TIPI MOUNTAIN ECO-CULTURAL SERVICES LTD.
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CRANBROOK, BC
V1C 4J6

Morrissey Historic Cemetery (DiPr-4)

Ground Penetrating Radar and Site Update Report

November 21, 2014

Megan G. Heathfield

MANAGEMENT SUMMARY

On July 15, 2014, a field assessment was completed in association with the ground penetrating radar (GPR) study completed at the Morrissey Cemetery (archaeological site DiPr-4) with the intent of identifying possible additional unmarked grave locations and updating the site boundaries. The non-intrusive field assessment succeeded in recording twenty potential new grave locations based on a combination of the GPR results and the clearing of site vegetation, which exposed several brick burial structures and grave adornments as well as a number of rectangular depressions thought to be indicative of possible grave locations. The locations of the possible burial sites within the previously defined site boundaries were recorded using a hand held GPS unit and are also based on the distribution of existing wooden grave markers where possible.

Future inspection of the cemetery in the form of exploratory excavation is recommended in order to confirm the precise locations of unmarked burials and, in the event additional burials are encountered, to determine whether or not the interred individuals represent World War One internment camp prisoners of war.

CREDITS

Field Director	Megan Heathfield, B.A.[1]
Field Assistant	Sarah Beaulieu[2]
Final Report Author	Megan Heathfield[1]
Project Photographer	Megan Heathfield[1]
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Project Coordination	Megan Heathfield[1]
	Andrea Malysh [3]

[1] Tipi Mountain Eco-Cultural Services Ltd.
[2] Student – Simon Fraser University
[3] Canadian First World War Interment Recognition Fund

AWKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank Jim Rawson, Jim Dvorak, Adele Dvorak, Dean Haarstad, Kaitlyn Haarstad and Jennifer O'Donnell for taking the time to aid in the vegetation clearing and cleanup of the site. I would also like to thank Corlyn Haarstad, Dan Ste-Marie and John Gawryluk for their efforts in researching the history of the Morrissey Townsite and surrounding areas, as well as their help with the clearing and cleanup of the site. A big thank you as well to Sarah Beaulieu and her advisor Eldon Yellowhorn (Simon Fraser University) for their assistance throughout this project. Last, but certainly not least, I would like to thank Andrea Malysh with the Canadian First World War Internment Recognition Fund for providing me with the opportunity to continue to work on this profoundly interesting project.

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INTRODUCTION

On behalf of the Canadian World War One Internment Recognition Fund, Tipi Mountain Eco-Cultural Services (TMECS) completed a field visit, in coordination with the GPR assessment of the historic Morrissey Cemetery Site (DiPr-4). The GPR assessment was recommended by TMECS as a subsequent step to the results of a preliminary field reconnaissance that was completed in October 2013 (Heathfield, 2014). At that time, seven marked grave locations were visible within the boundaries of the cemetery site; however, historical records and testimony from local residents and ancestors of the known individuals buried within the cemetery indicate that the site contains additional unmarked graves. Maverick Inspections Inc. performed the ground penetrating radar examination of the terrain within the current cemetery boundaries in an attempt to provide additional information concerning the possible number and location of additional grave sites as well as for the documentation of any further information that may aid in the re-location of unmarked graves.

Ground penetrating radar is a non-intrusive method of detecting buried objects through the use of UWV radio waves and is frequently used as a method of determining the probability and location of unmarked human burials (for more information on GPR please refer to page 5 of Appendix A). Based on its accuracy in identifying grave locations as well as its unobtrusive nature, GPR was recommended as the ideal initial step towards determining the presence of additional historic burials within the boundaries of the Morrissey Cemetery.

PROJECT DESCRIPTION

The main focus of the GPR study was to identify additional unmarked human burials (*i.e.* the graves of other internment camp prisoners) within the current cemetery boundaries in order to further our understanding of internment operation in Canada during the First World War as well as to update the site information on file with the BC Archaeological Branch. TMECS was on site during the GPR assessment in order to mark and record all possible grave location in the field based on the real-time data provided by the GPR assessment and to digitally record the location of the potential burials. Prior to the site visit and GPR assessment, a group of volunteers including Jim Rawson, Jim Dvorak, Adele Dvorak, Dean Haarstad, Kaitlyn Haarstad, Jennifer O'Donnell, Corlyn Haarstad, Dan Ste-Marie, John Gawryluk and Sarah Beaulieu, cleared the site of vegetation in order to facilitate the GPS analysis and increase the quantity and quality of the data collected.

IN-FIELD METHOLOGY

The field visit consisted of monitoring the GPS assessment of the terrain within the site boundaries and marking possible grave locations as they were identified by the GPR technicians. The location of the possible burials were recorded using a handheld GPS unit and were subsequently photographed and marked with a wooden stake in the field (see Appendix A for additional information of GPR methodology). In addition to marking potential grave locations based on the GPR data, topographic features including rectangular shaped depressions and burial features such as rectangular, brick grave covers, as well as grave ornamentation artifacts such as metal pots and glass bottles, were used as

indicators of possible grave locations (see Photo 1 & 2). These locations were similarly recorded using GPS, photographed and marked in the field with wooden stakes.

RESULTS

Despite efforts to clear and prepare the cemetery site for the GPR study, the overgrown and irregular nature of the ground surface within the cemetery boundaries adversely affected the quality and quantity of Radar data that could be collected within the cemetery. Data collection challenges included maintaining accurate positioning information for the electronic survey wheel, which records positioning data as well as separating possible grave locations from prior subsurface disturbance and natural inclusions such as mature root systems, rodent holes and large buried rocks.

Maverick Technicians determined that the best chance for attaining reliable results would be to analyze the results of the scans in real-time, which allows for more flexibility in that areas can be scanned where the ground surface allows for multiple angles of analysis and more passes which facilitate a more accurate determination of the quality of the available Radar data. Thus, by conducting multiple passes in adaptable directions based on the ruggedness of the terrain, several possible grave locations (referred to as targets by Maverick) were identified despite the challenges with data collection.

A total of twenty possible grave locations were identified within the current cemetery boundaries, fifteen of which were recorded as a result of the GPR real-time data while the remaining five locations were distinguished based on newly exposed burial structures as well as possible burial depressions. One of the potential grave locations identified by the GPR assessment was also identified based on a small piece of remnant wooden burial fencing that remained *in situ* along a defined linear burial cut or fence line (see photo 7). Three graves were identified based on potential burial depressions (see photo 3), while two more where recorded based on the presence of laid brick grave covers (see photo 4) and numerous associated burial adornments (see photo's 5 & 6). The brick that was used to create the burial covers is similar to the type used in the construction of the original coke oven located at the neighbouring Morrissey mine site and may have been constructed during the same era or the bricks used to make the covers could have been salvaged from the mine site after it was closed. The associated burial adornments included an enamel bowl and two small, tin flower pots as well as several fragments of two clear glass vases, which were also presumably used to hold flowers (see Figure 1).

Devorak family plot is not associated with the internment camp, but instead represents later historical period burials, with burials ranging from 1938 to 1974, indicating that there was continued use of the cemetery by local residents after its establishment as an internment camp burial site. As a result, the potential grave locations can be separated into two fairly distinct clusters. The first cluster is situated to the northwest of the northwestern oriented, unnamed fenced grave and directly below (*i.e.* southwest of) the Dvorak family plot, encompassing possible grave locations that adhere relatively well to the orientation, spacing (~ 6-6.5 feet) and row like alignment (from the northwest to southeast) of traditional Christian burials. The second cluster is concentrated to the southeast around Tom Ruzich's burial and the unnamed fenced grave situated to the north east and includes potential burial locations that are more closely (~ 3 feet) and erratically spaced (see Figure 1). Consequently, the cemetery can presumably be roughly separated into earlier and later periods of use, with the most probable location

of the graves of other internees being those situated in close proximity to the burial plots of the known prisoners of war (*i.e.* Tom Ruzich and Harry Smeryczanski).

RECOMMENDATIONS

TMECS (Heathfield, 2014) emphasizes the need for the ongoing preservation of DiPr-4 through the avoidance of any potential development as well as the continued maintenance of the site and its existing structures. Non-intrusive maintenance of the site may include, but is not limited to, the construction a durable fence around the perimeter of the cemetery, periodic clearing of the ingrowth patches of understory vegetation and restoration of the brick grave covers as well as the replacement of existing, wooden grave fences and markers.

The remaining grave fences and markers (*i.e.* Tom Ruzich, Harry Smeryczanski and the two unnamed fenced graves) are currently deteriorated and in a dilapidated state. As the burial fences are not original, it is recommended that the burial fences be replaced with metal as opposed to wood as it is much more durable and will be much easier to maintain. Although the current burial markers are also not original, it is not known if the markers were created as replicas of the originals, thus it is recommended that the existing markers be replaced with similar wooden crosses and carved name plated in order to maintain consistency. Additionally, the wooden crosses should be installed with additional bracing (*i.e.* cement casing or metal anchors) to ensure that they will not fall over or be blown over in future.

Restoration of the brick burial covers should be involve the cleaning of the dirt and vegetation around the bricks to determine the design and extent of the covers. Once fully exposed, these covers should be fenced in order to prevent and additional disturbance resulting from pedestrian traffic or deterioration by weather.

Future investigations of the twenty possible unmarked graves may include excavation of the proposed grave locations to first confirm or refute the presence of unmarked burials. A Heritage Conservation Act (HCA) Section 14 Investigation or Section 12 Site Alteration permit from the BC Archaeological Branch would be required prior to the commencement of any exploratory excavations at DiPr-4. It is recommended that any future excavations focus initially on the unmarked grave locations situated in close proximity to the burial plots of the known prisoners of war as this area would contain the best chance of identifying the burial location of additional internment camp prisoners.

In the event that future archaeological excavations positively identify addition burials, the skeletal remains could be disinterred and analyzed for the purpose of establishing biological profiles, including the determination of the sex, age, stature, ancestry, trauma and pathology, and possibly cause of death for each individual. The biological profiles could then be compared to historical documentation and available death records in an attempt to identify the unknown individuals buried within the Morrissey Cemetery.

REFERENCE CITED

Heathfield (Moreau), MG

2014 *Morrissey Historic Internment Cemetery DiPr-4: Archaeological Preliminary Field Reconnaissance Report*. On file with Tipi Mountain Eco-Cultural Services Ltd.

