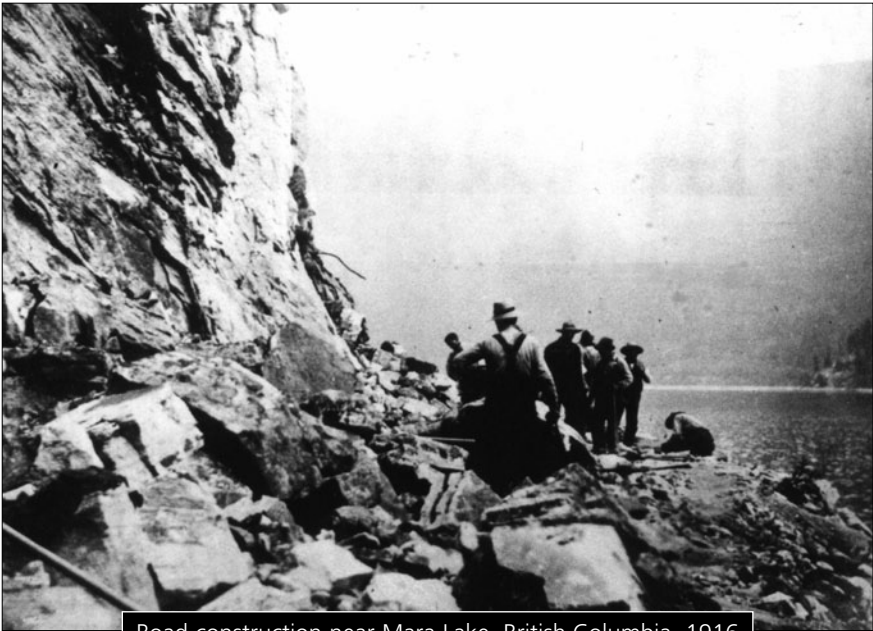
*- Vernon News, 20 July 1916, page 4*



"In the Enclosure" at Castle Mountain

The internees' pay was fixed at a rate equivalent to that of a soldier, which was considerably less than what they might have expected to make if they had been able to offer their labour freely in the marketplace. [30] Those who accepted work on parole but then refused to perform it or exhibited insubordination could be re-interned, as was reported by the *Globe*, 19 July 1918, "Aliens quit work: Are ordered back," page 2. In this case fifty aliens who had refused to continue working as firemen for the Street Company of Cape Breton were told by the military to either return to work or face the consequences. They sensibly chose the former.

As General Otter dryly noted, the parole system "proved a great advantage to the organizations short of labour." [31] Thus, the internment operations not only severely circumscribed the civil liberties and human rights of the individuals affected but uprooted families, censured entire ethnic minority communities, and also allowed for the exploitation of the internees' labour for profit.



Road construction near Mara Lake, British Columbia, 1916



Construction of motor road from Banff to Lake Louise, circa 1915



General Otter visits Mount Revelstoke internment camp, British Columbia, 20 August 1915



### *The human costs*

Upon each individual's arrest, whatever valuables they might have had were seized. Some of this confiscated wealth was stolen. [32] As early as 1915 General Otter wrote, "difficulties have arisen in accounting for the monies received." In his final report, he acknowledged that:

*As many of those interned were residents of Canada and possessed real estate, securities, etc. such have been turned over to the 'Custodian of Enemy Alien Properties' for the future decision of the Government. [33]*

While estimates vary, nearly \$30,000 in cash was left in the Receiver-General's Office at the end of these internment operations (*see Document III, page 22*). What the property, securities, and other valuables that were also confiscated might now be worth has yet to be calculated. The human costs of these internment operations are, of course, incalculable.

Daily existence in the internment camps was, by most accounts, strenuous. Prisoners were often denied access to newspapers; their correspondence was censored and limited. They were forced not only to maintain the camps but also to work for the government and for private concerns, and their guards sometimes mistreated them. As General Otter wrote:

*The various complaints made to you by prisoners as to the rough conduct of the guards I fear is not altogether without reason, a fact much to be regretted, and, I am sorry to say, by no means an uncommon occurrence at other Stations. [34]*

The difficult working and living conditions and enforced confinement took their physical and mental toll. Altogether 107 internees died, 69 of them "Austrians." But there were other costs as well. Watson Kirkconnell, who served at both the Fort Henry and Kapuskasing internment camps, observed that "among the camp population" there were "few on whom the long years

of captivity had not left their mark.” Confinement in a strange land, inactivity and hopeless waiting were in themselves enough to shatter the nerves and undermine an internee’s health. [35]

Otter also acknowledged that “insanity was by no means uncommon among the prisoners.” A relative described how his wife’s brother had suffered in the Petawawa internment camp:

*They had broken his spirit up there. He could never get over the injustice of his treatment, the falseness of his hope in this new world. [36]*

#### **Charged With Bigamy, She May Be A Spy**

**Swift Current, March 7 - Mrs. Prokop Sasko was arrested here on Sunday charged with bigamy and released on \$500 bail in the police court on Monday afternoon. The woman, passing under the name of Nellie Roske, was married in St. Stephen’s church here on Feb. 8 last to Sasko, and it is claimed that she has a husband, one Theodore Zuluski, interned as an enemy alien in Brandon, to whom she was married three years ago in the Greek church on St. John street, Regina. The woman and her real husband are Austrians. Sasko, whom she married here, is a Russian in khaki. The woman speaks very good English and it is thought that she married Sasko in order to get the separation allowance for soldiers’ wives. There is some suspicion that she is an Austrian spy, but rumors to that effect have not as yet been verified. The woman is remanded for one week.**

*- Winnipeg Telegram, 7 March 1916, page 11*

CANADA

DEPARTMENT OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE

2-17 OFFICE OF THE CUSTODIAN AND THE CLEARING OFFICE

Rooms 201-206 Trafalgar Building,

Ottawa, July 25th, 1929.

ADDRESS ALL  
COMMUNICATIONS  
TO THE  
CUSTODIAN'S OFFICE

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. MULVEY.

As per your request of July 20th, you will find herewith the information required by P. S. ROSS & SONS, as per the attached correspondence,-

Balance of Prisoners of War Earnings  
account as at March 31st 1929 - \$23,071.39

Balance of Prisoners of War Personal  
Cash account as at March 31st 1929 - \$ 6,288.73

Total amount yet to pay out on receipt  
of applications from ex-prisoners. \$29,360.12

I also enclose one copy each of Orders-in-Council No. P.C. 574, and P.C. 1610 which I think will cover their requirements.

  
Accountant,  
for Internment Operations.

EXTRACT from the minutes of a meeting of the Honourable the  
Treasury Board, held at Ottawa, on March 5, 1954.

M.E.B.

T.B.463341

SECRETARY OF STATE

The Board, on the recommendation of the  
Public Records Committee, grant authority for the destruction  
of the following records created from the operations of the  
Custodian of Enemy Property during World War I:

- (a) Individual files and ledgers connected with internment operations.
- (b) Individual files covering settled claims for damages arising out of acts of illegal warfare committed by the enemy.
- (c) Files, documents and accounting records covering claims by Canadians for property located in enemy countries;
- (d) Files relating to debts owing by Canadians to creditors residing in various enemy countries;
- (e) Files dealing with applications for release of property vested in the Custodian; and
- (f) Files pertaining to the administration and liquidation of enemy property in Canada.

*D. Mulatto*

Assistant Secretary.

Copies for Board  
and  
Mr. Aubrey.

DEPARTMENT OF  
TREASURY  
AND  
FINANCE  
OTTAWA

### *Resistance*

While passive resistance was common, internees simply refusing to work or merely pretending to, occasionally more vigorous demonstrations took place in protest against the conditions in which they found themselves (*see Documents V and VI, pages 26-28*). There was a serious disturbance in the Fort Henry camp in April 1915 and a full-scale riot in 1916 in the Kapuskasing camp, involving some 900 prisoners who were ranged against 300 guards. [37]. There were also numerous attempts at escape. [38] During several of these, Ukrainian Canadians were killed. Others committed suicide. A board of enquiry into the death of William Perchaluk, in Alberta in 1916, determined that he had killed himself in a police station while being detained pending investigations being made as to his nationality. It was concluded that his “rash act would appear to have been committed during a fit of despondency.” [39]



“A stubborn prisoner,” Castle Mountain



Body of Ivan Hryhoryshchuk, killed while attempting to escape from the Spirit Lake internment camp, 7 June 1915

### Escaped Austrian Shot By Farmer

Mail in from Spirit Lake, the camp in northern Quebec where alien enemies are interned, brings news that an Austrian who escaped from the camp was shot dead, Sunday, by a young man named Germain. Three others who had escaped were captured by a posse organized at Amos, on the Transcontinental line. Among them is said to be one who was a druggist in Montreal. Germain, according to the story, was carrying provisions on a hand car from Lazarre to Amos when he was stopped by the Austrian, who put his hand to his pocket as if to draw a weapon. Germain, who was carrying a rifle, fired twice, and the man dropped dead. According to Germain's story, he then restarted the car, and on seeing three other Austrians break toward him from the bush, made all speed to Amos. There a posse was organized and the three were recaptured.

The body of the dead man was taken to the internment camp and identified, but his name has not been revealed.

Germain had been given the rifle by his father, as the inhabitants have for some time been afraid to travel unarmed.

*- Winnipeg Free Press, 23 June 1915, page 1*

**Y.M.C.A. SERVICE FOR PRISONERS OF WAR**

CARRIED ON INTERNATIONALLY BY MUTUAL AGREEMENT OF BELLIGERENT  
NATIONS UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE  
OF NEW YORK, THE NATIONAL COUNCILS OF THE VARIOUS  
COUNTRIES INVOLVED CO-OPERATING

WRITTEN AT \_\_\_\_\_ DATE \_\_\_\_\_ 1918

COPY.

Internment Camp Vernon B.C.,  
April 19, 1918.

P.O.W. CAMP COMMITTEE

Internment Camp Vernon B.C.

We beg to inform you that our fellow-prisoners in Internment Camp at Morrissey are exposed to the very brutal treatment of the Canadian soldiers and non-commissioned officers doing police duty there. As we know that it is impossible for them to write to you stating the facts, and that complaints to the Officer-Commanding result only in making things worse for them, we must request you, for the sake of humanity, to inform the Royal Consulate of Sweden, the legal representative of our interests in Canada of these conditions and to beg him to exercise his influence to have a stop put to the cruel treatment of Prisoners of War in Morrissey.

Signed :	W. M. Doskoeh	No. 535
	Josef Kratky	" 808
	Frank Pavich	" 147
	Peter Buchak	" 603
	Sam Sichon	" 445
	Iwan Sebunka	" 812.



COMPLAINTS.

In the short time at my disposal (3 hours) over 50 Prisoners of War interviewed me.

The Prisoners complain of being forced to work and in being deprived of all Camp privileges when refusing to do so. One man states he was compelled to work outside of Compound. They claim that they are deprived of the right to spend their own money at the Canteen, this means that refusal to work prevents them from obtaining tobacco or cigarettes etc. The Commandant stated to me that he had asked the question "Are you willing to work". This is admitted by the Prisoners. It was not stated by the Commanding Officer what the work should consist of, whether the ordinary camp work which the Prisoners of War are supposed to do, or work which might benefit the Canadian Government. Most of the Prisoners of War are very patriotic and refuse to do work which might release a Canadian to go to the front.

I find that quite a number of Prisoners have been punished for "Refusing to obey an order". On examination the Prisoners stated that invariably the "Order" was a command to perform some work, and which they refused to do. In many cases the refusal to work would be followed by physical coercion on the part of the guards resulting in protests by Prisoners and strong language, the consequence being aggravated punishment. In one case Prisoner of War No. 258, Wilhelm Schneider, was sentenced to five months hard labour in Nelson Jail, for "Refusing to obey an order and using obscene language to Sergt. Major Bryant".

They complain that the allowance of One dollar per month has been withdrawn in consequence of which some of the men are absolutely destitute.

They complain that they are made to pay exorbitant prices for canteen supplies, in some cases double the prices as paid by guards. They pay a great deal more than the guards for Tobacco, Cigarettes, Matches, etc., as admitted by the Officer Commanding.

They complain of brutal treatment and vile language towards them by the guards. One man in particular claims to have been beaten by two non-commissioned officers in turn.

Two Prisoners complained of having been punished for certain statements made in letters written to friends. This I ascertained to be facts. I think that if anything said by the Prisoners of War was considered impolitic to be allowed out of the Camp, such statements should simply have been deleted by the Censor.

The Prisoners complain that they are not provided with sufficient ground for exercise, games and sport. I cannot



I cannot agree with them. There is plenty of ground and the Internment Operations Office has supplied them with tennis rackets, balls, etc., but the men have refused to clear and grade the necessary location. It appears that they cannot agree on the matter of who should work on the preparation of a Tennis Court.

A large number complain that their communications to this Consulate had been suppressed. This I ascertained to be actual facts and have written to Major General Otter protesting against such action by his Officers.

The Officers drew my attention to a black list, containing the names of Prisoners under the designation of "Bad Actors". Apparently these men have to suffer for actions committed elsewhere. There is no doubt that some of the men came to this Camp with a bad record, but according to my opinion each offense should be dealt with according to its own merit and not according to the former record of the Prisoner of War.

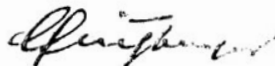
The Prisoners of War generally request more frequent visits by Consular representatives, claiming that there is always a considerable change in the attitude of Officers and soldiers after a visit by a Consul taking care of German Interests.

In conclusion I wish to say that my visit to Morrissey was a great disappointment to me. I had been under the impression that Morrissey Camp was a "Happy Camp". I drew this deduction from the fact that I did not receive complaints from this Internment Station, the reason was disclosed as stated above.

I would recommend regular inspection every three months, but the next inspection to be in the nature of an investigation with full power to examine and question Prisoners, Officers and Guards.

In submitting this report,

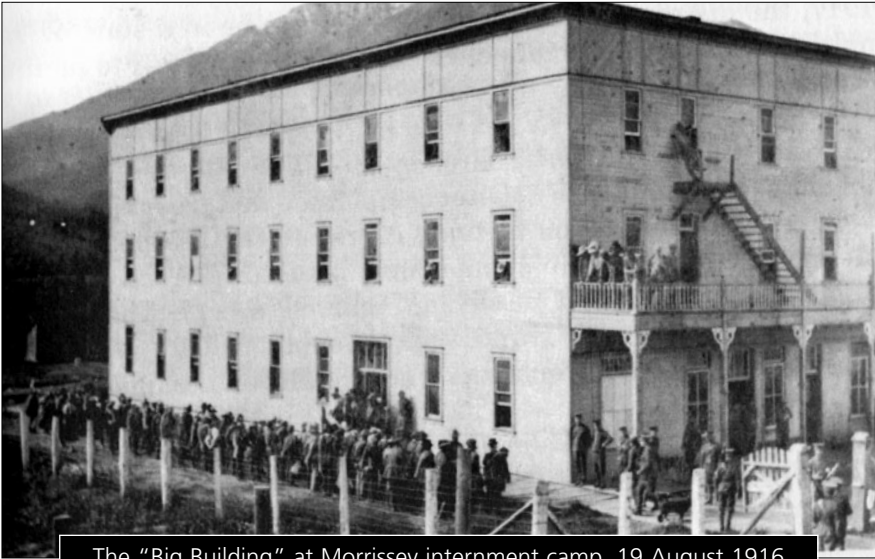
I have the honour to be,  
Sir,  
Your obedient Servant,



CONSUL OF SWITZERLAND

For the

Provinces of British Columbia and Alberta.



The "Big Building" at Morrissey internment camp, 19 August 1916

### *Protestations of loyalty ignored*

The authorities did receive information confirming that they were interning Ukrainians who actually had no sympathy with the war aims of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. [40] In July 1916, for example, a group of Ukrainian Canadian editors addressed an appeal to the Canadian people. In part, it read:

*The Ukrainians of Western Canada have found themselves heavily handicapped since the outbreak of the war by the fact of their Austrian birth, which had led the Dominion Government, as well as Canadian employers of labor, to unjustly class them as Austrians, and therefore enemy aliens. Many have been interned, though they are no more in sympathy with the enemy than are the Poles, for they are as distinct a nationality which hopes to emerge from the war in the enjoyment of a wide measure of national autonomy [yet] Ukrainians in Canada are treated as enemy Austrians. They are persecuted, by thousands they are interned, they are dismissed*

*from their employment, and their applications for work are not entertained. And why? For only one reason, that they were so unhappy as to be born into the Austrian bondage. [41]*

Throughout the war years numerous other letters, petitions, and memoranda would be addressed to the federal and provincial authorities by Ukrainian Canadian organizations, asserting that the allegiance of Ukrainian Canadians lay with the Dominion of Canada and the British Empire. [42] Similar messages were forwarded by individuals. For example, in mid-November 1914, Paul Wacyk of Komarno, Manitoba wrote to R. Fletcher, deputy minister of the Department of Education in Winnipeg:

*I have heard of no movement on the part of the people here which would in any way indicate that they were disloyal to the British Empire. [43]*

The word “Ukrainian” was itself used in official descriptions of some of the camps’ inhabitants (i.e. report on a visit to the Banff Internment Camp, May, 1916) and in newspaper accounts dealing with eastern Europe during and after the war. [44] Surviving internees reported that they explained to their interrogators the differences between “Austro-Hungarian” citizenship and Ukrainian nationality. Canadian lawyers even addressed letters to camp commandants pointing out that some of those who were imprisoned had suffered that fate only because they did not speak English very well and thus “could not explain [their] nationality.” [45] Even General Otter acknowledged that rather than disloyalty it was “the tendency of municipalities to unload their indigents [that] was the cause of the confinement of not a few.” [46]

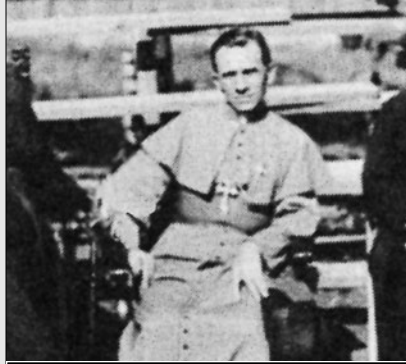
Despite the controversy that arose over a pre-war pastoral letter circulated by Bishop Nykyta Budka, which had been seized upon by his enemies within the community and later exploited by some editorialists who had challenged his stewardship over the Ruthenian Catholics of Canada, [47] the loyalty of Ukrainians to Canada and to the British Empire was really never seriously in doubt, as was recognized at the time. For example, John W.

## Must Become Canadians

The Canadian Ruthenian, Bishop Budka's paper, comes out this week with a portrait of King George on its first page and fervent expressions of loyalty. In other ways, too, the Bishop and his friends have been busy in proclaiming their devotion to the British cause. Evidently somebody has been talking to Bishop Budka during the past week.

Of course, Bishop Budka and his friends are very indignant because of the publicity which The Free Press gave his precious pastoral letter. As usual, charges of fanaticism are preferred against this journal; and elaborate attempts are being made in the church papers to justify the Bishop's mobilization order to the churches under his control.

The Free Press does not think it necessary further to characterize this pastoral. It speaks for itself. The most striking characteristic of the letter was the unconscious revelation of Bishop Budka's state of mind. It showed him as believing that "the Canadian Ukraine" was an extra-territorial possession of Austria, whose



Bishop Nykyta Budka, Winnipeg, 1921

residents were still under Austrian control. He has learned in the past week that this is a Canadian country. The Free Press, which has been trying for some time to educate him and his entourage in this respect, is naturally pleased that they at last show signs of learning this lesson.

As for the charges of fanaticism, it does not disturb The Free Press. If it be fanatical to insist that people coming to Canada to settle shall become Canadian then it is, and shall continue to be, fanatical. This charge has often been preferred against The Free Press since it began, some two years ago, to put the spotlight of publicity upon the conspiracy to create in Western Canada a Ruthenian national

organization intended to maintain in perpetuity the language, customs and racial ideas of the Ukrainian people.

In its campaign The Free Press has never attacked the Ruthenians. It has confined its attentions to the mischief-makers who have been trying to mislead them. The Ruthenians came to this country looking for freedom, happiness, a chance to earn a living, and citizenship in a free country. All this they have obtained. Left to themselves, they would be eager and proud to become part of the Canadian nation, adapting themselves to our customs and institutions and advising their children to become Canadians in every sense of the word.

The “national” movement, which has been be-devilling these people of late years, gets its inspiration from several sources. Agitators have imported into this country the lingo and catch cries of the nationalist crusade in Galicia, and the movement has been sedulously encouraged by clerics who fear the affects of the Anglicization of their people. Vote-seeking, power-craving politicians have co-operated for their own selfish purposes.

The enterprise was bound to fail, once the people were awakened to what was going on. It has not been the least of the services that The Free Press has rendered the people of Western Canada that it has given this movement a measure of publicity entirely unwelcome to its leaders. The end, inevitable in any case, will be hastened by the conditions created by the war.

With the terrible example of Europe before their eyes, the people of Canada will see to it that this vast western plain is not divided up among races, nourishing age-long animosities and cherishing divergent racial ideas. Our gates are open to the oppressed of Europe but when they come here they must forget their feuds, forswear their racial aspirations and become Canadians, not only in name but in fact. Otherwise Western Canada will see in fifty years a repetition of the conditions which have turned Central Europe into a shambles.

- *Winnipeg Free Press,*  
*10 August 1914, page 9*

Dafoe, of the *Winnipeg Free Press*, observed in an 11 August 1914 editorial entitled, "As To Slav Loyalty," that "there never has at any time been any question as to the loyalty of the majority of Slav settlers. They will be faithful sons of their adopted country." [48]

### *Preferential treatment for "Friendly Aliens"?*

This truth was realized at the highest levels of the Empire. From London instructions were sent out on 8 February 1915 which called for the governments of British overseas dominions and colonies to bring their practices in regard to the treatment of "special classes" of interned enemy subjects into conformity with those pursued in Great Britain (*see Document VII, page 34*). Signing for the under secretary of state, Henry Lambert of the Colonial Office noted that "preferential treatment" should be accorded not only to "inhabitants of French extraction of Alsace and Lorraine," but also to:

*the following races which are considered to be hostile to Austro-Hungarian rule:- Czechs, Croats, Italians (from Trieste and the Trentino), Poles, Roumanians, Ruthenes, Serbs, Slovaks and Slovenes. [49]*

### *Over-represented in Canada's armed forces*

Loyalty to country was also proven by high enlistment rates. Ukrainians reportedly voluntarily joined the Canadian army in record numbers, often doing so by misrepresenting where they had been born and who they were, even by changing their surnames to "Smith" in order to serve. As Mr. H. A. Mackie, MP (Edmonton East) wrote to Prime Minister Robert L. Borden in October 1918:

*To estimate the number of Ukrainians who have enlisted with the Canadian Expeditionary Forces would be very hard as they were enlisting in various battalions from the Atlantic to the Pacific coast, but it is safe to say that, to the approximate half*

18544  
17 FEB 1915

Downing Street,  
8th February, 1915.

Sir,

With reference to your letter 0103/3283 (A.G.3) of the 14th of October last respecting the treatment in this country of natives of Alsace and Lorraine, I am directed by Mr. Secretary Harcourt to request you to inform the Army Council that with the concurrence of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, he proposes to invite the Governments of the British oversea Dominions and Colonies to bring their practice in regard to the treatment of special classes of interned enemy subjects into conformity with that pursued in this country so far as local conditions will allow.

Mr. Harcourt understands that the special classes receiving preferential treatment here include besides the inhabitants of French extraction of Alsace and Lorraine, the following races which are considered to be hostile to Austro-Hungarian rule:- Czechs, Croats, Italians (from Trieste and the Trentino), Poles, Roumanians, Ruthenes, Serbs, Slovaks and Slovenes; and he would be glad to learn in what respects the treatment in the United Kingdom of these and other similar classes of enemy subjects, if any, differs from that of other enemy subjects.

I am, &c.,

(Sd.) HENRY LAMBERT,  
for the Under Secretary of State.

*million soldiers in Canada, if the figures of the War Office were available, it could be shown that these people, per population, gave a larger percentage of men to the war than certain races in Canada have, after having enjoyed the privileges of British citizenship for a period of a century or more. [50]*

### *Filip Konowal, a Ukrainian Canadian hero*



Corporal Filip Konowal, VC

While some Ukrainian Canadians would soldier with valour and distinction - Corporal Filip Konowal would win the Victoria Cross in August 1917 at the battle for Hill 70, near Lens, France - others who had enlisted but were later discovered to be “Austrian” were expelled from the army and even interned. [51] One such Ukrainian Canadian, Nick Chonomod, writing from a camp near Halifax to a Captain Adams of the 6<sup>th</sup> Military Division, recorded that not only had he joined a battalion being formed in Edmonton in August 1914, but that he had lived in Canada for seven years, had married a Canadian-born woman, become a naturalized British subject,

and taken up a homestead in Alberta. Having thus repeatedly affirmed his loyalty he added that he could not understand “on what charge I am being kept here.” [52]

### *Disfranchisement - A national humiliation*

The internment of several thousand Ukrainian Canadians was accompanied by various other state-sanctioned censures, the most harmful being passage of the War Time Elections Act in September 1917, which



disfranchised most Ukrainian Canadians. [53] There was little effective protest against this law, although Canada's oldest daily newspaper, the *Daily British Whig* of Kingston, Ontario, did ruminate:

*It is quite probable that if this proposal becomes law the alleged 'foreigners' and hitherto 'naturalized' Canadians will bear their reproach meekly, but they will have sown in their hearts the seeds of a bitterness that can never be extirpated. The man whose honour has been mistrusted, and who has been singled out for national humiliation, will remember it and sooner or later it will have to be atoned for. [54]*

Likewise the editorial writers of Toronto's *Globe* commented, on 21 August 1917 (see "The Naturalized Voters, page 4), "that no country could take a short cut to victory by wrong-doing without suffering moral loss and damage." Condemning proposals to disfranchise naturalized citizens as "legally indefensible and morally wrong" the editorial went on to insist that those who had "settled in our midst at our invitation, trusting implicitly in our good faith" must not be "treacherously and without provocation and justification deprived of their rights as Canadian citizens because of their race and blood." And, readers were reminded, "the alien who is naturalized ceases to be an alien. He becomes a Canadian citizen."

Not everyone took so liberal a view. An anonymous correspondent from Toronto, whose letter was published on 28 August, asserted that quite a few people had not agreed with the paper's stance, for a "German is always a German," and the majority of aliens from enemy states could be expected to vote for whatever political party went for peace at any price, which was simply not acceptable. Moreover, since Canada was a British possession, "everyone of British stock had to take commonsense steps to keep it that way," which did not include allowing these "aliens" a vote.



Waiting for dinner call in Cave & Basin camp



Inside the campground at Kapuskasing

### *Anti-alien prejudices*

Although many “Austrians” needlessly interned at the war’s outbreak were paroled before its end, (see *Documents I and VIII, pages vii and 52*) a national debate erupted over whether and how “enemy aliens” could be effectively deployed for national service. In the pages of the *Daily British Whig*, for example, one writer argued that the foreigners should not get work in munitions factories and industrial plants at high wages while “our boys” were fighting overseas “for the cause of humanity.” Instead “enemy aliens” should be rounded up and compelled to aid in producing foodstuffs for the Allies, paid wages no greater than was necessary to sustain them and their families, “and nothing more.” [55] Not untypical of these calls for the registration and conscription of alien enemies for national service were the resolutions proposed at a meeting held in Toronto’s Massey Hall, 4 February 1918. Several speakers commented on how best to cure ‘the alien enemy disease in Canada.’ Sir William Hearst, premier of Ontario, exclaimed that if Canada could draft her sons to the army then aliens ought to contribute to the war in some other way. “They have no right to fatten upon the horrors now being practised,” he said, to applause. The Liberal leader, Mr. William Proudfoot, followed suit, echoing the premier’s opposition to Chinese labor, going on to say that after the war immigrants should be admitted only from allied countries. He endorsed what was described as the old motto, “Canada for the Canadians,” then added, “And we are going to live and die for the British Empire.” Later, Colonel Cecil Williams, secretary of the Navy League of Canada, reminded his listeners that “Canada should be a white country from shore to shore, and should not be allowed to drift into the hands of aliens.” Following that, J. H. Ballantyne, representing the Toronto Labor Party, noted with concern how aliens already constituted 10% of Canada’s population and owned 47% of the land in the Middle West. [56]

Ottawa did not adapt the harsh measures many had called for. On 17 February 1918 it instead issued a memorandum pointing out that conscripted alien labor could not be utilized on farms except in large numbers under military discipline. Withdrawing that many aliens from the positions they already occupied in the labor force would be difficult and disruptive.

Furthermore, organized labor had expressed its unqualified opposition to any proposals for industrial conscription. The government statement also reminded its readers that there were two classes of alien enemies in Canada, namely those interned and those permitted to remain at large. There were about two thousand of the former “who for adequate reasons have forfeited their liberty.” Under international law, however, civilians interned as prisoners of war “are held immune from compulsory labor.” Any labor performed “in Canadian concentration camps is voluntary and men thus employed receive a moderate remuneration for their work.” The second class was comprised of

unnaturalized natives of enemy countries whose conduct justified the Government in according to them the liberty enjoyed by ordinary citizens. By the proclamation of 15 August 1914 these persons received an assurance that so long as they quietly pursued their ordinary vocations they would enjoy the full protection of the Dominion’s laws. Of course, “in practice and theory this immunity is purely conditional and may be withdrawn whenever the public interest so requires.” And certainly the imperative before the country was to ensure that “there should be no idlers in Canada during the remainder of the war.” The memorandum also reassured other Canadians that Ottawa was aware that “Holy Writ declares that if a man will not work, neither shall he eat.” So any who “deliberately and wantonly obstruct the national purpose by subordinating everything to indolent self-enjoyment and selfish indulgence may confidently anticipate that the authority vested in the Government and Parliament will be used for compelling them to take the part which every true citizen should freely and voluntarily fulfil.”

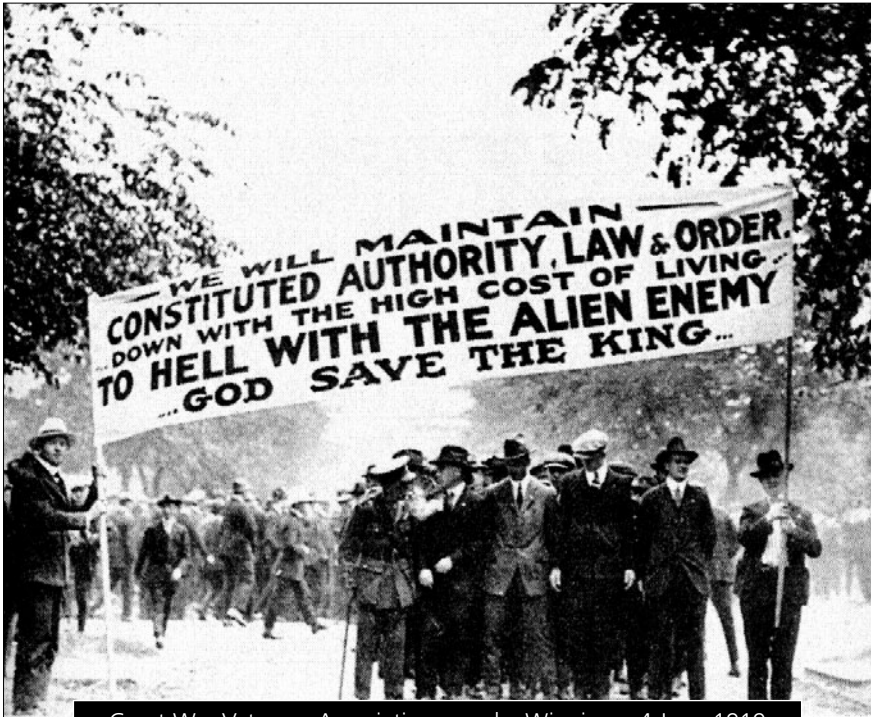
*“I say unhesitatingly that every enemy alien who was interned during the war is today just as much an enemy as he was during the war, and I demand of this Government that each and every alien in this dominion should be deported at the earliest opportunity. Cattle ships are good enough for them.”*

*Herbert S Clements, MP  
(Kent West, Ontario),  
24 March 1919*

The government's stand was not well received in many influential quarters. Toronto's Mayor Church chastised the Union Government:

*Alien enemies can work in factories and get from \$4 to \$6 a day, while British subjects fight for \$1.10 a day at the front. The memorandum is a poor example of special pleading; they even quote The Hague convention and Holy Writ and international law. There is no international law or Hague convention, nor has there been since August 4, 1914.*

His Worship went on to opine that "It looks as if the alien enemies in the West have more influence than the men in the trenches. After the war the



Great War Veterans Association parade, Winnipeg, 4 June 1919

### **No Civic Aid For Alien Enemy Baby**

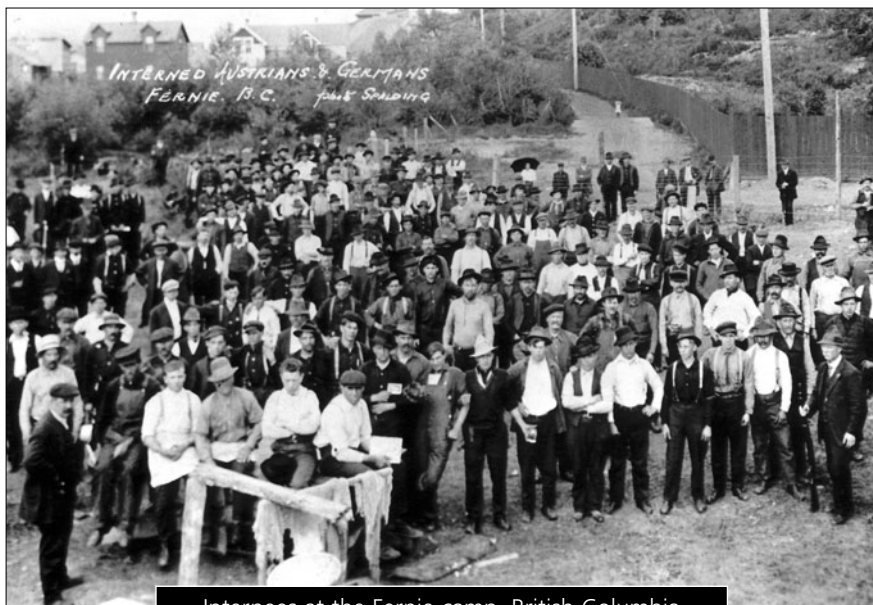
**Under the order recently passed by the City Council the authorities at the City Hall have decided that an eight-weeks-old baby, born of Austrian parents, is an alien enemy, and it has been denied civic assistance at one of the hospitals.**

**A city official has undertaken to pay for the infant for two days to see if in the meantime some way out of the difficulty cannot be found.**

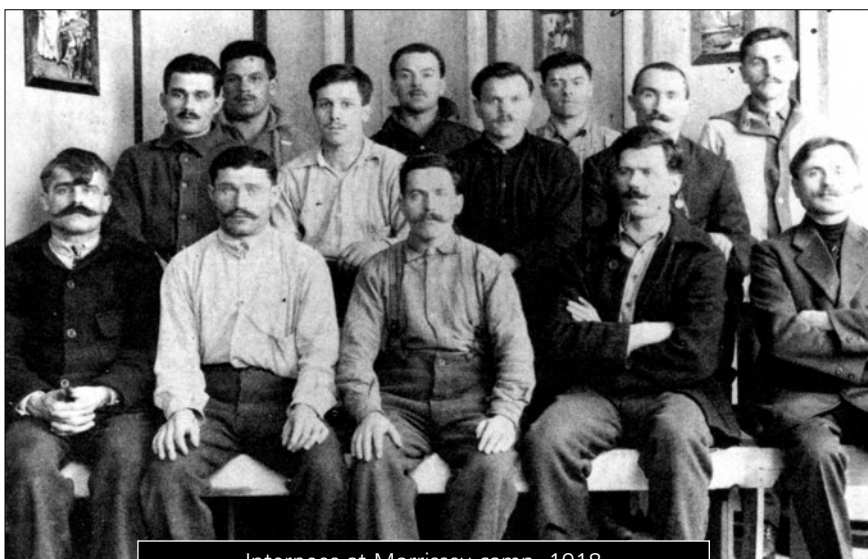
*- Globe, 3 August 1918, page 19*



Ukrainian women and children at Spirit Lake



Internees at the Fernie camp, British Columbia



Internees at Morrissey camp, 1918

### **Returned Men Do Not Like “Aliens” As Bosses**

The following letter has been written to The Advance by a Returned Soldier with a request for publication. It speaks for itself.

