

A CASE STUDY IN ATTITUDES TOWARDS ENEMY ALIENS
IN BRITISH COLUMBIA 1914-1919

by

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ABSTRACT

During World War I changes in attitudes towards German and Austro-Hungarian immigrants developed in British Columbia. This thesis examines in which ways economic, social and political conditions influenced such changes. The immigrant of German origin experienced such a rapid change in his status that German businessmen who had previously been praised and accepted as progressive contributors to the economic and cultural development of the province, had their properties liquidated, their associations banned and their freedom restricted.

When Canada entered the war with Great Britain, Germans and Austro-Hungarians became enemy aliens. Mobilization, fear of attack or of sabotage created an atmosphere in which the role of the enemy alien in Canadian life was reevaluated. Government administrators, politicians, workers and various associations raised the issue whether the enemy alien could be allowed to continue to work and live freely without restrictions. Were all people of German origin, including naturalized citizens, a threat to Canada's security? The federal government in the first months of the war answered these questions by formulating a moderate policy. The issue of the enemy alien's status entered a second stage when high unemployment, an intolerable welfare burden and anxiety over the progress of the war heightened resentment against the enemy alien. During the spring of 1915 a growing unanimity of feeling among the various segments of provincial society led to pressure for stricter measures. The internment of enemy aliens, the

establishment of prisoner of war labour camps and the extraction of loyalty oaths from all German-Canadians were demanded. A third stage in the transformation of attitudes unfolded in 1918 and 1919 when veterans of the war poured into the province. For the regeneration and reconstruction of post-war Canada, the returned soldiers demanded the exclusion from Canada of immigrants from enemy countries.

The war, and the problems it created conditioned the thoughts and feelings of British Columbians. The psychological impact of the war on many of the individuals who suffered personal losses led them to demand harsher measures than the federal government approved. Because of international laws and practical considerations the government hesitated to embark on stricter regulations. Internment of all enemy aliens or conscription of their labour might result in retaliation or unjust treatment of British and Canadian nationals in enemy countries.

In 1916 the improvement in the economy created a demand for more labour. At the same time militia authorities were attempting to recruit larger numbers of men for overseas service. Enemy aliens, the federal government argued, were essential to war production and they would perform more effectively in private industry than in labour camps. Practical considerations, then outweighed the increasingly emotional demands of labour, business, community and returned soldiers organizations for the internment, registration and deportation of enemy aliens.

However, in the post-war period economic considerations influenced the government to alter its policy. With the cut back in war production

and the return of veterans seeking employment the pressure to remove enemy aliens from active participation in Canadian life was revived. In response to demands from various segments of the British Columbian and Canadian population new immigration and naturalization laws were enacted to prevent former enemy aliens from participating in the new, post-war era in Canada.

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Preface

When Canada entered the war in August 1914 many Canadians expected a short-lived conflict that would have little impact on Canadian social, economic and political life. The prolongation of the war, however, led to increasing government controls in all aspects of Canadian society, including the social relationships between enemy aliens and Canadians.

As the war molded the consciousness of Canadians the enemy alien became a social anomaly and concern over his presence emerged as a Dominion-wide problem. Various segments of the population in all provinces were pre-occupied with the status of the enemy alien. In Ontario the employment of German professors at the University of Toronto became an issue in the spring of 1915. Patriots in Calgary forced the closing of a Lutheran church in the summer of 1915 and Regina agitators stormed the printing offices of a German newspaper in 1918. Agitation continued after the signing of the Armistice and Winnipeg's aliens suffered attacks from returned soldiers in February 1919.

The chief focus of this case study is the changes in attitudes and feelings of British Columbians towards Germans and Austro-Hungarians after the outbreak of war. The war imbued the predominantly British and Canadian population with patriotism and a strong sense of Imperial unity. Fearing attack from German sympathizers in the State of Washington and from cruisers of the German Pacific Fleet, British Columbians became concerned about the internal danger which might arise from the presence of enemy aliens. Because the enemy aliens in British Columbia was less easily identified than was his counterpart in the prairies,

who usually lived in an ethnic enclave, suspicion and fear of a lurking, hidden menace developed. To relieve this anxiety, the German and Austro-Hungarian population was put under surveillance and eventually many of the aliens were placed in internment camps.