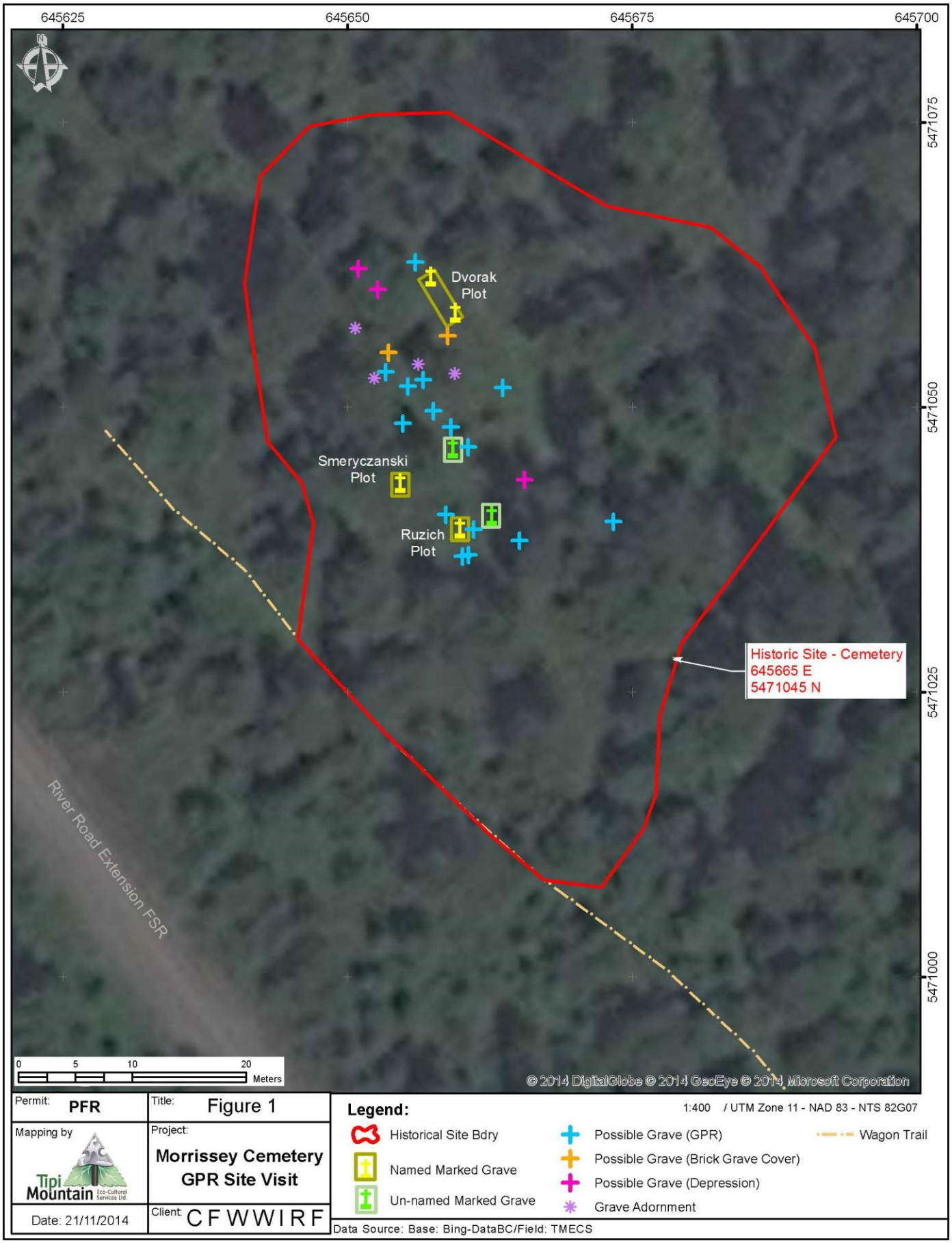
645625
645650
645675
645700
5471075
5471050
5471025
5471000
Dvorak Plot
Smeryczanski Plot
Ruzich Plot
Historic Site - Cemetery
645665 E
5471045 N
River Road Extension FSR
0 5 10 20
Meters
© 2014 DigitalGlobe © 2014 GeoEye © 2014 Microsoft Corporation
Permit: PFR
Title: Figure 1
Mapping by Tipi Mountain Eco-Cultural Services Ltd.
Project: Morrissey Cemetery GPR Site Visit
Date: 21/11/2014
Client: C F W W I R F
Legend:
1:400 / UTM Zone 11 - NAD 83 - NTS 82G07
Historical Site Bdry
Named Marked Grave
Un-named Marked Grave
Possible Grave (GPR)
Possible Grave (Brick Grave Cover)
Possible Grave (Depression)
Grave Adornment
Wagon Trail
Data Source: Base: Bing-DataBC/Field: TMECS

PHOTO LOG

Photo 1: Staked locations of possible unmarked graves

Photo 2: Staked locations of possible unmarked graves

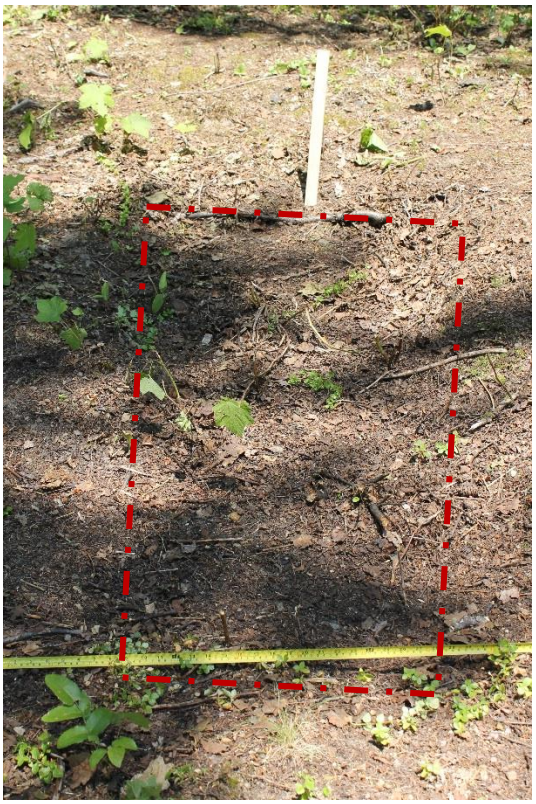

Photo 3: Possible grave depression

Photo 4: Laid brick burial cover

Photo 5: Burial adornment (metal flower pot and pot stand)

Photo 6: Burial adornment (glass flower vase)

Photo 7: Remnant wooden burial fence *in situ,* with the grave cut or fence line visible

APPENDIX A

Ground Penetrating Radar Report
(Maverick Inspection Ltd.)

Ground-Penetrating Radar

Preliminary Report #13743

24 July 2014

To: Megan Heathfield
Tipi Mountain Eco Cultural Services Inc.
C/O
First World War Internment Recognition Fund.

From: Dallas Young
GPR Technician
Maverick Inspection Ltd.

Re: **Ground-penetrating Radar Digital Report #13743**

On the morning of July 15th 2014 Maverick Inspection was onsite at the Morrissey Cemetery site located approximately 20kms south of the town of Fernie BC.

The area is the site of historical burial grounds from the time of the First World War and contained remaining artifacts such as cross-markers and headstones, or burial plot fences, indicating they were up to a century old. Historical records and resident testimony indicate that the site is home to more graves than are indicated by the sparse surface artifacts, with only about 7 areas that remain as formal gravesites.

Maverick Inspection was onsite to perform a Ground-penetrating Radar examination of the area to attempt to provide more information on the possible location of other sites, as well as any other information that may be of help to the future of the project as could be made available from the Radar data.

Maverick technicians were onsite for the first half of the workday and left a series of pin-flag markers in the field indicating possible locations of other graves.

If you or any involved party have any questions about this report of its contents please contact me at the Maverick Office at 780-467-1606.

Thank you for choosing Maverick Inspection Ltd.

Dallas Young
GPR Senior Technician
MAVERICK INSPECTION LTD.
www.maverickinspection.com

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Summary of Findings

The main concern for performing a Radar examination of the area from the very beginning has been the potential quality of Radar data in a dense forest area such as Morrissey Cemetery. Commercially available Radar systems are all typically designed in what looks similar to a lawn-mower configuration and use an electronic surveying wheel to record data position. The quality of data relies on any number of factors.

For the Morrissey Cemetery location there was a real impediment in terms of keeping accurate positioning information from the survey wheel. This impediment was due to the conditions of the surface such as common forest detritus and undulating ground. Some possible quality targets were still detected despite these above average impediments.

Another consideration in the potential data quality for the Morrissey Cemetery site was the contents of the immediate subsurface and possible previous disturbances. These impeding factors include intricate and mature plant root systems, suspected gopher holes, various stones and bricks, and other forms of human interference that may have occurred over the past century.

The combination of these two main impediment sources made for a slightly formidable obstacle in acquiring quality GPR data and real-time imagery.

Maverick onsite technicians determined that the best odds for success would likely be produced by examining the available space in real-time, rather than attempting to record data for post analysis. Post analysis methods of data collection require the ability to precisely measure the location of each line, and the individual lines of data are recorded only one time. Real time analysis is more flexible and areas can be combed over in convenient angles and multiple passes, any of which could be needed to more accurately determine the quality of available targets.

Through multiple passes and adaptable directions of lines of data Maverick technicians were able to detect some possible quality targets. These target locations were marked in the field with pin-flags in such a way so as to be distinguished from the other pin flags onsite. The site proved to not be conducive to RTK GPS surveying because of the tree coverage, which ended up providing too much interference for the GPS satellite signals to adequately penetrate.

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2.0 – Introduction

The following points contain important Information Regarding Your Maverick Inspection Ltd. Ground-penetrating Radar Report. These notes have been prepared in order to help understand the limits and intentions of the prepared GPR report.

2.1 - Your Report is Based on Site Specific Criteria

Your report has been developed on the basis of your unique project specific requirements as understood by Maverick Inspection Ltd. and applies only to the site investigated.

2.2 - Your Report is Prepared for Specific Purposes and Persons

To avoid misuse of the information contained in your report it is recommended that you confer with Maverick Inspection Ltd. before passing your report on to another party who may not be familiar with the background and purpose of the report. Your report should not be applied to any project other than that originally specified at the time the report was issued.