Schumacher, Jan. 19th 1920  
To The Editor of The Advance.

Sir:- Having read The Advance since its commencement, I must say I admire your straightforward comments on the “Enemy Aliens” in the camp.

I would like to point out a few items The Advance seems to have missed. The Advance speaks of the easy times which the “Aliens” have spent in Camp while the boys were holding “Jerry” back in France. I may say that some of them are having a fairly good time even now.

We find “Aliens” at present “bosses” and some of them have various other easy jobs. I wonder if some of the “Shifters” in Camp ever put themselves in the place of the boys who fought to make Canada a “White Man’s Country.” It does not seem so, to judge by the amount of returned men who have to use a “muck stick.” Some of them have Enemy Aliens for bosses at that. No doubt many of The Advance readers will remember the time when some of these Aliens would about pay for the pleasure of working. A goodly number of these “Alien” gentlemen have the deepest sympathy with the “Bolsheviki” and they make no secret of the fact. They will tell you that this country will soon be “Bolsheviki.” By these remarks one would think that there might be some Bolsheviki agents in Camp. I passed a remark once that it would be a pleasure to see the last of them leave the Camp. One man



seemed to think that the mines would have to close, as some "White Men" did not seem to like mining. I may say that if a "White Man" were given the same chance as these fellows had at the start, that a "White Man" would be able to compete with any "Alien." Some of these "Aliens" were nearly led to work and given every chance to learn. A "White Man" usually got fired if he was found "wanting." Let us hope the war has changed things a little, and that a returned man will get a little show now. Surely a man who has spent months in the trenches ought to work under a "White Man" and not a "Bohunk." It's bad enough to have fought these people's relations without having to be "bossed" by them. To judge by the cases on a Police Court day, will one be far wrong in saying that 75 per cent of the cases are "Alien." Some of them are "well heeled," owing to the war. It's about time they "beat it" and gave a returned man a chance to get "well heeled."

Wishing The Advance every success and thanking you in anticipation, I am, sir,

Yours truly,

A. E. Mortimer

- *Porcupine Advance*, 28 January 1920, page 4

large cities are going to be the dumping ground for a lot of these people, and the municipalities are going to take the matter in hand, if the Government has fallen down." [57]

Anti-immigrant and anti-enemy alien sentiments remained pervasive even after the war. And existing prejudices became even more acute as a result of the vigorous lobbying of some returning soldiers, particularly those organized into the Great War Veterans Association, a body which enjoyed considerable public sympathy.



Dan Koneszynigi, "Austrian" CPR section hand, fined \$25 for failing to report as an enemy alien, Calgary Police Department photograph

### Enemy Aliens Must Go

The deportation of enemy aliens is one of the most pressing questions of the moment. There can be no doubt that the enemy aliens must go. The pressure of public opinion, not alone that of the returned soldier, who knows the enemy alien far better than any who have stayed at home, but of the whole country, has already forced the Government to give way partially on this point, and that pressure will continue until the whole question is settled by the

deportation of every alien who cannot substantiate his loyalty to Canada's cause.

There are not wanting those who take the opposite side to public opinion in this matter. It is not now important to enter into the motives which impel them to this course but the arguments they offer divide themselves roughly into two divisions.

First is that which insists that in encouraging these immigrants of enemy alien origin to come to Canada we have undertaken a solemn obligation to allow them to stay

irrespective of their opinions or loyalty.

Second is that which points out that these enemy aliens from Central Europe are doing work which will not be accepted by Canadians, owing to its severity and distasteful conditions surrounding it.

Neither of these objections will hold water for a moment. These immigrants were encouraged to come to Canada, it is true. They were offered the privileges of Canadian citizenship, the right to live here, and to make money here. That has been freely granted them. Be it remembered there was no written contract in perpetuity to this effect. It was merely an unwritten understanding.

On the other hand, these immigrants also have their undertakings to keep. They also were unwritten, but none the less binding - no less binding than that of Canada. They came here for the purpose of becoming Canadian citizens. They came here to a country freer to individual

opportunity than that they came from. They came with a full understanding that in coming they must undertake the responsibilities, even as they were given the privileges, of Canadian citizenship.

How have they carried out their share of the mutual bargain? By proving a constant menace ever since the war started. By terrorizing the loyal people of the district in which they were the majority. By acclaiming the victories of our enemies. By refusing to aid the cause of Canada. By giving every possible aid and comfort to the foe.

No one proposes that those who have been truly loyal to Canada, who have faithfully carried out their share of the bargain, and become true citizens of Canada, shall be deported. Such loyal citizens are known by their deeds. They are readily recognized. They can easily establish their right to be placed apart from their undesirable fellow countrymen. They have the right to stay, and every Canadian will welcome

their presence.

The second objection is equally groundless. Are we to assume that Canadians have reached that stage of luxury-loving where it is essential that we should import a race of inferior beings to do our work? Are we already so degenerated that we cannot become a self-contained nation, that we cannot accomplish the tasks which lie before us within our borders? The thing is unthinkable. The returned soldier was drawn from every rank of life. He was a professional man, a business man, a mechanic, or a laborer - every possible occupation is to be found among the ranks of the returned soldiers. For every kind of work that is to be done in Canada, men among the returned soldiers can be found to do it. But it is not to be expected, and Canada does not expect, that the returned soldier shall be asked to do that work at less than reasonable wage, or that he shall be expected to compete with the bohunks of Central

Europe, who have been accustomed in their own country to submit to being driven like cattle, who are ignorant of every principle of sanitation, and lost to all sense of decency in living conditions.

The returned soldier, or any other white man, must be given decent working conditions, as well as decent living conditions and a decent wage. If those conditions in any occupation at present are unfitted for a white man then they must be made fit. It will then be unnecessary to depend upon enemy aliens for labor to develop the resources of Canada.

*- Winnipeg Telegram,  
10 February 1919, page 9*

The GWVA often took intolerant positions, which included calls for the suppression of “enemy alien” newspapers, compulsory badges for “foreigners,” and enforced labour for “Austrian” and German men in Canada. [58] During the fall and winter of 1918, the Canadian government did in fact declare several Ukrainian-language newspapers and organizations illegal. And, just after the end of the war, several hundred Ukrainians were deported as a result of the “Red Scare.”

**Several were inquiring on Saturday and Monday as to the reason for the groups of aliens gathering near the town municipal buildings. The aliens were there because they still have to report monthly at the police station. The date for reporting is the tenth of each month, but as the tenth this month fell on a Sunday, the alien enemies reported on Saturday and Monday. Although the war is over, those of alien enemy nationality have still to report to the police, and will have to continue to do so until direct orders are given from Ottawa to the contrary. There are about 500 of the alien enemies here yet, and it might be as well to keep up this form of control over them until the happy day when the country is free of them.**

*- Porcupine Advance, 6 August 1919, page 4*

Hundreds more remained in the internment camps, some of which were kept operating until early 1920, well after the war’s end on 11 November 1918. [59] Former “enemy aliens” were made out to be “dangerous foreigners” or “Bolsheviki” after the 1917 revolution and subsequent *coup d’etat* in the former Tsarist Empire. [60] Surveillance and registration conditions were kept in force (*see Document XII, page 162*).

Canada’s last concentration camp, at Kapuskasing, Ontario was not shut down until 24 February 1920. On 20 June of that year the Office of Internment Operations in Ottawa was itself closed.

*Some temperate thoughts*

Throughout this unhappy period in Canadian history, with few exceptions, public interest in what was happening to the internees or within the immigrant communities they were taken from, was limited, sympathy for their plight even more rare. Phillips Thompson's thoughtful words, published in March 1918, were certainly not reflective of those of much of Canadian society although they do help expose, in the words of a contemporary observer, some of the wrongs done to Ukrainians and others Europeans in Canada in those years:

*In striking contrast with the contention that Canadians are fighting for freedom, democracy and the observance of national obligations, is the mean and unworthy spirit of persecution displayed towards the so-called "alien enemies" who are quietly attending to their own business here. These people are here on our invitation. For many years successive Governments both Liberal and Conservative, despite the protests of the labor unions, have spent millions of dollars in scattering over Europe invitations to men of all nationalities to settle in Canada, where they would be free from military despotism and be accorded equal opportunities with our own people. They took us at our word, came by the hundred thousand, and were made welcome and regarded as desirable accessions to our population. Suddenly on the outbreak of the war they found themselves ostracized. They were deprived of their employment, not allowed to leave the country, and many of them interned on any display of natural resentment, or on the merest suspicion. Those who were guilty of the "crime" of sending money to their starving wives and families at home were sentenced to terms of imprisonment. Our courts have almost invariably dealt harshly with any man of alien birth accused of minor offences, inflicting heavy penalties frequently accompanied with coarse and brutal insults from the dispenser of alleged justice. Bear in mind that the great majority of these*

*people are only enemies in a technical sense, being about as loyal to Hohenzollern or Hapsburg as a Sinn Feiner is to the British Empire. The growing scarcity of labor has somewhat ameliorated their condition, but latterly a systematic crusade has been set on foot to drive them from the factories where they are employed in productive labor and compel them to work for more subsistence wages. They are making too much money, it is said. I think you will admit that the manufacturers may be trusted to see to it that they earn not only their wages, but enough in addition to enable their employers to realize a substantial profit. It is quite beside the question to urge that Canadians found in Germany have been, or would be, worse treated. The cases are not parallel. Germany never invited Canadians to go there and cast in their lot with the German people. [61]*

### *Still in fear of the barbed wire fence?*

Given such a political climate, many Ukrainian Canadians long remained, as a RCMP agent of Ukrainian origin informed his superiors in Ottawa, “in fear of the barbed wire fence.” [62] American intelligence agents echoed that observation, noting that “Ukrainian-Canadians are still under a handicap from their experiences in the First World War.” [63] Even decades later a witness to these events would recall how this period had been “a bad time to be a Ukrainian in Canada.” [64]

Reflecting on his own experiences in those years another survivor wrote:

*Memories of the camp gradually begin to fade away [but] one could never really forget. [65]*

*A time for atonement*

While reminding other Canadians of what they suffered as a people in this country Ukrainian Canadians are also asking the Government of Canada to recognize that these internment operations were unjust and to provide for an accounting of what happened to that portion of the internees' confiscated wealth which was never returned. [66] The timely and honourable redress called for will help ensure that no other Canadian ethnic, religious, or racial minority will ever suffer as Canada's Ukrainians once did. Although what happened can never be undone, a time for atonement has surely come.

**Fear is the only agency that can be successfully employed to keep them within the law and I have no doubt that if the Dominion Government persists in the course that it is now adopting the foreign element here will soon be as gentle and easily controlled as a lot of sheep.**

*- Sir Hugh Macdonald to the  
Honourable A. Meighen,  
3 July 1919*



Coffin passing the compound, Kapuskasing



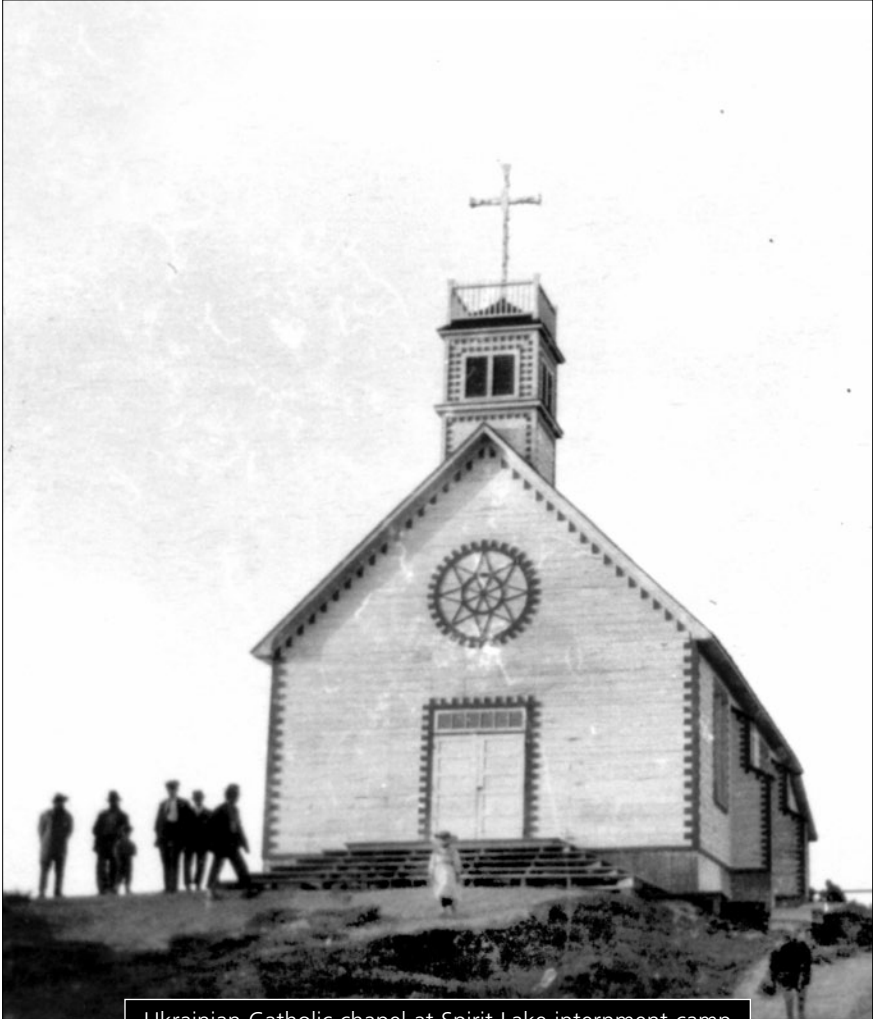
POLICE DEPARTMENT  
 Sault Ste. Marie, Ont. SCHEDULE A.  
 No. 3660 Date JUN 23 1919  
**Certificate of Parole.**

This is to certify that Alex Matkoluk  
 at present residing at Maggie Mine a Austrian  
 subject, of Austria 30 years of age, weight  
 about 160 pounds; complexion dark; is  
 by law entitled and required to carry this Certificate upon his person and to pro-  
 duce it for reasonable inspection as may be required by any Peace or Military  
 Officer and moreover to report monthly to the Chief Officer of Police at  
Maggie Mine, and that he is subject to compliance with the  
 requirements of the law entitled to be at liberty; provided that he shall not remove  
 or depart from Maggie Mine without having this  
 Certificate duly endorsed.

OCT 15 1919 Dated at Maggie Mine this 8<sup>th</sup>  
 day of August, 1919. W.W. Hemminger

Maggie Mine June 21 1/19 S. Hutchinson  
" " July 31 1/19 S. Hutchinson  
" " Sept 30 1/19 S. Hutchinson  
" " Oct 31 1/19 S. Hutchinson  
 RALPH C. WINCENT

Maggie Mine Oct 9<sup>th</sup> 1/19 Permission to go Sov



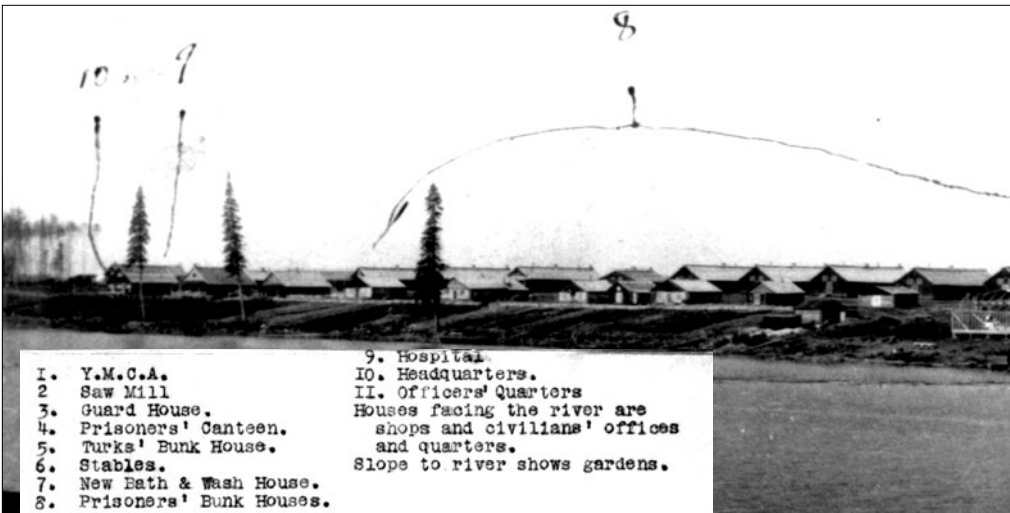
Ukrainian Catholic chapel at Spirit Lake internment camp

[1] One government decree noted:

*It has come to the attention of the Government that many persons of German and Austro-Hungarian nationality who are residents of Canada are apprehensive for their safety at the present time. In particular the suggestion seems to be that they fear some action on the part of the Government which would deprive them of their freedom to hold property or to carry on business. These apprehensions, if they exist, are quite unfounded.*

See "Germans and Austrians need not be alarmed," *Halifax Chronicle*, 3 September 1914, page 3.

[2] Not only "Austrians" were suspect. Anti-German feeling was rife. While the editorial, "Germans in Canada," *Sault Daily Star*, 11 November 1914, page 4, was calm it nevertheless concluded: "But we must not warm vipers who will sting us when they can." As another example of anti-German sentiment, see "Wants name changed," *Sault Daily Star*, 3 February 1916, page 4, in which a letter writer urged deleting words like "kindergarten" so that babies would not start their education in a class with a German name. And even after the city long known as Berlin renamed itself after Lord Kitchener, thereby seeking to provide evidence of its residents' allegiance, doubts about the loyalty of its predominantly German-ancestry citizenry remained. When Prime Minister Sir Robert Borden was prevented from making a speech by "an organized gang of rowdies," the *Winnipeg Telegram* opined, in "Kitchener is still Berlin," 27 November 1917, page 4, that the city's patriotism was so insincere that it would better if the entire place "be made an internment camp." The following day's editorial described Kitchener as a "nest of enemies of Canada."

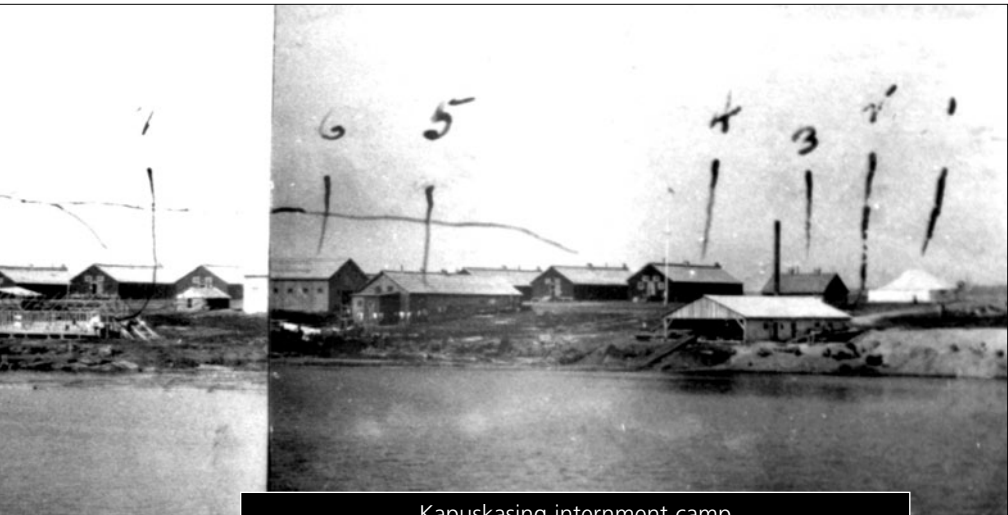


[3] For overviews of Canada's first national internment operations see L. Y. Luciuk, *A Time For Atonement* and M. Minenko, "Without Just Cause." According to the *Victoria Daily Colonist*, 4 August 1914, page 5, "Austrians in Canada liable to call home," there were 300,000 citizens and ex-citizens of Austria-Hungary in Canada, of whom probably 150,000 were men capable of bearing arms. In Montreal alone there were at least 17,000 to 20,000 Austro-Hungarians and another 10,000 Austrian Jews. Most were engaged in mining and railway construction, including 3,000 in the steel works and mines at Sydney, Nova Scotia, 4,000 in Port Arthur, and large numbers at the Soo, Sudbury, Porcupine and other mining centres.

A partial mobilization order was issued in western Canada on 28 July 1914, by the Austrian consul in Winnipeg, George Reininhausen, after hostilities erupted between Austria and Serbia. It was published in German and Ruthenian newspapers, according to a report of 29 July 1914, *Victoria Daily Colonist*, "Orders to Austrians," page 1. Commenting on aliens in Canada, 10 February 1915, the Minister of Justice stated that since the outbreak of the war the total number of aliens belonging to enemy countries paroled or interned was 30,324. Of that number 1,904 were interned and 28,420 had been released after registration. Registration figures for the provinces were given as follows: Quebec, 8,845; Ontario, 7,571; New Brunswick, 5,200; Nova Scotia, 1,300; Manitoba, 5,531; Saskatchewan, 1,416; Alberta, 2,350; British Columbia, 1,310 and Yukon, 55. See "Aliens detained," 12 February 1915, page 1.

For level-headed editorials advising the citizenry not to engage in indiscrete and unwarrantable remarks that might spawn unnecessary hard feelings on the part of enemy aliens in Canada see "Strangers among us," *Toronto Daily Star*, 14 August 1914, page 6 and "Alien residents," 17 December 1914, *Vernon News*, page 6.

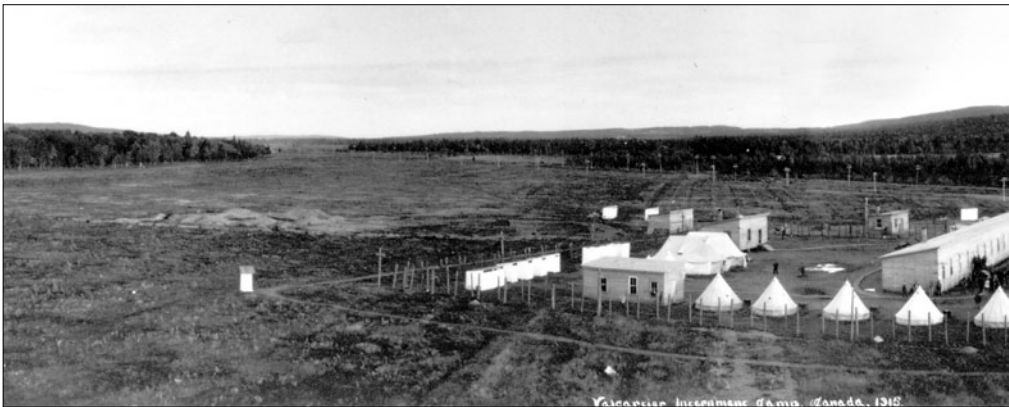
On the issue of legal recourse see "Alien enemies have no rights," *Sault Daily Star*, 4 January 1914, page 5. Judge Reade, in refusing enemy aliens naturalization in Kitchener,



Kapuskasing internment camp

declared that they had no standing in the courts, were “here on sufferance only,” and were “liable to imprisonment the moment they show any activity in favor of the enemy.” In the *Lethbridge Herald* it was later reported that an enemy alien, Mihai Gusetu, who described himself as a Ruthenian from Bukovyna interned the previous July in Montreal, tried to secure his release through a writ of *habeas corpus*, asserting that he was not an Austrian. Judge McLennan rejected his motion, noting that the courts could not interfere in matters concerning the safety of the realm. Under the terms of the War Measures Act the judge found that no person arrested or detained as an alien enemy, or even under suspicion of being one, could be released on bail or otherwise discharged from custody. Prisoners of war or enemy aliens had no rights under the common law of England. See “Alien enemies have no rights under laws,” 16 August 1915, page 6 and “Must remain in camp,” *Sault Daily Star*, 18 August 1915, page 3. Even earlier two other “Austrians,” Martin Bovrosky, who had come to Canada when he was 7 years old and had attended schools in Fernie for 5 years, and Steven Janostin, who immigrated in 1908 and had worked at Coal Creek, went to court under a writ of *habeas corpus* following the arrest and internment by provincial police of 321 Austro-Hungarian subjects. Although represented by Cranbrook’s T. T. McRedy, their efforts were apparently futile. See “To test validity of internment of alien miners at Fernie,” *Lethbridge Herald*, 17 June 1915, page 1 and “Aliens at Fernie fight against internment,” *Brandon Sun*, 24 June 1915, page 8. And when Mrs. Anna Luczycki, an “Austrian,” and her four year old daughter entered an action against the Spanish River Pulp and Paper Mills to recover \$5,000 in damages for the death of her husband, Iwan, who was killed in June 1912 at Espanola “by falling on a revolving shaft” G. S. Holmestead dismissed the action “on the ground that the plaintiff was an alien enemy.” See “Enemy’s action dismissed,” *Sault Daily Star*, 31 July 1915, page 2.

[4] For example, Patricia Roy’s entry on “Internment” in *The Canadian Encyclopedia* (Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers, 1985), page 895, D. Morton, *A Military History of Canada* (Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers, 1985) or D. Morton and J. L. Granatstein, *Marching To*



*Armageddon: Canadians and the Great War 1914-1919* (Toronto: Lester & Orpen Denys, 1989).

[5] For some sociological data about this enemy alien population see “Registration of alien enemies,” *Winnipeg Free Press*. Its readership was told (1 June 1915, page 5) that over 14,200 aliens had been registered, of whom no fewer than 13,828 were Austrians, laborers by profession. Of the total, some 9,414 were married men of whom 6,126 had left their wives “in the old country” together with 14,304 children, the latter all dependent on remittances now cut off by the war. As for the 3,288 with wives in Canada they were responsible for 5,439 children. Adding up the number of alien men, women and children in Winnipeg and district one arrived at the “formidable total of 22,905.” See also “Our foreign-born number 752,732,” *Daily British Whig*, 22 September 1915, page 1 which provided some “interesting particulars as to the distribution, voting strength and origin of immigrants to Canada from non-British countries.” Of the total, 62.6% were males, 37.4% females, with 121,420 being from Austria-Hungary and 89,984 from Russia. About half of these foreign-born immigrants, 45.77%, had been naturalized prior to the 1911 census, leaving 54.23% “still alien citizens.” The naturalized foreign-born qualified to vote constituted only 6.2% of the total male voting population across Canada but in the western provinces the percentage was much higher, being 24.92% in Alberta, 23.01% in Saskatchewan, 17.2% in Manitoba and 9.48% in British Columbia.

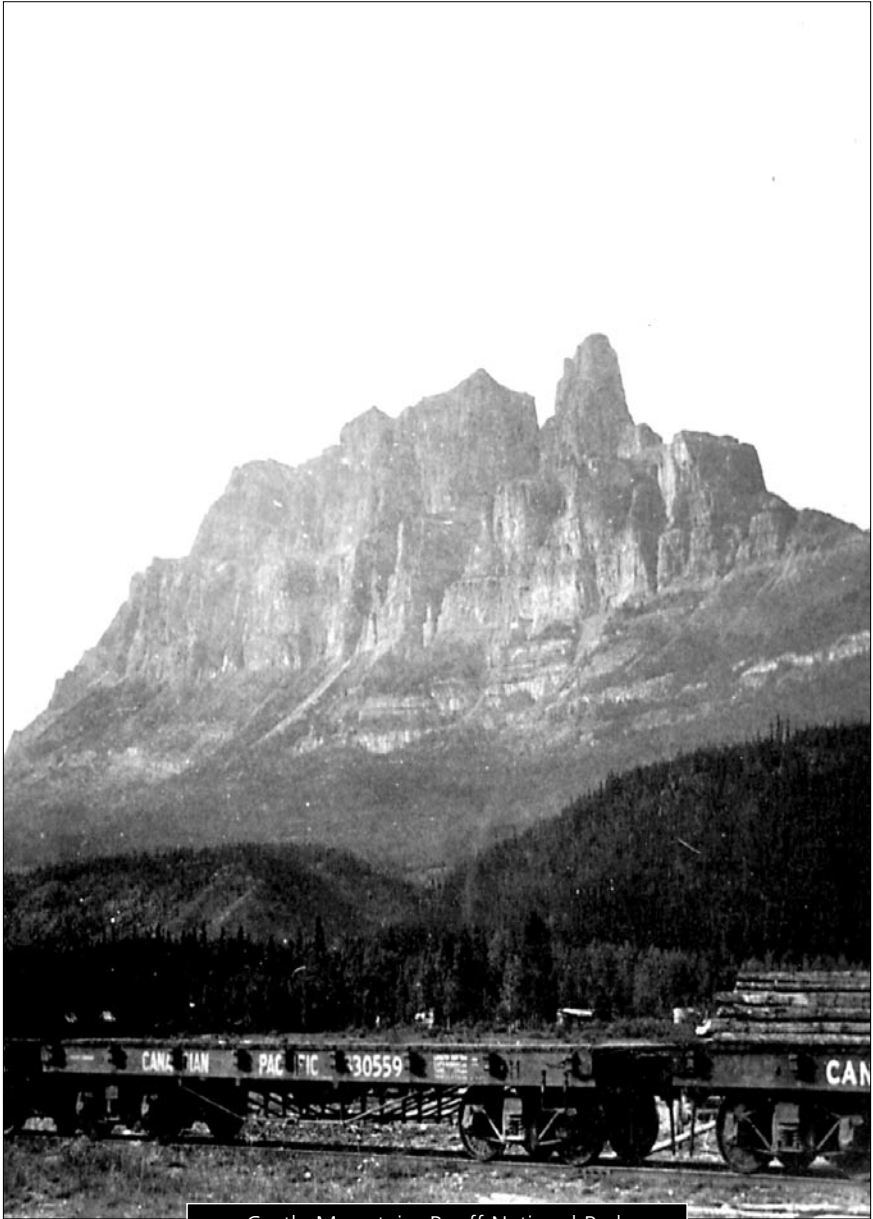
[6] A secret report (9 September 1914) sent from Ottawa by the Governor General of Canada, marked to the attention of the Right Honourable Lewis V. Harcourt, Secretary of State for the Colonies, contains some very relevant observations on the situation in Canada, and is therefore worth quoting at some length:

*Sir, I have the honour to send you the following observations on the progress of events in Canada since the outbreak of war with Germany. The vast majority of Canadians are very ignorant as to European politics, and take*



Valcartier internment camp, 1915

[photo by D Smith Reid]



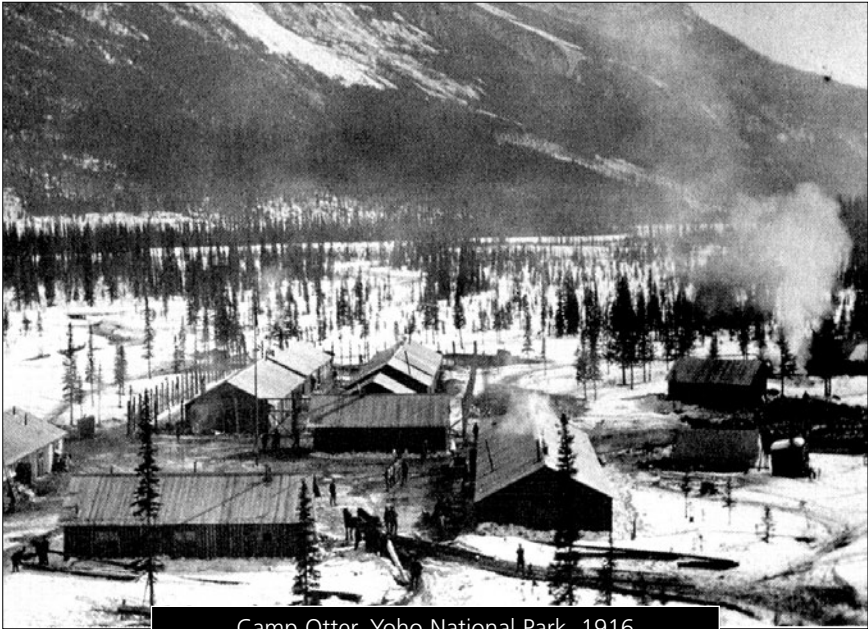
Castle Mountain, Banff National Park



Internees near Castle Mountain



little interest in them. This fact, combined with the rapid development of the International crisis, caused the outbreak of hostilities to come as a shock and a surprise to the people of the Dominion. In spite of this condition of mental unpreparedness for such a crisis, there was not a discordant note, and Canada showed herself to be singularly united in her determination to support the action of His Majesty's Government in the most whole-hearted manner. The most difficult problem to be considered was that of the German and Austrian reservist. The number of Austrian and German settlers is very considerable. All of them are Canadians or potential Canadians. On the other hand, many of them are reservists: of these reservists a larger number, very likely the majority of them, have no desire to fight, and are only anxious for a reasonable excuse to evade their military obligations. In certain places the situation is Gilbertean. For instance, the Minister of Militia was particularly anxious that certain work should be carried out at Valcartier Camp, where the Canadian Expeditionary Force is to be trained. The French Canadians proved unsatisfactory as labourers, and the work was and is being carried out by Germans and Austrians, the majority of whom are reservists. The circumstances being extraordinary the normal method of dealing with hostile reservists did not apply. Indeed it would be impossible to apply them, as the



Camp Otter, Yoho National Park, 1916

*placing of an effective cordon along the Canadian-United States frontier would require more men than could be got together. The measures actually adopted by my Government were as follows:-*

*(a) The issue of two Proclamations warning reservists of the penalties attached to acts of direct or indirect hostility.*

*(b) The placing on parole of suitable reservists.*

*(c) The detention of other reservists who were considered to be dangerous.*

*(d) The detention of reservists at Canadian ports and at certain railway junctions on the Canadian-United States frontier.*

*The manner in which the latter part of paragraph (d) has been carried out has not been satisfactory, and a number of reservists succeed in crossing the frontier. This was very regrettable, but as Sir Robert Borden points out in his memorandum it will be no easy matter for them to return to their native country.*

Attached was a report marked "A", titled Memorandum For His Royal Highness The Governor-General, which stated that there were 129,103 "Austro-Hungarians" in Canada as of 1911, of whom 67,502 of the Austrians and 10,586 of the Hungarians had been born in the territories of the Empire. In Manitoba and Alberta about one-sixth of the population was of either Austro-Hungarian or German origin; in Saskatchewan more than one-fifth were of Austro-Hungarian or German origin. The memorandum also noted:

*Persons of German or Austro-Hungarian origin born in Canada regard themselves as Canadian citizens and take the same pride and interest in the welfare of this country as citizens of British descent. The 120,000 Canadian citizens who were born in Germany or Austro-Hungary have come to Canada for the purpose of making this Dominion their adopted country. In fifteen or twenty years their children will be indistinguishable in sentiment from Canadians of British descent. They have no love for military service and they appreciate the freer conditions and more liberal institutions which they enjoy in this country. Under the laws of their country they can apparently be called on for military service in that country in case of war although resident and locally naturalized in Canada. A few of them might be disposed to return for this purpose as a patriotic duty; and some others might be induced to do so under the fear or threat that otherwise any property or inheritance in their native country would be confiscated. But the vast majority have no intention of doing so. The Austro-Hungarian Consul in Montreal has informed me that a very large number of the Austro-Hungarians in Canada are ignorant and illiterate peasants who are greatly alarmed by the conditions which confront them since the outbreak of the war. They speak some five different languages and only a limited number can speak English intelligibly. Under the war conditions about to prevail in Canada there will be a great deal of distress and destitution among them. The advisers of His Royal Highness the Governor-*