The signing of the Armistice did not relieve the wartime fears arising from the presence of the enemy alien. Returned soldiers kept alive the agitation against enemy aliens, and the veterans joined in a national movement to obtain the exclusion of enemy aliens from participation in post-war Canadian society. When the veterans failed to achieve their goals at a national meeting with the cabinet in Ottawa in March 1918, they fomented agitation in British Columbia by pressuring private organizations, municipalities and the provincial government to support resolutions to deport, debar and exclude former enemy aliens from immigrating to Canada.

This agitation had an impact on provincial social and political life. The war had moved British Columbians and Canadians from their pre-war position of accepting Germans and Austro-Hungarians as participants in their society towards the desire to reject their participation in the community. What was demanded was retribution for the sacrifices made by the Anglo-Canadian population in the province as the price of victory.

Chapter I

Germans and Austro-Hungarians in Pre-War British Columbia

Germans and Austro-Hungarians in Pre-War British Columbia

The German and Austro-Hungarians who settled in British Columbia before the Great War were a diverse and heterogeneous population. They came from many regions in Europe, the United States, and eastern Canada. Their religious backgrounds, social classes, and professions were as diverse as their origins, and they had little in common with one another except language, and the hope of making a success in British Columbia. By 1914 many people of German origin had been successful. Their accomplishments in the businesses and professions permitted them to enter into the social and cultural life of the province and they acquired the acceptance of many British Columbians and received their praise.

The first permanent settlers of German origin came to British Columbia primarily from the United States where they had been lured by the California gold rush. The discovery of gold on the Fraser in 1858 awakened worn out hopes of weary miners who pushed on with the mining advance into British Columbia. Although many returned to the United States after 1870, those who had established successful businesses serving the mining communities stayed to take an active part in the commercial and social life of the province. By 1870 the leading figures among the German settlers had settled in Victoria.

The most prominent among the early German immigrants were Joseph Loewen, Louis Emil Erb, Henry Frederick Heisterman and David Oppenheimer. Joseph Loewen had emigrated from Prussia to the United States in 1850. Following six years of odd jobs in New York City, Loewen set out for the California fields, where he engaged as a miner for two years. When word of the Fraser River discovery reached

San Francisco, he joined the rush and landed in Victoria in July, 1858.¹ He tried mining for a few years, but the work rendered little compensation, and he finally settled in Victoria, where he formed a partnership with Louis Emil Erb, to establish the Victoria Brewing Company. Erb, who had come to British Columbia to mine in 1866 had managed breweries in Germany before immigrating to the United States in 1863. After working in a New York City brewery for one year, Erb gambled on making a fortune in the California gold fields. His experiences in the turbulent and thirsty mining towns persuaded him that his prospects were probably better in the brewing business than in mining. On arriving in British Columbia, he set out for Seymour City at the head of Shuswap Lake. There he set up his first brewery. When the mines played out at Seymour City, Erb moved on to Barkerville, and after the boom subsided he shifted his operations to Mosquito Creek.² His success as a migrant brewer enabled him to invest in a more permanent business in Victoria.

By 1890 the Victoria Brewing Company was the largest producer in the province. Both Loewen and Erb were acknowledged to be prominent figures in Victoria's business and social life. Louis Erb's wife entertained for as many as two hundred guests at their fashionable roccoco residence. Among the guests were Loewen's four daughters who later married such well known British Columbians as Francis Stillman Barnard and H.M. Robertson.³

Another immigrant of German origin who stayed in British Columbia after the gold rushes was Henry Frederick Heisterman. Heisterman had been raised in Bremen, where he studied commerce. He

emigrated to Liverpool in 1853, establishing a commission business. He left Liverpool in 1862 to join the rush to Cariboo. His boat capsized on its way from Victoria to Fort Hope and Heisterman returned to Victoria penniless. Nevertheless he managed to open a private reading room in Victoria which attracted a large membership. Within six months he sold out his interest in the reading room and opened a wholesale paint and glass shop. In 1864 he entered the real-estate business in Victoria; it became one of the largest agencies in the province.⁴