2.3 - Regarding Provided Locations

Maverick Inspection Ltd. does not employ land surveyors or engage in the practice of land surveying. All drawings, maps, sketches, coordinates, or other positional information provided by Maverick Inspection is limited by the instrumentation and methodologies employed by our technicians. These instruments and methods are chosen according to the job scope and circumstances on a case-by-case basis. None of the locations provided have been surveyed, and no locations are to be taken as certified or absolute relative to property markers or boundaries. On-site surface markings such as flagging, paint, marker, or tape are always the primary reference for the apparent positions of noted features.

2.4 - Regarding Commentary

Maverick Inspection Ltd. does not employ engineers or geologists. We focus instead on hiring and training specialized radar technicians. We are not members of APEGGA and are not qualified to make engineering calls or suggestions. Any stated opinions and analysis should be reviewed by a qualified engineer with the appropriate background and experience prior to any action being taken based on the results of GPR. Furthermore, the results obtained using GPR are subject to interference and interpretation of signals obtained by electronic devices. Objects should never be considered positively identified or located based on this information, but should be exposed and physically verified.

2.5 - Regarding Liability

Although GPR is the most accurate subsurface imaging technology available, as with all forms of remote sensing equipment it has limitations and is not 100% accurate. Maverick Inspection Ltd. provides the highest degree of due diligence in data acquisition and report generation. Although the chance of missing any subsurface feature is low, clients shall not hold Maverick Inspection Ltd. responsible for any missed or misidentified subsurface features, objects, or

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anomalies and will not be held liable for any loss or damages that come from any missed or misidentified subsurface features, objects or anomalies.

The effectiveness of GPR is highly dependent upon ground conditions. GPR can be adversely affected by conductive soils, water saturation, highly variable soil types, surface interference or obstruction and other factors which are outside of our control.

2.6 - Principles of Ground-penetrating Radar

Ground-penetrating radar (GPR) is a non-intrusive method of detecting buried objects or substances in a nonconductive material through the use of UWB radio waves.

GPR systems work by emitting a short electromagnetic pulse in the ground through a wide-band antenna. Reflections from the ground are then measured to form a vector. An image is built by displaying these vectors side by side with the displacement of the antenna. By moving the antenna along a line and taking regularly spaced acquisitions, it is possible to construct an image representing a vertical slice of the ground. The GPR system is connected to a laptop computer that displays these images in real-time. The data is also recorded on the computer for later interpretation and processing.

2.7 - Basic Information Regarding the GPR System Used

The system that Maverick Inspection Ltd. currently utilizes is the Noggin250® made by Sensors & Software Inc. The unit operates at a frequency of 250MHz. The transmitter and receiver are both contained in a single unit. The unit incorporates an electronic encoder wheel allowing us to very accurately measure distances and locations. This unit is connected to a "Digital Video Logger" (DVL) which captures and displays the data which can be viewed in real time, and can be transferred to a laptop or PC.

The GPR system used by Maverick to perform the inspection was designed and optimized for subsurface inspection, and was chosen for this task because of its size, frequency, reliability, and integrated features/filters, and gain settings.

The system performs a "Power-On Self Test" and will *fail* if not properly calibrated, or if some other problem will not allow the system to function adequately.

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3.0 - Overview/Methodologies

As has been previously discussed, Maverick technicians determined that the best chance for quality data and quality imagery would be a standard real time method of adaptable combing of the area with the Radar system, and plotting the locations of any possible targets in the field as they were discovered.

Some pictures were taken in order to help document the locations of anomalies and conditions. Screenshots of the Radar video screen were recorded for some particular lines of data which appeared to be good representations of the types of data and anomalies that were seen onsite.

The above two images were taken to provide a type of project overview of the area. The sign sits at the entrance up from the road and the panoramic image shows the approximate scope of the site.

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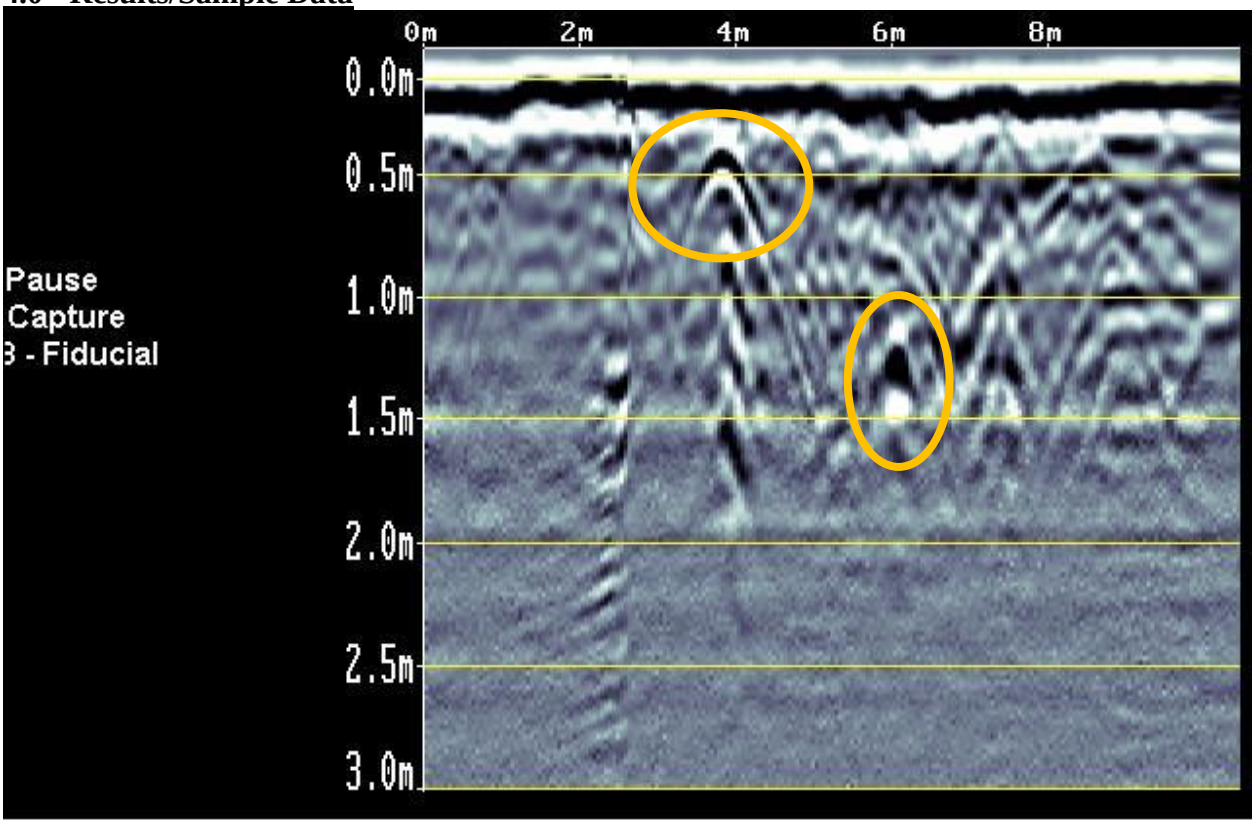
4.0 - Results/Sample Data



The above image is a screen capture from the video display on the Radar system. The highlighted areas within the yellow ovals show some of the typical signatures found onsite. In the experience of Maverick Inspection these types of responses are not usually the specific types of responses that indicate gravesites. These types of responses can be generated by any number of subsurface items including roots and gopher holes or buried rocks.

The entire dataset contained numerous instances of these types of false-positives and were gradually filtered out of our list of possible quality targets as more and more of the available space was combed.

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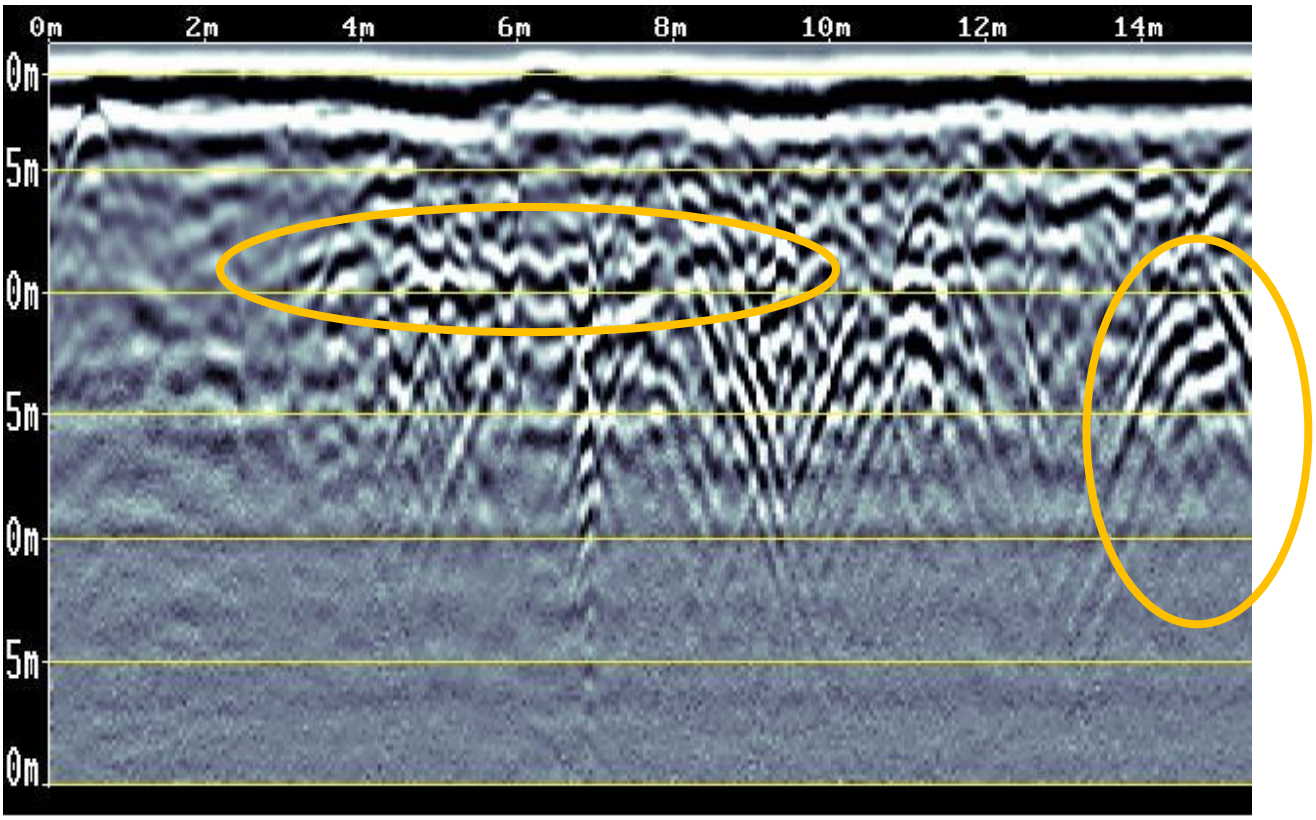

#23 (00000023.LMN) 2014-07-15 03:41:07

The above image is similar to the one previously discussed. The yellow oval highlights are used again to indicate likely false-positives and interference. This particular image has been provided here to document the extent of these likely false-positives and the frequency of interference per line of data. The line of data here is approximately 16m long and over half of it is saturated with false-positives, which make it difficult to suggest that any part of the line is actually useful. Unfortunately lines of data such as this did occur in the Morrissey Cemetery site, and more often than optimally.