## *In Fear of the Barbed Wire Fence*

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*General consider that they best discharge their duty not only to Canada but to the Empire by endeavouring to remove from these people of foreign origin and birth any apprehension as to their treatment in this country. The proclamation already issued and the public announcements made sufficiently describe the attitude which it has been thought best to assume. After the most careful and anxious consideration the advisers of His Royal Highness remain of the opinion that this course is wise and reasonable. The best precautions possible will be taken to prevent any unlawful acts which might be contemplated by a few hot-heads among the population of foreign birth. Harsh measures of a general character would not only be undesirable, but in a country of such vast extent would undoubtedly be ineffective.*

See "Progress of events in Canada since the outbreak of war," CO 42/981, 19 September 1914. An official at the Colonial Office minuted the file cover:

*It must be remembered that apart from the fact that nearly all Germans in the second generation are probably Canadian in sentiment and many of the*



"A rough trail" near Castle Mountain

*original German settlers are quite probably {?} a large part of the Austrians are of Slavonic origin (I remember that there were a lot of Galicians in Saskatchewan when I was there in 1903).*

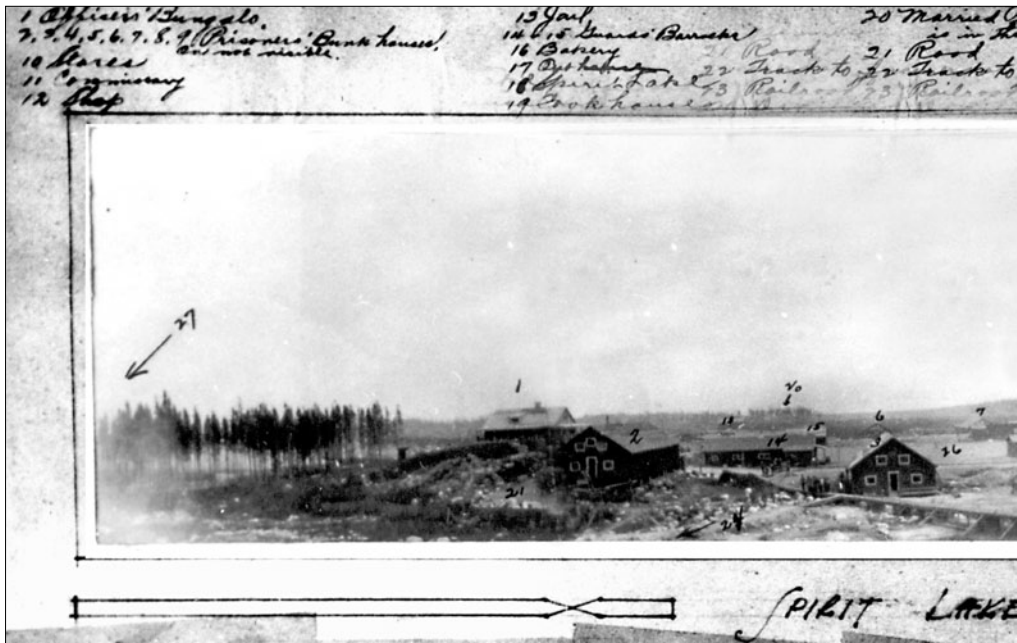
[7] Troubling as it may be for some, the term “concentration camp” was officially and widely used at the time. See, for example, the Officer Commanding 5<sup>th</sup> Military Division, Quebec to Major General Otter, 4 January 1915 in the National Archives of Canada (NAC) Record Group 24, Volume 4513, File 2. For another example, see the Charge d’Affaires of Austria-Hungary to the Secretary of State, Washington, dated 24 May 1916:

*According to newspaper reports a riot is said to have occurred in the concentration camp of Kapuskasing, Ont., Canada among Austrians and Hungarians confined there, on which occasion it is said one man was killed and eleven were wounded. It is further claimed that the riot was caused by the fact that the aforementioned prisoners had refused to work at their previous internment camp and therefore were transferred to Kapuskasing. Although not in possession of any reliable news the Embassy’s belief founded on previous information is that the Canadian Authorities had permitted smaller groups of the interned people to look for work and to move freely about within certain restrictions but that owing to the opposition of the Canadian laborers who resented their competition they later withdrew that privilege, thereby creating an ill feeling that may have brought about disturbances. The Embassy is most anxious to learn the true reason and the extent of the riot and therefore respectfully ask His Excellency the Secretary of State to have, if possible, ascertained through Mr. John G. Foster, United States Consul General in Ottawa, the particulars of the riot in question.”*

Writers who considered the internment operations likewise concluded that they had a negative impact on the Ukrainian Canadian community. Thus, in her classic study, *Men in Sheepskin Coats*, Vera Lysenko wrote, pages 115-116:

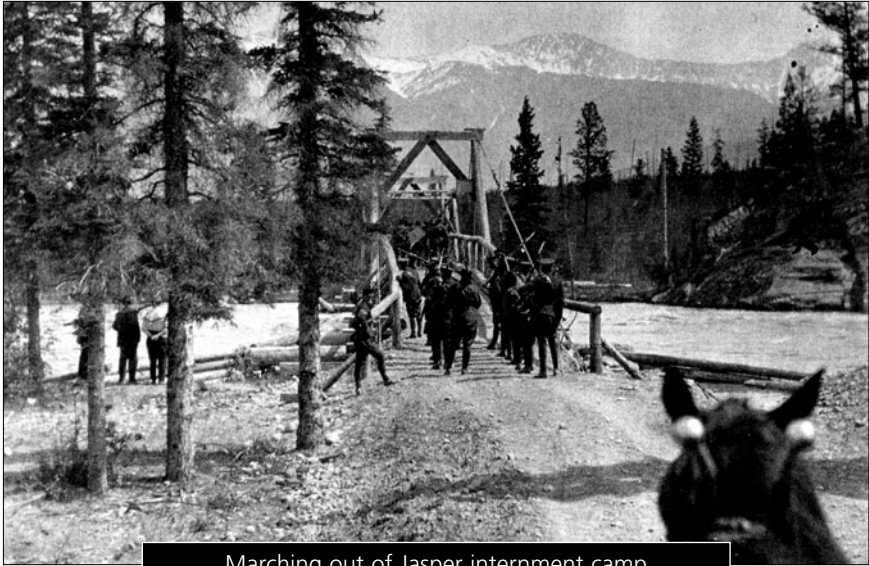
*One repressive measure followed another, directed against the bewildered Ukrainians. Thousands of harmless “Galicians” were rounded up by the police and herded into concentration camps. Ukrainian newspapers were first suspended and later ordered to publish in parallel columns, one Ukrainian and one English. The slightest criticism on the part of a Ukrainian, and he was dragged from home, factory or hotel and placed in an internment camp. Ukrainians were not permitted to enlist with the armed forces. A delegation of Anglo-Canadians went to the Manitoba Parliament to petition that all Ukrainians in Manitoba should be interned and deported. So bitter did the persecution become, that the Ukrainians found it necessary to publish an appeal to ‘our fellow citizens.’ The appeal read as follows: Owing to the unjust classification of all Slavs as Austrians and anti-Allies, and owing to*

irresponsible utterances in the press and otherwise, a certain degree of intolerance and hatred toward everything that is 'foreign' has been implanted in the public mind, resulting in indiscreet looting of property, disturbing divine services in the churches, raiding of private homes, and personal assaults of the gravest kind on all those who have the appearance of foreign birth, thus rendering our lives endangered. The Ukrainians in Canada have always peacefully followed their occupations, thus having greatly aided in the development of this country, and having neither harmed nor hindered any Canadian undertakings toward successful prosecution of the war, but, on the contrary, the Ukrainians have substantially contributed man-power, money and production in aid of Canadian military operations. The Ukrainians perform generally the usual labour employed in the hardest undertakings, and as such they are holding their positions not owing to special favours, but to their perseverance and honest devotion to their duties. These positions, we submit, are not enviable and will remain open only to men of greatest endurance.



For other instances when the term “concentration camp” was used see “Interned Germans,” *Morning Albertan*, 5 January 1915, page 1, which reported that 1,800 Germans and Austrians had already been jailed in Canadian concentration camps, and hundreds more registered. The next day the same paper reported, page 4, that 7,300 aliens had been registered at Montreal and 2,500 at Toronto. See also the *Victoria Daily Colonist*, “Aliens to register,” 1 November 1914, page 3 and “Bear German names,” 26 November 1914, page 2; “Government plans for interning the aliens maturing,” *Sault Daily Star*, 28 November 1914, page 5; “Aliens in concentration camps refuse to work,” *Winnipeg Telegram*, 5 January 1915, page 5; “Concentration Camp Practically Ready For The Prisoners,” *Amherst Daily News*, 18 January 1915 “30 Austrians arrive at Fort from Petawawa,” *Daily British Whig*, 5 October 1915, page 1; “Are being employed along the line of the C.P.R.,” *Sault Daily Star*, 5 September 1916, page 5 and “No compulsion of the Aliens,” *Globe*, 17 February 1918, page 14. On 24 June 1915 in “Aliens clear land,” *Vernon News*, page 5, there is an account of how 2,000 enemy aliens had already “entered in the big concentration camps at Kapuskasing and Spirit Lake” in each of which about 1,000 acres of good land had been cleared, with another 2,000 acres set aside for further improvement. Spirit Lake was also once described as a “concentration farm.” Revealingly, on 14 November 1917, page 13, the *Globe*, discussing how civilian internees might be dealt with at the war’s end, referred to the naturalized citizens amongst them as “political prisoners” against whom there were no criminal charges, emphasizing that these people had not lost their citizenship rights, even if they had not been allowed to vote in the preceding federal election.





Marching out of Jasper internment camp

[8] On Otter see D. Morton, *The Canadian General, Sir William Otter* (Toronto: Hakkert, 1974). Sir William was troubled by the task set before him, telling Toronto's *Mail and Empire* (9 May 1914) that he was "strongly opposed to bringing the militia into our internal affairs." However, being convinced that "sooner or later there will be a danger from without" it "behooves every one of us to make preparation for that evil day."

[9] Sir W. D. Otter, *Internment Operations 1914-1920* (Ottawa, 1921), page 6, also reprinted in V. J. Kaye, *Ukrainian Canadians in Canada's Wars*, J. B. Gregorovich, ed, pages 74-94, and as *Appendix A*. A copy is also in the National Library of Canada, Ottawa (COP.CA.J.28). Whereas the "better class" or "first class" category of prisoners, Germans and Austrian Germans, were generally separated from "second class" Austro-Hungarians, some of the camps were originally mixed, provoking tensions when "Austrians" blamed Germans for the war and their internment. Separating the prisoners by ethnicity took place when, for example, most of the German POWs were moved from Castle Mountain to the predominantly German camp at Vernon. See B. S. Kordan and P. Melnycky, eds, *In the Shadow of the Rockies*, page 98, fn 122. See also "Today's news," *Sault Daily Star*, 19 December 1914, page 4, which reported that it had been "found necessary to separate the Austrians from the Germans, owing to friction between them."

Speaking in the House of Commons on the issue of how Ottawa had dealt with "the existence of the alien enemy" Canada's Minister of Justice, the Honourable C. J. Doherty, observed, 22 April 1918:

*At the outset of the war the Government had an option to expel the persons of enemy alien nationality. It would have been, and is today, within our right to intern the persons of enemy alien nationality within this country, more particularly, perhaps, those of them who being of military age and under obligation to do service according to the laws of their respective countries, might very properly be treated as persons that this state has an interest to see did not get away from this country and return possibly to perform those obligations towards their respective countries and take part in this war against us. Now, at the outset of this war, we took the position, not only that we would allow these people to remain within the country, but I might say at the suggestion—and I might even say upon the insistence—of the authorities of the Mother Country we took the position that these people, those of them at all events who were of military age, should not be allowed to leave this country. And, taking that position, not only consenting that they should remain but actually preventing their departure, we felt bound so long as they violate no law of this country, so long as they behaved themselves as good citizens within is country, to extend to them the protection of the law. We announced that to them. We announced to them at the same time that those of them who by act or word showed a spirit of hostility to this country, or who did not conform to the laws of this country, would be interned. And large numbers were interned. Some of them for cause. Quite a number of them were interned more largely under the inspiration of the sentiment of compassion, if I may use the expression, than because of hostility. At that time, when the labour market was glutted, and there was a natural disposition to give the preference in the matter of employment to our own people, thousands of these aliens were starving in some of our cities. There were thousands of them in Montreal, great numbers of them in Winnipeg, large numbers in Port Arthur. In many instances we interned these people because we felt that, saying to them “You shall not leave the country,” we were not entitled to say, “You shall starve within the country.” However that may be, a considerable number for cause, and an additional number for the reasons which I have given, were interned, until at one time we had some seven or eight thousand interned aliens when we had seven or eight thousand of those people interned, it was costing this country something over \$1,500,000 a year. We found that the sentiment of every man who came into contact with the Austrian who was interned was that he was absolutely not dangerous.*

Commenting, an official with the Secretary of State, Colonial Office, observed that he had “waded through” the report of the debate only to find that “it contains I think nothing of first class importance to us. [A] good deal of the discussion was either beside the point or lacked a sound knowledge of the legal position of enemy aliens.” See “Treatment of Ps/W in Canada,” 4 June 1918, FO 383/469, File 98905.



[10] Arrests for non-compliance with the reporting regulations continued for years. For example, recording a significant decline in the number of alien enemies reporting at Timmins, the *Porcupine Advance* editorialized, 17 October 1917, page 5, that those who had not obeyed the law should be arrested and fined, as that would likely have a salutary effect on them. Only stern treatment was understood by these alien enemies, who would just take advantage if more lenient methods were used. Concluding, the editorialist observed that “in a country like this, where the ‘white people’ are in a minority, it is desirable at the least that alien enemies should be taught that they must observe strictly the very easy laws and rules that govern them.”

Collecting a poll tax and imposing fines on enemy aliens contributed to local economies. The *Porcupine Advance* wrote, “Aliens contribute over \$2,000 taxes,” page 1, 15 August 1917, how on the previous Friday, “reporting day” for enemy aliens, the Tax Collector had been installed at the police station, resulting in \$975 being collected in poll tax and another \$1,057.08 of income taxes, a total of \$2,030 “found money” by the end of that “day’s good work.” Acting Chief Sally was able to deal with the objections raised by one or two enemy aliens, being possessed of “the happy knack of radiating sunshine on such occasions and making alien enemies realize that the Lord loveth a cheerful giver.” As for one particular fellow who “scoffed at the Collector and the Chief and everybody else” an hour in the cells had “wonderfully helped the manners and morals of this impudent alien.” The same paper also explained, 3 October 1917, that Acting Chief Sally had secured \$900 during his term from aliens “who thought they could laugh at the law and their own written undertakings.” More important than this money, supposedly, was the lesson taught, for it had been “made plain that even alien enemies have duties and obligations to the country that gives them such freedom.”

Round-ups of enemy aliens continued throughout the war years. For example, the *Vernon News* reported, 31 May 1917, page 2, that a large number of Austrians had been snared at Port Arthur, Ontario and fined from \$10 to \$40 for failing to register as aliens. A number were found to be carrying bogus naturalization papers. And, on 22 March 1918, the authorities in Porcupine caught several hundred aliens in a dragnet, including some who had apparently evaded registration and monthly reporting and a few military service defaulters. Amongst those captured was a “Russian Pole” by the name of Conosovitch, “charged with seditious statements,” who was committed to North Bay for trial. See “Alien situation is well in hand,” the *Globe*, 23 March 1918, page 7. See also “Dominion police raid foreigners in city,” *Globe*, 4 June 1918, page 8. For what was done to those who indulged “in the sport of breaking parole” see “Austrians given fines for breaking parole,” *Sault Daily Star*, 25 January 1917, page 6. That article described how Magistrate A. Elliot had “replenished the city’s coffers” when he fined Harry Sydsirik, Fred Semboluk, Andre Chodoroski, Wasyl Howleyh, Toni Haminiuk, John Nastuzuk and Alex Miluecyuk a total of over \$600 for having boarded the ferry for the Michigan Soo. The *Porcupine Advance* also reported (31 October 1917, page 1) that police chief Craft had arrested two men who recently arrived from Manitoba without either permission to travel or registration cards. Taken before Justice of the Peace McLaughlin they pleaded that they had been working in the west and “did not know they had to report or anything.” The Justice accepted their story and dismissed them even though the newspaper, in reporting the story, wondered if it were possible that they “did not know there was a war on.”

[11] "Keeping tab on the aliens," *Brandon Sun*, 12 August 1915, page 12.

[12] "Austrian arrested at Iroquois," *Winnipeg Free Press*, 5 October 1914, page 11. Similar stories appeared regularly throughout the war years. Thus the *Winnipeg Telegram* reported on the case of Mike Lysuk, "Alien arrested on failing to produce registration card," 1 November 1916, page 12 and the *Sault Daily Star* on that of another "Austrian," a Mr. J. Dodemiuk, who "Refused to show his parole card," 18 August 1917, page 1.

[13] "A watchful eye," *Victoria Daily Colonist*, 9 September 1914, page 6.

[14] On 22 October 1914 the *Winnipeg Free Press* carried an article, "Ottawa police take precautions," which noted that even if most of the Austrians in that city were "peaceable and industrious, when work presents itself, the present is a time of stress and hardship, and the police are inclined to think that they will be less mindful of the law." It was also reported that in nearby Hull, Quebec, the city council had dismissed a large number of aliens. Likewise in Toronto "peremptory orders" were given by the city's board of control, on 13 November 1914, to immediately discharge any Germans, Austrians or Turks employed in city jobs, as noted by the *Victoria Daily Colonist*, 15 November 1914, "Order against aliens," page 1.

Fellow workers sometimes exhibited anti-alien sentiments. See "Ferne men firm in refusal to work with aliens in mine," *Lethbridge Herald*, 9 June 1915, pages 1, 4. A motion was read: "Resolved, that the men as Britishers, and others who are friendly, are willing and will work, but not under present conditions, that is, not with alien enemies." By 10 June, as also reported in the *Lethbridge Herald*, "Interne aliens at Fernie; Miners agree to return to work," page 1, after Colonel MacKay had incarcerated all single men of German or Austrian birth who had not been naturalized, totaling 108 in Fernie and 198 at Michel (only eighteen of whom were Germans), the miners returned to work the following day.

[15] See "Galicians could not book," *Winnipeg Free Press*, 8 August 1914, page 4, which recorded that a few Galicians had applied at the CPR for tickets to Galicia only to be told that none were being issued to points on the European continent and that no passengers have been booked since war was declared. Those aiding "Austrians" in leaving Canada were also subject to severe penalties. See the *Victoria Daily Colonist*, 19 November 1914, page 5, "On charge of treason," which described how Israel Schaefer, a local steamship agent, had been committed to trial in March before Montreal's Court of King's Bench for selling tickets to 14 Austrians. Schaefer posted bail in the amount of \$15,000 with the help of Martin Landres, another agent, and Joseph Feldeman, a furrier. Coping with those smuggling enemy aliens out of the Dominion continued to be a problem. See "Austrians tell of hiring Sayers to take them across," 28 November 1914, page 1; "Sayers case was adjourned to get further evidence," 30 November 1914, page 2; "Uncover plot at Detroit for shipping of aliens," 21 July 1915, page 5; "Breaking up traffic of smuggling aliens," 12 August 1915, page 5; "Austrians cross to U.S. from Canada via Garden River," 7 September 1915, page 5, all in the *Sault Daily Star* and "Smuggling aliens," *Daily British Whig*, 16 August 1915, page 1. On illegal efforts to cross the border into the United States see, for example, "Austrians built a raft on the water front to

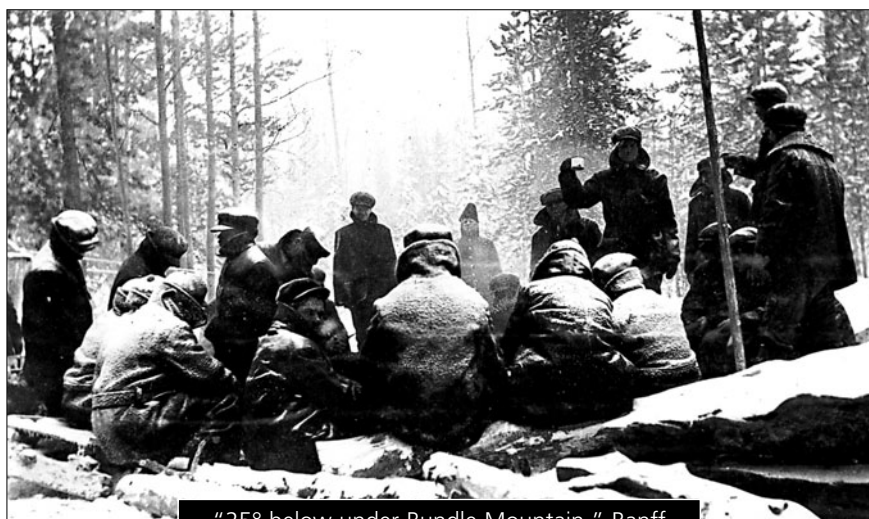
escape,” *Sault Daily Star*, 10 July 1915, page 1 and “Austrians at Port Arthur and Niagara attempted escape,” *Sault Daily Star*, 15 July 1915, page 1. The same paper reported, 13 November 1916, page 7, “15 alien enemies are sentenced for breaking parole,” that authorities in Sault Ste Marie had not taken any action in regard to alien enemies crossing the river. Only after 16 October, when an order-in-council was passed imposing a penalty of 3 to 6 months in prison for breaking parole regulations, did they begin to prevent such departures.

Enemy aliens could not leave one town and go to another without first reporting to the local registrar and had to carry a registration card at all times and show it when asked to do so. On the restrictions imposed on enemy alien bank accounts see “Checks on aliens withdrawing money,” *Winnipeg Free Press*, 26 June 1915, page 13 and “Destitute Germans are being interned,” *Winnipeg Free Press*, 10 March 1915, page 4. That some enemy aliens were worried about leaving their earnings in Canadian banks is suggested by the article, “Poll tax is being paid up readily,” *Sault Daily Star*, 16 August 1917, page 4. Police Sergeant Walker informed the newspaper that he had yet to approach an Austrian to collect the poll tax “who has not pulled out a roll of bills that would amount to at least \$200.” Apparently, *The Star* went on, “these men will not trust their money with the banks, for fear the government will take steps to confiscate it. Consequently they always carry their money with them, and as they are all earning good money, and live very cheaply, they always have a good sized roll on them.” Persons who attempted to send money to relatives in Europe could be charged. See “Aided the enemy,” *Sault Daily Star*, 20 September 1916, page 7, which reported on Helen and Stanley Konopka’s trial on charges of taking money to Buffalo, sending it on from there to Austria. Although the defence pleaded that the money was for relatives in great want the couple were fined \$100 each with the option of three months in the Ontario Reformatory.

Not only were alien enemies required to report regularly, failing to do so leaving them liable to the payment of a fine, but other strictures could be imposed upon them. When, for example, Bill Palakniuk, who had refused to report since December 1916, was taken into custody, he faced the “wrath” of Magistrate Elliot and, to make matters worse, Police Chief Vincent told him that he had better sell his automobile or steps would be taken by the Government to confiscate it, “as prisoners of war are not allowed to roam at large as they please in automobiles at the present time.” See “Fined Austrian \$500 for not reporting,” *Sault Daily Star*, 11 October 1917, page 1.



Stanley Barracks receiving station, Toronto



[16] As of 31 October 1914 the government of Canada effectively halted efforts by enemy aliens to become naturalized British subjects, having found that large numbers were seeking to do so. See “Foreigners rush to become Canadians,” *Toronto Daily Star*, 27 August 1914 and “Curb on naturalization,” *Victoria Daily Colonist*, 1 November 1914, page 3. The latter paper reported, 25 October, that “one of the big problems which is pressing for solution by the Government is the handling of the Austrian and German aliens” since “big employers of labor have been dismissing their unskilled laborers of these nationalities and they find difficulty in securing work.” This article estimated that there were between 50,000 and 100,000 enemy aliens in Canada. See “Aliens present hard problem,” *Victoria Daily Colonist*, 25 October 1914, page 2.

[17] As an example of how some destitute Ukrainians were being dealt with just before the outbreak of the war, see “Destitute men would go home,” 11 July 1914, *Victoria Daily Colonist*, page 1, which described how 100 Ukrainians (*sic*) in Ottawa had been enrolled by the city’s charity officer, John Keeney, seeking deportation on the grounds that they were immigrants of less than 3 years residence in Canada and had become dependent on the public. It was noted that a few weeks might elapse before this “first contingent will shake the dust of the Dominion from their feet.” For further evidence of the dire situation facing some unemployed immigrants in Canada just prior to the war, see “Ottawa Austrians on verge of starvation,” *Morning Albertan*, 11 September 1914, page 2, which recorded the distress experienced by several hundred Ukrainians living in the capital, most of whom had not worked for several months and who had been cut off by the war from their wives and families in

Galicia “where the battles have been fiercest.” See also the 7 October 1914 editorial, “Destitute Germans,” in the *Victoria Daily Colonist*, page 4, which expressed sympathy for women and children, who “will be taken care of irrespective of their nationality” but commented that there was only one “proper place” for German men who were “avowed enemies of this country” and did not have “sense enough to hold their tongues at the right time,” that being prison, where they would get “three meals a day and bed to sleep in” but be “made to earn both.” On 28 November 1914 the *Sault Daily Star* article, “Government plans for interning the aliens maturing,” page 5, recorded that Quebec agreed to federal plans for setting apart Crown lands upon which the foreigners would be put to work in clearing operations. Two classes were affected by this order, those who represented a menace and those who, “being out of work, but unable to go home, are public charges.” On 4 December 1914, the *Victoria Daily Colonist* reported, page 6, that the premier of British Columbia had forwarded “full particulars” respecting enemy aliens in that province to Ottawa, urging that those in need should be cared for by the federal authorities inasmuch as their situation was largely the result of a Dominion order which prevented enemy aliens from leaving the country. Some further evidence confirming that the destitute were interned so as not to place a burden on local municipalities is provided in an article, “Alien enemies,” in the same paper, 22 December 1914, page 2, which noted that the number of people interned was turning out to be less than anticipated. Most of the Austrians were “peacefully inclined” and “a great many of them are fed at soup kitchens maintained by people of their own nationality.” According to this report General Otter and his staff were keeping closely in touch with the situation and, so long as such Austrians did not become “charges upon the public, the Government hesitates to intern them.” However any who did become a burden upon a municipality “will quickly be sent to Petawawa or to the land-clearing operations in Quebec and Ontario.” And the article “Will be interned,” *Winnipeg Free Press*, 7 February 1915, page 22, remarked how, “practically every day” Austrians were brought into the city police court on charges of vagrancy or theft, and “in all cases their stories are the



“These men were in my charge in Buffalo Park,”  
Sgt William Buck, Banff, Alberta

same.” They had “been discharged from work because of their nationality and were unable to get work for the same reason.” The story went further described how Fred Manchur, a 19 year old Austrian, who had never been in trouble before, was arrested along with 2 other bread thieves, then handed over to the military authorities and interned in a “concentration camp.” On 19 May 1915, page 2, the *Sault Daily Star* reported that “All the Austrians, Hungarians and Austrian Poles living in Guelph were rounded up and sent to the detention camp at Toronto” because they “were out of work, penniless and hungry.” For another example of the kind of people being interned see “Capture alien who escaped last May,” *Brandon Sun*, 2 September 1915, page 15, which commented on the confinement of Jesko Berbes, a “blind and destitute” man who had been sent from Winnipeg for internment. Berbes was described as “an Austrian” who “had not broken any of the regulations required of aliens.” He was “so blind [that] his companions have to lead him around in the camp by means of a rope and he is altogether unable to go out with the others for their daily exercise.” See also “Aliens well behaved,” *Daily British Whig*, 17 March 1916, page 7, which quoted Toronto’s Inspector Kennedy as saying that out of 4,000 enemy aliens within his jurisdiction only 162 had been sent to Kapuskasing, “not one guilty of an act of a hostile.” Many had themselves informed the police that they were destitute, had then appeared before a magistrate and been sent to an internment camp. Others “during intoxicated moments” had voiced seditious remarks.

[18] *Globe*, “No enemy to get land in western Canada,” 17 March 1917, page 3.

[19] P. Melnycky, “The Internment of Ukrainians in Canada,” in F. Swyripa and J. H. Thompson, eds, *Loyalties in Conflict*, pages 23-24 and G. Wright, “Destruction of First World War Internment Records,” unpublished National Archives of Canada report, February 1990.



“New arrivals going into compound,” Castle Mountain

[20] Part of the testimony of Nykola Sakaliuk was transcribed and reprinted in L. Y. Luciuk, *Internment Operations: The Role of Old Fort Henry in World War I* (Kingston, 1980). Two tape-recorded interviews with N. Sakaliuk are on deposit at the Multicultural History Society of Ontario, in Toronto [UKR-6283-Sak, 14 February 1978, and UKR-8447-SAK, 5 November 1980]. See also the reminiscences of P. Yasnowskyj in H. Piniuta, ed, *Land of Pain, Land of Promise*, pages 179-195 and the “Afterword” by a survivor, Mary Manko Haskett, in L. Y. Luciuk, ed, *Righting An Injustice*, pages 212-213.

When a photo collection of the Banff internment camps, titled *In My Charge*, was first published, little information could be found about the owner of the album, William Buck. One mention of him has since been located. As reported in the *Morning Albertan*, on or about the 11 September 1914, Private Buck was shot at between 2 and 3 a.m. while standing sentry duty at the gate of the Army Ordnance Corps, on Calgary’s 12 Avenue East, “by desperadoes.” Apparently, “but for the fact that Buck was standing with his legs slightly open, he would either have been a dead or a crippled man.” The “dastardly nature of the attempted murder” apparently “aroused military men to a high pitch of indignation” but despite a diligent search those responsible succeeded in “showing a clean pair of heels.”



Sergeant William Buck

[21] J. Boudreau, “The Enemy Alien Problem in Canada, 1914-1921” (unpublished PhD dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1964). A recently compiled list of the civilian prisoners confirms the multicultural nature of the interned population while also underscoring the predominantly Ukrainian Canadian character of several major camps, including Castle Mountain, Kapuskasing, Brandon and Spirit Lake. See L. Luciuk, N. Yurieva and R. Zakaluzny, eds, *Roll Call: Lest We Forget*, available at [http://www.infoukes.com/uccla/images/Roll\\_Call.pdf](http://www.infoukes.com/uccla/images/Roll_Call.pdf).

The *Winnipeg Telegram* noted, “Turks put to work clearing land in Ont. for next spring’s crop,” 3 February 1915, page 2, that the Turks were men “of fine physique, but they are a great mixture, including Albanians and Syrians.” Since their attitude toward the war “was not entirely clear it was considered best to keep them in custody.”

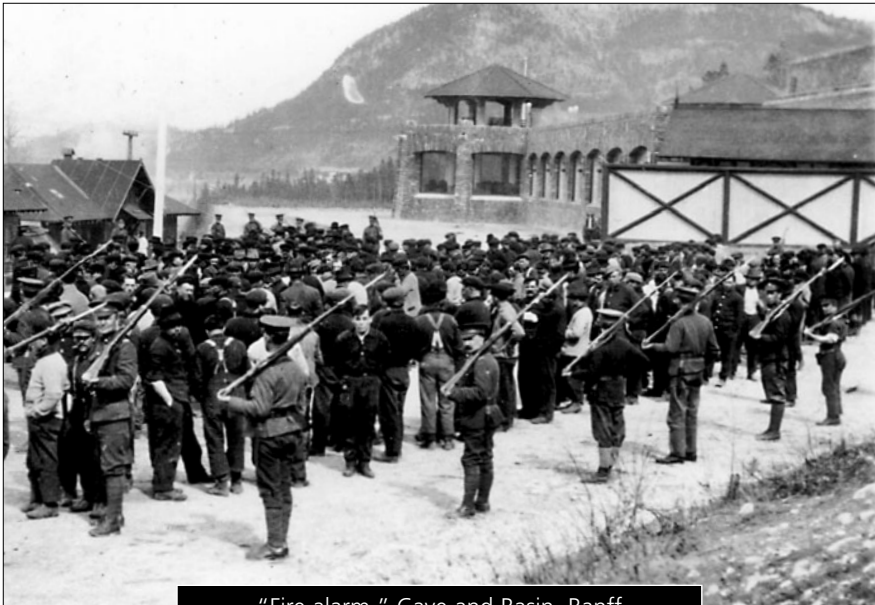
[22] On the “good scare” three lads got when they were discovered playing around the Fort see “Boys placed under arrest,” *Daily British Whig*, 14 September 1914, page 2. In “200 war prisoners,” 21 September 1914, page 4 the same newspaper noted that the prisoners are “in many cases in total ignorance of what is going on outside the walls.” For the case of a young Russian Jew released after the intervention of Isaac Cohen see “A Russian released from Fort

Henry where he was held as a German,” *Daily British Whig*, 24 September 1914, page 2. For conditions at Fort Henry see the following stories in the *Daily British Whig* - “They fare very well: Canada is very kind to prisoners of war,” 21 October 1914, page 10; “The Fort prisoners,” 4 January 1915, page 5; “The men in the Fort,” 29 January 1915, page 4; “Enemies well used,” 2 February 1915, page 5; “Inspected the Fort,” 29 May 1915, page 5; “Prisoners at Fort,” 7 July 1915, page 2; “The internment camp and scope of German life: Their third Christmas within grey walls,” 16 December 1916, page 28; “The passing of Fort Henry’s fine internment camp,” 8 March 1917, page 9 and “Prisoners of Fort Henry,” 4 May 1917, page 5. The riot at Fort Henry was described in “German prisoners were bayoneted,” *Daily British Whig*, 30 April 1915, pages 1, 8.

[23] For an account of “The Citadel” see “Interned at Halifax,” *Daily British Whig*, 29 June 1916, page 11.

[24] A lengthy report about the Amherst camp is found in “Are German prisoners in Canada ill treated?” *Winnipeg Telegram*, 4 September 1915, page 9.

[25] In “Badly Treated in Every Way: The Internment of Ukrainians in Quebec During the First World War,” in A. Biega and M. Diakowsky, eds, *The Ukrainian Experience in Quebec*, pages 51-78, Melnycky cites a report by the US consul at Quebec City, G. Willrich, who



“Fire alarm,” Cave and Basin, Banff



visited the Spirit Lake camp between 16-21 November 1916, following which he wrote:

*The prisoners in Canadian Internment Camps came to the Dominion as peaceful emigrants and the great majority of them at least have been good, law-abiding residents since their arrival, doing their bit to further the development of its great resources. In other words, these men now held as prisoners, as a class, are good, sturdy, inoffensive men, able and willing to work, most of them desirous of becoming Canadian citizens. The idea, therefore, of a treatment of such men as quasi-criminals seems contrary to the very best interests of the Dominion, and the temporary saving, which may be effected by the payment, or rather allowance, of such pittance as 25 cents per day for a full day's work, not even payable to them or to their families in full, seems to be as inexpedient as unjust, the former because men will not render a day's work for that amount, even when pretending to do so; unjust because most of these men had good profitable work prior to their internment and families to support which are now punished more than they are. There is no doubt in my mind, that at the present moment, the great majority of the prisoners at Spirit Lake could safely be returned to their homes and families, and that such return would be more profitable to Canada in the end than their retention in the camps as unwilling workers or strikers.*

See "Report on Conditions of German, Austro-Hungarian, Turkish and Bulgarian Subjects in Quebec Consular District and in the Detention Camp at Spirit Lake," 29 December 1916 [Washington, National Archives and Records Administration 763.72115/2779].