While in England Heisterman had become a naturalized British subject. His familiarity with British institutions encouraged him to found a Chamber of Commerce in Victoria. He also held official positions on the council of the Victoria Board of Trade and served on the Board of School Trustees for seven years. As grand secretary of the provincial Masonic Lodge Heisterman symbolized the immigrant of German origin who had become an integral part of the economic and social life of Victoria.⁵

Victoria was not the only city to attract German settlers. As business activity began to shift to the Vancouver area in the 1880's and 1890's a surge of settlement followed. One of the early pioneers of the city was David Oppenheimer, a German Jew who had had businesses in New Orleans and San Francisco before opening a grocery and dry goods store in Victoria. He located branch stores first at Yale and then at Vancouver in 1887. He played a leading role in the development of Vancouver and became its mayor in 1888. He also served as president of the Vancouver Board of Trade. He promoted the interests of Vancouver in the United States and publicized reports

about the resources of British Columbia in European newspapers.⁶

The province's wealth also attracted a few settlers of German origin from eastern Canada. They were second generation sons and daughters of German families who had immigrated to Ontario in the 1850's. Having been educated in Ontario schools and being familiar with Canadian institutions, these immigrants moved easily into the booming communities of British Columbia.⁷

The pattern of migration and settlement in the interior was similar to the coastal regions where German immigrants settled in the two major centers, Vancouver and Victoria. In the small, interior boom towns Germans entered retail businesses, operated small hotels, or established breweries.⁸ In Nanaimo, John Mahrer operated a restaurant and a bakery before turning to brewing and soap-making. He served on the city council and participated in a variety of lodges.⁹ In Fernie Germans owned the Hotel Northern and the local brewery which was a branch of Albert Mutz's Fort Steele Brewing Company. Mutz employed eleven men at the Fernie brewery, several of whom were German. The editor of the Fernie Ledger praised Mutz as a progressive citizen, "one of the best known men along the Crow" and "one of our most energetic and enterprising citizens."¹⁰ In Vernon, Henry Gustav Muller opened the Coldstream Hotel in 1901. He later served a term as mayor and belonged to the local lodges.¹¹ By 1911 almost half the total German population lived in towns of one thousand inhabitants.¹²

These early German settlers encountered few difficulties in adjusting to provincial life. The majority came to the province

after having spent several years in the United States where they had learned the language and adapted to the social conditions which characterized life in the Pacific Northwest. Some had left Germany in 1848-1849 when the failure of political reforms compelled them to leave.¹³ Most, however, had left in search of a bonanza in the American West or in the British Columbian gold fields. Quickly accepted into British Columbia's early communities, the German immigrants became completely absorbed into the social and economic life of the province. Their sons and daughters married into Canadian families. Apart from the Singverein and a saloon in Victoria, these immigrants did not establish autonomous ethnic organizations or endeavor to form a distinct colony segregated from the receiving culture.

After 1903 a different type of German speaking immigrant entered the province. The economic expansion from 1903 to 1911 attracted a larger number of European immigrants, though British Columbia's distance from the eastern ports and the federal government policies for settling the prairies directed immigrants primarily to the western plain. A lack of information about British Columbia, especially on the continent, restricted the entry of European immigrants.¹⁴ After the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway the boom in natural resource industries in real-estate and in public works created a demand for more labor. In 1907-1908 40,000 immigrants entered the province; in 1911 and 1912 the largest increase in immigration in the history of the province was registered. These 106,455 immigrants represented nearly one third of the total population¹⁴ but the overwhelming majority came from the United Kingdom and the United States.

In a five year period ending in 1912 more than 1,200 Germans came directly from Germany to British Columbia. A large number of Germans who lived in the United States but who had not been naturalized augmented the number of settlers. The 1911 census recorded 11,880 people of German origin.¹⁵ Most of the new arrivals moved into Vancouver and its environs. By 1911 nearly one third of the German population in the city had been born in Germany, and this bond with Germany had a marked effect on the original German community which had severed ties to the homeland.

The new immigrants contrasted significantly with the earlier immigrants who had come during the gold rushes, and they differed also from the Germans settling on the prairies.