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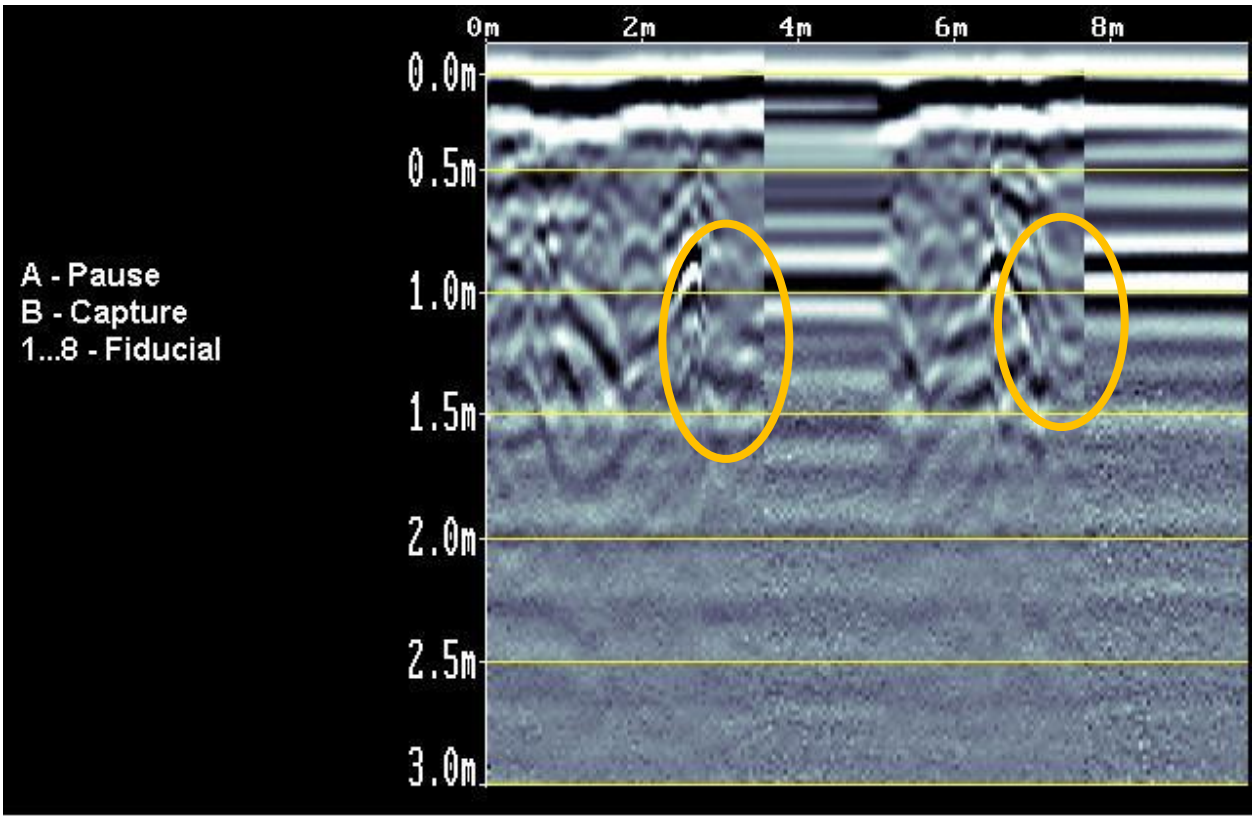

#24 (00000024.LMN) 2014-07-15 03:53:01

The above screen capture was taken from the lines of data recorded over one of the formally decorated gravesites that had a small wooden fence built around it. This image was taken after the fence was partially removed. The highlighted areas show the response from directly over the fenced in gravesite at that time. Unfortunately, these particular responses did not appear to have enough room to conclusively suggest a particular type of response that could act as a control.

The rest of the fence area was eventually removed, however by that time we had found some responses that appeared to suggest likely grave locations when compared to the typical data that was being seen during the exam.

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The above image is a picture showing the particular gravesite that was attempted to be used a control. This is the site as it was when it produced the line of data discussed on page 9. The remaining wood fence was taken down and was re-scanned in other directions. There were other locations nearby this particular enclosure that started to show possible quality targets.

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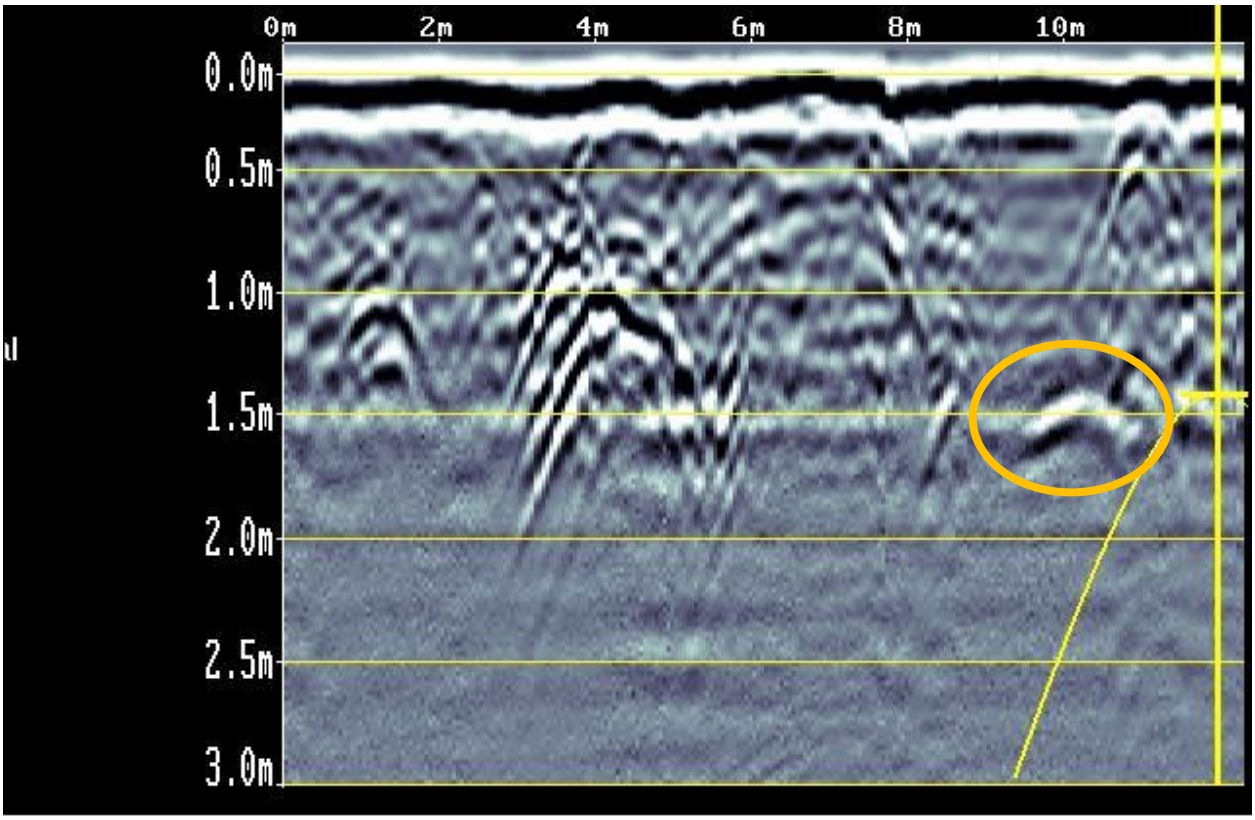

#25 (00000025.LMN) 2014-07-15 04:25:35

The above image has been provided here to show the type of indication that was marked in the field as potentially quality targets. These particular disturbances do not show the types of hyperbolic tails that were seen often in the cemetery site, which is a type of feature that is associated with root masses and similar causes.

The highlighted signature has a definite start and end point making it a localised disturbance which fits the predicted parameters of what would be expected with a grave location. It was signatures similar to this that were marked with the pin-flags on site. This particular image was the only screenshot that was saved and was done so specifically to illustrate the types of signatures that lead to planting a pin-flag onsite.

Our RTK system would not provide RTK quality data within the entire tree cover of the cemetery, and was abandoned in favor of the data being documented by Megan Heathfield.

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5.0 - Conclusion

Maverick Inspection Ltd. was able to perform Ground-penetrating Radar in the requested areas. This inspection appears to have yielded usable results, which fulfilled the scope of work as requested.

Maverick Inspection combed the available space at the Morrissey Cemetery site using a real-time "locate and mark" procedure. This method allows for flexible investigating with multiple passes over an area or unique directions of coverage.

This procedure was the best available to achieve the best data imaging given the conditions of the site.

Maverick technicians were able to detect some potential quality targets and documented the locations of those signatures in real-time with a series of pink pin-flags. Additional screenshots of the video display were saved and exported in order to assist in documenting the types of signatures that Maverick distinguished as potential quality versus likely false-positive.

Graphic images have been provided to help illustrate the process and data responses from the Morrissey cemetery site. We have provided some illustrative highlights on these graphics that indicate some of the signature responses that were used in determining quality targets.

If you require assistance with this report, please contact Dallas Young or Steven Toner at our office: 780-467-1606.