[26] In "Reports on Camps at Lethbridge, Alberta, Morrissey, B.C.," (14 October 1916, FO 383/240, 14 October 1916, the American Vice Consul at Vancouver, G. C. Woodward, noted how at Morrissey:

*Without exception, the prisoners all complained regarding their imprisonment, as they claimed they had done nothing to warrant it and did not consider it in keeping with the Dominion order issued at the commencement of the war that alien enemies would be permitted the same rights as others in Canada so long as they complied with the registration laws and were peaceable and law abiding. A number of the prisoners had been residents of Canada, or the United States, for a long period, ranging from one to twenty years.*

[27] On 26 November 1914, the *Morning Albertan* reported, page 1, "Alien enemies to improve Banff park," that Germans and Austrians would "be enabled to work out their anti-British spleen upon good, tough Canadian stumps" by improving Dominion parks and clearing land in the Abitibi region of Quebec, turning those timbered areas into good farms.

TELEPHONE VENDOME: 5533

10669 ST. LAWRENCE BOULEVARD  
(NEAR BOUIN BLVD.)

**Nicholas G. Panchuk, C.S.C.**

JUSTICE OF THE PEACE — INTERPRETER-TRANSLATOR

"EUROPEAN DOCUMENTS"

MONTREAL 12. QUE., CAN.

April 10th, 1952.

Department of the Secretary of State  
Office of the Custodian,  
Victoria Building, 7 O'Connor St.,  
Ottawa, Ontario.

OFFICE OF THE CUSTODIAN	
<b>RECEIVED</b>	
APR 15 1952	
FILED TO	K w w
FILE	

Att: Mr. A. H. Mathieu  
Asst. Deputy Custodian.

Dear Sir,

RE-STEVE (STEFAN) BALANSKY,  
or Balanetzki  
2363 Cleo Street,  
Montreal 24, P.Q.

The above named Mr. Balansky, has asked me to communicate on his behalf and to state that he was born on the 26th December, 1879, in Bukowina Austria, due to his illiteracy he can not sign his proper name.

He also declares that in 1914-15, he was interned as an Alien in the Concentration Camps at Valcartier and at Spirit Lake, P.Q. when later he was released from the Camps, he and many others were shipped to Kennora, Ontario, as C.P.R. Track labourers, he got sick and was sent to North Bay General Hospital, where he was treated for one year.

This man applied for his old age pension, but he was turned down because he had no documents whatsoever to proof his age etc.

Mr. Balansky will appreciate very much that some proof of his age may be traced up from the old documents which he states that it was taken from him the time he was interned by the Government Concentration Operation Camps.

Mr. Balansky tells me that there was two more of his friends interned with him their names are: EMER, Nikolai and - HORTIUK, Nikolai

Yours very truly,

N. G. PANCHUK  
JUSTICE OF THE PEACE

Released From  
SPIRIT LAKE CAMP, Quebec, July 20<sup>th</sup> 1914

On the tasks set for internees at Petawawa see "Ontario's aliens will go to Petawawa," *Sault Daily Star*, 7 December 1914, page 5 which reported that these men would be employed in building roads, clearing bushes with the rest assigned to work in Algonquin National Park. In "Camp for Aliens," *Victoria Daily Colonist*, 9 December 1914, page 2, it was reported that this military camp was being "whipped into shape" in preparation for the arrival of the Austrians and German who would be "rounded up there." Since there was still a lot of work to do "the Government, it is believed, see an excellent opportunity of having the labor done at a minimum cost." On 11 December the same paper reported, "Alien enemies are given work," that 100 Germans and Austrians had already been transported to Petawawa from Montreal and a similar number from Kingston, with an anticipated 600 more to follow. Plans were also in place for sending several hundred internees to clear arable lands around Parent, a Northern Transcontinental Railway station. Commenting on the use of enemy aliens as labourers the *Vernon News* observed, 6 May 1915, "Alien prisoners may be employed," pages 1- 2, 9, that if prisoners were deployed to build a 20 mile long road from Monashee to Edgewood, a project not likely to be undertaken by the provincial government at any near future date, the "expense to the province would be very light." The Vernon Board of Trade unanimously voted in favour of using the enemy aliens, noting "that if they were not employed here they would be moved to some other part of the province where their services could be utilized." Concerned citizens in Victoria called upon Premier Borden to intern all enemy aliens in the city and send them Vernon, where they could be usefully employed for road construction between Okanagan and Arrow lakes. See "Send them here," *Vernon News*, 20 May 1915, page 1. See also "War prisoners held in Canada," *Daily British Whig*, 15 June 1915, which stated that of some 4,000 being held about 3,000 were Austrians "who gave no trouble," for "the average Austrian" often even claimed that "they didn't know the war was on until rounded up." It was also pointed out that "representations that more ought to be interned come mainly from municipalities pressed by problems of unemployment." Remedying that situation would have to be accomplished by some other means than by "wholesale internments" for the Government was allegedly not disposed to look to internment or barracks as a solution for unemployment.

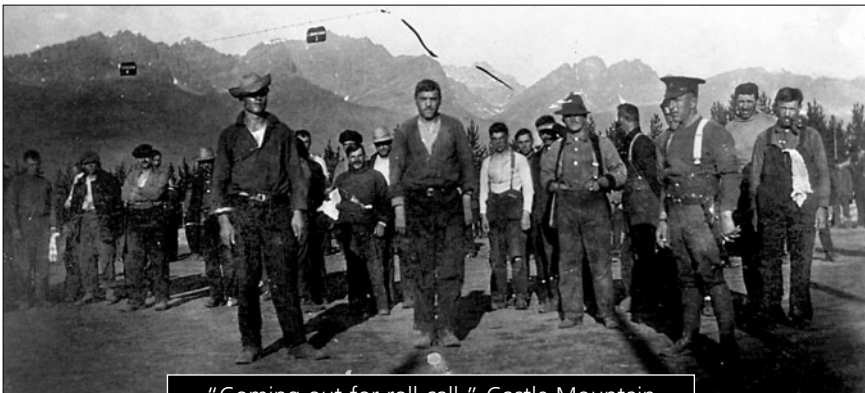
[28] *Vernon News*, 18 November 1915, page 2.

[29] Otter, *Internment Operations*, page 13. By 1916, as the war in Europe consumed a generation of young men, the internment of thousands of "enemy aliens" began to create problems for labour intensive industries, with the demand for workers exceeding supply, particularly after the introduction of conscription. Following considerable public controversy, the government allowed the release of some internees into the workforce, in effect, signaling the dismantling of the internment operations. Some 6,000 internees were paroled by the end of 1916. As an example of the parole process, see the correspondence between Mont B. Morrow, the operating officer of the Canmore Coal Company Limited, and Major Spence, the officer commanding the internment camp in Banff, dated 20 May 1916. Morrow noted that because of enlistment and the internment operations the company no longer had the work force required to supply the coal it was being called upon to produce for the Canadian Pacific Railway Company and several regional flour mills. Morrow went on to list the names of four

miners who had formerly been employed by the company, but whom “we understand are now interned in your Camp.” He vouched for their good conduct, promised that officers of the company would practice “great vigilance in there (sic) observation of the performance and conduct of these men and will co-operate with the police Sergeant and his assistants at any and all times in the effort to assure peaceful and proper conduct on the part of the above mentioned men” if only they could be released for work. On 2 June 1916 Ilia (Alex) Petraschuk No. 227), Petro (Pete) Gaworenko No. 235), Mykolaj (Nik) Kosma (No. 233), Mykolaj (Nik) Wynnyczuk (No. 234) and Wasyl (Billy) Huculiak (No. 228) were paroled. All five were described as Ukrainians who had been “captured” in Calgary on 6 and 7 December 1915. All save Kozma were described as “destitute” labourers. In age they ranged from the 20 year old Huculiak to Wynnyczuk, who was then 45. Their cause of arrest was recorded as being for “not reporting and lying.”

Other business concerns to whom “prisoners of war” were released for work included Algoma Steel, the Dominion Iron and Steel Company, Canadian Pacific Railway, Grand Trunk Railway, Crow’s Nest Pass Coal Company, International Harvester Company, Canada Cement Company, Canadian Northern Railway, Brewster Transport Company, Abitibi Pulp and Paper Company, The Asbestos Corporation, Spanish River Pulp Company, Ontario Malleable Iron Company, Delora Mining and Reduction Company, American Radiator Company, National Steel Car Company and Canadian Government Railways, to list but a few.

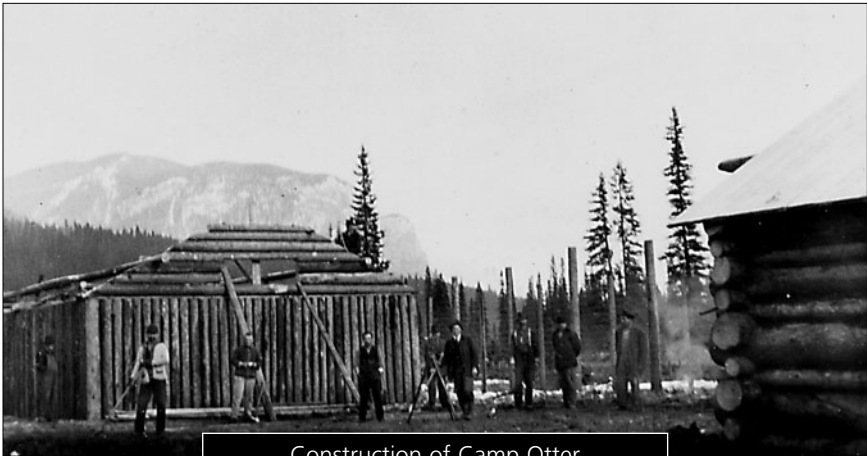
The parole process did not always work. In the fall of 1916, the US Consul at Fernie reported how some “Austrians” released from the Fernie internment camp to work as miners had been detained following complaints by “native” miners over the presence of “alien enemies” in their midst, requiring the intervention of the Director of Internment Operations, who happened to be in Victoria at the time. Otter arranged for the mens’ release and transfer for employment with the Canadian Pacific Railway. See the correspondence in “Treatment of certain Austrian Subjects at Fernie, BC,” FO 383/247. Miners in the Maritimes were likewise sometimes unsympathetic to fellow Austrian and German workers. See “Aliens miners must quit work,” *Halifax Chronicle*, 29 June 1915, page 1. Likewise workers in the Muskoka Leather



“Coming out for roll call,” Castle Mountain

Company of Bracebridge objected strenuously to proposals for employing interned aliens. Just as 10 Austrians arrived aboard the 3:13 a.m. train the quarters prepared for them in Monck somehow caught fire, a mysterious conflagration that convinced the Company that these Austrians were best sent to another plant, in Acton, Ontario.

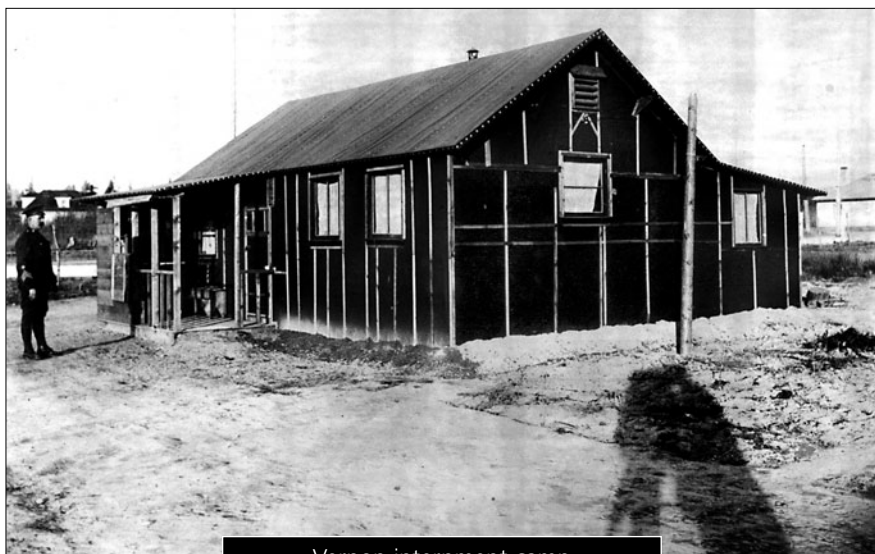
Newspaper reporting on the nature, extent, and necessity for the parole system, which engendered a national debate, is extensive. See "Discharge of Fernie internees," *Lethbridge Herald*, 19 July 1915, page 1, which reported that Colonel MacKay had discharged 157 of the 330 aliens whom the provincial police had rounded up by early June, releasing "mostly Galicians, Hungarians, Russians, Bukowenians (*sic*) and Bohemians." Those paroled were "all lumbermen and common laborers, and willingly took the prescribed oath, and signed a pledge to report at all times when required to do so by the police. They are all young men, many being below 21 years, one boy of 17 being among them." Meanwhile, in Winnipeg, contractors were advised not to accept alien laborers unable to produce the necessary identification papers, meaning either naturalization papers or a registration ticket from the Alien Registration Bureau. As a result the latter office had been "besieged." A total of 12,450 alien residents of the city had entered their names as natives of an enemy country as of 16 April 1915, according to the *Winnipeg Telegram*, "Heavy alien registration continues to keep large staff of officials busy," page 3. Occasionally, naturalized citizens were mistakenly identified as enemy aliens. On 16 November 1917, for example, Mr. B. B. Dubiński wrote to the *Winnipeg Telegram* to correct a story that appeared in which his name was listed among those exempted from military service on account of being "aliens." Mr. Dubiński begged to inform the editor that "I am not an alien, but a British subject by naturalization. I have taken out the oath of allegiance and adherence to His Britannic Majesty." While the federal government may have "deemed it advisable by virtue of the War Times Election act to deprive every subject naturalized after 1902 and born in any enemy country, of his political franchise," such persons



Construction of Camp Otter

were “recompensed” by being relieved from “combatant military service.” Dubiński added that he understood the enactment was a war measure, “possibly a very wise one,” but insisted that his temporary loss of the right to vote did not mean that he had reverted from being a citizen to an alien.

The *Winnipeg Telegram* endorsed proposals for using internees not already working at government land clearing or road building operations on farms during the seeding season. See “Utilizing alien labor,” 20 April 1916, page 8. It was evident, said that editorial, that although the foreign population was large enough to have given a great deal of trouble if they had wanted to they had not. This was a tribute to their good sense and evidence of the consideration with which they had been treated. The article also stated that the majority of the interned were those who were out of employment at the time, men who were probably glad enough to be provided with subsistence: “Far from requiring guards to keep them from escaping, most of them will probably stick to the internment camp until they are put out.” And in Kingston alderman W. Peters proposed, in May 1916, that prisoners from Fort Henry be used as work gangs for improvements to University Avenue, given the dearth of “white labor” resulting from enlistments and the revival of the local Locomotive Works. See “On Kingston’s streets building roads and drains,” *Daily British Whig*, 18 May 1916, page 8. By 5 April 1916 the *Daily British Whig* had already commented, “To use aliens on the farms,” that the Dominion Government was releasing a large proportion of the aliens held in detention camps so that they could aid in the “agricultural operations of the country.” Over a thousand men, “most of whom are Ukrainians or Ruthenians, of non-Teutonic origin, and with little, if



Vernon internment camp

any, sympathy for the Austrian cause,” were to be released at once, out of a total said to be “about ten thousand.” By 17 July 1916, the same paper wrote, page 1, “Aliens released to work in mills,” that “the demand for labor throughout the country is causing many of the interned aliens to be released.” As a result there were only about 75 left at Spirit Lake and Kapuskasing’s population had been reduced by half. Most of those released were Austrians and Galicians who “were interned not because of any hostile acts, but rather on account of being public charges.” The “dangerous element” remained confined, however, at Fort Henry, Amherst, and Vernon. On 28 July 1916, in “Releasing aliens,” further information was provided about the paroling of large numbers of Canada’s interned aliens. It was observed that in the early days of the war “when work was scarce, large numbers of these aliens roamed the streets with nothing to do and thus promised to constitute a menace.” Now that work had become plentiful and labor scarce those in the camps were being released and eagerly received by industries experiencing a labor shortage. The report also noted that since “the outbreak” at Kapuskasing those interned there had not done work of any kind and that a similar disturbance at Spirit Lake, at about the same time, had been summarily quelled. The story also mentioned that as a result of the work done by the aliens at both these camps villages-in-embryo had been established making it probable that those still at Spirit Lake and Kapuskasing “will remain after their release and make their homes there.” See “Internment camps release aliens,” *Daily British Whig*, 23 August 1916, page 11.



Mara Lake internment camp

Being paroled to work at less-than-union wages was not always acceptable to some internees. See "Aliens threaten to strike unless union wages paid," *Winnipeg Telegram*, 20 July 1916, page 1, which reported that enemy aliens in the Brandon camp were agitated by the suggestion that they might be put to work building the Sewell-Brandon road. Allegedly many of those interned in Manitoba were individuals who "deliberately made treasonable utterances at the beginning of the war in order to be taken in charge by the government, receiving free board without work during the duration of the war."

[30] In 1916, Frank Oliver, a Liberal MP, complained that although the internees had committed no crime they were subjected to compulsory labour at a 25 cents per day wage. See Canada, *Parliamentary Debates* (Commons), 122, 1 (1916): pages 849-850. In *Park Prisoners* (pages 11-12) Professor B. Waiser observed that internees were expected to work a six-day week at the rate of 25 cents per day, far short of what they might have earned as workers during the

prewar boom years. This wage was certainly less favourable than the pay of enlisted men. Soldiers received a basic rate of \$1.25 per day, and could earn 25 cents extra for any special work beyond regular duties. While internees could spend a maximum of \$3 per month at the internees' canteen for such items as tobacco, fruit and candy, the balance of their earnings, along with any money, valuables or other personal items that they had in their possession at the time of their arrest, were held in trust by the Custodian of Enemy Alien Property.

[31] W. Otter to the Officer Commanding, 5<sup>th</sup> Military Division, Quebec, 25 February 1915, NAC RG 24, Volume 4513, File 2. The kind of work the internees had to do is described in a report by Major A. E. Hopkins, the commandant of the interment camp in Jasper, Alberta. He wrote to Otter that on Saturday, 19 February 1916, internees had cut fence posts in the bush, dug a ditch, hauled water and wood, cleaned up their camp, and worked on the town of Jasper's water main. See Hopkins to Otter, NAC RG 24, Volume 4744, File 2.



Guards at Castle Mountain,  
Sgt. W. Buck in centre



[32] Those interned were also sometimes victimized by others on the outside. At Fernie it was reported that two Russians, John Damitovitck and an accomplice, both “subjects of the Czar,” thinking that subjects of the Emperor Francis Josphehi (*sic*) of Austria, having lost their personal freedom by being classified as alien enemies, “had also lost their property rights as well,” entered a shack at Michel belonging to two Austrians “now sojourning in the detention camp here.” The accused proceeded “to Russianize whatever they took a fancy to and transferred the Russianized property to their own shack.” Nevertheless, Judge Thompson found Damitovitck “not guilty” and his accomplice got off with a suspended sentence. See “Thief at Fernie gets 18 months,” *Lethbridge Herald*, 28 June 1915, page 1. See also the report regarding charges made against Joseph Friedman who was accused of having taken \$50 from Mrs. K. Torzeska on a promise to obtain the release of her interned husband. See “Jos. Friedman was acquitted in court yesterday,” *Sault Daily Star*, 13 April 1916, page 1.

[33] Otter, *Internment Operations*, page 12. Professor J. H. Thompson reported that the Canadian government sold the seized property of “enemy aliens” at auction for 10 cents on the dollar. See “Ukrainians stripped of rights in Canada during 1<sup>st</sup> World War,” *Westmount Examiner*, 26 March 1987, page 1.

[34] W. Otter to Officer Commanding, 13<sup>th</sup> Military District, Calgary, Alberta, 16 December 1915, NAC RG24, Volume 4721, File 1. In a letter sent to Otter from the headquarters of Military District No. 13, dated 16 November 1915, it was noted that prisoner Chiskolok complained that he had been forced to work even though he was sick at the time. Upon his refusal to go out, “the guard struck him with his rifle and called him a son of a bitch.” Reporting on internees’ complaints regarding the brutality of guards at Spirit Lake, US Consul Willrich informed the State Department that the evidence was “rather conflicting” since it have been given in the presence of officers who “constantly contradicted the statements made to me by the prisoners.” Complaining about this interference, Willrich was allowed to privately interview the prisoners, concluding that “in many instances [the complaints] at least seemed well founded,” adding further that most complaints about:



*Bad treatment were due to the conduct of subordinate officers rather than of the higher officers at the camp, as is so often the case when men of inferior intelligence are invested with autocratic powers.*

Willrich also observed that the man:

*charged with police authority at this camp had exercised his authority in a rather brutal way, under the mistaken notion, that these prisoners were criminals rather than unfortunate solely through circumstances. Petty annoyances, loss of small liberties, even physical punishment had thus apparently resulted solely to gratify the petty officers' rather brutal instincts. When taken to task for this privately and in a kindly manner, he admitted his fault, and promised to do better.*

G. Willrich to the Secretary of State, Washington, 29 December 1916, US State Department Archives. A report, "Detention camps at Lethbridge & Banff," preserved in the archives of the British Foreign Office (FO 383/162), dated 25 February 1916, notes that conditions at Lethbridge were "very bad" and that the reports on the situation there did not make for "pleasant reading." Following a second visit to the Lethbridge camp, 11 November 1915, the American Consul based in Calgary, Samuel C. Reat, observed:

*Cases of prisoners being placed in dark cells and given diet of bread and water from 1 to 4 days, are not only proved but admitted by the authorities. Guards have cuffed prisoners on the slightest provocation and the conduct of some sergeants has been extremely reprehensible. Two cases have been established where prisoners have been handcuffed and drawn up so that their toes just touch the floor. One prisoner was assaulted twice within an hour by a sergeant (Wellor). The most reprehensible case is that of an assault with a bayonet by a sergeant (Hume) on a prisoner by the name of Koziol. The sergeant made three distinct thrusts, but the wound or wounds were very slight. There seems*



Internees marching across Spirit Lake

*to have been no cause for use of force. Koziol was an exemplary prisoner, according to the record.*

In "More Germans fall into clutches of M. Police," 24 August 1915, the *Lethbridge Herald*, page 5, observed rather drolly how the:

*Register at Fort McMichael is fast growing and the popular Teuton resort is filling up with guests for the winter season. Although depleted sadly by the attractions of the Banff camp, the number of guests now registering here is over one hundred and is growing daily. The R.N.W.M.P. are mainly responsible for the large attendance at Fort McMichael. On Friday eight German transients who would otherwise have departed to the United States were, through the efforts of the detective squad of the Mounted Police, induced to sojourn here. They came from Edmonton and were journeying towards the line when the agents for the Lethbridge resort persuaded them to remain in the bracing atmosphere of Sunny Alberta, where they will stay until the end of the war.*

Some prisoners' letters survive and tell a very different story. Castle Mountain prisoner No. 98, Nick Olynyk, wrote to his wife:

*As you know yourself there are men running away from here everyday because the conditions here are very poor, so that we cannot go on much longer, we are not getting enough to eat. We are hungry as dogs. They are sending us to work, as they don't believe us, and we are very weak.*

Cited by Kordan and Melnycky, *In The Shadow Of The Rockies* (Edmonton, 1991), page 49, fn 58.

[35] W. Kirkconnell, "Kapuskasig - An Historical Sketch," *Queen's Quarterly*, Volume 27, #3 (January 1921), page 11. He recorded that his charges were "ignorant, sullen, inert, the mass of these internees were the very incarnation of passive resistance [who] worked because they were compelled, and they exerted themselves as little as possible though by dawdling steadily they accomplished much through sheer force of numbers." Kirkconnell later became an articulate defender of the Ukrainian Canadian community and president of Acadia University.

On the selection of the site for this camp, "Military prisoners will clear the land," 11 December 1914, page 1; "Decide on site of experimental farm," 17 December 1914 and "Many aliens to be moved to Hearst," 30 April 1915, page 1, all in the *Sault Daily Star*. The establishment of the farm was lauded as the first step in the opening up of the great clay belt for settlement along the Transcontinental railway. Ontario's premier, the Honourable W. H. Hearst, remarked that "the work these prisoners will accomplish will be work that could not otherwise be undertaken, and that instead of being an unproductive charge upon the state they

will be utilized to establish an experimental farm which will give employment in the regular course of events to Canadians.” He added, “It is needless to say that this farm will be established without any expense to the Province.”

On the kinds of injuries sustained by the inmates of the camps there is US Consul G. Willrich’s December 1916 report on Spirit Lake. Eight men had died already and there had been:

*A rather large number of surgical cases due to injuries received by prisoners working in a rossing mill, erected near the camp, causing a frequent loss of fingers and other injuries incident to that rather dangerous employment; also to frozen hands and feet of prisoners engaged in getting out wood during the winter months.*

For a report on Kapuskasing see “How our enemies are entertained,” *Pembroke Standard*, 21 July 1915, page 8:

*It is not the usual sort of settlement one meets in the wilderness. It is not a Hudson’s Bay trading post now, nor is its chief activity the sale of corner lots to strangers. Its form of municipal government is unusual, being organized on the principle of the absolute monarchy, with a ruling class and compulsory labor and all that goes with it. It’s an internment camp.*

More recently the town of Kapuskasing, in celebrating the 75<sup>th</sup> anniversary of its incorporation in 1921, published a commemorative book, *Kapuskasing, 1921-1996* (Kapuskasing, 1995-1996) which recalled the town’s beginnings as a detention camp for “enemy aliens.” In 1915 Kapuskasing’s population consisted of 1,259 “aliens” and 256 soldiers

[36] Cited in Luciuk, *Internment Operations*, page 9. Reportedly, 106 prisoners were confined to insane asylums after being interned. Otter noted that the cause was “the confinement and restrictions entailed.” See “Three prisoners go insane,” *Daily British Whig*, 8 July 1915, page 2, which reported on 3 prisoners being sent to Rockwood Hospital “as a direct result of the continued confinement at Fort Henry.” One man, who may have been “slightly demented” before his arrest, had become incurable, “the steady sight of four grey walls had driven him wholly insane.”

[37] Commenting on the riot at Kapuskasing, the *Vernon News* reported, 25 May 1916, page 2, that one man was dead, 9 seriously wounded (several fatally), and 4 were injured as a result of an outbreak “instigated by Austrian prisoners who arrived at Kapuskasing prison camp from Petawawa, under guard of 300 soldiers.” Some 900 internees participated for several hours, “the soldiers using their bayonets as well as firing on the prisoners.” See also “Four alien enemies killed and many badly wounded in a revolt at Kapuskasing camp,” *Sault Daily Star*, 16 May 1916, page 1. In the *Pembroke Standard*, 10 May 1916, page 1, “Prisoners gave some trouble” these earlier stories were corrected, it being reported that “no one was killed.” For earlier reports of troubles at Petawawa see

"Austrians on strike," *Daily British Whig*, 2 August 1915, page 5.

[38] The successful escape of prisoner N. Demczuk from the Banff internment camp is described in NAC RG24, Volume 4721, File 2, 22 January 1916. Other prisoners who escaped from this camp were later recaptured. See Major P. M. Spence's report to Officer Commanding, 13<sup>th</sup> Military District, Calgary, for the cases of W. Wiwcheruk and W. Stefiuk, in the same file. Newspaper accounts of various other attempts, successful and otherwise, include, for example, a story about Dimytro Kowalchuk, "Brandon prisoner of war has escaped," *Winnipeg Telegram*, 3 May 1915, page 2; the *Brandon Sun* article, "War prisoners break for liberty," 3 June 1915, page 15 and the *Lethbridge Herald* story on the shooting of Andrew Grapko, an 18 year old "Austrian" mortally injured while doing so, "Internee shot," 7 June 1915, page 1. The latter was also reported in the *Winnipeg Telegram*, "Attempt escape: Two are victims," 7 June 1915, page 2 and in considerable detail in "Fifteen desperate aliens attempt escape: One may die, one escapes, others in custody," *Brandon Sun*, 10 June 1915, page 7. This latter article noted that the ringleaders of this escape were "much superior to the average Austrian laborer in intellect." One of them, Simon Konrat, "a good-looking fellow [who is] determined to get his liberty or die in the attempt." The other "Austrians" were Andrew Grapko (18), Mike Butryn (22), Steve Kalchuk (30), Mike Kozak (40), Den Hnicki (18), Mike Tyko (28), Anson Ogliski, Harry Chickne, John Shusko, Nick Burger, Joe Marchuk, Mike Kolmo and John Desiki. Another Austrian, mortally wounded while trying to escape at the Windsor train station while *en route* to Spirit Lake, was Jan Baunzek. See "Austrian prisoner tries to escape and is shot," *Winnipeg Telegram*, 3 May 1915, page 12. The escape of Mike Nykyforck, "a young Austrian from Cranbrook," was also noted by the



"Work party leaving Cave and Basin camp"

*Lethbridge Herald*, 14 June 1915, "Fernie internee attempts escape," pages 1, 3. In one case Indians helped locate 5 Austrian fugitives from the Spirit Lake camp, after the latter had traveled nearly 400 miles on foot through virgin forest, "Escaped enemy prisoners are finally caught," *Winnipeg Telegram*, 6 September 1915, page 3. For an account of an escape attempt at Amherst, "Prisoners of war made bold attempt to escape," *Halifax Chronicle*, 25 June 1915, page 1. On escapes from Fort Henry, "Three Germans escape from Ontario camp," *Halifax Chronicle*, 6 July 1916, page 5 and "In a sewer all night," *Daily British Whig*, 28 November 1916, page 2. See also "Interned aliens plan to escape," *Brandon Sun*, 2 December 1915, page 13 and "Escaping Germans driven back by Black Fly patrol," *Porcupine Advance*, 25 July 1917, page 3 which described how prisoners attempting to get away from Kapuskasing were overwhelmed by black flies and mosquitoes in the summer months and by "Corporals Frost and Snow" in the winter. A similar report appeared in the same paper, 11 April 1917, "A thousand more aliens to be taken to Kapuskasing," page 1. A different kind of escape attempt was reported by the *Vernon News*, 19 October 1916, page 1, "Another tunnel at internment camp," and at Amherst, "12 war prisoners made their escape from alien camp," *Sault Daily Star*, 19 January 1916, page 6.

[39] Verdict of jury re: William Perchaluk, "Deceased," Calgary, Alberta, 6 December 1916, NAC RG24, Volume 4721, File 3. Also note 45 below. The surname Perchaluk is also spelt Perchaliuk in some of the remaining documents.

[40] For example, on 28 November 1914, the *Morning Albertan* noted, page 8, that "it comes as a great surprise to Austrians to learn that they are enemies of the British empire," observing further than the Austrians were "greatly shocked at being arrested as prisoners of war." One man reportedly exclaimed: "I don't want to be arrested. I like this country very well and do not want to go away or make trouble and don't see why I should be arrested." See "Austrians friendly to Great Britain: They are very much vexed when arrested by Canadians as prisoners of war." And, on the front page of the 18 May 1915 issue of the *Winnipeg Telegram* "200 Austrians now on way to be interned," it was reported how "disappointment over their fate was plainly written on their faces" for "many had stated when they left Winnipeg on their southward trek, that they were leaving because they feared internment." See "Aliens continue to pack registration offices," 20 May 1915, *Winnipeg Telegram*.

For a report on how these destitute men trekked as far as Emerson, trying to get to the USA, see "Only 200 Austrians tramp to Emerson," *Winnipeg Free Press*, 17 May 1915, pages 1, 15-16 and "Austrians housed in Brandon camp," *Winnipeg Free Press*, 20 May 1915, page 1. The same issue noted that, with the addition of the 175 men rounded up at Emerson, there would be some 500 internees in Brandon's Winter Fair Building, guarded by 60 soldiers. Also "Rushing interned aliens on Special," *Brandon Sun*, 20 May 1915, page 1, recorded how Mayor McLeod, of Winnipeg, with a strong guard of 125 men of the 45<sup>th</sup> Battalion, came to collect the trekkers at Emerson, "who appeared to be very glad that their wanderings were nearing an end."

Brandon's camp was reputedly agreeable, "Brandon has best arrangement for interned aliens," *Brandon Sun*, 11 March 1915, page 8 and "Winter Fair Arena houses 503 aliens," 20

May 1915, page 12. The men arriving from Emerson “had blistered feet, while others had had nothing to eat for many long hours save what the people of Emerson had given them.” The bulk of these prisoners were men who “have hitherto worked on railroad construction gangs and they openly declare that they have no interest whatever in the war except that it has thrown them into the ranks of the unemployed and to the verge of starvation.”

Sometimes cities competed for the benefits to the local economy that having an internment camp could bring. See *Winnipeg Free Press* which reported that “loyal citizens wanted that city’s Horse Show Building used as an internment camp rather than undertaking the expense of shipping internees to Brandon. See “Internment camp in Amphitheatre,” 18 May 1915, page 7. General Otter visited Brandon again that year, as reported in “Foreigners are well behaved,” *Brandon Sun*, 15 August 1915, page 13.

[41] This letter, signed by six Ukrainian Canadian newspaper editors, was drafted after a mass meeting held in Winnipeg, Manitoba, 2 July 1916. It was published in the *Manitoba Free Press* (Winnipeg) 17 July 1916, and reprinted in Swyripa and Thompson, *Loyalties in Conflict*, pages 166-168.

[42] “Ruthenians assert loyalty to Canada,” *Winnipeg Free Press*, 10 August 1914, page 5 which observed that 3,000 Canadian Ruthenians had attended a patriotic mass meeting in the convention hall of the Industrial Bureau and unanimously resolved that “whereas the welfare of the British empire is at stake, we, the Ruthenian citizens of Winnipeg, here assembled, hereby express our loyalty to the British flag and declare our readiness to follow the Union Jack when called upon.” Although “vociferous applause” followed the reading of the resolution, presented by J. W. Arsenych, some 200 Jewish Socialists later left the hall. A proposal was put forward to form a Ruthenian regiment in Winnipeg and note taken of the fact that over 60 volunteers had already joined the 106<sup>th</sup> Light Infantry. Also “Local Ruthenians profess loyalty,” *Winnipeg Free Press*, 13 August 1914, page 18. In “Galicians aid Canada’s war fund,” the *Winnipeg Free Press* observed, 22 September 1914, page 16, that Galicians in the Henribourg district near Prince Albert, Saskatchewan, had donated a wagon load of vegetables to the war fund, “probably the first occasion in Canada since the war broke out that Galicians have taken such action.” On 27 May 1915, Sir Robert Borden received a petition from some 900 Austrians “of Slavic origin” living in Port Arthur and Fort William, which pointed out that many of them had been refused work “on account of being Austrian” even though they were “peaceable and law-abiding.” They only wanted an opportunity of “working on the land either by clearing undeveloped land or by working it after it is cleared.” Concluding, they asked the prime minister to favour them by finding work for them, thus relieving “our people of the demoralizing influence of accepting charity and will help us to take our place in the future developing of this great democracy in which we have every faith and in the formation of which we are anxious to make our contribution.” See “Austrian appeal to the Premier,” *Brandon Sun*, 3 June 1915, page 7. In “Ruthenians will assist Canadian patriotic ideals,” the *Winnipeg Telegram* wrote (5 August 1916, page 7) that a Ruthenian national convention had been held in Saskatoon’s Strand Theatre, during which the 400 people present, including Bishop Budka, emphasized that they were loyal British subjects and asked that Ukrainians not be identified

with the Austrians. Also see “Deny Ruthenians are lukewarm in patriotism,” *Winnipeg Telegram*, 31 March 1917, page 9 and “Canada’s Slavs loyal to Allies: Naturalized citizens of enemy origin ask to be conscripted,” *Sault Daily Star*, 10 April 1918, page 5.

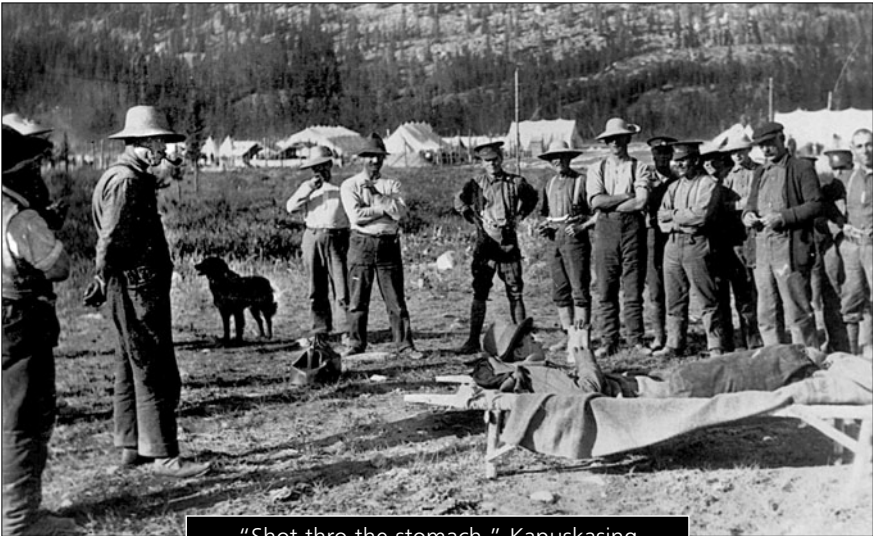
On the bi-lingual school system there is the *Globe* editorial, “Alien assurance,” 7 January 1918, page 6. Protesting against the discrimination directed against the 65,000 Ukrainian people of Saskatchewan, a Ukrainian convention in Saskatoon had demanded the repeal of the order in council prohibiting the publication of Ukrainian books and newspapers without the required English translation in parallel columns. While the *Globe* noted that the delegates had expressed their loyalty to the Allied cause, it reminded them that by “attacking the educational laws of Saskatchewan they assume that the privilege of using or teaching their own language in the primary schools, which they have had for years to a limited extent, belongs to them as a right.” What would happen if every other alien group in the country made the same claim, wondered the *Globe*? Was Canada to become a nation or a polyglot boarding-house? Care would have to be taken against those agitators who were trying to keep people “of their own blood out of the main current of national life.” The English tongue “is the great amalgamating influence; hence their zeal to maintain their own language.” On Mennonites and how they should be treated see “The foreign-language problem,” *Globe*, 3 October 1918, which noted that “no immigrants should be assured of exemption from the burdens and duties of citizenship. If the inhabitants of other countries do not like these conditions they are at liberty to remain where they are. A homogeneous and united people cannot be built up on the foreign-community plant. It fosters and perpetuates racial and sectarian peculiarities inconsistent with a national spirit and a whole-hearted devotion to Canada.”

[43] P. Wacyk to R. Fletcher, Deputy Minister of Education, Winnipeg, 16 November 1914, NAC RG 18, Volume 469. Senator T. O. Davis, of Prince Albert, Saskatchewan, insisted that “there is no cause for worry about the attitude of the large number of foreigners in Saskatchewan in regard to the present war. There are many Galicians, Bulgarians and Austrians in the Province, and with but few exceptions they are strongly in favor of the Allies. The reason is not far to seek. In Canada they enjoy freedom of the widest kind; at home they were conscripts and lived under much different laws and institutions. Most of them are prosperous farmers and would not think of ever returning to their former life, and they appreciate the spirit of British citizenship.” See “Foreigners on Prairies,” *Victoria Daily Colonist*, 26 November 1914, page 5. In 1916 the Honourable C. J. Doherty likewise noted that, after two years of war, the federal authorities were fully satisfied with the conduct of enemy aliens in Canada. With upwards of 6,000 people interned the greater part of them had been taken in because of being public charges and the majority of them had since been released. Doherty remarked that the Austrians were “particularly inoffensive.” See “Very few outrages by enemy aliens,” *Daily British Whig*, 11 August 1916, page 1. Other researchers have confirmed that there was no security threat to Canada. In *Park Prisoners*, page 6, Waiser cites the commissioner of the Royal Northwest Mounted Police, Colonel A. B. Perry, advising Ottawa that “the closest investigation has not revealed the slightest trace of any organization or concerted movement amongst the alien enemies.” This correspondence between Perry and L. Fortesque is found in NAC RG 7, v. 547, 25 February 1915.



[44] For example, “Eastern Galicia,” *Winnipeg Free Press*, 3 October 1914, page 11. In “The Ukrainians and the war,” the *Winnipeg Free Press*, 1 December 1914, page 11, recognized that the word Ruthenian was a term used in the Austrian province of Galicia to describe Ukrainians and commented on the “almost religious passion” of Ukrainians for the restoration of an independent homeland. In an editorial, simply titled “Austrians,” the *Sault Daily Star*, reported (17 December 1917, page 9) that the Austro-Hungarian Empire was “a sort of partnership between German Austria and Magyar Hungary dominating a mixture of races, most of them unwilling slaves.” Though it should not “in the slightest degree” lessen vigilance against alien enemies, millions of people should not be carelessly lumped under the title Austrian which it would be well to remember “in our dealings with our ‘Austrian’ neighbors.” And in its 2 January 1918 edition the *Daily British Whig* discussed “The Ukraine problem,” page 2, observing it was the “thorniest of Russia’s racial problems,” for both the Czarists and so-called Russian Liberals had shown themselves to be imperialistic and intolerant toward Ukrainians, embittering the latter. That said, the severance of Ukraine from the Russian political body would be “much the same as the effect that a movement to separate the Province of Quebec would have upon the other parts of Canada.”

[45] McKenzie & Macmillan to Lieutenant Colonel W. E. Thompson, 7 February 1916, regarding the case of J. Zablackie, described both as a “Luthenian” (*sic*) and “Russian.” On a list of prisoners of war confined at Valcartier, Quebec, as of 23 July 1915, seven different nationalities are listed. Most were further described by their occupation, either as labourers,



“Shot thro the stomach,” Kapuskasing

carpenters, miners, cooks, sailors, or farmers. See NAC RG 24, Volume 4513, File 4. A “Crime Report” regarding Iwan Milan, dated 15 January 1915, filed at Melville, Saskatchewan, which described him as a single, 23 year old “Ruthinian” (*sic*) Greek Catholic who emigrated to Canada in March 1912 and was thought to be a “bad character” because he had been spending time in a “Ruthinian (*sic*) Reading Room” where, according to the arresting officer, Sergeant Sergeant, others “hostile against us” allegedly gathered for drill. Furthermore, Milan had “no fixed abode” and “not a cent in the world.” See NAC RG 18, Volume 1770.

[46] Otter, *Internment Operations*, page 6. On 10 December 1914 the *Daily British Whig* described the internees as “all foreigners of the class that work on the railroads in the summer and in the factories and nowhere in the winter.”

[47] The assertion that Budka’s pastoral letter of 27 July 1914 was somehow responsible for provoking government repression, a claim still forwarded by some Canadian historians (e.g. see Desmond Morton, “Canada at war: Dissent, human rights take a back seat,” *Ottawa Citizen*, 5 February 1991) is dubious. Immediately after Britain’s entry into the war the Bishop issued another pastoral letter urging his flock to support the British Empire. Nevertheless his detractors charged sedition. For an editorial reaction to Bishop Budka’s first pastoral letter see “Bishop Budka, Austrian mobilizer in this country,” *Winnipeg Free Press*, 7 August 1914, page 11, which decried those who only paid “lip service to Canada” while trying to establish “a Canadian Ukraine” by resisting compulsory education and the effective teaching of English while demonstrating an “absolute disregard” for “the allegiance due to Canada.” Also see “Bishop Budka is soundly rated at Yorkton meeting: Action in calling upon Ukrainians to take part in war strongly denounced: Told he has forgotten his duty - Letter described as insult to British Empire,” *Winnipeg Free Press*, 8 August 1914, page 4. The paper later reported how a “Ruthenian meeting repudiates Budka,” 11 August 1914, page 3. Apparently a mass meeting of self-described Russians, who had emigrated from Austria, gathered to assert that they “have nothing whatsoever to do with Bishop Budka” who “had misrepresented us before our fellow citizens of Great Britain.” See as well “Manitoba’s greatest need,” 13 August 1914, page 11. On 11 July 1918, the Bishop and his associate, Father Bosky, of Yorkton, were arrested after a meeting in Hafford, Saskatchewan, as reported in the *Manitoba Free Press*, page 8. A front-page story in the same paper, “Bishop Budka is under arrest on sedition charge,” quoted, at some length, a protest resolution sent to Ottawa by some Ukrainian residents of Yorkton. They insisted:

*There is not and never will be a Canadian Ukraine.*

*We believe the said Bishop Budka had no right as Bishop of an important branch of the Christian Church of Canada to give force and sanction to his action as a political agent of a foreign country with whom he should have had reason to believe the British empire, and therefore Canada, might be at war.*

*That the action which Bishop Budka is reported to have advised Ruthenians to take, if taken by many of them, would be in violation of the oath of allegiance taken by them when they became naturalized British subjects in Canada.*

*That his said reported action has been and is prejudicial to the interests of the British empire and of Canada generally; and more especially of those parts of Canada settled by Ruthenians with the intention and expectation that they will become and be British subjects and be faithful and bear true allegiance to His Majesty as they have sworn to do.*

*And the meeting further directs the attention of the Right Honorable Sir Robert Laird Borden, prime minister for Canada, to the said letter of Bishop Budka; and request him to take such action as will settle for all time in the minds of Bishop Budka and others who may have been misled by his letter the relationship they must sustain to Canada and to the empire so long as they remain within its borders.*

Showing both insight and forgiveness, despite what he had endured, Budka made the following observations on what the immediate post-war period would bring for Ukraine and for his flock in Canada, as reported, 23 November 1918, *North West Review*, Volume 35, #4, pages 1-2:



Internees at work, Spirit Lake internment camp, Quebec

*At the outbreak of this world's war the Ukrainians were under the sovereign power of other nations, and were forced to serve the imperial and national plans of their oppressors. We were totally unknown; we were designed to disappear. But this war has raised the Ukrainians amongst living nations, and the peace conference shall designate for us the boundaries of our native beautiful country strewn with so many graves of our heroes.*

*The Ukrainians took such a prominent part in this great war that the Allies cannot overlook this participation. Millions of the Ukrainian soldiers of the late Russian empire have fought Germany for two years on the eastern front, giving the Allies an opportunity to prepare themselves against the German hordes. Thousands of our volunteers and drafted men were in Canadian and American battalions. We have done everything that we were able to do in order to win this war, though our conditions were and are yet especially difficult. Drown out by oblivion the sufferings under foreign domination of the youngest nation in Europe, though with an ancient history, Ukrainians have shed so much blood in this war they must be granted the possibility to live their own life in their own country. We want nothing, but we demand our rights.*

*After these happy, serious thoughts at such an important hour I can only notice that we, the Ukrainians in Canada, have learned very much during this war. Educated in totally different conditions, and busy with our pioneer work, after arrival in this country, we have had no time yet to know and understand Canada. But the blood of our sons who were fighting under the flag of Canada has bound us closer than anything possible could do. We are citizens of Canada and are proud of our title with all its responsibilities.*

*In this great, happy hour, I have forgotten wrongs done to me. I forgive all those who during this war have done their utmost to make my staying in Canada impossible; I forgive all those who were attacking me in different papers and before the authorities, without the slightest foundation. I am sorry to state that all these denunciations have not hurt so much myself, as our good name particularly. But let us not be divided; on the contrary let us in harmony and unity live under the Flag of Canada and the faith of our fathers.*

Allegations of treason on Budka's part were refuted, conclusively, following an official inquiry presided over by His Honour Judge J. Paterson. On 26 November 1919 the judge wrote how he hoped:

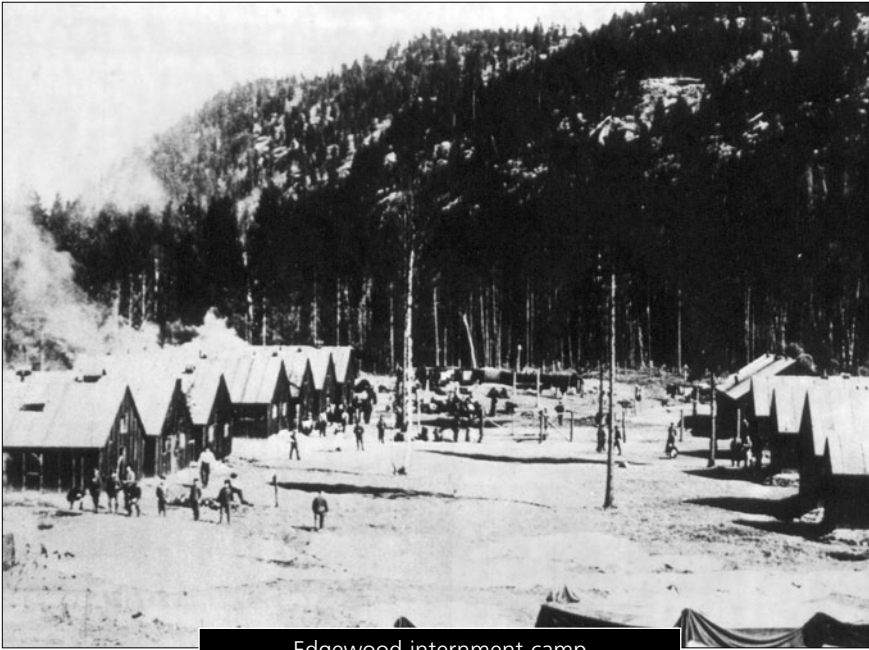
*These proceedings and the judgements rendered thereon, will bring to an end, once and for all time, the cruel campaign of misrepresentation which has been relentlessly waged against Bishop Budka during the past 5 years. It has indeed*

*been a fortunate circumstance for Canada, and for its Ukrainian citizens, in particular, that the latter have enjoyed during the critical and strenuous period of the War, a leadership so loyal and so wise as that accorded by Bishop Budka. He has proven himself indefatigable in implanting in the minds of the rising generation, a deep and lasting love for Canada, the land of their birth, an appreciation of the value of education, and an understanding of the necessity of a thorough knowledge of English, so that in the years to come, his people will occupy no secondary place in Canadian citizenship. And, as he has planned and worked, so has he lived, an honest, upright, loyal, true Catholic citizen of Canada.*

See the Catholic Truth Society of Canada, *Vindication of Bishop Budka: Full Record Of Investigation: A String of Unfounded Charges: Judge Paterson's Summary* (Toronto, 1919), published in *NorthWest Review*, Volume 35, #2, 6 December 1919, pages 1-2. The two pastoral letters are reprinted in B. S. Kordan and L. Y. Luciuk, eds, *A Delicate and Difficult Question*, documents 6 and 7, pages 28-32. For a sympathetic view of Bishop Budka see S. Hryniuk, "The Bishop Budka Controversy: A New Perspective," *Canadian Slavonic Papers*, Volume 23, #2, 1981, pages 154-165. Budka, who had been in Canada since 1912, returned to Lviv, then under Polish rule, in 1927. Arrested there by the Soviets in 1945 he suffered a martyr's death in the Gulag, at Karaganda, 1 October 1949. On 11 June 2001 it was reported that His Holiness Pope John Paul II would be announcing the beatification of Bishop Budka during his June 2001 visit to Ukraine. See Geoffrey York, "After 80 years, Bishop Budka earns respect," *Globe and Mail*, pages A1, A10 and "Biographies of Ukraine's newly beatified martyrs and servants of God," *Ukrainian Weekly*, 8 July 2001, pages 10-13.

[48] "As to Slav loyalty," *Winnipeg Free Press*, 11 August 1914, page 11, also remarked that while there was "no actual need for the public professions of loyalty" made in Winnipeg by Ruthenian and Polish citizens, "perhaps the demonstration was desirable" given how some mischievous anti-Canadian propaganda had been circulated within those communities by certain nationalist and clerical leaders. Claiming never to have printed a "word of disparagement" with respect to Polish, Ruthenian or Russian citizens of the province, the *Free Press* recalled how these people had, as a class, "performed the hard spade work of the nation patiently and well." All they still needed to remember was "the futility of re-planting upon Canadian soil the fratricidal antipathies of the old world."

[49] "Preferential treatment of friendly aliens," FO 383/1,17 February 1915 (see *Document VII, page 34*). From the eighteenth century, Ukrainians in Austro-Hungary had been described as "Greek Catholics" in order to distinguish them from Polish Roman Catholics. Maintaining the Eastern Byzantine rite and the Julian calendar Ukrainian Catholics were nevertheless in union with the Roman Catholic Church, a consequence of the 1596 Union of Brest. The German word "Ruthene" was introduced in 1772 to describe the Ukrainian population of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, being translated into English as "Ruthenian." In Canada, "Ruthenian" preceded the use of the word "Ukrainian."



Edgewood internment camp

[50] H. A. Mackie, MP to Prime Minister R. L. Borden, 16 October 1918, reprinted in Kordan and Luciuk, *A Delicate and Difficult Question*, document 10, pages 36-41. See also J. H. Thompson, *The Harvests of War*, particularly pages 77-81. Thompson observed that the “largest group of enemy aliens were not Germans but Ukrainian subjects of Austria. The Western-Canadian public did not know them by this term until the war was over and variously described them as Galicians, Ruthenians, or simply as foreigners. The Ukrainians were not the victims of any sort of public re-evaluation, for they had never enjoyed public favour in the first place. Those on the land as homesteaders were safe from the public eye, but those who worked in construction camps or as agricultural labourers were “scarcely citizens” even if they became naturalized. An English visitor [E. B. Mitchell, author of *In Western Canada Before The War*] in 1914 suggested that to a Westerner, a Galician workman was little better than the despised Chinaman. As peasants without political consciousness, certainly without a sense of Austria as any sort of ‘fatherland,’ the Ukrainians posed exactly the same problem after the war that they had before it. Because of the recession many of them were without work and, because of structural deficiencies in provincial educational systems, neither the Ukrainians nor the German children were learning English fast enough to satisfy most English-speaking Western Canadians.”

[51] L. Luciuk and R. Sorobey, eds, *Konowal*. Plaques honouring this Ukrainian Canadian hero have been installed in Ottawa (Cartier Square Drill Hall of The Governor General's Foot Guards, 15 July 1996); Toronto (The Royal Canadian Legion, Branch #360, 21 August 1996); New Westminster, British Columbia, (Armoury of The Royal Westminster Regiment, 5 April 1997) and on 31 July 1998 at the Ukrainian *Selo-Ukraina* near Dauphin, Manitoba. See also L. Luciuk, "An immigrant, a soldier, a janitor – and a hero," *Whig Standard*, 17 July 1996. A plaque and statue of Konowal were unveiled in his home village of Kutkivchi, Ukraine, 21 August 2000. See L. Luciuk and R. Sorobey, eds, *Konowal: A Canadian Hero* and L. Luciuk, "Victoria Cross winner no longer an unsung hero," *National Post*, 21 August 2000.

[52] On the case of N. Chonomod there is correspondence between W. Otter and the Officer Commanding, 6<sup>th</sup> Military Division, Halifax, Nova Scotia, 1 and 22 April 1915, and Chonomod's letters of 5 and 11 March 1915, in NAC RG 24, Volume 4544. Chonomod's case was not unique. Prisoner No. 170 at Castle Mountain, Wasyl Perchaliuk, paroled on 26 June 1916 to work for the Canmore Coal Company, instead enlisted with the 211<sup>th</sup> Battalion of the Canadian Expeditionary Force in Calgary. Two days before the battalion was to go overseas, Perchaliuk was detained by the City of Calgary police, charged by constable George Millen as "an alien enemy joining overseas forces." Told that he would be held until it could be determined if he was an escaped prisoner, Perchaliuk grew despondent. On the very day that his battalion departed, 5 December 1916, he strangled himself using a puttee from his uniform, fastened to his cell's bars. Military officials and the Office of the Internment Operations subsequently engaged in an involved debate as to who was responsible for the expenses of Perchaliuk's funeral. Another Ukrainian Canadian volunteer with the CEF was Nick Melnyk who was interned in mid-May 1917 at Castle Mountain, prisoner No. 652.

One scholar has estimated that as many as 10,000 Ukrainian Canadians volunteered for service with the Canadian armed forces during the First World War. See Kaye, *Ukrainian Canadians in Canada's Wars*. From amongst the Canadian volunteers all men with German names were, on orders received from the War Office, placed under arrest and examined, a move that reportedly affected "practically every unit in the contingent." Many of those taken prisoner had fought in the ranks of the British forces in South Africa and in other parts of the world, and several "had medals pinned on their breasts by the late Queen Victoria, and one of these wept bitterly when he was taken from the ranks." Those so taken, it was reported, would probably be sent to concentration camps. See "Bear German names," 26 November 1914, page 2, *Victoria Daily Colonist*. According to the *Halifax Chronicle*, "Alien suspects brought here prisoners," 15 February 1915, page 7, fourteen men who had enlisted in Canada with various regiments of the First Contingent were, once in England, placed in detention and returned to Halifax aboard the CPR's liner, *Missanabie*, being under "suspicion of disloyal tendencies." Among them were three Russian Jews, Hertz Oronsky, Morris Redberg and Nathan Specter, and one "Russian Pole," Walter Czajkowski, who had lived in Canada for the previous eleven years. All were handcuffed and taken to The Citadel and imprisoned. For the case of a Dane who had enlisted in Montreal, only to be denounced in England as a German, then returned and interned at Amherst, "Dane arrested and imprisoned as a German spy released," *Halifax Chronicle*, 4 June 1915, page 6. The return of "undesirables" from the Canadian overseas



Internees under guard, Petawawa Militia Camp



Mess Hall, Petawawa Militia Camp



forces station at Salisbury Plain was also reported by the *Victoria Daily Colonist*, 4 December 1914, page 3. Most were described as being of “foreign origin” and discharged for that reason, not because of any fault of their own. See also “Battalions leave camp: Three report for overseas: Warning against enlistment of enemies,” *Sault Daily Star*, 29 July 1916, page 3.

On 4 June 1918 Ottawa let it be known that soldiers of alien birth, even if they were naturalized subjects of Canada, would not be forced to go overseas to fight but would instead be transferred to a garrison regiment or perform other non-combatant duties. Soldiers born in Canada of enemy alien parentage could go overseas but only in the Forestry or Railway Construction units. For the problems this presented for some soldiers see “Court-Martial for Austrians,” *Globe*, 12 July 1918, page 9, which described how Private Pete Maniak fared after explaining that he could be shot if he returned to his native land after having served in the Canadian army. In “Many aliens get exemptions,” the *Globe* reported, 6 June 1918, page 6, that about 90% of those applying for exemptions from the Military Service Act were foreigners, most of whom were able to secure an exemption. Mr. Justice Ferguson reportedly made a “caustic comment” to one Romanian applicant: “You people make me sick. I have no sympathy for you. You come here and live in our country and take all its privileges and when a crisis like this comes you walk up and say you are a foreigners. If there was any possible way I could put you to work for the Government for \$1.10 a day I would.”

[53] This Act and other relevant government documents are reprinted in Swyripa and Thompson, eds, *Loyalties in Conflict*, pages 171-199. Even earlier, enemy aliens were prevented from voting in municipal elections. On the advice of Ottawa, deputy returning officers throughout Canada were informed that the many residents in Canada of German, Austrian and Turkish origins who were not naturalized Canadians did not, under an order-in-council, have any rights. Even if their names appeared on municipal voter’s lists as occupants of property, it was the duty of the returning officers to prevent them from voting, should any make the effort to do so. “Watch for aliens,” *Victoria Daily Colonist*, 22 November 1914, page 6. In *Patterns of Prejudice*, page 49, the late Howard Palmer, observed that this Act “was directed against naturalized Canadian citizens” providing as it did for the disfranchisement of



“enemy aliens” who were born in an enemy country, whose mother tongue was the language of an enemy country, and who had been naturalized after 31 March 1902. Rather ironically the Act simultaneously enfranchised women who had sons, brothers or husbands in active service. Commenting generally on the treatment of some 37,000 “enemy aliens” in Alberta during the war period (page 47) Professor Palmer also observed that they “became the objects of persecution and hostility and the fires of Anglo-conformity were stoked to demand unswerving loyalty and an end to ‘hyphenated Canadianism.’” Certainly the Act contradicted Ottawa’s 1914 promise that, as long as they acted peaceably, “enemy aliens” would be accorded the same protection and consideration as all other law-abiding citizens. Opposed to it, Wilfrid Laurier rose in the House of Commons, 10 September 1917, and argued there was no reason to believe “enemy aliens” would be disloyal to their adopted country:

*When a man leaves Europe and comes to this country, when he swears allegiance to His Majesty the King, when he becomes a citizen of Canada, when he builds a home for himself and for his family, I am not prepared to believe that if a conflict arises between the land of that man’s birth and the land of his adoption, that he will go back upon the country to which he has sworn allegiance.*

Laurier’s views were not always well received. “Serious mutterings” broke out when, at a public meeting, he attempted to criticize disfranchisement as “a deliberate insult to a class of citizens who were loyal to their adopted country.” Another speaker who made similar remarks, Mr. A. G. McKay, an MP from Edmonton, was “rebuked by such an uproar that the sentiment of the audience was unmistakable.” See “Sir Wilfrid failed to keep his hold on Winnipeg audience,” *Sault Daily Star*, 14 December 1917, page 3.

Editorial opinions varied. As early as 1 August 1916 the *Winnipeg Telegram* argued in “Position of foreign-born voters,” page 4, that there was a real danger to Canadian institutions and to the British connection if “foreign-born voters who cannot now be relied upon as loyal British subjects” were to cast their ballots, so it openly called for their disfranchisement. It



Internees under guard, Kapuskasing

repeated its support for disfranchisement in “Foreigners and the franchise,” 25 December 1916, page 4, urging that even naturalized persons of enemy origin should be “restrained from interfering in public affairs until the war is over.” On 12 April 1917, the *Brandon Sun* argued, in “Disfranchise aliens,” that all Canadians should approve of the disfranchisement of aliens while the war was on. Canada had been “too free with our citizenship” allowing people to secure a privilege of which they “are not worthy.” Allegedly, the great majority of the “hyphenated Canadians” had stood aside and not identified themselves with “our cause” while some had “openly swaggered and blustered in an offensive manner [to] such an extent that they were interned.” See also “Sheltering the enemy,” *Brandon Sun*, 31 May 1917, page 4. In a similar vein the *Vernon Times* editorialized, “Alien enemies,” 11 October 1917, page 4, that given Berlin’s aim of defeating democracy and civilization no patriotic Canadian would countenance recently-arrived immigrants from enemy countries being allowed a voice in the election of a parliament whose major purpose was to guide Canada’s part in the conflict until the achievement of victory. From the perspective of Toronto’s *Globe*, however, the passage of the War Time Election Act on 15 September 1917, was wrong-headed. Commenting, on page 1, “Election act is passed by the Commons,” it observed that the Toryism of the Borden government had thus deprived at least 25,000 free citizens of their pledged rights. It then reported on objections that have been raised in the House by various parliamentarians. The Honourable Frank Oliver, for example, had spoken about how the legislation would “put a stumbling block in the way of securing unity of the people in the future” for it “would accentuate diversities of race.” Others openly accused the government of passing not a win-the-war measure but a win-the-election one.

Post-war proposals aimed at the disfranchisement of Germans, Austrians and Russians who had settled in Canada during the last 20 years, which would have withheld naturalization from the same persons coming to Canada for another 20 years, were spearheaded by Senator Bradbury but stymied in the Senate on 26 March 1919, after Senators Danduran, Turriff, Belque, Choquette, Boyer and Loughheed spoke up in opposition, arguing that the proposed bill was impracticable “as it would be impossible in view of the territorial and political changes in Europe, to differentiate between aliens.” See “Alien bill drops: It ‘Went Too Far,’ “ *Globe*, 27 March 1919, page 5.

[54] *Daily British Whig* (Kingston, Ontario), 7 September 1917. For a Ukrainian Canadian perspective, there is the statement made by Osyp Megas in Saskatoon, as reported in the *Regina Morning Leader* (Regina, Saskatchewan), 29 December 1917, reprinted in Swyripa and Thompson, eds, *Loyalties in Conflict*, pages 169-170. Megas noted that the Act had dealt a “very unpleasant blow to the naturalized Ruthenian citizens who were always proud of being British subjects.” This reality was recognized by leading Canadian statesmen at the time. For example, the former prime minister, Wilfrid Laurier, spoke out against implementation of The War Time Elections Act, recognizing that it represented a betrayal of the commitment made to those who had emigrated to Canada. On 10 September 1917, in the House of Commons (Canada, *Parliamentary Debates Commons*, CXXXI, 6, pages 5565-5636) he cautioned:

*Let not this franchise be extended in the manner proposed, at the expense of*

*removing the franchise from those who now have it. Let it not be done by depriving any of our people of rights and privileges which have always been sacred under the British constitution. Do you believe that when our Canadian immigration agents will go to the Balkan States, among the Galicians, Bukowinians, and Rumanians, that these races will be disposed to come to this country, when they know that Canada has not kept its pledges and promises to the people from foreign countries who have settled in our midst, and they know in the United States there was never any attempt to curtail or interfere with their rights as American citizens which immigrants to that country were granted. For my part, I hope that it is not too late for Parliament to pause, and to consider the bad precedent it is establishing, which must be far-reaching in its consequences. The measure is such that it must have serious consequences. If it be said in Canada that the pledges which we have given to immigrants when inviting them to come to this country to settle with us, can be broken with impunity, that we will not trust these men, and that we will not be true to the promise which we made to them, then I despair of the future of this country.*

[55] Quoted in the *Daily British Whig*, 8 January 1918, page 4. On paroled enemy aliens working in munitions plants see “No alarm felt over aliens making munitions,” *Globe*, 6 April 1917, page 8 and “Discharge aliens from munition works,” *Globe*, 12 April 1917, page 7. On 13 April about fifty soldiers, described as “returned and disabled,” accompanied by a few from the Exhibition Camp, raided the munitions factory of the Russell Motor Company at King and Dufferin streets in Toronto with the object of rounding up enemy aliens employed there, netting about a “score or two of prisoners.” See “Alien workers are rounded up,” *Globe*, 14 April 1917, page 1.

Not everyone agreed that parolees be paid less than regular workers. Thus a deputation representing the Trades and Labor Congress and the miners’ unions in the Cobalt and Porcupine districts of Ontario did wait upon the Minister of Justice, 5 June 1917, to protest any discrimination in regard to wages or status being applied to men of enemy nationalities working in northern Ontario mines. The delegation specifically disputed proposals that such enemy alien miners be given only the internment camp rate of pay, 25 cents per day, and that the balance between that amount and the standard wages paid to miners be turned over to the Patriotic or Red Cross funds. The Minister assured his petitioners that so long as enemy alien miners obeyed the laws of the country and refrained from any seditious talk or action they would have full rights and would be entitled to the standard wage scale available to all miners. “Alien miners’ pay not to be cut down,” *Globe*, 6 September 1917, page 11.

[56] “Draft aliens for war work,” *Globe*, 4 February 1918, page 8.

[57] “No compulsion of the aliens,” 18 February 1918, *Globe*, page 14. See also “Would conscript alien enemies,” 21 February 1918, the *Globe*, page 6 and the lengthy report on a House of Commons debate on these issues, “Alien labor and the war,” *Globe*, 23 April 1918,

pages 1, 7. Even earlier Toronto's mayor Church had championed rather illiberal solutions. On 16 April 1917 he proposed a resolution to City Council which called for the disfranchisement of all Austrians, Germans and other aliens who had not been domiciled in Canada for a period of at least 25 years, provoking a "warm debate" but evoking little support from his colleagues. Alderman Ramsden described the resolution as "untimely, ill-advised, undemocratic and not British." His Worship defended his motion by emphasizing that Canada is "a British country, and these Austro-Germans must be kept under control. We do not want another Quebec in Canada. The Austro-German vote is ruling in the Northwest today. The Austro-German vote must be abolished in Canada." His rhetoric notwithstanding, Council voted 16 to 5 for sending the resolution back.

[58] D. Morton and G. Wright, *Winning the Second Battle: Canadian Veterans and the Return to Civilian Life 1915-1930* (Toronto, 1987), pages 74-75. Even during the war returned soldiers demonstrated against the enemy aliens in their midst. See "T. soldiers avenge insult," *Pembroke Standard*, 25 April 1917, page 7, which described how a crowd of some five hundred



Internee work party returning to Mara Lake camp

soldiers from Toronto's Exhibition camp, incensed by an alleged attack by an Austrian employee on a crippled soldier, had raided Childs Restaurant at the corner of Yonge and Richmond streets, then moved on to several other establishments looking for Austrians before finally disbanding. For an account of a police raid on a Toronto meeting of the Ukrainian Social Democratic Party of Canada, held at the Occident Hall on Queen and Bathurst streets, see "Eighty aliens are in custody," *Globe*, 11 September 1917, page 8. Apparently inflamed by this article a crowd of "returned soldiers" went to break up another meeting at this same hall but, instead of discovering "enemy aliens" they "merely disturbed a religious service being held by Hebrews." See "No alien enemies at Occident Hall," *Globe*, 20 September 1917, page 9.

The *Sault Daily Star* reported, "Veterans go after aliens," 17 August 1917, page 6, that a Winnipeg meeting of the Great War Veterans Association had called for disfranchisement of enemy aliens "till the boys come home" and asked for Government seizure of lands and property held in Canada by alien men and corporations. On 1 August 1918 the *Globe* noted, "Aliens' report is held over," that at an afternoon session of a GWVA conference a report was tabled calling for the internment of all enemy aliens not engaged in work of national importance; for the establishment of a five-mile radius beyond which no enemy alien might travel from his home; for the abolition of all alien enemy newspapers and books and for the immediate discharge of all enemy aliens in the employ of provincial and civic governments. The wholesale internment of all enemy aliens, apparently proposed by many constituencies, was not advocated because of the acute labor shortage. See "The alien labor question," *Globe*, 25 March 1918, page 6. Nevertheless, GWVA demands did become more extreme. For example, on 9 February 1919, at a meeting held in the Lyric Theatre, Hamilton, the government of Canada was urged to "deport all enemy aliens and other undesirables at once." A resolution claimed there were a large number of enemy aliens in the city "who enjoyed protection without contributing to the burdens of the war." Many of them "are now in employment to the exclusion of Canadians." And because "it was impossible to assimilate them," they represented "a menace," that should be dealt with by the immediate deportation of the lot. See "Deport all enemy aliens," *Globe*, 10 February 1919, page 2. Subsequently, the *Globe* reported, 3 May 1919, how a delegation of several hundred GWVA members appeared before Premier T. C. Norris in the Legislative Chamber of the Manitoba parliament buildings, demanding the immediate internment of the enemy alien population in that province followed by their deportation, and the confiscation of their money and property over \$75, the funds so collected to be used in favour of the widows and orphans of soldiers. For a different kind of anti-alien prejudice in the immediate post-war period, see "One tenth population, one-quarter of crime," *Globe*, 15 February 1919, page 28. Police Chief Slein, referring to the "foreign element" in Brantford, Ontario, pointed to the increasing numbers of enemy aliens being released from internment camps and the corresponding rise in crime rates. He alleged that there were 2,936 foreigners in Brantford who were responsible for 236 out of a total of 950 convictions, which equated to one-tenth of the population being guilty of one-quarter of local crime. Chief Slein's solution was to urge their deportation.

Professor Avery cited a lament published on 5 February 1919 in the *Canadian Ruthenian* about the manner in which Ukrainians and other foreigners were being treated by the Anglo-Canadian community and the government:

*The Ukrainians were invited to Canada and promised liberty, and a kind of paradise. Instead of the latter they found woods and rocks, which had to be cut down to make the land fit to work on. They were given farms far from the railroads, which they so much helped in building - but still they worked hard and came to love Canada. But liberty did not last long. First, they were called "Galicians" in mockery. Secondly, preachers were sent amongst them, as if they were savages, to preach Protestantism. And thirdly, they were deprived of the right to elect their representatives in Parliament. They are now uncertain about their future in Canada. Probably, their [property] so bitterly earned in the sweat of their brow will be confiscated.*

As N. Kelley and M. Trebilcock observed in *The Making of the Mosaic*, pages 175-182, the 1919 Immigration Act and the 1920 Naturalization Act explicitly recognized the undesirability of "enemy aliens" becoming citizens. Selective deportations did take place in the immediate post-war period, fueled in part by widespread public support for mass expulsions of all "enemy aliens," especially those affiliated with socialist organizations. Avery has also remarked, in *Reluctant Host* (page 75), that Ottawa did not adopt such a policy "both because of its likely international repercussions and because of the demands it would make on the country's transportation facilities at a time when the troops were returning from Europe."