Thank you for choosing Maverick Inspection Ltd.

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Remembering the Forgotten
Archaeology at the Morrissey WWI Internment Camp

Sarah Beaulieu
MA Archaeology Candidate
Simon Fraser University
December 8, 2014

While historians are typically limited to archival records and oral histories, archaeologists are uniquely positioned to add physical evidence from the archaeological record of a given site (Demuth 2009; Early 2013; Thomas 2011). Consequently, archaeologists can contribute information that may be lacking in the fragmented historical record (Casella 2007; Medin 2007; Myers and Moshenska 2011, 2013); specifically, material analysis can reveal the circumstance of life in sub-altern roles, such as prisoners and slaves (Samford 1996), and can be beneficial in the study of internment camps.

Due to shifting political and social landscapes, the majority of internment archaeological research in Canada has focused on WWII internment camps (Myers and Moshenska 2013). To date, only three WWI internment camps have been studied (Myers and Moshenska 2011). This work has resulted in a salvage archaeological report from Quedlinburg, Germany (Demuth 2009), a Parks Canada report from Mt. Revelstoke, British Columbia (Francis 2008), and an archaeological excavation at Spirit Lake Internment Camp, Quebec (Roy 2000). Such limited research highlights the paucity of knowledge regarding WWI internment sites in Canada. Fortunately, the knowledge and skills developed from research at WWII sites can easily be transferred to WWI internment research, offering the potential to provide critical information about the origins of modern internment camps. By filling in these gaps, archaeologists can play a primary role in counteracting a devastating corollary of erasure—the rewriting of history (Casella 2007; Medin 2007; Myers and Moshenska 2011). Morrissey Internment Camp, in southeastern British Columbia (BC), will become the fourth WWI site studied archaeologically, in an effort to contribute to internment research.

Located in the Elk Valley, the Morrissey Internment Camp was in operation from September 28, 1915 to October 21, 1918 and is one of 24 internment camps that housed a total of 8,579 German and Austro-Hungarian prisoners of war (PoWs) on Canadian soil during WWI (Kordan 2002; Laycock 1994; Luciuk 2006; Norton 1998). The Canadian government initially called Morrissey a concentration camp; however, following the aftermath of the WWII German concentration camps, Canada designated such locations "internment camps" to avoid the association with the German death camps. Although there has been more press coverage in recent years, many Canadians remain unaware of this internment history, and the local few who are cognizant of it often refer to the locations as having housed destitute foreigners during WWI.

Several factors have contributed to this shift in public perception, the most significant having occurred in 1954. Due to privacy issues and lack of space, the Canadian government destroyed its Custodian of Enemy Alien files as well as personnel files pertaining to the Canadian internment camp operations (Kordon 2002; Laycock 1994; Luciuk 2001; Luciuk 2006; Norton 1998). Surviving information originates from Department of National Defence mobilization files, records of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP), the Department of the Secretary of State, the William Doskoch Fonds, Prime Minister Robert Borden's diaries, the head of internment operations General Sir William Dillon Otter's diaries, and records of the few internees and guards who spoke about the ordeal after the camps' closures. Many of the internees were ashamed of their internment history and refused to speak about it with family members once they were released. Consequently, it is only possible to make general statements about internment camp operations as a whole and about some particulars of specific

camps, in cases where internees and guards provided information. Hence, information about the individuals—nationality, age, cause of arrest, funds seized, and monies earned—is no longer available (Bhodan Kordan, personal communication, Sept 24, 2014). An archaeological investigation of the Morrissey Internment Camp will therefore contribute knowledge to Canadian internment history that can then be applied to other internment camps across Canada.

2. Methods

I am interested in investigating the evolution of public perceptions of the Morrissey Internment Camp over the past century. Four objectives need to be reached to learn why Morrissey Internment Camp has been almost completely erased from the historical record and to comprehend why members of the local community feel that Morrissey never hosted an internment camp, in the true sense of confinement. To explore this, I will combine three lines of evidence: material culture; archival reports; and interviews with members of the local community, descendants of the internees, and guards of the Morrissey Internment Camp and Cemetery. To accomplish this goal, I will fulfill the following four objectives:

- Determine which ethnicities were interned at the camp
- Determine how ethnic affiliation affected daily activities
- Investigate the varying relationships between ethnic internees and guards, community members, and government representatives
- Document how perceptions of the camp have changed over the past century

3. Results

3.1 Ground-Penetrating Radar

The Morrissey Cemetery is a registered historic site, DiPr-4, situated along the eastern side of the Elk River Valley, approximately 13 kilometers (km) south of the city

of Fernie. It consists of seven marked graves, five still holding their original "name plates" hidden within a dense forested landscape. The northeastern end of the cemetery contains three contemporary graves within two metal-fenced plots belonging to Marie Dvorak (1874-1929), Jan Dvorak (1889-1938), and Frank Dvorak (1906-1990). Jim Dvorak (son of Frank Dvorak) indicated that there are two additional graves within this enclosure: Joe Dvorak, deceased at age 15, and an infant who only lived to be a few months old (Jim Dvorak, personal communication, July 17, 2014). Situated southwest of the Dvorak plot are four fenced PoW graves, each demarcated with a wooden cross. However, only two of these plots have identification plates attached: Tom Ruzich (1870-1918) and Harry Smeryczanski (1899-1917). Correspondence with the local community establishes that there were up to six PoW graves noted in the oral histories and historical record of the area.

Using a Noggin 250® with a 250 MHz frequency, the ground penetrating radar (GPR) technicians from Maverick Inspections detected twenty potential quality targets (graves) and marked these in the field with pin flags (Young 2014). Of the twenty potential graves, seven were found clustered at the southerly end of the cemetery, very close to the four known PoW graves. The thirteen remaining graves were noted at the northern end of the cemetery, and unlike the seven clustered graves, were evenly spaced and appeared to have consistent six-foot by ten-foot depressions.

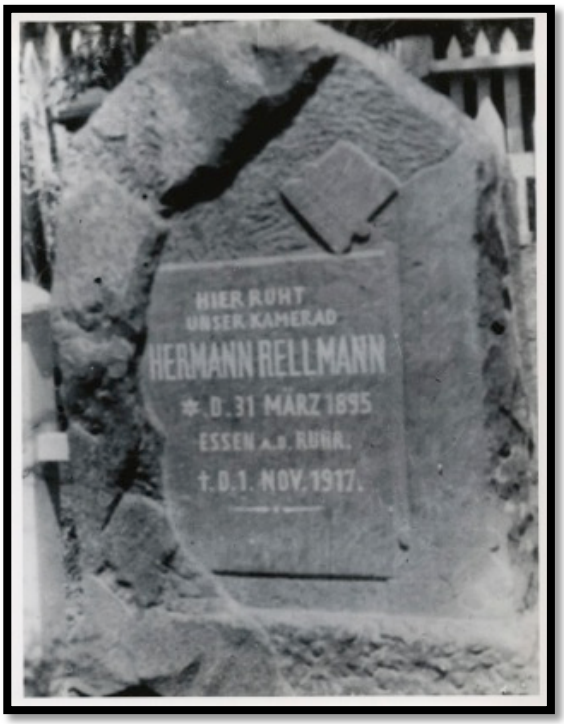
3.2 Cemetery Markers

The cemetery was restored in 1984 by Crestbrook Forrest Industries. The overgrowth was cleared, a fence was constructed around the observed boundary of the cemetery, and a small, simple, wooden sign was raised to mark the entrance and prevent

damage to the cemetery during timber harvesting (Moreau 2014). It is interesting to note that the sign says just "Morrissey Cemetary" (no mention of internment camp, and note the misspelling).

The two surviving PoW cemetery nameplates are hand carved, wooden cemetery markers. According to the signage, these two markers were made by fellow Austro-Hungarian PoWs. Jim Dvorak remembers that there was also a cedar hand-cared angel cemetery marker located near the known PoW plots with a stone base that was stolen many years ago (personal communication, Jim Dvorak, July 18, 2014). I also discovered a photograph of a German grave, the tombstone ornately carved by fellow German internees. However, in the 1970s, the German War Graves Commission exhumed all German subjects and reinterred them in Kitchener, Ontario, where they could be preserved and maintained in a single place (German War Graves Commission 2013).

The two existing civilian PoW grave markers: Tom Ruzich and Harry Smeryczanski (Fernie Historical Society, reproduced with permission)



Hermann Rellmann (German PoW) grave marker (Fernie Historical Society, reproduced with permission)

Hermann Rellmann's current plot in Kitchener, Ontario (Lawrna Myers, reproduced with permission)

3.3 Surface Finds at the Cemetery

A metal detector was used to look for artifacts on and just below the surface in the cemetery. A hand-crafted metal wreath was located on the surface in one of the two unmarked, fenced PoW graves. A hand-carved decorative wooden wreath was also noted in the other unmarked PoW grave. In addition, an antique screw and metal spoon were noted just outside of the PoW fenced graves. At the northern end of the cemetery, two brick grave covers, a metal flower pail, and cement flower holders were noted above and next to the symmetric, unmarked graves. It remains unknown whether these symmetric graves are pre-1915.

Hand Crafted Metal Wreath (above)

Wooden wreath (left), metal spoon and screw (right) (Author's photographs)

Metal Flower Pail (left) and cement flower holders (right)

(Author's photographs)

3.4 Morrissey Cemetery Archaeological Landscape Analysis

While Christian burials typically follow an east–west orientation, with the head resting at the western end (Deetz 1977), this cemetery has buried the deceased with the head at the eastern end. This is most probably due to the fact that the cemetery lies on a hill sloping westwards, so if the remains had been buried in the typical fashion, their heads would have been at the lower end of the slope, facing uphill. There are no expansive views looking outward from the cemetery, as the tree coverage is dense and one would not have had a clear sightline of the internment camp from the cemetery or vice versa. Today, the cemetery is hidden up a logging road and has very few visitors, with the exception of hunters and those who enjoy four-by-fouring.

I visited several local cemeteries in the area to compare and contrast them with the Morrissey Cemetery. Two hundred yards south of the Morrissey Cemetery lies a single grave dating back to 1903, whose ornately carved headstone is inscribed with

"gone but not forgotten". These are the remains of schoolteacher Hannah Robinson and, most probably, her newborn infant. Based on her BC death registration information, I conjecture that Hannah died of tuberculosis and complications due to childbirth; her son passed away at two days old and Hannah passed away four days later, in March of 1903. Her tombstone reflects the sharp contrast between the care and respect given to those highly regarded and cared for within the local community, and to the internees who died in the camp.