On 7 January 1918, page 6, the *Globe* editorial, "Let them return home," stated that "a great number" of aliens, even though they had reaped the full advantage of high wages and high prices during the war, and had been exempt from military service, "do not like this country." Many were also very active in "telling us what a down-trodden people we are." These dissatisfied aliens should return to their native lands, asserted the *Globe*, and the return of peace would remove transportation difficulties in this regard. "Every facility" ought to be provided for their speedy exit from Canada, and "Russian malcontents will surely jump at the chance of going to the political, social, and industrial Utopia into which they tell us Messrs. Lenin and Trotsky have converted their country."

Ironically, as reported by D. Morton, *The Canadian General*, page 348, Leon Trotsky had actually been interned in Canada. Removed from a Norwegian freighter on 3 April 1917 he and his party were held in the Amherst camp, about which he later wrote:

*Upon our arrival there I was put through an examination as I had not been submitted to even in the fortress of Peter and Paul. For the Tsar's gendarmes stripped and searched each prisoner separately whereas our democratic allies made us undergo this shameful ordeal in common and in the presence of a dozen men.*

A telegram was sent from the Admiralty on 29 March 1917 to the Naval Control Officer in Halifax, informing him that a party of Russian Socialists, including Trotsky, were travelling aboard the S.S. *Kristianiafjord* to Russia for the purpose of starting "revolution against the present Russian Government." Six 2<sup>nd</sup> Class passengers were removed, as W.G. Barnstead, the Chief Dominion Immigration Agent at Halifax was informed, 1 April 1917. A

few years later, on 10 April 1919, Barnstead penned a memorandum, "Re Bolsheviki" recalling Trotsky's capture. Barnstead wrote, "You are no doubt aware that when Trosky, (*sic*) Foreign Minister of the Bolesheviki (*sic*) was on his way from New York to Russia, the steamer he was travelling on put in to Halifax for examination. Acting under instructions from Ottawa I had for months previously been associated with the Naval Authorities in examining these vessels for alien enemy and also members of the Russian Revolutionary Group, Red Flag Socialists, etc. I lit on our friend Trosky as he refused to give any replies to the questions I had to ask him, I arrested him and four of his associates and I had some job, he resisted and as there were aboard about two hundred Russians, Jews etc., we had quite a lively fight, first in the stateroom and then on deck. Two man-o-war sailors had a hold of him when he dropped on the floor of the stateroom screeching "Bloody Murder" in Russian. He had a head of long hair and when he tried to bite the hand of one of the sailors, I grabbed his hair and at the time I thought I yanked it too hard but I have since wished I had pulled it off, anyway I took him to Amherst Internment Camp, under Military Guard and he was detained there for over two months, when at the urgent demand of Kerensky, then Premier of Russia, he was released and allowed to proceed." I am indebted to Professor John Barnstead of Dalhousie University's Department of Russian Studies for bringing these documents to my attention.

Released, Trotsky helped topple the Provisional Government, then negotiated the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk which took Russian forces out of the war and allowed the Central Powers greater scope for military efforts on the Western Front. Later Trotsky led the Red Army, crushing those who tried to achieve Ukraine's independence.

[59] While some citizens urged that the internees be treated with generosity, e.g. D. W. Buchanan, "Wants to let the prisoners rejoice," *Winnipeg Telegram*, 16 November 1918, page 4 more common were letters like one signed by a "Britisher" published as "Deport the Huns," *Winnipeg Telegram*, 20 November 1918, page 8. He argued that the Dominion should "stop



"Some of Canada's Prisoners of War," Stanley Barracks,  
Toronto (from the *Morning Albertan*, 21 November 1914)



this foolish foreign immigration: we do not want any more of them, nor do we want those that are here. You can never make good Canadian citizens out of them” echoing the sentiments of the editorialist who wrote “The first immigrants,” *Sault Daily Star*, 13 October 1916, page 8, championing the notion that Canada’s best immigrants would be English-speaking ones, “those who belong to our own race.” Similarly, in Brantford, Ontario, the city council endorsed a police commission proposal that all alien enemies, including those who recently been released from internment camps, should be re-interned “until arrangements are made for their repatriation.” It was noted that there were some 600 such men in the Brantford area “working in local factories in good positions, while returned men were walking the streets looking for work.” See “Would intern alien enemies just released,” *Winnipeg Telegram*, 21 January 1919, page 2 and “Dangerous aliens to be placed in camps,” *Winnipeg Telegram*, 13 February 1919, pages 1, 12.

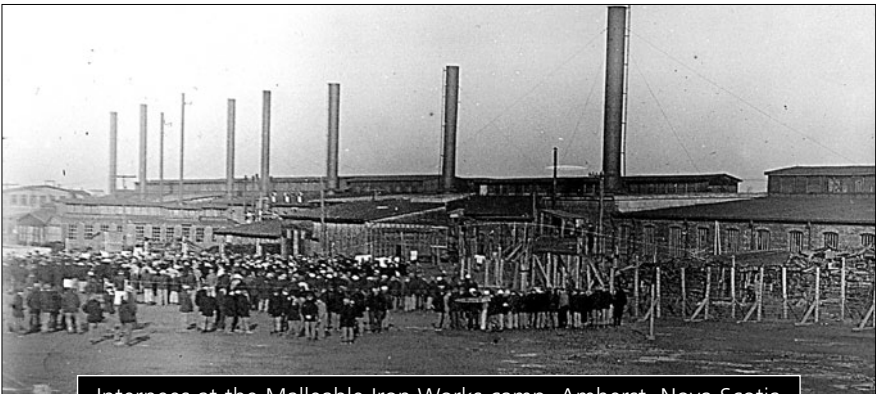
That deportations from Canada were taking place “quietly” is confirmed by the article, “Bolsheviki shipped from Kapuskasing camp,” *Porcupine Advance*, 28 January 1920, page 5 which reported that Lieutenant Colonel W. E. Dale had advised that in June 1919 the RNWMP had gathered in about 100 prominent “Reds” who were “attempting evil agitation” and shipped them to the Kapuskasing internment camp. They were later deported “to their European homes, with practically no special publicity.” During the past year about 1,000 of these “troublesome mischief-brewing aliens” had been deported. Canada had not made “any particular publicity about this good work, possibly because of some sense of shame for the way the alien enemies were allowed to go their way free and unchecked in the early days of the war.”

[60] Sir Hugh Macdonald to the Honourable A. Meighen, Canada’s Minister of the Interior, 3 July 1919, reprinted in Kordan and Luciuk, eds, *A Delicate and Difficult Question*, pages 43-45. Macdonald was the son of Sir John A. Macdonald, Canada’s first prime minister, and served as a police magistrate in Winnipeg. He wrote about the “desirability of getting rid of as many undesirable aliens as possible” given the “large extent” to which “Bolsheviki ideas” were held by the Ruthenian, Russian, Polish, and Jewish peoples in Canada. Convinced that there was “a very bad and dangerous” element at loose within Winnipeg, Sir Hugh urged Meighen to “make an example” of them.

On 25 September 1918 by order in council (PC 2384 and PC 2381), the government followed up on the proposals made by C. H. Cahan, a wealthy Montreal businessman who had been appointed to conduct a special investigation into worker unrest purportedly inspired by socialist revolutionaries and enemy aliens. Fourteen organizations were banned: the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), the Russian Social Democratic Party, the Russian Revolutionary Group, the Russian Workers’ Union, the Ukrainian Revolutionary Group, the Ukrainian Social Democratic Party, the Social Democratic Party, the Social Labour Party, the Group of Social Democrats of Bolsheviki, the Workers’ International Industrial Union, the Chinese Nationalist League, the Chinese Labour Association, the Finnish Social Democratic Party, and the Revolutionary Party of North America. Commenting on Cahan’s findings, the *Globe*, 9 January 1918, “An alien menace,” page 4, observed that enemy aliens had been responsible for much of the seditious literature distributed in Canada during the war and had been in other ways “mischievously ungrateful for the privileges given them.” Cahan had found that Russians, Finns and Ukrainians had been specially active in distributing disloyal propaganda. Pamphlets in

Finnish allegedly contained matter that was “obscene and irreligious as well as traitorous, unfit for publication.” Russian publications had directly incited armed insurrection, and Ukrainian literature was “equally pernicious.” According to Cahan, there were 63,784 Russians sixteen years and over, about 70,000 Austro-Hungarians registered as enemy aliens, with the cities of Montreal and Winnipeg containing the largest numbers, and over 60 branches of the Social Democratic Party among the Finns. Few of these foreigners, Cahan reported, “have not been affected by seditious propaganda.” The *Globe* editorialized that it had been “a painful surprise to discover that many thousands who came to this country to escape oppression” had “shamefully abused its hospitality.” Henceforth Russians, Ukrainians and Finns applying for admission to Canada had to be scrutinized as closely as those from enemy countries. And any who had been guilty of seditious utterances or actions, and all members of organizations advocating revolution by violence, “should be deported at the first opportunity.” That there was pre-existing sentiment in favour of such drastic measures can be seen in a resolution adopted by the Toronto Local Council of Women, December 1917. Its members moved that all alien enemies and their families interned in Canada should be immediately upon their release or discharge from such internment be taken in charge by the proper and competent authority and deported, each to his own country. See *Globe*, “Send home the enemy aliens,” 18 December 1917, page 8.

According to J. Kolasky, *The Shattered Illusion*, page 3, some 1,500 Ukrainians were involved in the Social Democratic Party in 1918. The banning of that party led to the growth of the Winnipeg-based Ukrainian Labour Temple Association which, in 1924, was incorporated as the Ukrainian Labour Farmer Temple Association (ULFTA). It became the most significant pro-Soviet mass organization within the Ukrainian Canadian community. While partial, two publications that provide additional information on the suppression of the Ukrainian Canadian Left are P. Krawchuk, *The Ukrainian Socialist Movement in Canada* and H. Potrebenko, *No Streets of Gold*. For a contemporary report see “Editor jailed for three years for sedition,” *Winnipeg Telegram*, 4 October 1918, page 3, which described the sentencing of Michael Charitonoff, a Russian Jew, to 3 years in Stony Mountain penitentiary for having “seditious and objectionable literature in his possession.” At trial it was also shown that he was secretary of the



Internees at the Malleable Iron Works camp, Amherst, Nova Scotia

Progressive club and had engaged in funding raising for the Bolsheviks. The paper of which he was editor, *Rabochy Narod*, (Working People) had been prohibited just a few days before.

For more on Canadian government policies toward ethnic, religious and racial minorities, especially in times of domestic or international crisis, see N. Hillmer, B. S. Kordan and L. Luciuk, eds, *On Guard For Thee*, and R. Miki and S. MacFarlane, eds, *In Justice: Canada, Minorities and Human Rights*.

[61] "Alien enemies," *Globe*, 29 March 1918, page 6.

[62] Royal Canadian Mounted Police, "Report re: 8<sup>th</sup> National Convention of Ukrainian National Federation of Canada and the Affiliated Societies," 25-31 August 1941, NAC Manuscript Group 30, E 350, File 4.

[63] Cited in Kordan and Luciuk, eds, *A Delicate and Difficult Question*, page 125. Some students of the Ukrainian Canadian experience are now beginning to appreciate the long-lasting and traumatic impact of the internment operations on the organized Ukrainian Canadian community. For example, F. Swyripa, the author of the entry on "Ukrainians" in P. R. Magocsi, ed, *Encyclopedia of Canada's Peoples* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999) concluded (page 1309): "The event leaving the deepest scars on the Ukrainian Canadian psyche was treatment as enemy aliens during World War I." Swyripa's assessment of Ukrainian Canadian redress efforts is, however, both inadequate and partial. See "The Politics Of Redress: The Contemporary Ukrainian-Canadian Campaign," in Franca Iacovetta, Roberto Perin and Angelo Principe, eds, *Enemies Within: Italian and Other Internees in Canada and Abroad*, eds, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000), pages 355-378.

[64] J. Drozdowich, as cited by D. Maceluch in "How Ukrainians were exiled to Quebec Gulag," the *Gazette*, 11 May 1985, page B1. Rather than endure internment and other censure, many Ukrainians and others fled to the neutral United States of America, among them the parents of Canadian-born Edward Dmytryk, who became a noted Hollywood director working under the name Michael Edwards. His works include *The Caine Mutiny*, *The Young Lions*, and



Internees at work under guard, near Amherst, Nova Scotia

*The Carpetbaggers*. Initially attracted by the stated goals of the Communist Party of the United States, Dmytryk grew disillusioned with that movement's allegiance to Stalin and quit, eventually producing a book, *Odd Man Out: A Memoir of the Hollywood Ten*, in which he exposed the hypocrisy of these American communists and their fellow travelers. For a comment on this director's experiences see M. Kuropas, "Hollywood Reds," *Ukrainian Weekly*, 18 April 1999, page 7. Dmytryk died in July 1999. See "In the end, promising director named names before U.S. Senate," *National Post*, 5 July 1999 and the letter by L. Luciuk, "Red-hunter," *National Post*, 7 July 1999.

[65] P. Yasnowskij, as cited in Piniuta, ed, *Land of Pain, Land of Promise*, page 195. For another unanticipated and deleterious consequence of the internment experience see Document IX, page 77.

[66] The public campaign for an acknowledgement of this injustice and redress began, in effect, in Toronto, 7 December 1987, when the Civil Liberties Commission, acting in concert with the Ukrainian Canadian Committee, presented a brief to the Standing Committee on Multiculturalism of the House of Commons, which recommended that "The Parliament of Canada officially acknowledge the mistreatment suffered by Ukrainians in Canada during and after the First World War and that the government undertake negotiations with the Ukrainian Canadian Committee to redress these injustices." See *House of Commons, Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence of the Standing Committee on Multiculturalism*, Issue No 11, 7-8 December 1987, pages 44-55. On a related issue see Alexandra M. Chyczij, *Submission To The Legislative Committee On The Emergencies Act*, 15 March 1988 (Ottawa: Civil Liberties Commission, Ukrainian Canadian Committee) and the ensuing reports by V. Malarek, "Ukrainian Canadians seeking redress," *Globe and Mail*, 15 January 1988, page A3; J. Serge, "Ukrainian group seeks wartime redress," *Toronto Star*, 18 January 1988, page A7; V. Malarek, "Internment safeguards are sought," *Globe and Mail*, 5 March 1988, page A4 and P. Gessell, "Two ethnic groups say Emergencies Act would abuse rights," *Ottawa Citizen*, 16 March 1988, page A4. The Ukrainian Canadian Committee is now known as the Ukrainian Canadian Congress, while the Civil Liberties Commission became the Ukrainian Canadian Civil Liberties Association.

Detailing the economic consequences of these internment measures is a report prepared by Price Waterhouse in January 1992, entitled "Economic Losses of Ukrainian Canadians Resulting from Internment During World War I." Its authors estimated that Ukrainian Canadians suffered from \$21.6 to \$32.5 million dollars (in 1991 dollars) losses while interned. For a statement of what restitution might entail, see the *Ukrainian Canadian Restitution Proposal* (11 November 1994) and subsequent memoranda, such as the *Request to the Minister Responsible for the Status of Women* (18 October 1995), the Honourable Sheila Finestone, MP and the *Request to the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Canadian Heritage* (24 January 1997), the Honourable Sheila Copps, MP. These documents and many of the publications referenced here are archived publicly at <http://www.infoukes.com/history/internment> and <http://www.ucccla.ca/internment>



Stefa Mielniczuk, a survivor of the Spirit Lake camp, at the unveiling of the Fort Henry plaque, 4 August 1994

Photo by Mitch Andriessky

On 27 September 1991, a Liberal MP, Peter Milliken (Kingston and the Islands) rose in the House of Commons to propose that the Government of Canada acknowledge that the internment, disenfranchisement and related repressive measures taken against Canadians of Ukrainian origin between 1914 and 1920 were unwarranted and unjust (*see Appendix B*). He also called for the installation of historical markers at each of the camp sites and for negotiations on redress. Speaking to the 17<sup>th</sup> triennial national assembly of the Ukrainian Canadian Congress in Winnipeg in October 1992, the Right Honourable Brian Mulroney, Prime Minister of Canada, publicly stated that his government intended to settle the redress issue. On 3 December 1996

his successor as leader of the Progressive Conservative Party of Canada, the Honourable Jean Charest, wrote the author stating that “the detention of Ukrainian-Canadians remains a black mark on Canada’s history. I am at a loss to understand what keeps this federal government from properly acknowledging its responsibility in this matter. It is my hope that this issue is resolved while there remain detainees who can still attend the commemoration.” And, on 10 October 1997 another MP, representing the Reform Party of Canada, Inky Mark (Dauphin-Swan River) reminded his fellow parliamentarians that the Ukrainian Canadian community has sought acknowledgement and restitution since the 1980s without satisfaction and asked the other honourable members to join him in “bringing justice and closure to this regrettable event in our nation’s history.”

Expectations for a favourable settlement of the Ukrainian Canadian community’s requests were particularly aroused when the then-leader of the Opposition, the Honourable Jean Chrétien, wrote, 8 June 1993, to the UCC’s Ihor Bardyn stating: “The Liberal Party understands your concern. As you know, we support your efforts to secure the redress of Ukrainian-Canadians’ claims arising from their internment and loss of freedoms during the First World War and interwar period. You can be assured that we will continue to monitor the situation closely and seek to ensure that the government honours its promise.” Since becoming Prime Minister of Canada, Mr. Chrétien, has, inexplicably, ignored his pledge.

For a variety of commentaries favouring acknowledgement and restitution see Luciuk, ed, *Righting An Injustice*, and the more recent articles by J. B. Gregorovich, “Ottawa must redress injustice to internees,” *Toronto Star*, 31 March 1998; Mark Abley, “Ukrainians still resent internment,” *Montreal Gazette*, 4 August 1999; Katharine Wowk, “Canada’s cemetery of shame,” *Ottawa Citizen*, 16 September 1999; Ian Hunter, “An apology long overdue,” *National Post*, 27 March 2000, and Roma Hadzewycz, “Hear the silence,” *Ukrainian Weekly*, 25 June 2000.

The most recent attempt to prompt a resolution of the Ukrainian Canadian community’s claims took place on 4 April 2001 when Canadian Alliance MP Inky Mark tabled *Bill C-331, The Ukrainian Canadian Restitution Act*, reproduced as *Appendix C*. For reactions see Paul



Yohoo internees clearing road along Kicking Horse Canyon

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Jackson, "Time to right historic wrong," *Calgary Sun*, 15 April 2001, page 6; "Ukrainian Canadians welcome Restitution Act," *Ukrainian Weekly*, 22 April 2001, page 3; Randy Boswell, "PM faces flip-flop accusation over Ukrainian internment bill," *Ottawa Citizen*, 24 April 2001, page A6; Marco Levytsky, "Ukrainian redress bill tabled in House," pages 1, 3 and the editorial, "Support Bill C-331" in *Ukrainian News*, 18 April-1 May 2001; Roma Hadzewycz, "Still waiting for redress," *Ukrainian Weekly*, 29 April 2001, page 6 and Sherri Zickefoose, "MP's call for internment museum backed," *Banff Crag and Canyon News*, 9 May 2001. On 25 June 2001 the national executive of the Ukrainian Canadian Congress endorsed the principles of *Bill C-331* following public expressions of support made by the UCC's Alberta and Ontario provincial councils and the Ukrainian Canadian Professional and Business Federation. An email and phone survey conducted in April-May 2001 found overwhelming community support for *Bill C-331*. See "Major Support in Ontario for Federal Bill C-331," Media Release, UCC Ontario Provincial Council, 4 June 2001. Following his meeting with UCCLA, the Honourable Stockwell Day, MP, Leader of the Opposition, wrote to the author, 23 July 2001, pledging to ensure that the Bill would get a "full appraisal" before the Canadian Alliance caucus, since "I feel a sense of justice must be applied on behalf of those affected by the internment during World War I." On 20 August 2001 *Bill C-331* was also endorsed by Alexa McDonough and the caucus of the New Democratic Party of Canada.



UCCLA's director of research, L. Y. Luciuk, Mary Manko Haskett, and UCCLA's chairman, J. B. Gregorovich, Ottawa, March 1993

Photo by Fernando Monte

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Photo by L. Luciuk

UCCLA's director of special projects, Borys Sydoruk, at the Castle Mountain internment camp site

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### *Additional Sources*

Many of the documents referenced in the text as well as additional materials dealing with the ongoing campaign to secure acknowledgement and restitution can be found at <http://www.ucla.ca/internment> and <http://www.ucc.ca>

A documentary film about the internment operations, *Freedom Had A Price*, by Montreal filmmaker Yuriy Luhovy is available directly from La Maison de Montage Luhovy, 2330 Beaconsfield Avenue, Montreal, Quebec, H4A 2G8.

For a children's story based on the internment operations see *Silver Threads* by Marsha Forchuk Skrypuch (Toronto: Viking Penguin Books Canada, 1996). For teaching guides to this book see Prentice-Hall Ginn Collections Series #5, *Exploring Heritage*, pages 48-56 and Teacher's Resource Module (Western Edition), pages 71-79.

Teachers' guides to Canadian Studies that include useful information on the internment operations include "Enemy Aliens" in *World Affairs: Defining Canada's Role*, edited by Don Quinlan (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1998) and "Ukrainian Canadians" World War I, in *Canadians in the Global Community: War, Peace and Security*, prepared by the Social Program Educational Group, Queen's University, Kingston, for the CRB Heritage Project (Toronto: Prentice Hall Ginn, 1997).



Nykola Sakaliuk and Peter Ritter, Fort Henry, 27 August 1916



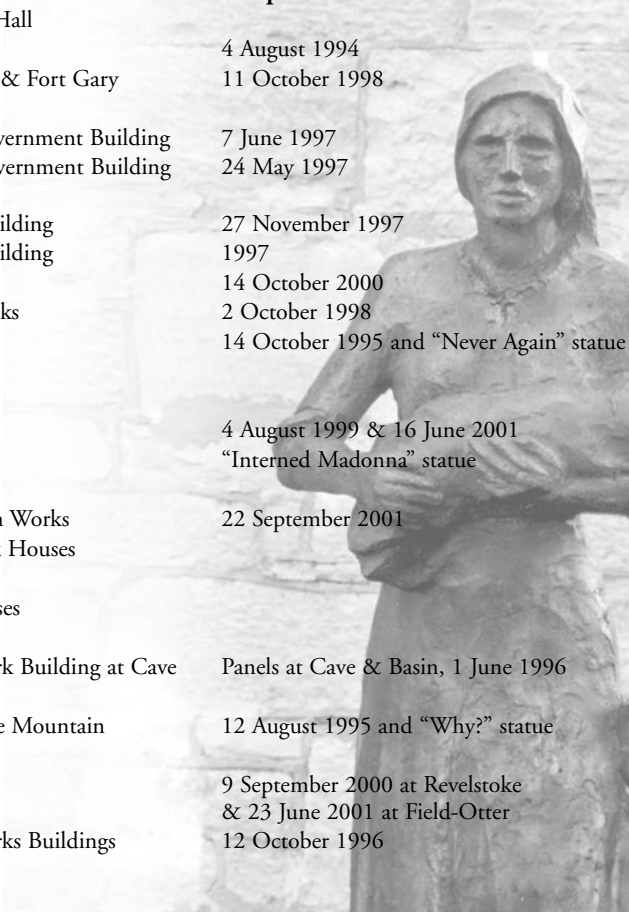
Queuing for food, Fort Henry internment camp

*Table 1 : Commemorative Plaques and Statues*

<b>Name of Camp</b>	<b>Date of Opening</b>	<b>Date of Closing</b>
Montreal, Quebec	13 August 1914	30 November 1918
Kingston, Ontario	18 August 1914	3 November 1917
Winnipeg, Manitoba	1 September 1914	20 July 1916
Halifax, Nova Scotia	8 September 1914	3 October 1918
Vernon, British Columbia	18 September 1914	20 February 1920
Nanaimo, British Columbia	20 September 1914	17 September 1915
Brandon, Manitoba	22 September 1914	29 July 1916
Lethbridge, Alberta	30 September 1914	7 November 1916
Petawawa, Ontario	10 December 1914	8 May 1916
Toronto, Ontario	14 December 1914	2 October 1916
Kapuskasing, Ontario	14 December 1914	24 February 1920
Niagara Falls, Ontario	15 December 1915	31 August 1918
Beauport, Quebec	28 December 1914	22 June 1916
Spirit Lake, Quebec	13 January 1915	28 January 1917
Sault Ste Marie, Ontario	13 January 1915	29 January 1918
Amherst, Nova Scotia	17 April 1915	27 September 1919
Monashee-Mara Lake, British Columbia	2 June 1915	29 July 1917
Fernie-Morrissey, British Columbia	9 June 1915	21 October 1918
Banff-Castle Mountain & Cave & Basin	14 July 1915	15 July 1917
Edgewood, British Columbia	19 August 1915	23 September 1916
Revelstoke-Field-Otter, British Columbia	6 September 1915	23 October 1916
Jasper, Alberta	8 February 1916	31 August 1916
Munson-Eaton, Alberta	13 October 1918	21 March 1919
Valcartier, Quebec	24 April 1915	23 October 1915

**Notes:** In 1997 the Lethbridge Historical Society unveiled a plaque near the site of the Lethbridge internment camp. On 11 July 1999 a commemorative plaque was unveiled at the Ukrainian Cultural Centre in Victoria, recalling all of the internment camps in British Columbia. On 5 August 2000, a special commemorative plaque was also unveiled at *Selo Ukraina*, Dauphin, Manitoba - the site of Canada's National Ukrainian Festival - recalling all 24 internment camps across Canada. The event was sponsored by the Ukrainian Canadian Centennial Committee with the assistance of the Ukrainian Canadian Civil Liberties Association.

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**Description****Plaque and/or Statue Unveiled**

Immigration Hall	
Fort Henry	4 August 1994
Fort Osborne & Fort Gary	11 October 1998
The Citadel	
Provincial Government Building	7 June 1997
Provincial Government Building	24 May 1997
Exhibition Building	27 November 1997
Exhibition Building	1997
Militia Camp	14 October 2000
Stanley Barracks	2 October 1998
Bunk Houses	14 October 1995 and “Never Again” statue
The Armoury	
The Armoury	
Bunk Houses	4 August 1999 & 16 June 2001 “Interned Madonna” statue
The Armoury	
Malleable Iron Works	22 September 2001
Tents & Bunk Houses	
Rented Premises	
Dominion Park Building at Cave & Basin;	Panels at Cave & Basin, 1 June 1996
Tents at Castle Mountain	12 August 1995 and “Why?” statue
Bunk Houses	
Bunk Houses	9 September 2000 at Revelstoke & 23 June 2001 at Field-Otter
Dominion Parks Buildings	12 October 1996
Railway Cars	
Militia Camp	

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As additional plaques, panels and statues are installed this table will be updated at <http://www.ucla.ca/internment>

*Sources:* Major-General Sir William Otter, KCB, CVO, Director Internment Operations, Report on Internment Operations, Canada, 1914-1920 (Ottawa: Thomas Mulvey, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, 1921) and archives of the Ukrainian Canadian Civil Liberties Association



“Never Forget”  
Kapuskasing internee cemetery statue by John Boxtel, unveiled 14 October 1995

Report on Internment Operations

CANADA

INTERNMENT OPERATIONS  
1914-1920

REPORT BY  
MAJOR-GENERAL SIR WILLIAM OTTER, K.C.B., C.V.O.  
DIRECTOR INTERNMENT OPERATIONS

OTTAWA  
THOMAS MULVEY  
PRINTER TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY  
1921

17177-1

ORDER OF SUBJECTS

Authority .....	3
Establishment of Headquarters .....	4
Camps or Stations .....	4
Staff of Camps .....	5
Guards at Camps .....	5
Prisoners .....	6
Administration .....	6
Subsistence .....	7
Clothing .....	7
The Insane .....	8
The Sick .....	8
Sanitation .....	9
Employment .....	9
Recreation .....	10
Libraries .....	10
Schools .....	10
Religious Observances .....	11
Correspondence .....	11
Canteens .....	11

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Liquor .....	11
Private Property of Prisoners .....	11
Escapes .....	12
Casualties .....	12
Parole or Release .....	13
Repatriation .....	14
Y.M.C.A. ....	14
Inspections .....	14
Cost of the Service .....	15
Conclusion .....	16

INTERNMENT OPERATIONS  
1914-1920

OTTAWA, September 30, 1920

The Right Honourable  
The Minister of Justice,  
Ottawa.

Sir,-I have the honour to report upon the care of alien enemies entrusted to my charge during the years 1914-20, in a branch of the Department of Justice named "Internment Operations," and by virtue of an Order in Council (No. 301) of the 6th November 1914, which provides as under:-

"The Committee of the Privy Council have had under consideration a report from the Acting Minister of Militia and Defence, dated 3rd November, 1914, with reference to an Order in Council (P.C. 2721), dated 28th October, 1914, providing for the registration and internment in certain cases of aliens of enemy nationality.

"The Minister States that he considers it desirable for the effective carrying out of such of the provisions of said Order in Council as relate to internment of aliens of enemy nationality as prisoners of war, that an officer be appointed who shall be authorized to take whatever military action may be necessary or expedient to carry out effectively such provisions and who shall be given command of sufficient military forces for that purpose.

"The Minister, therefore, recommends as follows:-

"1. That Major-General Sir William Dillon Otter, K.C.B., C.V.O., be appointed as such officer, with the title or designation of Officer Commanding Internment Operations," with a salary (exclusive of his present pension) of \$5,000 per annum.

"The Department of Militia and Defence shall from time to time, put at the disposal and under command of such officer, such military forces as may be reasonably required at any time or place the proper carrying out of said operations and the effective internment of all such enemy aliens as aforesaid.

"It shall be the duty of such officer:-

(a) To make such provisions as may be necessary for the maintenance of aliens of enemy nationality interned as prisoners of war, and to require such prisoners to do and perform such work as may be prescribed;

(b) To provide for the proper quartering and rationing of the troops employed and prisoners interned, and for these purposes to lease or otherwise procure such premises or places of detention on such terms and for such periods as may be necessary or advisable."

"All contracts entered into and expenditures incurred for the purposes hereinabove set forth shall be subject to the authorization or approval of the Governor in Council.

"Such officer may call upon the Royal North West Mounted Police and Dominion Police for police and secret service aid when required.

"2. That in order to meet the expenditure requisite for the services aforesaid a sufficient portion of the war appropriation fund be made available, and that the Minister of Finance be authorized to cause credits to be issued upon application of the Auditor General not only to the Deputy Minister and authorized officers of the Department of Militia and Defence\* but also to the said Officer Commanding, Internment Operations as occasion may require; and that the said fund or advances made thereout as so authorized shall be chargeable with all necessary expenditures for the transport and maintenance of the said military forces and of the said prisoners, the acquisition and upkeep of all necessary premises and places of detention, and generally all expenses reasonably incurred in connection with the carrying out of the powers aforesaid."

#### ESTABLISHMENT OF HEADQUARTERS

It will be noted that the care only of aliens was my responsibility and not their original arrest, which was that of the police and other specially appointed persons.

My duties were assumed on the 1st November, 1914, in the Banque Nationale building, Ottawa, as headquarters, with the following principal officers:-

One staff officer—Lt. Col. Duncan MacPherson (from Retired List).

One supply officer—Major Gerald A. Dillon (Quartermaster 58th Regiment).

One accountant—Mr. A.G. Campbell (civilian).

A staff which was eventually increased as the demand warranted, until at one time, July and August, 1916, the total number reached some forty individuals in this office alone.

At the same time the services of Lt. Col. W. Ridgway-Wilson, who had then recently appointed by the Provincial Government of British Columbia to observe and report upon the aliens in that province, were placed at my disposal and utilized until the internments ceased.

On the 5th November, 1914, the first prisoners were handed over to me at

Montreal, for whom proper quarters, clothing, subsistence and supervision had to be found, and my responsibilities fairly entered upon.

From the opening of the war until that time these requisites had been tentatively provided by the Militia Department, and naturally in a more or less haphazard way, but now with the prospect of a large addition to the "interned," improved and more stable arrangements had to be furnished in order to meet the international regulations of The Hague Convention and keep in touch with the Bureau of Information of England.

#### CAMPS OR STATIONS

It might here be well to state that The Hague Regulations call "for the provision of quarters equal to those furnished to our own troops."

The situation of suitable locations for internment camps or stations was the first consideration, and as some of the temporary ones already in operation, together with buildings, were found satisfactory, no change was made save in the way of additional accommodation, but as the prisoners increased in number further stations had to be found until at one time twenty-three were in existence, these being gradually reduced either by elimination or amalgamation, as discharge on parole, or repatriation occurred.

The character of the accommodation at these stations varied; in two cases large manufacturing premises were rented, at other places Government buildings were taken into use; again Provincial Governments and agricultural societies came to our aid, a series of rough bunkhouses had often to be erected, and in the summer tents were at times resorted to, while in all but the latter these premises were enclosed by strong wire fencing.

Below is given a list of these stations, with the period of their occupation and description.

Those marked \* being "Receiving" where prisoners were only kept until they could be sent to a permanent one.

Name	Date of Opening	Date of Closing	Description
*Montreal, Que.	Aug. 13, 1914	Nov. 30, 1918	Immigration Bldg.
Kingston, Ont.	Aug. 18, 1914	Nov. 3, 1917	Fort Henry
*Winnipeg, Man.	Sept. 1, 1914	July 29, 1916	Fort Henry
Halifax, N.S.	Sept. 8, 1914	Oct. 3, 1918	The Citadel
Vernon, B.C.	Sept. 18, 1914	Feb. 20, 1920	Provincial Government Building
Nanaimo, B.C.	Sept. 20, 1914	Sept. 17, 1915	Provincial Government Building
Brandon, Man.	Sept. 22, 1914	July 29, 1916	Exhibition Building
Lethbridge, Alta.	Sept. 30, 1914	Nov. 7, 1916	Exhibition Building
Petawawa.			
Petawa, Ont.	Dec. 10, 1914	May 8, 1916	Militia Camp
*Toronto, Ont.	Dec. 14, 1914	Oct. 2, 1916	Stanley Barracks

Kapusking, Ont.	Dec. 14, 1914	Feb. 24, 1920	Bunk Houses
*Niagara Falls, Ont.	Dec. 15, 1914	Aug. 31, 1918	The Armoury
Beauport, Que.	Dec. 28, 1914	June 22, 1916	The Armoury
Spirit Lake, Que.	Jan. 13, 1915	Jan. 28, 1917	Bunk Houses
*Sault Ste.			
Marie, Ont.	Jan. 13, 1915	June 29, 1918	The Armoury
Amherst, N.S.	Apr. 17, 1915	Sept. 27, 1919	Mallcable Iron Works (rented)
Monashee-Mars			
Lake, B.C.	June 2, 1915	July 29, 1917	Tents and Bunkhouses
Fernie-Morrissey,			
B.C.	June 9, 1915	Oct. 21, 1918	Rented premises
Banff-Castle, Alta.	July 14, 1915	July 15, 1917	Dominion Park Building at Banff
			Tents at Castle
Edgewood, B.C.	Aug. 19, 1915	Sept. 23, 1916	Bunk Houses
Revelstoke-Field			
-Otter, B.C.	Sept. 6, 1915	Oct. 23, 1916	Bunk Houses
Jasper, B.C.	Feb. 8, 1916	Aug. 31, 1916	Dominion Parks Building
Munson-Eaton,			
Alta.	Oct. 13, 1918	Mar. 21, 1919	Railway Cars
Valcartier, Que.	Apr. 24, 1915	Oct. 23, 1915	Militia Camp

#### THE STAFF OF CAMPS OR STATIONS

The immediate supervision of stations was entrusted to a staff usually composed of a

Commandant,  
 Adjutant,  
 Supply Officer or Quartermaster,  
 Medical Officer,  
 Dental Officer (occasionally),

with a subordinate staff of

Sergeant-Major,  
 Supply Sergeant,  
 Quartermaster Sergeant,  
 Orderly Room Sergeant,  
 Hospital Sergeant,  
 Provost Sergeant,  
 Interpreter (civilian),  
 Matron (where women and children)

At "Receiving" and a few small stations, a considerable reduction or an amalgamation of the above appointments were made.

## GUARDS

For the guarding of the prisoners it will be observed that authority was given me by the Order in Council already quoted to call upon Military Districts for such troops as were considered necessary, the cost of quartering and subsisting them for the time being falling upon Internment Operations.

The duties entailed on these troops consisted of:-

1. Sentries upon the enclosures and buildings.
2. Escorts to working parties.
3. Police for the good order and supervision of prisoners' quarters, the proportion of troops to prisoners being generally 1 to 5, though conditions and circumstances varied.

The calls thus made upon both officers and men were anything but pleasant and usually very arduous ones, as they demanded tact and control of temper, long hours, monotony, fatigue, inclement and bad weather; consequently much credit is due all concerned that very little friction occurred between troops and prisoners.

## PRISONERS

The total of male prisoners actually interned numbered some 8,579, the nationalities were various and may be designated as follows with the totals of each, while accompanying them were 81 women and 156 children; their families who were also provided with quarters and food in the camps to which the men were sent:

1. Austro-Hungarians, covering Croats, Ruthenians, Slovaks and Chzecks .....	6954
2. Bulgarians .....	99
3. Germans .....	2009
4. Turks .....	205
5. Miscellaneous .....	<u>312</u>
	8579

They were arrested generally throughout the Dominion, many at the border leaving or coming into the country, while 817 were received from the British Islands of Jamaica, Barbadoes, Bermuda, St. Lucia and Newfoundland, with four from British Guiana, those from outside British possessions being maintained at the expense of their respective Governments.

Of the total interned not more than 3,138 could be correctly classed as prisoners of war, that is captured "in arms" or belonging to enemy "reserves," the remainder being "civilians" who under The Hague Regulations became liable to internment if considered to be "agents" attached to, the army or persons whose "activity is of service in the war."

It is also suspected that the tendency of municipalities to "unload" their indigent was the cause of the confinement of not a few.

In trade or calling they were of all sorts, including ministers of the gospel, officers of navy and merchant service, and of the army reserves, merchants, professional men, mechanics, seamen and labourers.

#### ADMINISTRATION

Upon assuming charge of the "interned" my first duty was the promulgation of Regulations or Standing Orders for the administration of the several internment camps or stations, the foundation of which were the Rules of the Hague Convention, together with such additions or amendments as were particularly applicable to conditions in Canada.

Apart from the specific Hague Rules, these regulations called for the adoption of the same system as in the military service of Canada, and a reference to the principal points will be found later on in this report.

Owing to the difference existing in their previous occupation and in order to observe the Hague Regulations, which call for a better quartering and subsistence of those of the officer class or its equivalent, it became necessary to divide our prisoners into 1st and 2nd classes.

Again, many of the prisoners had wives and families dependent upon them for support, consequently when the bread winners were interned their women and children had to be cared for.

This was accomplished in two ways, either by allowing families to remain at their former homes and issuing to them a monthly sum for rent, food and fuel, in which manner 40 women and 81 children were cared for, or by permitting them to accompany the men to the internment station and there providing for them.

The number looked after by the latter mode was as already intimated 81 women and 156 children, for whom the necessary additional accommodation was only available at the Spirit Lake and Vernon camps.

#### DISCIPLINE

By the Rules of the Hague Convention prisoners of war "cannot be regarded as criminals or convicts, but become amenable to the laws, regulations and orders in force in the army of the state in whose power they are, and in case of crimes and misdemeanours may be tried in the same way as a soldier of that army. They can be fired upon if attempting to escape."

Commenting upon the behaviour of those coming within the jurisdiction of Internment Operations, and considering the number, but little complaint can be made. There were of course a number of very vicious and insubordinate characters with whom stringent measures had to be adopted, particularly when the daily ration of food was reduced, and again over a question of what constituted obligatory and what voluntary labour, resulting in each instance in an incipient insurrection easily quelled.

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The articles provided for the male prisoners consisted of mackinaw coats, sweaters, trousers, shirts, underclothing, boots, socks, handkerchiefs, overalls and towels.

The average cost per prisoner per year being \$24.39.

### THE INSANE

Insanity was by no means uncommon among the prisoners, many being interned it was suspected to relieve municipalities of their care, while in others the disease possibly developed from a nervous condition brought about by the confinement and restrictions entailed.

In all instances such individuals were at once placed in insane asylums, being for the time supported by Internment Operations, and ultimately deported to their native countries, except three who have now been turned over to proper institutions in the provinces from which they came, the Federal Government being relieved of their charge.

Below is given a summary of the cases dealt with:-

Nationality	Provincial Institution								Totals
	Ponoka, Alta.	Esson- dale, B.C.	Brandon Man.	Hamil- ton, Ont.	St. Jean de Dieu, Que.	Mimico, Ont.	Rock- wood Ont.	Nova Scotia	
Austrian	2	14	3	14	10	7	8	3	61
German		11	2	3		2	12	10	40
Turk	1				1			1	3
Miscellaneous				1				1	2
Totals	3	25	5	18	11	9	20	15	106

### THE SICK

Provision for the sick in the form of a permanent medical officer, together with a building for use as a hospital was made at all stations except those coming under the class of "Receiving," at which a local practitioner was called in whenever necessary.

As might be supposed under the circumstances the claims for admission to hospital were very numerous, every trifling ailment being made an excuse therefor.

So many instances of tuberculosis appeared among the prisoners, that it was thought advisable to establish a separate hospital for their special treatment. This was first done at the Spirit Lake camp then later transferred to Kapuskasing, and in both places with great advantage owing to the climatic conditions of those locations. Altogether some 41 of such patients were treated, of whom 26 unfortunately died.

Hernia was a quite common disease, and generally these cases had to be treated at the nearest regular civil hospital as affording the only proper facilities.

Besides the ordinary diseases and cases of accident, of which later, however, few occurred, troubles from the teeth were very prevalent and at some of the larger



stations a dentist was kept quite busy at regular periods, but if such was not available resort was made to a local operator, except at Kapuskasing, where the services of a qualified prisoner became available.

It should however, be noted that while free medical attendance was given for accident and uncontrollable disease, it was not so for the teeth unless immediate injury to health was threatened.

#### SANITATION

Every endeavour possible consistent with the situation was made at each camp or station towards proper sanitation, a system of baths with hot and cold water for the use of individuals and wash-houses for the cleansing of underclothing being everywhere installed, together with sufficient water closets or latrines provided, as well as the means for the immediate destruction of all deleterious matter.

#### EMPLOYMENT

The Hague Regulations permit of three classes of employment by prisoners according to their rank and capacity, viz:-

1. For the prisoners own comfort, cleanliness and health (obligatory).
2. For the advantage of the Government (paid).
3. For the service of private individuals or corporations (paid).

Under the first is embraced self-cleanliness, ventilation and the order of their own quarters, together with the preparation of the food issued them.

The second covers the erection and repairs to buildings, the clearing, draining, etc., of the property of the interning Government, and carries with it the "working pay" authorized for the soldier, which in Canada is 25 cents per day.

For the third the conditions and rates of pay, it is prescribed, shall be settled in agreement with those in authority.

As it happened all three modes came into operation and were prosecuted with more or less success, though at times objection was taken by many to doing their own chores; and while much work for the Government was performed in the following directions and considerable advantage gained, the enthusiasm shown was not very great as might be expected.

Kapuskasing, Ont.

1. Clearing and stumping 1,000 acres of new land.
2. Erection of large barn on Experimental Farm.

3. Erection of bunk-houses, store-houses, fencing, etc. for troops and prisoners.
4. Making of roads in connection with the station and farm.
5. Installing drains at station and farm.
6. Laying water pipes through station and farm.

This station has been handed over in its entirety to the Department of Agriculture.

Spirit Lake, P.Q.-

1. Clearing and stumping 500 acres of new land.
2. Erection of a very large barn.
3. Erection of log-houses for families of prisoners.
4. Erection of bunk-houses, store-houses, fencing, etc. for troops and prisoners.
5. Making of roads in connection with the station.
6. Installing drains at station.
7. Laying water-pipes through station.

This station has also been handed over to the Department of Agriculture.

Nappan, N.S. — Clearing and draining 100 acres on Dominion Experimental Farm.

Banff. — Road-building and clearing Dominion Parks, B.C.

Castle. — Road-building and clearing Dominion Parks, B.C.

Field. — Road-building and clearing Dominion Parks, B.C.

Jasper. — Road-building and clearing Dominion Parks, B.C.

Petawawa. — Road-building and clearing for Militia Department.

Revelstoke. — Road-building and clearing Dominion Parks, B.C.

Edgewood. — Road-building and clearing for province of British Columbia.

Mara Lake. — Road-building and clearing for province of British Columbia.

Monashee. — Road-building and clearing for province of British Columbia.

In connection with the third mode numerous individuals with a few municipalities and corporations made application for the prisoners' labour, but difficulties occurred either in the wages offered or the provision of the necessary escorts by the militia force, that prevented their consummation, except in the case of the National Railways which when deprived of a large number of their road-gangs by the operation of the Military Service Act had recourse to the Internment camps and many prisoners were employed at the points below named covering a period of 27 months and on the following terms:-

To Prisoners — Quarters, and 20 cents per hour, (less 50 cents per day subsistence.)

To Escorts — Quarters and subsistence.

Munson, Alta.	Parent, Que.
Eaton, Sask.	St. Malo, Que.
Cochrane, Ont.	Moncton, N.B.
Jacksonboro, Ont.	Sackville, N.B.
North Bay, Ont.	Campbellton, N.B.
Horne Payne, Ont.	Edmunston, N.B.
Foleyet, Ont.	New Glasgow, N.S.
Capreol, Ont.	Truro, N.S.
O'Brien, Que.	Borden, P.E.I.
Doucet, Que.	Summerside, P.E.I.

Those engaged gave complete satisfaction and a practical cessation of certain railway traffic was by this means averted.

Another advantage arising from this employment of the prisoners labour was a direct benefit to the Government in the relief from all expense during the time employed likewise that of the subsistence of their escorts, besides affording a way of distracting the individual mind from the monotony and restraint of his internment.

A further mode of employment was permitted to prisoners in the manufacture and sale of various articles, by the many clever artisans among them, the proceeds of which were placed at their credit, though the results were not very extensive or lucrative.

#### RECREATION

Freedom of movement within the confines of the wire enclosure was always permitted at reasonable hours and at every permanent station a small recreation ground and gymnastic apparatus existed, where such of the prisoners who desired might indulge during seasons in football, quoits, gymnastics, skating, and lawn-tennis, the latter being a favourite amusement; besides which at stations situated beyond inhabited areas, walking exercise was given at regular intervals under escort.

#### LIBRARIES

Small libraries were instituted at the larger stations for the use of the prisoners, the books and magazines for which were donated by alien benevolent societies in Canada and the United States, all, however, being strictly censored before issue.

Subscriptions to and the use of certain Canadian and American newspapers were permitted at the expense of the individual.

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## SCHOOLS

In four of the stations, viz.: Amherst, Kapuskasing, Morrissey and Vernon, the prisoners having expressed a desire for study, classes of instruction for both adults and children were organized in English, arithmetic, grammar, etc., etc., the teachers coming from themselves and amongst whom there was considerable proficiency.

These classes were generally fairly attended, and at any rate had the advantage of occupying the minds of certain individuals who might have been worse employed.

In this connection the aid given by the Young Men's Christian Association cannot be overlooked, as not only was a part of the two buildings provided by it at Amherst and Vernon, devoted to these classes, but a supervisor of studies was maintained at each, without expense to the public.

## RELIGIOUS OBSERVANCES

Ministers of all denominations were given permission to see prisoners, and hold services at any time not interfering with the regular routine or duties of camps, but owing to the scarcity of troops for escort, attendance at a public place of worship could not be allowed, although the Hague Rules permit of such a concession.

## CORRESPONDENCE

Prisoners were permitted to write two letters per week and receive such as came to them, both classes being censored previous to despatch or delivery.

They were also allowed to send or receive parcels under similar regulations.

In both cases free carriage was granted in accordance with the Rules of the Hague Convention.

The censorship of both letters and parcels was a difficult operation, as practically all letters were written in a foreign language or dialect requiring expert interpreters at each station, while many were in cipher or veiled form.

As to parcels all sorts of subterfuges were resorted to for the purpose of getting in letters, tools, money and other prohibited articles, through the medium of outside donations of food, clothing, fruit, etc., and upon which a most careful watch had to be maintained.

## CANTEENS

Incidental to the collection of so many prisoners, it was soon found that a large demand for tobacco and other luxuries was made, to meet which canteens for the

exclusive use of the "interned" were established at the various stations, where such articles as were most in demand could be obtained at reduced prices.

These institutions were entirely under our control and management, and as the majority of prisoners either had money of their own or were earning it by their labour, the canteens were self-supporting, in fact a small monthly profit accrued, which was used for their benefit in the form of material for recreation, extra supplies at Christmas and an allowance of tobacco, etc. for such as had no funds, or for whom employment under pay could not be furnished. A statement in detail of the administration of these adjuncts is appended.

#### LIQUOR

The sale or use of wines, beer or spirituous liquors of any description was debarred in all of the camps, and numerous attempts at manufacture by prisoners frustrated.

#### PRIVATE PROPERTY OF PRISONERS

According to The Hague Rules all "personal belongings" of prisoners of war remain their property, but this rule does not, however, authorize the retention of money or articles that might facilitate their escape, therefore, everything in the form of money or jewellery, etc., was at once taken from them on internment, the former being deposited in a "Prisoners of War Trust Fund" to the credit of the Receiver General, and the articles in a safety vault.

The total amount of cash taken from prisoners was \$329,153.17 of which the sum of \$298,015.11 was returned to various owners during their retention through the medium of the canteen for luxuries and cash not exceeding \$75 per individual on their release or repatriation, in accordance with instructions, leaving \$31,137.73 still in the hands of the Receiver General.

A further regulation of the Hague Convention lays down that everything other than "personal belongings" becomes the property of the belligerent Government.

As many of those interned were residents of Canada and possessed real estate, securities, etc., such have been turned over to the "Custodian of Alien Properties," for the future decision of the Government.

#### ESCAPES

That many attempts at escape by prisoners should occur is quite natural, and that success would often result equally probable, but on the other hand I cannot speak too highly of the vigilance displayed by those in charge of all our stations in watching for and frustrating such efforts, nor when the individual did clear himself of the wire fencing, the determination and ardour with which he was followed in

all weathers and under all conditions until recaptured, a contingency that generally happened.

Tunnelling was a very common means of escape employed, though the artifices practiced were many, therefore, the observation and supervision necessary on the part of the staff and troops at a station made their duties anything but a sinecure.

Unfortunately serious results followed some cases of attempted escape, as for instance at—

Montreal	John Bauzek	Killed by gunshot	May 1, 1915
Spirit Lake	Iwan Gregoraszcruk	Killed by gunshot	June 7, 1915
Brandon	Andrew Grapko	Killed by gunshot	June 15, 1915
Amherst	Fritz Klaus	Killed by gunshot	June 24, 1915
	August Buchna	Wounded right leg	June 24, 1915
	Max Baumgart	Wounded left arm	June 24, 1915
	Albert Esslinger	Wounded left breast	June 24, 1915
	Eberhardt Helle	Wounded right leg	June 24, 1915
	Kurt Becker	Killed by gunshot	Aug. 25, 1916
Capreol	Carl Rebers	Killed by gunshot	Dec. 30, 1918

As an example of the efficiency above referred to the following might be given:-

On the afternoon of the 8th June, 1918, Captain T.W. Kirkconnell, of the C.O.T.C. left Kapuskasing with a detail consisting of Sergeant C.B. Brown, Privates I., Marshall, M. Nelson and A. Gauthier in two canoes for the recapture of two escaped prisoners.

The route taken was up the Kapuskasing river, a wide deep and rapid stream, in which some twelve portages varying from a quarter to three miles in length had to be overcome in a distance of 80 miles, occupying four whole days, when the delinquents were overtaken and brought back to camp.

The journey was a most trying one, as independent of its fatigue the supply of food ran short on the return journey, entailing increased privation.

#### CASUALTIES

During the continuance of internment operations, practically six years, a small percentage of prisoners died, and a statement is here given of the number, with the cause, from which it will be seen that save in the case of those killed while attempting to escape, the diseases were natural ones, the total being 1½ per cent of the interned.

Tuberculosis and the epidemic of pneumonia in 1918, it will be noted, accounted for a large proportion.

Great care was observed in having the cause of death established and recorded, the place of burial marked, due regard being paid to the latter ceremony, while the effects of the deceased were cared for and whenever possible their nearest of kin informed.

	Nationality				Total
	<i>Austrian</i>	<i>Bulgarian</i>	<i>German</i>	<i>Turk</i>	
Killed when attempting to escape	3		3		6
Accident on work train			1		1
*Altercation with fellow prisoner			1		1
Insanity	1				1
Endocarditis	2				2
Tuberculosis	23		3		26
Cardiac Valvular failure	1			1	2
Septicemia	1				1
Gumma	1				1
Spinal meningitis	1				1
Natural causes	2			1	3
Typhoid fever	1		1		2
Pneumonia	11		10	1	22
Edema	1				1
Influenza	2				2
Hemorrhagic dysentery	1				1
Phthisis pulmonis	2				2
Nephritis	1				1
General paralysis of the insane	1				1
Cerebral hemorrhage	1				1
Carcinoma of the stomach	1				1
Tubercular meningitis	1				2
Renal Dropsy	1				1
Dropsy	1				1
Myocarditis	4		5	1	10
Hemorrhage	1		1		2
General debility	2				2
Peritonitis	1				1
Syncope	1				1
Bright's Disease			2		2
Malaria (Meningitis)			1		1
Diabetes			1		1
Wood Alcohol Poisoning			1		1
Heart Disease			2		2
Tuberculosis			1		1
Pericarditis			2		2
Cerebral Oedema			1		1
Drowned	1		1		3
Suicide	1		1		3
	69		32	3	107

\*The trouble in this case arose between the children of two prisoners at Vernon, B.C., instantly resulting in a fight between the fathers, in which the aggressor "butting" the other with his head broke his own neck. The defending prisoner was duly tried by the Civil power and acquitted.

#### PAROLE OR RELEASE

Power is given by the Hague Rules for the paroling or releasing of interned prisoners upon certain conditions and during the years 1916 and 1917 when the most strenuous call for reinforcements was made by the Allies, the depletion of men in many of the large corporations of the country was so keenly felt that application made for the services of our prisoners to supply the want, and as many of these were suitable for the purpose some 6,000 of Austrian nationality were released from confinement on signing a "parole" which demanded loyalty and obedience to the laws and a periodical report to the nearest police authority.

This system proved a great advantage to the organization short of labour, and save with very few exceptions, all those given freedom complied with the terms of their undertaking.

#### REPATRIATION

Following the settlement of the terms of peace arrangements for the repatriation of the prisoners still remaining were effected on the dates below named, thus closing all stations:-

Date	Nationality			Steamer	From	Totals
	Austrians	Germans	Mis.			
1919						
Mar.	24	76	—	Empress of Britain	St. John	100
July 24	1	868	2	Sicilian	Quebec	871
Sept. 5	6	436	1	Pretorian	Quebec	443
Oct. 27	205	184	8	(Pretorian	Quebec	397
	32	9	—	(Women and Children	-----	41
1920						
Feb. 27	33	53	7	(Melita	St. John	93
	1	18	—	(Women and Children	-----	19
Grand Totals	302	1,644	18			1,964

#### YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION

Before concluding a most cordial acknowledgement is due that excellent organization, The Young Men's Christian Association, for its ever ready willingness to assist in providing entertainment and recreation for our troops in the form of "sing songs," cinematographs, lectures and religious services, the erection of special buildings at Amherst and Vernon for the purpose, and most materially aiding in the amelioration of the monotony of the prisoners' lives in numerous ways.



Special agents were detailed for long periods at the Amherst, Kapuskasing, Morrissey and Vernon camps, who were most indefatigable in their efforts to render every possible help in a situation that had no attractions for any one concerned.

Among may be mentioned the following under the immediate direction of Mr. F. S. Shepard, of Toronto: Amherst, N.S., Dr. W. L. Harvey and Mr. E. T. Hiller, Kapuskasing Ont., Captain P. Goforth; Kingston, Ont., Mr. H. M. Peach; Mara Lake, B.C., Mr. R. M. Jones and Mr. R. M. Harvey; Morrissey, B.C., Mr. M. J. M. Pfeffer; Petawawa, Ont., Mr. H. N. Pearson; Vernon, B.C., Mr. M. S. Tuttle.

### INSPECTIONS

The inspection of stations took place periodically every three to four months, principally by myself, although the officers commanding military districts had similar authority in their capacity as "visitors," a right, however, that was seldom exercised.

Personal touch with the administration of camps was likewise kept by staff and supply officers at odd times as occasion required.

Various visits were also made by the consuls below named representing various enemy Governments, and who duly reported the result of such inspections for the information of those in whose behalf they were acting.

<i>Country</i>		<i>Camp</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Representing</i>
United States	W.B. Kirk	Kapuskasing	Mar. 12, 1915	Austria Germany Turkey
United States	E.V. Richardson	Amherst	April 5, 1915	Germany
United States	H.D. Clum	Lethbridge	May 14, 1915	Austria
United States	A.G. Marsh	Kapuskasing	Oct. 1, 1915	Austria Germany Turkey
United States	A.G. Marsh	Kapuskasing	Mar. 3, 1916	Austria Austria Turkey Bulgaria
United States	F.M. Ryder	Brandon	May 2, 1916	Austria Germany Turkey
United States	H.D. Clum	Banff	May 14, 1916	Germany
United States	E.V. Richardson	Amherst	Aug. 15, 1916	Austria Germany Turkey Bulgaria
United States	G.C. Woodward	Field	Aug. 22, 1916	Austria
United States	G.C. Woodward	Edgewood	Sept. 3, 1916	Austria Turkey
United States	G.C. Woodward	Mara Lake	Sept. 4, 1916	Austria Germany
United States	E.V. Richardson	Amherst	Sept. 27, 1916	Austria Germany Turkey Bulgaria

United States	F.S.S. Johnstone	Kingston	Oct. 4, 1916	Austria
United States	G. Willrich	Spirit Lake	Nov. 16, 1916	Germany
				Austria
				Germany
				Turkey
				Bulgaria
Sweden	D. Bergstrom	Amherst	July 19, 1917	Austria
Switzerland	Beny Iseli	Morrissey	Aug. 1, 1917	Germany
Sweden	D. Bergstrom	Vernon	Aug. 5, 1917	Austria
Switzerland	Beny Iseli	Amherst	Aug. 16, 1917	Germany
Switzerland	Beny Iseli	Kapuskasing	Sept. 12, 1917	Germany
Switzerland	Beny Iseli	Vernon	Sept. 21, 1917	Germany
Switzerland	Beny Iseli	Amherst	May 6, 1918	Germany
Switzerland	Beny Iseli	Vernon	July 15, 1918	Germany
Switzerland	Beny Iseli	Morrissey	July 20, 1918	Germany
Switzerland	Beny Iseli	Kapuskasing	Sept. 28, 1919	Germany
Sweden	Carl de Dardet	Kapuskasing	Sept. 28, 1919	Austria

#### COST OF THE SERVICE

In computing the cost of internment operations to the 31st May, 1920, an abstract of which is now given below, it must be understood that the pay, allowances or clothing of troops employed is not included save the salaries of myself and the two officers associated with me at the Headquarters office at Ottawa.

<i>Distribution</i>	<i>Amount</i>
Administration headquarters	\$ 232,903.20
Administration stations	173,449.29
Buildings	219,711.42
Equipment	179,234.80
Medical Service	107,564.62
Clothing	363,400.54
Supplies (food, fuel and light)	2,244,335.63
Transportation in Canada	13,939.31
Transportation overseas	152,011.08
Relief, subsistence and burial	212,636.77
Earnings (prisoners of war)	<u>555,905.67</u>
	\$4,445,092.35

As an offset against the above expenditures, the following items are to be credited:-

Cost of prisoners of war from Newfoundland	\$ 21,703.90
Cost of prisoners of war from Jamaica	898,135.30
Cost of prisoners of war from Bermuda	28,792.15
Cost of prisoners of war from Barbadoes	19,255.20
Cost of prisoners of war from British Guiana	2,029.80
Dept. of Immigration	<u>1,357.45</u>
	\$971,273.80

Refunds from Department of Agriculture	\$ 27,862.14	
Refunds from C.N. Railways	129,825.50	
Refunds from B.C. Government	14,534.53	
Refunds from Ontario Government	3,866.53	
Refunds from National Parks, B.C.	1,132.59	
Proceeds, sale of buildings	13,584.66	
Proceeds, sale of clothing	8,387.85	
Proceeds, sale of drugs	675.00	
Proceeds, sale of equipment	31,863.08	
Proceeds, sale of pulpwood	16,600.23	
	<u>\$248,321.91</u>	
Total of Credits		<u>\$1,219,595.71</u>
Leaving the actual cost as		\$3,225,496.62

#### CONCLUSION

In concluding this report I cannot forbear noticing the excellent services rendered by the undermentioned, to whose energy, integrity, tact and zeal were due whatever credit accrues to the administration of Internment Operations:-

The duties falling upon the Commandants of Camps or Stations were particularly trying and commendation therefore well deserved.

Lt. Col.D. MacPherson	)	
Major G.A.P. Dillon	)	
A.G. Campbell	)	Headquarters Office
E.J. Collingwood	)	

Lt. Col. W. Ridgway-Wilson, Staff Officer, British Columbia

Lt. Col. W.E. Date, 17th Hussars, as Commandant at Montreal, Lethbridge, Kingston and Kapuskasing, at various periods.

Major A. Rowan, 6th D. of C. Rifles, Commandant at Nanaimo and Vernon.

Lt. Col. F.F. Clarke, 12th Regiment, as Commandant at Kapuskasing

Lt. Col. Geo. C. Royce, Queen's Own Rifles, Commandant at Kapuskasing.

Major E.A. Nash, (late Queen's Own Rifles), Commandant at Vernon.

Col. A. Morris, C.M.G., D.S.O. (late Imperial Army), Commandant at Amherst.

Major P.G.C. Campbell, 14th P.W.O. Rifles, Commandant at Kingston.

Lt. Col. H.J. Dawson, 14th P.W.O. Rifles, Commandant at Kingston.

Major H.F. Adams, 63rd Halifax Rifles, Commandant at Halifax.

Major P.W. Spence, 103rd Regiment, Commandant at Banff.

Major G. Anderson (late 54th Battn. C.E.F.), Commandant at Morrissey.

Major C.A.F. Shaw, 50th Regiment, Commandant at Mara Lake and Morrissey.

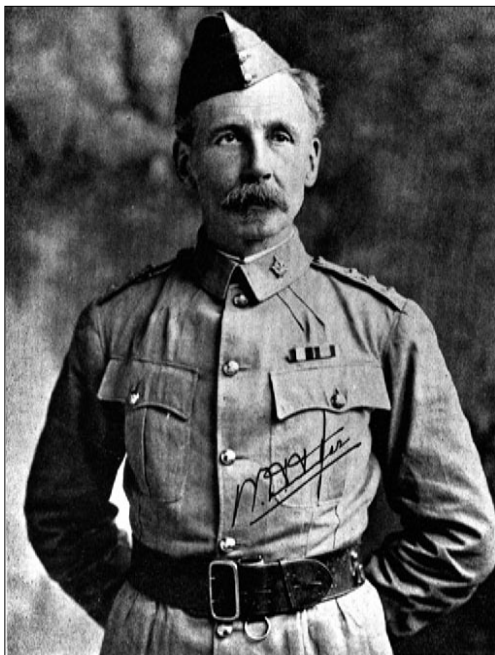
Captain J.R. Mitchell, 102nd Regiment, Commandant at Morrissey.

Lt. Col. J.F.T. Rinfret, 87th Regiment, Commandant at Spirit Lake.

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Captain R.D. Gurd, C.A.M.C., Commandant at Montreal.  
Captain A.W. Godfrey, 48th Highlanders, Commandant at Toronto.  
Major G.T. Chisholm, 48th Highlanders, Commandant at Toronto.  
Lt. Col. W.H. Ptolemy, late 77th Regiment, Commandant at Niagara Falls.  
Lieut. M.M. Gibson, late C.E.F., Commandant at Niagara Falls.

I have the honour to be, sir,  
Your obedient servant,  
W.D. OTTER, Major-General.  
Director, Internment Operations.



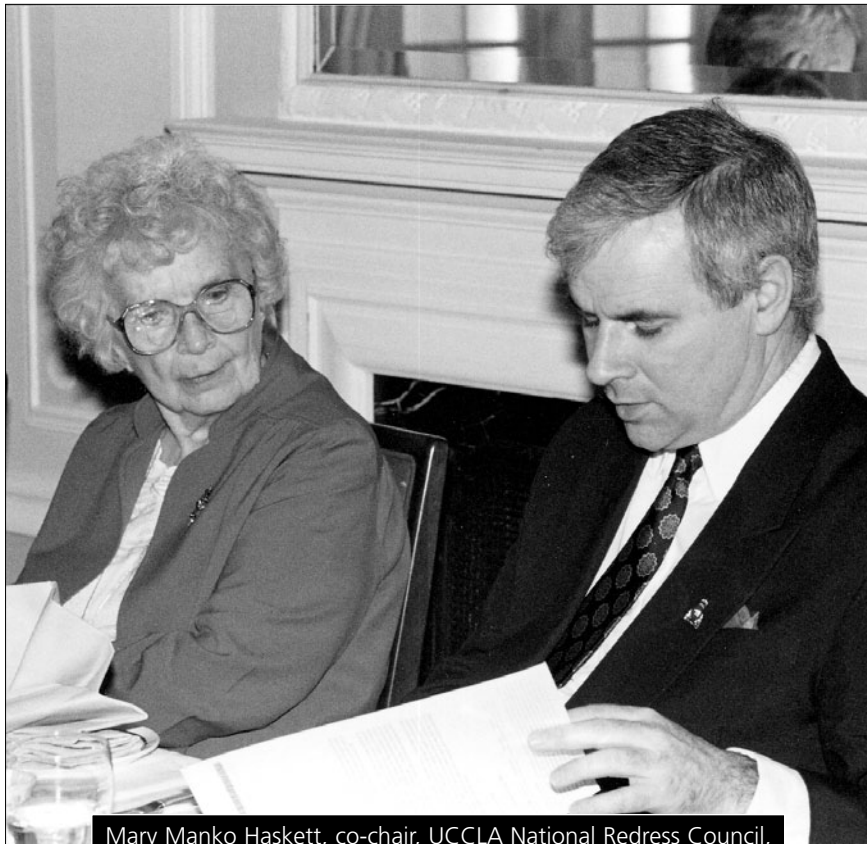
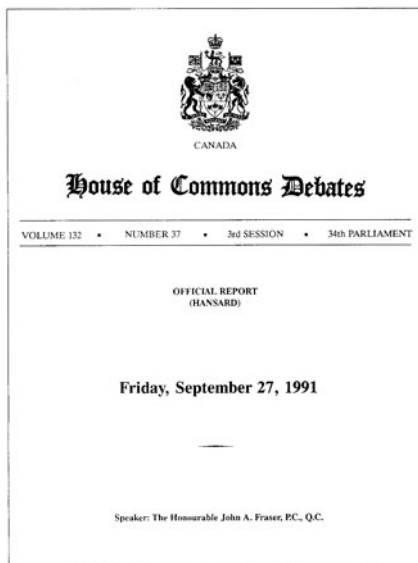


Photo by Fernando Monte

Mary Manko Haskett, co-chair, UCCLA National Redress Council,  
with Peter Milliken, MP, Ottawa, March 1993



## PRIVATE MEMBERS' BUSINESS

[English]

### UKRAINIAN CANADIANS

#### REDRESS FOR INTERNMENT

**Mr. Peter Milliken (Kingston and the Islands) moved:**

That, in the opinion of this House, the government should:

(1) acknowledge that the internment, disenfranchisement and related repressive measures taken against Canadians of Ukrainian origin between 1914 and 1920 were unwarranted and unjust and contrary to the principles now adopted and reflected in our Charter of Rights and Freedoms;

(2) instruct Parks Canada to erect historical markers at each of the 26 concentration camps where Ukrainians were interned and undertake the archaeological restoration of the Castle Mountain internment

### Private Members' Business

camp in Banff National Park with a permanent historical educational exhibit; and

(3) undertake negotiations with the redress committee of the Civil Liberties Commission of the Ukrainian Canadian Congress on the question of redress to the community.

• (1410)

He said: Mr. Speaker, this is the first time I have had the privilege of winning a draw on Private Members' Business. I was delighted that my motion was drawn in the recent draw and that I can now present it to the House. I have a number of items on the Order Paper under the Private Members' Business section and I am pleased to at least have one come forward, even if it is for a brief debate. I had hoped that perhaps at the end of the hour the government might allow the motion to pass so that we could possibly see some government action in this particular area, which I know the government is, in fact, considering.

Many Canadians are unaware of the plight of the Ukrainian Canadians who were interned during World War I. In fact, when the war broke out, the government said that Canadian Ukrainians who had emigrated to Canada from the western Ukrainian territories of Galicia and Bukovyna, both of which were then part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, were enemy aliens and they posed a threat to national security.

The government took the view that this threat required that these particular persons, who were in many cases Canadian citizens, ought to be interned and held in camps for the duration of the war. Accordingly, about 5,000 Ukrainian Canadians were in fact interned by the federal government in 26 camps that were located across Canada. One of those camps happened to be in my riding of Kingston and the Islands and was in the famous old fort there, Fort Henry, which was built some time in the middle of the 19th century.

Approximately 88,000 others, most of them Ukrainian Canadians, were forced to report regularly to local police and to internal security authorities, this, in spite of the fact that in many cases these persons posed absolutely no risk, security or otherwise, to the Canadian state.

I would like to read a quotation from a book written by Lubomyr Luciuk, a constituent of mine who is a professor at Queen's University in the Department of Geography. Mr. Luciuk is a well-known Canadian Ukrainian and a member of the committee that is seeking redress in

*Private Members' Business*

this case. He has written a little pamphlet called *A Time for Atonement*, subtitled *Canada's First National Internment Operations and the Ukrainian Canadians, 1914 to 1920*. I quote from his book at page 19:

Upon each individual's arrest, whatever valuables they might have had were seized. Some of this confiscated money was stolen. As early as 1915, General Otter wrote that "difficulties have arisen in accounting for the moneys received".

In his final report, he observed that as many of those interned were residents of Canada and possessed real estate and securities, etc., such have been turned over to the Custodian of Enemy Alien Properties for the future decision of the government.

Over \$32,000 in cash was left in the Receiver General's office at the end of these internment operations. The estimated present day value is \$1.5 million.

What the property, security and other valuables that were also confiscated might now be worth has yet to be calculated. The human costs of these internment operations are, of course, incalculable.

The internment went on for a considerable period, until 1920 in fact, but the internment was not the only problem that was faced by these citizens. In 1917, many members will recall that the government at the time passed the Wartime Elections Act which disenfranchised most Ukrainian Canadians as well as many others.

Members will recall that the vote was given to wives of men serving in the Armed Forces. It was also taken away from Canadians of German origin and other ethnic groups involved in the First World War on the other side.