Hannah Robinson Tombstone (Author's photograph)

St. Margaret's Cemetery, situated 13 km away in Fernie, consists of beautiful, ornate entrance gates and well-manicured lawns. The tombstones, from 1915–1918, are all carved stone, with some graves demarcated by a metal fence. None of the grave markers are wood, contributing to a sense of permanency. The individuals buried in this cemetery were mine workers, guards, and local Canadians—not enemy aliens. The Elko Cemetery lies 20 km south of Morrissey and, although considerably smaller than St.

Margaret's, shares similar traits; a beautiful, ornate entrance gate, manicured lawns, stone markers, and an attempt to preserve the names of the buried. St. Margaret's Cemetery is maintained by the City of Fernie and the Elko Cemetery by its own board. Morrissey Cemetery has no official caretakers, but both Jim Dvorak and Jimmy Rawson faithfully guard and tend it.

Entrance of the Morrissey Cemetery (above) Author's photograph

Entrance gates of the St. Margaret's (left) and Elko (right) Cemeteries (Author's photographs)

4. Archives

My exploration of the archival material was derived from: Department of Defence mobilization files; records of the RCMP; the Department of the Secretary of State; the William Doskoch Fonds; Prime Minister Robert Borden's diaries; the head of internment operations General Sir William Dillon Otter's diaries; Swiss and American consulate letters; the Fernie Historical Society; BC Archives; the *Morrissey Mention* newspaper; the *Fernie Free Press* newspaper; the *District Ledger* newspaper; and archival material generously shared by the local community. On its own, each item (most of which are incomplete documents) offered only a piece of this historical puzzle. However, after I had compiled numerous fragments from varying sources, several themes came to light: PoW families living in Morrissey; escapes; descriptions of first- and second-class prisoners; the labour camp; violence and abuse toward prisoners; and finally, known deaths in Morrissey.

4.1 Families in Morrissey

Within the confines of the compound – a man with a child
(LAC, MIKAN, 3550152, Morrissey Internment Camp)

Until now, it was thought that only two camps had families within the camp confines; Vernon and Spirit Lake (Kordan 2002; Morton 1974). However, upon noting a picture of a man holding a young toddler within the barbed wire confines of the Morrissey Internment Camp, I began searching for further information. Library and Archives Canada (LAC) records note at least two separate families that lived alongside the internment camp and also appeared to spend much time within the camp during the day. Just before curfew, the PoW and guards would escort the family back to their quarters outside (LAC, RG 18, vol. 1769, part 53). Leon Sauver's (PoW 219) wife

Charlotte and two young boys, Ingo and Helgi, were allowed to remain in Morrissey (LAC, RG 6, vol. 765, file 5294). E. Rosenhagen (PoW 224), who had also family in Morrissey, managed to escape from his tent in the German compound on a cold evening in November (year unknown) with his mother-in-law, child, and W.C. Schaenfeld (PoW 217) and Fritz Crome (PoW 218) (LAC, RG 24, vol. 4661).

4.2 Escapes

Very little official documented evidence of escapes from Morrissey Internment Camp remains within the archival record. However, excerpts from various sources (Department of National Defence files, specifically, the Mobilization Morrissey Internment Camp files, volumes 1 and 2; records of the RCMP; and newspaper reports), suggest that escapes were often attempted. Unfortunately, these documents frequently omit dates, making it difficult to create a concise timeline of events. However, a compilation of available information still yields a bird's-eye view of the type of escape attempts, successful or not, as well as some insight into the prisoner–guard relationship.

On March 17, 1916, the Morrissey Internment Camp wrote to Victoria, Military District no. 11, requesting whistles to carry out "a system of emergency communication in addition to rifle firing" (LAC, RG 24, vol. 4661). In addition, a note from Major Ridgeway Wilson, Lt. Col to Military District no. 11 in Victoria (Norton and Miller 1998), on June 21, 1917 requested a horse to aid with the retrieval of escapees: "I recommend that this horse be transferred as it is necessary for rounding up prisoners in case of escape" (LAC, RG24, vol. 4661). These requests demonstrate the necessity for the guards to better equip themselves to handle escapes.

During a court hearing, Lt. P.W. McLaine described the escape and recapture of Mike Taranaveski (PoW 450) on April 16, 1918; his account is a disturbing reminder of the slight regard accorded to prisoners:

> I saw the escaped Prisoner in the bush and I immediately gave chase and ordered Sergt Crofton to proceed down the track to prevent him from breaking towards Fernie. After hunting him through the bush for about three quarters of an hour I captured him and brought him back to camp. I fired several times at him with a revolver, but owing to the thickness of the bush I did not hit him, and only when cornered at close quarters did he surrender. (LAC, RG 24, vol. 4661)

In January of 1917, the most notorious of escapes was prevented when guards discovered a forty-five-foot tunnel under the "Big Building" (nicknamed by the Austro-Hungarian second-class PoWs) just days before the getaway. Had the tunnel not been discovered, the majority of the PoWs would have escaped "under the wire" (*Fernie Free Press*, 19 January, 1917).

4.3 First- and Second-Class Prisoners

As Great Britain had signed the 1907 Hague Convention on behalf of her empire, Canada was entrusted to treat military prisoners of war in the same manner and with equivalent standards to Canada's own soldiers. Officers, designated as first-class, were afforded a higher standard of subsistence and accommodation and could not be compelled to work except for their own comfort and hygiene (Morton 1974). However, this became a problem that plagued the internment operations, as fewer than 3,179 individuals could be vaguely regarded as military prisoners of war, the remaining being quite obviously civilians (Kordan 2002; Luciuk 2006; Morton 1974). Hence began a dance that ensued for the duration of the war and straddled the grey area between first- and second-class military PoWs, who held rights under the 1907 Hague Convention, and civilian prisoners of war, who did not.

As the majority of internees were civilians, General Otter divided the prisoners into first and second class based on nationality instead of military status. Pre-war Germans were regarded in the social middle class, educated and untrustworthy, while Austro-Hungarians were regarded as poor, destitute, and easily influenced by their German counterparts. With this reasoning, he decided to keep the Germans (first class) in confinement camps and the Austro-Hungarians (second class) in labour camps.

The start of the internment in Fernie in June of 1915 brought 279 German and Austro-Hungarian prisoners. The internee numbers continued to grow until local Fernie resident Lieutenant-Colonel Joseph Mackay, in command of the Fernie Internment Camp and opposed to the operations, worked feverishly to release as many internees as possible. By mid-July of that year, 321 PoWs who were deemed unfit for military duty or held naturalization cards had been released, leaving 157 Austro-Hungarians and 7 Germans (Norton and Miller 1998). It should be noted that the initial 7 interned German PoWs were not segregated from their fellow Austro-Hungarians as they had also been working in the local coal mines and were consequently deemed second-class.

In September of 1915, the camp repositioned to Morrissey, where the majority of the PoWs remained Austro-Hungarian until 1916, when the Canadian labour shortage forced internment camps to release Austro-Hungarians. Releasing large numbers of Austro-Hungarians forced the government to close camps and amalgamate the remaining PoWs into a few. Hence, more German PoWs began entering Morrissey in 1916 (Norton and Miller 1998). Archival records from July 1916 note first-class German PoWs segregated within the confines of the hospital in "Big Building" while the camp erected a second building to house these better class prisoners.

The government provided clothing and basic necessities for the prisoners and was careful to create a visual distinction between the first- and second-class prisoners.

> As a general rule the ordinary prisoners (Austro-Hungarian) were dressed in khaki overalls and coat or jumper and flannel or flannelette shirts. The better class of prisoners (first class German) wore cloth suits and negligee shirts with soft collars. The stock at hand showed underwear of medium and heavy weight, and hose of a serviceable grade, logger's shoes with hobnails and clothes of good quality. **(**LAC, RG 18, vol. 1769, part 53)

Figure 1 "Austrian" internees at the Morrissey, British Columbia internment camp, 1918.

Fritz Crohn, German first class prisoner (left), Austro-Hungarian second class PoWs (right) in Morrissey (Fernie Historical society, reproduced with permission)

4.4 Labour

The question of whether labour could be legally enforced in the internment camps appears to have posed an ongoing dilemma. Under the 1907 Hague Convention, Canada found an ambiguous clause allowing military PoWs to be put to work as long as the task was unrelated to the war effort (Kordon 2002). Initially, internees were given an allowance of $1.00 per month, to be spent at the camp canteen. However, if one chose to work, this allowance was revoked and instead, prisoners were paid 25 cents a day for their labour, of which half was withheld by the government and remained in a bank account in Ottawa only to be paid out at the end of the war. At the first meeting with General Otter in 1915, Fernie Mayor Tom Uphill, CNP Coal Company representative

W.R. Wilson, along with several prominent business owners and military personnel proposed using the prisoners for road improvement projects at reduced costs to the town. General Otter responded positively: "The question of working the men on the road was one which would be up to the Provincial government" (*Fernie Free Press,* 1915).

It appears that the purpose for withholding partial payments from the internees was not only to provide them with monies at the end of the war but also to motivate them to continue working, otherwise they could not afford to purchase luxury items, such as tobacco, from the camp canteen. However, these funds were never distributed at the end of the war (LAC, RG 18, vol. 1769, part 53).

It soon became apparent to the government that the civilian internees were quite aware that the clause in the 1907 Hague Convention only applied to military PoWs. One internee in Morrissey, Bill Doskoch, copied out the entire convention by hand as a reminder of their rights. However, labour was the only way to finance the camps, so means of enforcing the labour regime became paramount. Hence, they were enticed into work by receiving only basic necessities and being charged high prices for tobacco or other "luxuries" that would make living conditions tolerable. If this did not achieve results, physical coercion ensued (LAC, RG 6, vol. 756, file 3380).