It was not an Election Act of which Canadians can be proud. Frankly it was a national disgrace. The government rigged the elections very much in its favour so that it could win the 1917 election campaign which saw the Union Government—as it was then called—run and win the election in that year.

It paid for it in due course, as a historical footnote. In 1921 it was thrown out and replaced by a very sound administration under the very distinguished and capable William Lyon Mackenzie King.

In 1918, an already censored Ukrainian language press was closed down. This obviously was right near the end of the war. During the war Ukrainian Canadians were often maligned in regional and national newspapers. They were forced to work as poorly paid labourers in remote areas and were often relocated away from their homes and families.

Those imprisoned had their property confiscated, as I have already indicated. Some committed suicide while they were in prison and some were killed in unsuccessful escape attempts.

When the war ended, a large number of Ukrainian Canadians were still interned. The government changed their status from that of "enemy-alien" to "Bolshevik" and kept them locked up for fear that they might be sympathetic to the new communist regime in the Soviet Union.

Not until 1920 were the camps finally closed down. There was never any evidence presented in any public place that the Ukrainian Canadians posed a threat to national security. Indeed, the government never produced any evidence to that effect at all. In January 1915 the British foreign office informed the federal government that Ukrainian Canadians should be treated as friendly aliens. The government was told that many Ukrainians, like other nationalities within the Austro-Hungarian empire, were opposed to Austro-Hungarian rule and would not be sympathetic with Canada's enemy in the war.

The motion I have put before the House is one that is supported by the Ukrainian-Canadian Congress. The Congress wishes the government to formally acknowledge the unjust and unwarranted treatment these persons received during the First World War.

They would like to have the event commemorated by having historical markers established at the various internment sites, including Fort Henry in Kingston, which was the first site used as an internment camp.

I should also note as a historical footnote that the same fort was used during World War II to house prisoners of war. The International Red Cross said that it was not a suitable place to house prisoners. One can only imagine what the condition was during the First World War when apparently no international organization was involved in checking on the internees.

The Ukrainian-Canadian Congress has asked the firm of Price Waterhouse to compile a study on the financial losses of the internees. The report is due later this autumn. Once it is complete the committee would like to discuss the matter of redress with the government.

The treatment of Japanese-Canadians interned during World War II has clearly established some kind of precedent. It is certainly clear that given the number of years that have elapsed since the Ukrainian internment took place very few internees must still be alive. Accordingly, the Congress is not seeking redress on an individual basis but rather the establishment of a trust fund for the Ukrainian community in Canada which could be used for various purposes of that community.

• (1420)

The purpose of the motion I have put before the House is to urge the government to look at the facts, look at the record and see if something cannot be done to commemorate the evil perpetrated by our country on these people at that time.

These were innocent citizens of our country, never convicted of any crime, who just happened to have come from an area with which Canada was at war. As a result they were deemed unsuitable to carry on their daily lives on their farms and their homes wherever they happened to live in Canada, they were rounded up and herded into these camps. They were separated from their friends, from their families, from their communities and held far longer than was necessary solely because the government perceived that there might be a security risk to our country because they came from that particular part of Europe.

With great respect, it is clearly a situation which calls for some kind of relief. I am not suggesting, as I indicated earlier, that payments be made to individuals. Neither is the Ukrainian-Canadian Congress. The Congress seeks redress for the community and seeks to have the fact of this internment commemorated in plaques at the various locations across Canada where these internments took place.

In closing, perhaps I can quote an article by my friend Mr. Luciak and Bohdan Kordan, both members of the Ukrainian Canadian community, published in the *King-*

#### *Private Members' Business*

*ston-Whig Standard*. I think the article summarized the views of their community. They wrote as follows:

What happened can never, of course, be undone, and no amount of financial compensation, to individuals or to the community, can truly make up for the injustices experienced by these Canadians. But by dealing with this issue expeditiously the government of Canada can make good on its publicly stated commitment to treating fairly with any group of Canadians who, as a result of discriminatory and unjustifiable actions on the part of the federal authorities, suffered grievous damages. By doing so the government will not only help to fill in a blank page in Canadian history but will in the process, ensure that no other Canadians, of whatever ethnic, religious or racial origin, are ever again subjected to such a national humiliation and gross violation of their fundamental human and civil rights.

I know that the government is sympathetic to the plight of these people, to the plight they suffered many years ago. I know that the government is considering moving on this issue. I urge the government to take the matter in hand, handle it with dispatch and seek to come to a satisfactory arrangement to ensure that the fact that this kind of thing went on in our country is not forgotten but indeed commemorated as a sad reminder of how we sometimes disregard the notions of fairness, equity, and justice which we so often take for granted in Canada today.

**Mr. Bill Kempling (Parliamentary Secretary to President of the Treasury Board and Minister of State (Finance)):** Madam Speaker, let me at the outset commend the hon. member for bringing his motion forward. It is timely and I am pleased to be able to address the motion and acknowledge the treatment of Ukrainian Canadians at the hands of past governments.

We all agree that mistreatment of Canadians because of their origin is unacceptable. Unfortunately, the history of our country has not always reflected the principles of justice and equality that make us proud Canadians today. Thankfully this sad chapter in our history is now behind us.

The course of history cannot be changed, however. These events must be brought out into the open. This concerns each of us. We firmly believe that Canadians must be aware of situations like this one and that it is important to set the record straight.

Our government today is committed to building a strong multicultural society, one that abides by the rules of justice, human rights and mutual respect. fill



*Private Members' Business*

The basis of this commitment is a clear understanding of how Canada came to be. We must be able to confront our history and face up to our past.

The Prime Minister has committed himself to a formal apology regarding the matter of Ukrainian Canadians interned during the First World War.

We must not forget that Ukrainian Canadians helped build this country. We must not forget that the history of Ukrainian Canadians is closely interwoven with the growth and the achievements of the prairies. Their contribution to Canadian life, which began in the 1800s, continues today.

As Canada's fifth largest ethnocultural group, the Ukrainian Canadian community is present in every sphere of activity: cultural, professional, educational, political, religious and financial. With a network of over 1,000 organizations and a highly organized structure the community has a voice in over 150 towns and cities across this country.

Ukrainian Canadians have come a long way. Ninety per cent of the community is Canadian born and therefore fully integrated into the mainstream of Canadian culture.

Nonetheless, Ukrainian Canadians are strongly attached to their heritage and therefore determined to maintain their culture, language and identity.

Ukrainian Canadians are a perfect example of the country we are thriving to build. They are full-fledged Canadians with a Ukrainian heritage giving them a unique flavour. They personify our multicultural society.

As people committed to their language, religion, and cultural heritage the Ukrainian community has long been the most outspoken advocate of a multicultural nation, one that recognizes that diversity is a fundamental characteristic of our country and a vital part of being Canadian.

In 1986 the Ukrainian community produced an in-depth study entitled *Building the Future: Ukrainian Canadians in the 21st Century*. As the title suggests, the document is proof that Ukrainian Canadians are turned toward the future. They are men and women of action.

The document established a strategic process of renewal and co-ordination within the Ukrainian community in Canada. It sets specific goals in education, arts,

communication, and cultural development, as well as public policies and programs.

The document clearly stated that multiculturalism is the key to maintaining their culture while participating fully in the larger Canadian society.

Ukrainian Canadians promote the concept of functional trilingualism. Many of them exemplify this by being fluent in English, French and Ukrainian.

Ukrainians can definitely pride themselves in being among the architects of the Canadian Multiculturalism Act passed in 1988.

Because they refused assimilation Ukrainian Canadians have met challenges of integration while retaining the essential qualities of their heritage.

Our country is proud of the numerous Ukrainian Canadian personalities who contribute to the innumerable facets of Canadian life: at Rideau Hall with Governor General Ray Hnatyshyn, in the Supreme Court with John Sopinka, in the world of sports with hockey players like Dale Hawerchuk and Mike Bossy, in the business world with Bill Teron, to name a few among many.

These people, and thousands more, confirm the enormous contribution of Ukrainian Canadians to the economic and social development of this land. The Ukrainian Canadian community has come a long way. Despite difficulties Ukrainian Canadians have done well. They are a strong and vital community and one that continues to prosper.

This year Ukrainian Canadians are celebrating the proud centenary of Ukrainian settlement in Canada. The official opening, held at the end of August, marked the beginning of the festivities to unfold throughout the country during the next 12 months.

The official closing of the centennial celebration in October 1992 will coincide with the triennial Congress of Ukrainian Canadians.

Many special events are planned by individuals and organizations on national, regional, provincial and local levels. What better time for these Ukrainian Canadians to commemorate and honour their rich historical past, salute their present and create a vision for the future? The government stated in this week's proposals for constitutional reform:

It is true that this country and its creation have not taken place without pain and suffering. The aboriginal people, in particular, have paid a high price for other peoples' search for freedom. Canada has not always been inclusive and many have been left out of the benefits of citizenship. Yet, despite these gaps which we are only now

acknowledging and trying to remedy, Canada remains deeply symbolic of freedom in its broadest sense. Many around the world still long to come to our shores, to share in what we have built. People in other nations continue to risk their lives and sacrifice their security for freedoms that previous generations have already guaranteed for us in this country.

• (1430)

What better time for all Canadians to recognize the contribution of this vibrant community, one which has undergone tremendous change over the past 100 years, but one that retains values, traditions and a language and all fundamentals of our Canadian way of life.

**Mr. Ross Harvey (Edmonton East):** Madam Speaker, I too would like to thank and congratulate the hon. member for Kingston for bringing this matter to the House today. It is a matter that has cried out for effective treatment for a long time.

I would like to start by asking you, and through you, the other members present here today, to conjure up a picture in your mind. Place yourself on highway 1A, the road that was there before the Trans-Canada Highway 1 was built, northwest of Banff in the Bow River Valley, within the Canadian Rockies. About half way up Highway 1A, between Banff and Lake Louise, at a junction in front of the towering Castle Mountain, is a wall of rock that stretches, literally for miles, rising up on the east side of the Bow River Valley.

Place yourself there in your mind, on the road, in the flatlands of the valley in winter. Few people stop along this road, especially in the winter. The scenery is stupendous. The towering mountains are brilliant in their fresh coat of snow, and with every gentle wisp of breeze, the pine trees drop a cascade of snow in a sparkling dazzle of crystals and colour. Occasionally, a car swishes by speeding toward Banff to the south, or Lake Louise and other points to the north.

If, while standing there, you close your eyes and stand stock still, and again use your imagination, you can see another scene, a shockingly disturbing scene, right there, and not very long ago.

Between 1914 and 1920, in one of the most shameful episodes of Canadian history, thousands of recent immigrants to Canada were imprisoned there. The concentration camp near Castle Mountain, outside Banff, was

#### *Private Members' Business*

only one of the 26 such internment camps scattered across the country. Thousands of Ukrainians, and other people of east European descent, were designated enemy aliens, stripped of their property and denied their civil rights. Over 80,000 people, mostly of Ukrainian origin, were forced to carry identification papers and report to local police. Over 8,000 others were separated from their families, confined behind barbed wire and forced into hard labour.

What was the crime that justified this imprisonment, this massive injustice perpetrated under the provisions of the recently passed War Measures Act? There was not one. These Ukrainians were simply recent immigrants who happened to hold Austrian passports. Many simply did not have a job. These were not enemies of Canada.

In fact, the British Government expressly informed the Canadian government that these Ukrainians should be considered friendly. Many of them had fled their homes to avoid being conscripted into the Austro-Hungarian army.

Even though they had committed no crime, these new Canadians were forced to build the internment camps that contained them, to build the roads, including the predecessor to that Highway 1A, to clear the land, to cut wood and work on railway construction projects.

Later, they were forced to work at miserable pay for private companies. Every year thousands of us drive past these sites that used to be internment camps, yet few Canadians know the extent of the hardship that was caused in Canada to our own.

Canada should finally acknowledge that this gross injustice occurred here. We can never right the wrongs that were committed, but we can teach our children what happened, why it happened, in the hope that they may learn from the past so that such injustice may not happen again.

For this reason, I and the New Democratic caucus and party of which I am a member, very strongly support several steps.

First, an official acknowledgement by the government of the serious injustices that were inflicted on these Ukrainian Canadians.

*Private Members' Business*

Second, the placement of historical plaques at appropriate sites near those 26 internment camps.

Third, the establishment of a national redress commission to review requests for redress of discriminatory acts of past Canadian governments, and recommend appropriate and expeditious action to deal with this and other dark episodes in our history.

In addition, Madam Speaker, we support the partial reconstruction of that Castle Mountain camp in Alberta, as an educational site to which Canadians, and other visitors, could go and be encouraged to pause along their drive through the majestic Rockies, and reflect on what they themselves might do to ensure that such a sorry event never occurs in Canada again. Perhaps, as well, they could reflect on what it is that human societies can do to themselves when the idea of the enemy, the other, the apart, the separate, becomes a more compelling idea than the certain knowledge that we are all of us brothers and sisters.

Madam Speaker, this is a motion completely worthy of the non-partisan support of all elements in this House. I greatly hope it receives that support.

**Mr. Greg Thompson (Carleton—Charlotte):** Madam Speaker, I am honoured to speak in response to the motion by the hon. member, especially in light of the importance of the issues being raised.

Canada today is a vibrant and tolerant country that recognizes the essential nature of its multicultural reality. Ukrainian Canadians have been major exponents of the recognition of the multicultural nature of Canada. Canadians can trace their origins to every part of the world. People from all over the world have played a major part in settling the land, developing our resources, building cities and forging transportation links over vast distances.

The internment of Ukrainian Canadians during the First World War is not a proud moment in our history. It is a history, however, that has to be told. The government takes this issue very seriously and is looking into how best to set the record straight and to symbolize our recognition of this very sad event in our history.

In more recent times, the Government of Canada has acted to protect its citizens from this kind of treatment. The Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms guarantees equal protection and benefit of the law, without

discrimination. Through the Canadian Multiculturalism Act, the Parliament of Canada has recognized that our society is fundamentally multicultural in nature and has committed itself to the full and equitable participation of individuals and communities of all origins in shaping Canada's future.

The War Measures Act, as an example, has been repealed by this government. Encouraged to immigrate to Canada by Canadian governments, Ukrainians were a vital part of the settlement process of Canada, particularly in the prairies. Ukrainian settlers in the prairies wanted no more than the chance to live and work in dignity in this country of Canada.

• (1440)

The Ukrainians were among the founding settlers of Canada. They were especially important in settling the prairies.

Between 1891 and 1914, 170,000 Ukrainians came to Canada. Between the wars another 68,000 Ukrainians came to Canada. After the Great War, 33,000 more Ukrainians immigrated to Canada.

Ukrainians did settle in small numbers in Canada long before the mass immigration that took place in 1891. According to the publication *The Canadian Family Tree*, there were soldiers of Ukrainian origin in the de Meuron and Watteville regiments which fought for Canada in the War of 1812.

Some Ukrainians settled in Manitoba during the period of Lord Selkirk. There were also Ukrainians in Manitoba who came from the United States prior to 1891.

In the beginning the Ukrainians faced a very difficult life in the prairies as they broke into this land and broke the land itself. In spite of this harsh existence, community cultural and social life grew with development of a variety of organizations, women's groups, newspapers and periodicals, architecture, folk arts and poetry over the years.

In 1905 the Ukrainian Mutual Benefit Association was founded in affiliation with the St. Nicholas Ukrainian Catholic Church in Winnipeg. Among these Ukrainian workers and farmers there emerged a credit union movement, which began in 1939 when the new Community Savings and Credit Union was founded in Saskatoon.

By the end of the 1960s over 60 Ukrainian credit unions served an estimated membership of 50,000. Over time the Ukrainian-Canadians, like their fellow citizens, have become an urban people.

According to the 1981 census, there were 63,000 Ukrainians in Edmonton, 59,000 in Winnipeg, and 51,000 in Toronto. Other major centres of Ukrainian population are Vancouver, Montreal, Calgary, Saskatoon, Hamilton, Thunder Bay, Regina and the Niagara Peninsula.

Of the 529,615 Ukrainians in Canada in 1981, 59 per cent lived in the prairie provinces and 25.3 per cent lived in Ontario. Much of the cultural struggle for the Ukrainian Canadian community has involved the maintenance of its language.

In recent years bilingual and even trilingual education, with French included, has been offered in the publicly supported education systems of the prairie provinces.

Ukrainians are a vital part of the cultural fabric of Canada. The Ukrainian Community Development Committee report for the prairie regions published in 1986 by the Ukrainian Canadian committee noted that "the Ukrainian situation as an ethnocultural minority is a very special one, permanently woven into the fabric of Canadian society".

Over 1,000 organizations exist within the Ukrainian community. The paintings of William Kurelek, inspired by his experience on the prairies, have been widely recognized. George Ryga is a writer of Ukrainian origin of national stature.

Ukrainians have long been involved in municipal politics as well. William Harwylak in Edmonton and Stephen Juba in Winnipeg have been prominent mayors. The first Ukrainian elected to a provincial legislature was Andrew Shandro in 1913 in Alberta. In 1926 Michael Luchkovich became the first Ukrainian elected to the House of Commons. Over 200 Ukrainian Canadians have been elected provincially and another 60 have been elected to the House of Commons. In 1970 Stephen Worobetz became Lieutenant Governor of Saskatchewan. A former hon. member of this House, His Excellency Ray Hnatyshyn, now serves the country as Governor General.

#### *Private Members' Business*

During the Second World War approximately 40,000 Ukrainian Canadians served in the Canadian Armed Forces. Ukrainian-Canadians play a vital role in Canadian life. They are important advocates of recognition of the multicultural nature of Canada. However, we must not forget the treatment of Ukrainians which took place during the First World War.

We must ensure that present and future generations of Canadians understand the reality of Canadian history, including events such as the Ukrainian internment. Many Canadians are unaware of the details of these events, or even that they took place. They are seldom mentioned in the official history books, in museum exhibits, or in popular press reports about historical events.

I am grateful to the hon. member for this motion and for the occasion to speak about the Ukrainian internment. More important, I am grateful to those members of the Ukrainian Canadian community for increasing public awareness about this history.

Without this knowledge of history, we risk repeating the same mistakes whenever world crises break out to stoke the embers of fear and intolerance.

One of the most important conclusions of the Spicer commission report last summer was that Canadians need a greater knowledge of their history, of themselves and of each other.

If we are to remain together as a country, we must encourage the recounting and hearing of our histories.

**Ms. Barbara Greene (Don Valley North):** Madam Speaker, I attended a meeting on behalf of the minister about a year and a half ago at which the Ukrainian redress committee had a press conference to tell their story.

It is the story of a minority in Canada that still hurts.

This motion which the hon. member for Kingston and the Islands has presented is one that should be given every consideration by the government. The government is committed to doing something to redress this historical wrong committed by a previous Government of Canada. The suggestions by the hon. member are certainly excellent and should be given every consideration.

I will certainly support the referral of the motion.

*Private Members' Business*

**Mr. Milliken:** Madam Speaker, I want to thank all hon. members, and the members for Burlington, Edmonton East, Carleton—Charlotte and Don Valley North for their kind interventions.

As there is unanimity on this point I wonder if rather than drop the motion it could be carried by unanimous consent.

Motion agreed to.

**Madam Deputy Speaker:** I think I will also find unanimous consent to call it four o'clock p.m.

**Some hon. members:** Agreed.

[*Translation*]

**Madam Deputy Speaker:** Accordingly, this House stands adjourned until Monday, at 11 a.m., pursuant to Standing Order 24(1).

The House adjourned at 2.47 p.m.



Woodcutters' shelter, Spirit Lake

**C-331**

First Session, Thirty-seventh Parliament,  
49-50 Elizabeth II, 2001

**HOUSE OF COMMONS OF CANADA**

**BILL C-331**

An Act to recognize the injustice that was done to persons of Ukrainian descent and other Europeans who were interned at the time of the First World War and to provide for public commemoration and for restitution which is to be devoted to education and the promotion of tolerance

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First reading, April 4, 2001

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MR. MARK

**C-331**

Première session, trente-septième législature,  
49-50 Elizabeth II, 2001

**CHAMBRE DES COMMUNES DU CANADA**

**PROJET DE LOI C-331**

Loi visant à reconnaître l'injustice commise à l'égard des personnes d'origine ukrainienne et autres Européens par suite de leur internement pendant la Première Guerre mondiale, à marquer publiquement le souvenir de cet événement et à prévoir une indemnisation devant servir à l'éducation du public et à la promotion de la tolérance

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Première lecture le 4 avril 2001

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M. MARK

371109

#### SUMMARY

The purpose of this enactment is to provide for redress for the injustice done to persons of Ukrainian descent and other Europeans during the First World War, to commemorate this sad event in Canadian history and to provide for restitution to be made. The restitution is to be devoted to educational materials dealing with Canada's past internment policies and activities, understanding about tolerance and the role of the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms*.

#### SOMMAIRE

Le texte a pour objet de prévoir des mesures de redressement pour l'injustice commise à l'égard des personnes d'origine ukrainienne et autres Européens pendant la Première Guerre mondiale, de marquer le souvenir de cet événement regrettable de l'histoire du Canada et d'accorder une indemnisation destinée au financement de matériel didactique portant sur les anciennes politiques et activités du Canada en matière d'internement et favorisant la compréhension de la tolérance et du rôle de la *Charte canadienne des droits et libertés*.

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1st Session, 37th Parliament,  
49-50 Elizabeth II, 2001

HOUSE OF COMMONS OF CANADA

## BILL C-331

An Act to recognize the injustice that was done to persons of Ukrainian descent and other Europeans who were interned at the time of the First World War and to provide for public commemoration and for restitution which is to be devoted to education and the promotion of tolerance

Preamble

WHEREAS persons of Ukrainian descent and other Europeans were imprisoned, disenfranchised and dispossessed of their assets without just cause at the time of the First World War and were kept there from 1914 to 1920; and

WHEREAS it is beyond time that public recognition be made of this injustice and appropriate commemoration and public education undertaken;

NOW, THEREFORE, Her Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate and House of Commons of Canada, enacts as follows:

Short title

1. This Act may be cited as the *Ukrainian Canadian Restitution Act*.

Memorial plaques and museum

2. (1) The Minister of Canadian Heritage shall

(a) cause memorial plaques to be installed at any of the twenty-four concentration camps at which persons of Ukrainian descent and other Europeans were interned during and after the First World War, which do not yet have such plaques, describing the events at that time and the regrets of present-day Canadians, written in Ukrainian, English and French;

(b) ensure that all memorial plaques at concentration camps, whenever installed, are properly maintained; and

371109

1<sup>re</sup> session, 37<sup>e</sup> législature,  
49-50 Elizabeth II, 2001

CHAMBRE DES COMMUNES DU CANADA

## PROJET DE LOI C-331

Loi visant à reconnaître l'injustice commise à l'égard des personnes d'origine ukrainienne et autres Européens par suite de leur internement pendant la Première Guerre mondiale, à marquer publiquement le souvenir de cet événement et à prévoir une indemnisation devant servir à l'éducation du public et à la promotion de la tolérance

Préambule

Attendu :

que des personnes d'origine ukrainienne et d'autres Européens ont été injustement emprisonnés et privés de leur droit de vote et de leurs biens lors de la Première Guerre mondiale, et ce, de 1914 à 1920;

qu'il est plus que temps de reconnaître publiquement cette injustice, d'en marquer le souvenir de manière appropriée et de la faire connaître par des projets d'éducation publique,

Sa Majesté, sur l'avis et avec le consentement du Sénat et de la Chambre des communes du Canada, édicte :

1. Titre abrégé : « *Loi sur l'indemnisation des Canadiens d'origine ukrainienne* ».

Titre abrégé

2. (1) Le ministre du Patrimoine canadien :

Plaques commémoratives et musée

a) fait installer, dans les vingt-quatre camps de concentration où des personnes d'origine ukrainienne et autres Européens ont été internés pendant et après la Première Guerre mondiale, des plaques commémoratives qui présentent, en ukrainien, en anglais et en français, les événements de cette époque et les excuses de la population canadienne d'aujourd'hui, à moins que de telles plaques n'y soient déjà installées;



	<p>(c) establish a permanent museum in Banff National Park, at the site of the concentration camp that was established there, with signage in Ukrainian, English and French, providing information on</p> <p>(i) the operation of all the concentration camps established in Canada at the time of the First World War; and</p> <p>(ii) the role that Ukrainian Canadians have played in the building of Canada since that time.</p>	<p>b) veille à ce que les plaques commémoratives installées dans les camps de concentration, indépendamment de la date de leur installation, soient entretenues convenablement;</p> <p>c) établit, dans les limites de l'ancien camp de concentration situé dans le parc national Banff, un musée permanent qui comporte une signalisation en ukrainien, en anglais et en français et qui fournit de l'information 10 sur :</p> <p>(i) le fonctionnement de tous les camps de concentration établis au Canada pendant la Première Guerre mondiale,</p> <p>(ii) le rôle qu'ont joué les Canadiens d'origine ukrainienne dans le développement du Canada depuis cette époque.</p>	
Opening ceremony	(2) The Minister of Canadian Heritage shall arrange for suitable ceremonies at the time of installation of each memorial plaque and at the opening of the museum.	(2) Le ministre du Patrimoine canadien fait organiser des cérémonies appropriées lors de l'inauguration de chaque plaque commémorative et du musée.	Cérémonies
Restitution	3. (1) The Minister of Canadian Heritage, in cooperation with the Minister of Finance, shall negotiate with the Ukrainian Canadian Civil Liberties Association a suitable payment in restitution for the confiscation of property and other assets from Ukrainian Canadians.	3. (1) Le ministre du Patrimoine canadien, en collaboration avec le ministre des Finances, négocie avec l'Ukrainian Canadian Civil Liberties Association une entente fixant une indemnisation convenable en dédommagement des biens que les Canadiens d'origine ukrainienne se sont fait confisquer.	Indemnisation
Application of restitution	(2) The restitution payment shall be applied to	(2) L'indemnisation doit servir à financer :	Fins autorisées
	<p>(a) the development and production of educational materials that cover Canada's past internment policies and activities and their distribution to schools, colleges and universities, with the objective of widening understanding of the harm of ethnic, religious or racial intolerance and discrimination, and the importance of the <i>Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms</i> in protecting all Canadians from such injustice in the future; and</p> <p>(b) such other educational projects as are agreed to in consultation with the Ukrainian Canadian Civil Liberties Association.</p>	<p>a) la conception, la production et la distribution aux écoles, collèges et universités de matériel didactique sur les anciennes politiques et activités du Canada en matière d'internement, destinés à faire mieux comprendre les préjudices causés par l'intolérance et la discrimination d'ordre ethnique, racial ou religieux, ainsi que le rôle important que joue la <i>Charte canadienne des droits et libertés</i> pour protéger les Canadiens contre toute autre injustice semblable;</p> <p>b) tout autre projet éducatif choisi en consultation avec l'Ukrainian Canadian Civil Liberties Association.</p>	

Commemorative  
postage stamps

4. The Minister of Public Works and Government Services shall instruct Canada Post Corporation to issue a stamp or set of stamps to commemorate the internment of persons of Ukrainian descent and other Europeans during the First World War.

Review of  
Emergencies  
Act

5. The Minister of Justice shall undertake a review of the *Emergencies Act* and report to Parliament within a year of the date this Act comes into force with recommendations on any legislative changes necessary to ensure that unjust internment such as that described in the preamble never again occurs in Canada.

4. Le ministre des Travaux publics et des Services gouvernementaux donne instruction à la Société canadienne des postes d'émettre un timbre-poste ou un jeu de timbres-poste pour remémorer l'internement des personnes d'origine ukrainienne et autres Européens pendant la Première Guerre mondiale.

5. Le ministre de la Justice procède à un examen de la *Loi sur les mesures d'urgence* et dépose devant le Parlement, dans un délai d'un an suivant l'entrée en vigueur de la présente loi, un rapport formulant des recommandations sur les modifications législatives nécessaires pour garantir que la situation d'internement injuste mentionnée dans le préambule ne se reproduise plus jamais au Canada.

Timbres-poste  
commémoratifs

Examen de la  
Loi sur les  
mesures  
d'urgence

Published under authority of the Speaker of the House of Commons

Available from:  
Public Works and Government Services Canada — Publishing,  
Ottawa, Canada K1A 0S9

Publié avec l'autorisation du président de la Chambre des communes

En vente:  
Travaux publics et Services gouvernementaux Canada — Édition,  
Ottawa, Canada K1A 0S9



Brandon internees, 1915



Internees at Christmas, 1916

Document X: Report of Major Hopkins, Jasper Internment Camp

REPORT BY Major A. E. Hopkins,  
Commanding Internment Camp,  
Jasper, Alta.

ON WORK DONE BY PRISONERS OF WAR DURING THE WEEK ENDING Feb. 26th, 1916.

Monday, 21st. 125 prisoners cutting posts in the bush.  
20 " digging water main at Jasper.  
Remainder of prisoners hauling water, sawing wood,  
finishing and clearing in and around Camp generally.

Tuesday, 22nd. 125 prisoners cutting posts in the bush.  
20 " digging water main at Jasper.  
Remainder of prisoners building fence gate in Camp,  
hauling water, sawing wood, finishing and clearing  
in and around Camp.

Wednesday, 23rd. 125 prisoners cutting posts in the bush.  
20 " digging water main at Jasper.  
Remainder of prisoners building fence gate in Camp,  
hauling water, sawing wood, finishing and clearing  
in and around Camp generally.

Thursday, 24th. 125 prisoners cutting fence posts in the bush.  
20 " working on Pipe line at Jasper.  
7 " hauling Cinders.  
Remainder of prisoners hauling water, cutting wood,  
finishing and clearing in and around Camp generally

Friday, 25th. 100 prisoners cutting fence posts in the bush.  
20 " working on pipe line at Jasper.  
25 " repairing Athabasca River Bridge and cut-  
ting ice around piers.  
Remainder of prisoners hauling water, cutting wood,  
finishing and clearing in and around Camp generally

Saturday, 26th. 100 prisoners cutting fence posts in the bush.  
15 " working on Pipe line at Jasper.  
25 " repairing Athabasca River Bridge and cut-  
ting ice around piers.  
Remainder of prisoners hauling water, cutting wood,  
finishing and clearing in and around Camp generally  
" " P.M. Prisoners washing their clothing, etc. and cleaning  
generally.

Sunday, 27th. Sunday routine was observed and some prisoners  
hauling water and bringing in fire wood for  
general purposes.

*A. E. Hopkins*  
Major,  
Commanding Internment Camp

# PRISONERS

Place of Internment Jasper

## RETURN OF PRISONERS OF WAR Received, other than those trans-

(To be forwarded without delay to the Prisoners of War In-

GENERAL No.*	SURNAME	CHRISTIAN NAMES
595	Kozak	John
597	Telapski	Waseyl
600	Kachnazyk	Waseyl
602	Smygal Koiski	Peter
608	Kopok	Nick
612	Lutkoizky	Vadko
616	Gordika	Geo.
617	Melunik	John
621	Mischy	Sam
625	Zurhishyn	Strak
637	Boharnick	Nick
638	Gus	Stefan
642	Gulbach	John
644	Savicki	Bill
645	Marincky	Nick
657	Stazik	Andry
658	Kotcherowski	George
659	Kulay	Nichol
660	Bialkowski	Geo
661	Andryazuski	Tony
664	Lutka	Andry
665	Huzma	Jacob

M. F. W. 4.

Am. 10-14.

\* This is the serial number given to each Prisoner on the Register of the Place

† State locality, and military, naval or police, &c., authority from whom received

OF WAR.

ARMY FORM  $\frac{I. B.}{2}$  (Revised.)

*Alta*

Date *10<sup>th</sup> February* 1916

Transferred from another place of internment and reported on Form  $\frac{I. B.}{3}$   
(Information Bureau, 49 Wellington Street, London, W.C.)

RANK (Naval or Military)	FROM WHOM RECEIVED†	ADD PARTICULARS IF WOUNDED OR SICK
	<i>Internment Station Bracebridge Hall</i>	

of Internment.  
ed.

TURN OVER

No. ....

REGISTRATION OF ALIEN ENEMIES.  
EXEAT.

1714

- 1. Name..... **WASYL SWYSTUN**
- 2. Age..... **26 years and 6 months.**
- 3. Birthplace (city, town, and province) **Borocko, County of Skalet, Eastern Galacia, 6-miles west of 1914 Russian Boundary.**
- 4. Nationality..... **Austrian**
- 5. Occupation..... **Principal of Ukrainian Institute, Saskatoon, Sask.**
- 6. Entered Canada (give ship, port and date of entry, or if on the International Boundary, give port and date)..... **1912 - From States through Niagara Falls to Winnipeg, Man.**
- 7. Description (state height, approximate weight, colour of hair and other particulars).....  
**Height, 5' 7" - Weight 150-lbs, Hair: Brown (Light) Eyes: Brown  
Teeth: Good, (No marks or scars on face) (Smooth Shaven)**
- 8. Home address in Europe..... **Borocko, Skalet, Galacia,**
- 9. Last place of residence in Canada..... **Saskatoon, Sask.**
- 10. Object in leaving Canada..... **Attending Church Conference at New York, N. Y.**
- 11. Proposed destination..... **New York City, N. Y., U. S. A.**
- 12. Am personally known to..... **Dr. F. C. CURRY, President University of Sask.  
Chief of Police G. M. Donald, Saskatoon, Sask.**
- 13. Signature..... *Wasyl Swystun* **677 1/2 St. Saskatoon**  
The person above described is permitted to leave Canada within 3 days from date hereunder at **Niagara Falls,** upon production of this certificate, which will be lifted by the Immigration Officer and returned to the undersigned.  
Issued at Regina, this **Eighth (8th.)** day of **July** 191**9**

REMARKS:

Immigration Officer to Note:-  
The within named will return to  
Canada within one month.  
Please hold until his  
return.

*AS*  
\_\_\_\_\_  
R. N. W. M. Police.

*Received from the  
R. N. W. M. Police  
one copy of the above  
local - Wasyl Swystun  
8-7-19*

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Camp Vernon - Rock Sign, Brigade Military Police



Provincial Asylum for the Insane, Vernon





Snow at the Kapuskasing internment camp, 8 June 1915

*“The internment of Ukrainians during  
World War One as enemy aliens  
is one of the sadder stories in  
the history of this country.”*

Her Excellency Madame Adrienne Clarkson  
Governor General of Canada  
Dauphin, Manitoba, 4 August 2000

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Lubomyr Luciuk is a professor of political geography in the Department of Politics and Economics at The Royal Military College of Canada, in Kingston, Ontario. A fellow of the Chair of Ukrainian Studies and adjunct professor in the Department of Geography at the University of Toronto, Dr. Luciuk also serves as director of research for the Ukrainian Canadian Civil Liberties Association and has been a Member of the Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada. A frequent contributor to the Canadian press, he is the author, editor and co-editor of a number of commentaries and books dealing with Canadian ethnic and immigration history, the refugee experience, and Ukraine. His most recent book is *Searching For Place: Ukrainian Displaced Persons, Canada, and the Migration of Memory* (University of Toronto Press, 2000).

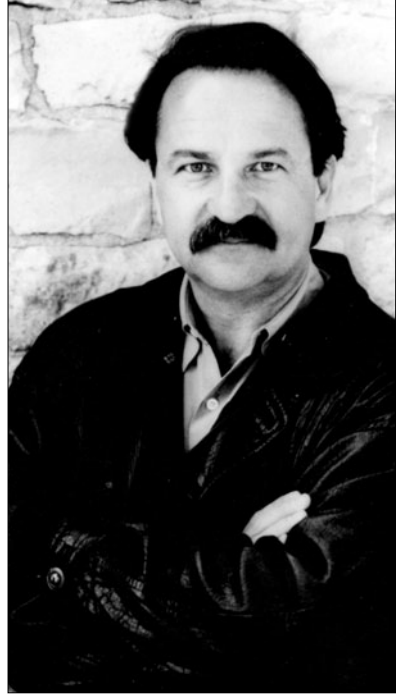


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