Until joining the war in 1917, the United States Consulate oversaw the Canadian Internment Camps (LAC, RG 18, vol. 1769, part 53). However, once the United States joined the war efforts, the Swiss Consulate became the neutral party to oversee the internment camp operations between Canada, Germany, and Austro-Hungary. The Swiss Consulate appears to have taken to heart the plight of the prisoners and fought harder for

their rights than the American Consulate had. The Swiss Consul made notes on a visit to Morrissey, conducted February 8, 1918:

> "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 workout outside of the 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"…"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…" (LAC, RG 6, vol. 765, file 5294)

4.5 Violence and Abuse Toward Prisoners

The Morrissey prisoner abuse appears in many forms and Consul Gintzburger from the Swiss Consul became one of the greatest advocates for the prisoners in the internment camp. On one occasion he submitted prisoner letters of complaint directly to his government, bypassing the censorship that would have occurred had he first delivered it to Ottawa. This caught Canada and the British Empire off guard and caused a note verbale and threat of retaliation with British and Canadian PoWs from Germany should the conditions not improve (LAC, RG 6, vol. 765, file 5294). In addition to his many visits to the internment camp, he actively sought wealthy Germans in the United States to donate funds to help alleviate the deplorable conditions of both the German and Austro-Hungarian internees (Samuel Gintzburger [Swiss consul], letter to Dr. Paul Ritter, February 21, 1917; in LAC, RG6, vol. 765, file 5294).

Violence against prisoners appears to have occurred most often when prisoners rebelled. A censor read all correspondence that internees had with the outside world. Should a prisoner write anything questionable, it was automatically deleted and, more often than not, the prisoner was punished. On March 6, 1917, PoW 393, F. Von Appen, was given 48 hours of cell time for writing, "You do not need to send me literature of any

kind, because the Censor won't pass it, the Canadian newspapers do not tell us the truth but only filled with lies" (LAC, RG 6, vol. 765, file 5294).

Many records demonstrate that prisoners were beaten without reason and, although court records noted blatant evidence of violence, the guards were never found guilty. Anton Denisker (PoW 195) was been beaten so severely on January 17, 1917, while in a solitary confinement cell that he had to be taken 13 km away to the Fernie Hospital instead of being treated inside the camp military hospital. Four guards attested under oath that no guard had assaulted him, yet they also acknowledged that he had to be removed to the hospital (LAC, RG 6, vol.765, file 5294).

The prisoners in Morrissey often referred to solitary confinement as "the black hole" (Ukrainian-Canadian woman, interview, July 5, 2014), and documentary evidence confirms just that: cells 2 feet wide and twelve feet long, containing no furniture except a swing-down door for a bed, and only bread and water given for days at a time. The few secret letters that made it out of Morrissey describe these cells being used often for any type of insubordination (LAC, RG 18, vol 1769, part 53). In confinement cells, the internees could be exposed to sleep deprivation by a bugle "sounded for the first two days every half hour and for the last two, every hour" (Cpl. William Tipper, sworn statement, March 15, 1918; in LAC, RG 6, vol. 765, file 5294).

In a desperate letter to the German Foreign Office, a group of forty "troublesome" internees who had been transferred to the Vernon Internment Camp from Morrissey on April 2, 1918, noted that even severe illness such as tuberculosis did not protect one from the guards' wrath.

> The civil prisoners at the Morrissey Camp are not allowed to laydown on their bunks during the daytime, even if they feel ill, tired or hungry, without a permit of

> the medical sergeant, who gives his opinion whether the prisoner is sick or not. Prisoners found on their beds at daytime, were punished with as much as 6 days in the cells at half rations and in spite of their feeling unwell immediately arrested and forced to do humiliating work for the guards in the guardroom. Anybody refusing to do this was treated with bodily punishment (Doskoch 1993).

4.6 Known Deaths in Morrissey

Today, four graves mark the remnants of the Morrissey Internment Cemetery. Two of these are labeled: Harry Smeryczanski and Tom Ruzich. The other two have remained in question for some time. Archival evidence notes these to be the graves of Mike Katalinick (PoW 335) and Hermann Rellmann (PoW 257) (LAC, RG 6, vol. 765, file 5294). The previously mentioned letter sent to the German Consul from forty Morrissey internees notes Mike Katalinick is "in a hopeless condition (tuberculosis)" and links this to his "ill-treatment" by "camp-police" (Doskoch 1993).

Tuberculosis (TB) was rampant in B.C. in the early 1900's and in addition to Mike Katalinick, both Harry Smeryczanski and Tom Ruzich passed away from TB. Photographic evidence of tents placed within the confines of the internment camp during a fever epidemic of 1915 may have also supported the confinement of TB patients later on. The *Morrissey Mention* describes "La Grippe" sweeping through Morrissey before Christmas in December of 1916, filling the hospital with no fewer than 27 cases (*Morrissey Mention*, December 21, 1916. Norton and Miller (1998) discuss an influenza epidemic that hit as guards were closing up Morrissey October 15, 1918. Records from the St. Margaret's Cemetery in Fernie note that 55 citizens in Fernie passed away from the flu between Oct 25-November 24, 1918 (City of Fernie Burial Records 1899-1948).

Secret correspondence with the Swiss consul also adds insight into illness in Morrissey and substantiates the potential for other deaths.

> Beside Rellmann, there are two Germans in the hospital suffering of heart trouble, one of these, K. John, is also suffering from rheumatism, confined to the bed and as he has told us today, in a deplorable condition. The other, Albert Heidner, was so weak the day before yesterday, that he had to be brought to bed. (secret letter from PoWs to the Swiss consul dated October 5, 1917; Hermann Rellmann died November 1, 1917 [LAC, RG 6, vol. 766, file 5610)

In addition to the known PoW deaths, there were two documented military deaths of guards at Morrissey. William Edwards, a soldier and the infamous bugler at the camp, passed away on January 25, 1917. However, unlike the PoWs, the guards were buried in the Fernie Cemetery (*Morrissey Mention*, August 24, 1916). Pte. Frederick Halliday was another guard who passed away in Morrissey on April 30, 1917. The cause of death was suicide due to alcoholic melancholia. Initially, Pte. Halliday was unceremoniously interred in the Morrissey cemetery but was re-exhumed a few days later, the result of an inquest granting Fernie civil authorities the right to investigate. The civil investigation concurred with the original inquiry however, it was disgusted with the manner in which the remains had been taken care of. The lack of respect given to Pte. Halliday due to the manner in which he died may shed light onto how prisoners' remains were treated:

> The evidence was conclusive as to cause of death, but the jury when viewing the remains had noted the apparent un-benevolent manner in which the last rites had been performed upon the unfortunate man, mute evidence of which was a most crude imitation of a casket…. It was learned that the body had been interred at Morrissey in a roughly constructed casket in a grave, which was half filled with water and without any religious service being held. The resentment of the jury at such an occurrence happening in a civilized community is mildly expressed in the rider which they appended to the verdict returned. (*Fernie Free Press*, May 4, 1917)

I venture to query whether his treatment by fellow soldiers was is direct correlation to the manner in which he died, as suicide was considered cowardly. During the Great War the British and Commonwealth executed 306 of its own military in the Shot at Dawn Campaign – this included 25 Canadians whose names still do not appear on

official war memorials (Taylor-Whiffen 2011). Regardless, he was military and if they were willing to treat a fellow soldier in this manner once he fell out of favor with them, it is not at all unfathomable to propose that the prisoners of war were treated even more poorly.

5. Interviews

Today, there are no survivors of the Canadian Internment Operations. Hence, interviews were held with the children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren of the internees, guards, and local community members. Common threads formed the basis for the following themes: internee freedom; internee relationships with the community; treatment of internees; and finally, concealment of internment: anger, shame, and embarrassment.

One of the greatest divides noted in my interviews came under the umbrella of the perception of the Morrissey Internment Camp. Many in the contemporary local community and surrounding areas were not aware that Morrissey held an internment camp, and often those who were aware felt that the internees were treated fairly and had a significant amount of freedom. Often, this information came from excerpts from books or newspaper articles that had become intermingled with personal stories shared by friends and family members. By listening carefully to the interviews, I often detected conflicting evidence.

5.1 Internee Freedom

Many in the local community stated that the internees had the freedom to come and go as they pleased. An elderly gentleman whose father had been an internee in Fernie noted:

> From what I heard, they (the WWI PoWs) had freedom. There was a Fernie-Morrissey railroad and I've read in books, somewhere, you know, how they would come in on weekends, and it would be no different than the Japanese that were interned at Cedar Valley. On Saturday evenings, me and my sister would stand out front and we were scared, holding back because here come the bunch (Japanese internees) and there would be guards with them and they would come into town and get what they want and they would go back, they worked in the bush in the sawmill and that. (Ukrainian-Canadian man, interview, July 18, 2014)

It is not uncommon for one to relate what one reads to what one already knows or has experienced first-hand—hence, the comparison with the WWI and WWII internment camps. Another individual whose father was part of the camp police noted that the internees often helped on his grandmother's homestead and she would recompense them by providing a meal. During various times, internees worked outside of the camp, either voluntarily or under duress. Food was sparse and perhaps the opportunity to receive a better meal and speak to friendly individuals in the local community would have been enough to entice an internee out of the camp for the day.

Although archival evidence clearly indicates that individuals who tried to escape were shot at, one interviewee recounts his father's childhood memories of the internees and their freedom.

> My dad said that one day he saw the prisoners just walking around freely. He said the guns the guards had he didn't even think they'd shoot. I don't know if they (guns) were old or what, I don't know, but it doesn't sound to me like it was much of a prison. (man whose father was raised in Morrissey, interview, July 18, 2014)

5.2 Internee Relationship with the Community

Many of the internees had been friends and co-workers of community members before their arrest. Hence, it is not surprising that, in speaking with the local community around Fernie and Morrissey, I encountered several individuals whose families had received a gift from an internee. Often, these gifts came in the form of beautifully hand-

crafted woodwork. Relations with the immediate, outside community therefore were not necessarily hostile.

5.3 Treatment of Internees

Descendants of the PoWs made very clear that abuse took place in Morrissey as well as at other camps across Canada, as the following excerpts demonstrate:

> My father spent a lot of time in black holes for writing letters and inciting stop workages or being political. (Ukrainian-Canadian woman, interview, July 5, 2014)

> You know the guards had muskets and bayonets on them and some of them were extremely rude and treated these people extremely badly. Some of them were nice – this was a human thing. (Ukrainian-Canadian woman, interview, July 5, 2014)

> The last camp was Kapuskasing and it closed in June of 1920. My dad was let go in January of 1920. When they got out of the camp they were supposed to get 25 cents a day for having worked and he got nothing. They sent him out like a dog. He had been in prison for five years and he came out with nothing. And now I think, January in northern Ontario with no money, and he road the rails. I wondered what he had for money. There is no indication that he got any money on his release paper. That was cruel. (Ukrainian-Canadian woman, interview, July 7, 2014)

> My grandfather would not talk about the treatment in the camp. My mother (a child born in the internment camp) would overhear things only when close friends came over. They would sit and discuss the camp. In those days kids didn't rule the house and the kids would go outside and play or go in the other room and so it was only things that my mother overheard over the years. She said, if you didn't work they didn't provide you with heat for your barracks so of course you couldn't cook your meals. They would say, 'Go down to the lake and get me the pail of water' and once you brought the water back the guard would kick it over and send you for another pail. This was common punishment from the army guards if you weren't being respectful enough or didn't do something they told you to do. (Ukrainian-Canadian man, interview, July 7, 2014)

> My dad was a kid (12 years old) when he lived in Morrissey. He was taken in by his sister and her husband, who was a guard there, after his mom died. One day his rabbits got loose in the internment camp garden and the military court martialed my dad. It was probably just to teach the kid a lesson I'm thinking because he wasn't in the military. So, probably just to scare him into keeping his rabbits in, they held a court martial, otherwise I can't even think of why they would do this to a kid. (man, interview, July 18, 2014)

If the military was willing to court martial a 12-year-old boy, a child who was clearly not an enemy alien, the treatment and punishment of enemy aliens would have been considerably worse.

5.4 Concealment of Internment: Anger, Shame, and Embarrassment

Internees dealt with the trauma of internment in several ways. Many were angry and resentful of the Canadian government after their release. Some were ashamed of their arrests and refused to speak about the ordeal. And others, fearing they may be arrested again, refused to speak about it to avoid drawing unwanted attention.

> When they were leaving Spirit Lake, the government said, 'If any of you want to stay here, there is land available, you can farm here. Apparently, their reply at Spirit Lake, they took everything that the government had given them, pots, pans everything and lit a big bon fire and burnt everything. That is what they thought of the government's offer after they had come from the Ukraine, came here and got thrown in a concentration camp and then were told the doors open, they were free. (Ukrainian-Canadian man, interview, July 7, 2014)

> My father said that my uncle had funds owing to him but he said no don't talk about it, he wanted to forget it and he would not apply for these funds. That would have opened it all up to his children that he had been a prisoner of war and he did not want to do that. (Ukrainian-Canadian man, interview, July 7, 2014)

> When I asked my mom where she was born, she replied, "I was born in a little village just outside of Montreal". So of course, being a nice guy of Kincaid, I could see this nice little village and there was snow on the roof, and there were yellow windows and smoke coming out the chimney and then I find out that she was born in a concentration camp in a tar paper shack in the middle of no where. (Ukrainian-Canadian man, interview, July 7, 2014)

6. Discussion

A combination of the three lines of evidence; archival reports from the historical record, oral histories through interviews and an examination of the material record through GPR and archaeological landscape analysis provide an in depth analysis of the

Morrissey Internment Camp and Cemetery, offer insight into the four research objectives and finally, answer why perceptions have changed over the past century.

As camps began closing and German and Austro-Hungarian PoWs became amalgamated within the confines of the same camps, class distinctions began to cause friction between the two ethnic groups. Even in death the surviving grave evidence speaks to a cultural divide with the impermanent nature of the Austro-Hungarian wooden grave markers and the more permanent German, ornately carved stone headstone.

The prisoner–guard relationship became increasingly antagonistic as the war progressed. At the start of internment and under the supervision of Lieutenant-Colonel Joseph Mackay, the camp ran with very little issue, as he was sympathetic to the plight of the PoWs (Norton and Miller 1998). It appears that one of the greatest contributing factors to the prisoner abuse was the forced labour. In addition, guards returning from the front lines were hardened by the war and once they began working in the internment camps projected their anger and resentment onto the enemy alien PoWs. However, it should also be noted that two of my interviewees, one who's grandfather was a guard and the other who's Uncle was part of the camp police were given gifts by the internees. Hence, as is such in human nature, not all of the guards could have been ruthless. As one of the descendants proposed, "people often change when they are given opportunities of power" (Ukrainian-Canadian woman, interview, July 5, 2014).

For many in the local community in Fernie, Morrissey was very much out of sight out of mind. Although the initial mine workers were fellow neighbors and friends prior to the onset of the war, as sense of othering took place in order to allow the imprisonment to

continue. Without having any direct contact with the internees, it had become easier to demonize the other – the enemy alien.

The funds promised to each PoW for the labour they had performed in the camp was never distributed after the end of the war. In 1929, the government put an advertisement in the newspapers notifying the internees to claim the monies owed to them, however, it is unknown why no one claimed the monies. Did they not trust the government and feared being re-arrested? Perhaps they thought it was a trap? Many did not want to remember this dark part of their past and more importantly did not want others to know where they had been for all of those years. Hence, fear, mistrust and anger appear to be common threads that occupied the minds of many of the internees after their release.

6.1 Changes in Perceptions Over the Past Century

Why have perceptions of the Morrissey Internment Camp shifted over the past century? This question has gnawed at me since the day I set foot in the Morrissey Cemetery. When I first landed at the Cranbrook airport, a mere 55 km west of Morrissey, I began asking the locals where Morrissey was located. To my surprise, very few people knew or had even heard of it. One individual noted that it was a great place to go four-by-fouring and hunting.

Today, there is no trace of the town of Morrissey. Although surface artifacts remain, Morrissey is well hidden inside a forest that has reclaimed the old townsite. The cemetery is situated up an old logging road owned by Canfor that sees few visitors other than hunters, Atvs and loggers. Both sites are owned by Jemi Fiber and Tembec and

consequently reside on private property requiring permission each time one sets foot on the premises.

The unassuming wooden Morrissey Cemetery sign, raised to mark the entrance of the cemetery and prevent damage during timber harvesting, provides no hint that prisoners of war were laid to rest here. The town site itself has no signage or markers to reflect times gone by on this empty landscape, enabling the curtains to remain drawn on this dark part of our nation's history.

Erasure, both purposeful, with the destruction of documents, and unintentional, is the main reason that very little is known about this camp. Moving the internees outside of the town of Fernie and into the abandoned coal-mining town of Morrissey was a key factor in propagating social amnesia. By removing these prisoners from the landscape, both physically and mentally, one became free to support the war effort and fear the enemy without being reminded that these had been neighbors, friends and coworkers before the war broke out.

Reports note that upon the camp's closure, it was immediately dismantled, leaving behind very little evidence of the structural foundations of the camp and the stories of those who had lived there for the past three years. Very few of the guards and prisoners spoke about the interment once the war was over (Norton and Miller 1998; Robertson 2005). There was an unspoken understanding that each side had done terrible things either on the battlefront or on the home front. There was such a strong fear of being re-arrested that many avoided joining groups that would provide the government further information about themselves. Many wouldn't even allow their children to join the Boy Scouts for this reason (Ukrainian-Canadian woman, interview, July 5, 2014).

There was continuous fear that if the government knew too much about you that you may be arrested again.

I was surprised to learn how few children knew about the internment of their parents until one internee descendant explained to me that although their parents would sometimes reminisce with close acquaintances about their internment experience, children were not permitted to take part in adult conversation and consequently rarely heard the selective and few conversations that did take place.

Over time when stories are told in part, we are able to add our own experiences to the mix. For instance, several of the interviewees noted that they had heard stories of the internees visiting local farmers for lunch or dinner, hinting at their freedom to come and go as they pleased. After a detailed archival research, I conjecture that the internees were part of work parties that were paid by the farmers with a hot cooked meal in lieu of monies. Rumors and evolving tales allow one to see what one chooses to see. When looking at rare internment camp photographs of Morrissey, community members noticed an open gate that surrounded the Morrissey hotel and immediately concluded that the internees could come and go freely although there was a guard clearly posted at the gate holding a rifle and bayonet. Very few pictures were preserved at the local community level and once I began retrieving more detailed photographs from Library and Archives Canada, I quickly realized that there was not only a barbed wire fence surrounding the PoWs immediate enclosure but also barbed wire fence surrounding the entire camp with only one main entrance gate.

In addition to this the name of locations and buildings can often lead to different perspectives. The Morrissey internment camp took over an abandoned coal-mining town,

which included all of its buildings. The initial Austro-Hungarians were housed in what was known as the Alexandria and Morrissey hotels as it had been initially built as a hotel for local workers. Today's equivalence would have been a hostel. There were in fact up to one hundred and fifty prisoners confined in the Morrissey Hotel with three to four men sharing a ten by eleven foot room. There was no additional furniture provided other than the three to four requisite cots. However, when a building is labeled a hotel, one naturally envisages a location much warmer and fancier.

Finally, the graves. Today, there remains very little surface evidence to indicate that other graves exist contributing to this historical erasure. However, the GPR results determined that there are twenty more graves in the Morrissey cemetery. Without these results – evidence of what lies beneath -- it becomes easy to lose sight of those who passed away in the Morrissey Internment Camp.

6.2 Directions for Future Work

An exploratory excavation of the Morrissey Cemetery, sampling from the north and south ends would be a definitive way to determine whether the additional graves mentioned above are in fact those of PoWs. It may also provide insight into the manner of death: natural causes, disease, malnutrition or murder. In addition, future fieldwork of the internment camp itself by way of survey, mapping, ground penetrating radar (GPR) and excavation of several one-by-one-metre units would contribute to the historical record by shedding light onto the daily lives and differences within and between the prisoners and guards at Morrissey. The material remains will put greater focus on physical health through evidence of camp diet, prison economies as reflected in trade goods and contraband, acts of resistance and punishment as seen through vandalism and solitary

confinement cells and finally, escapism. The latter does not only refer to actual physical escape but also mental escape by way of coping mechanisms such as arts and crafts, education, sports, drugs, alcohol and even suicide (Casella 2007; Myers and Moshenska 2011; Mytum 2012).

Archaeology at the Morrissey Cemetery and Internment Camp contributes critical information that can also be carried out at other WWI internment camps across Canada. Future excavation of WWI internment sites in general will play a primary role in filling in the gaps where oral histories and the historical record are lacking, a consequence of erasure, and recount the historical record in all its original authenticity.

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