Prairie settlement often involved large group movements. Colonization societies organized these movements and assisted them in reaching the western prairies. Frequently religious and familial ties bound these groups together. Often they came from a particular region in Europe where they had known one another for years. Many of the German settlers had lived in western Russia, in the Ukraine, or in the Donau regions which were under the control of the Austro-Hungarian Empire.¹⁶ They had come to farm and the sparse settlement on the prairies permitted them to maintain distinct and separate colonies. They transplanted their religious and social institutions to Canada. In their closed, autonomous settlements they maintained a separate and distinct culture and communal spirit. The checkered pattern of ethnic settlements which dotted

the prairies symbolized their autonomy. These ethnic enclaves shielded the immigrants from contact with Canadians and provided a security which minimized the stress and strain of adapting to a new land.¹⁷

British Columbia's geography and economy attracted a different type of settler and placed greater demands on his adjustment. German immigrants who came to British Columbia included two main groups: a large number of skilled workers and small merchants and an important group of upper-middle class entrepreneurs.¹⁸ Both groups participated in the boom in the provincial economy which prevailed from 1907 to 1911. German mechanics, carpenters, and tin-smiths immigrated to take advantage of the high wages paid for their skills.¹⁹ Tailors, bakers, butchers and accountants worked in the expanding retail businesses.

The upper-middle class Germans who came to speculate in real-estate, or to represent German investments in the resource industries of the province, were well educated and possessed substantial financial backing and business experience. These adventurous German capitalists, a few of whom were of aristocratic lineage or were reserve officers in the German army, attracted attention in business and financial circles.²⁰ They brought with them a vigorous belief in German "Kultur" that made a mark on the social life of Vancouver. They became especially important in the establishment of German clubs and organizations. By 1911 there were 5,285 people of German origin in Vancouver and New Westminster, about one quarter of whom had recently arrived from Germany.²¹ The combination of new arrivals and an

already well established business elite stimulated the development of German social and cultural organizations.

Apart from occasional programmes offered by the Salvation Army, charitable organizations and the Young Men's Christian Association, there was little assistance given to new immigrants when they arrived in Vancouver. Though the skilled workers could secure jobs quickly, they had to make their own social adjustment to their new setting. To satisfy the need for social contact among the immigrants, H.A. Mueller and R. Schaeffer organized in 1908 the first German association in Vancouver, the Deutscher Verein. When the Verein moved into the Elk's Hall at Robson and Granville it changed the name to Germania Hall.²² Here new arrivals received assistance and made the companionship of co-nationals. The German immigrants could also identify with the German Lutheran Church. However, a small congregation, frequent changes in location, and a turnover in the pastors prevented the church from becoming a center for German activities.²³ Until 1912 the Verein and the church were the only organizations available to help the German immigrants. The need for communication between German speaking settlers prompted the founding of a German press which in turn gave birth to numerous associations.

Before the development of a local German press, immigrants depended on newspapers and journals from the prairie provinces and the United States. Apart from a monthly periodical published in Richmond, no local press appeared until 1909, when F.R. Blockberger established his Westliche Canadische Post. The newspaper had a small circulation,

but it continued to publish until 1914 even though it competed with a second newspaper, the Vancouver German Press. Dr. Karl Weiss, the aggressive editor of the Press tried to buy out Blockberger in 1911; when Blockberger refused to sell out, Weiss established his own newspaper.

As a journalist for a number of European publications, Weiss had written extensively on political, economic, and immigration issues. After emigrating to New York City he represented the Austro-Hungarian Colonization Society. When he visited Vancouver in 1911, prominent Germans encouraged him to take up residence in the city. Weiss' connections in Europe and his journalistic capabilities appealed to the German businessmen, who wished to promote British Columbia in Europe.²⁴

The Vancouver German Press was a weekly newspaper, printed in English and German.²⁵ Weiss's editorial policy encouraged immigrants to become naturalized Canadians and adopt Canada as their new homeland. He believed, however, that Germans should maintain their cultural ties with the fatherland and preserve their heritage in family relationships so that their children might experience a German upbringing. His newspaper reported activities in the German associations and advocated more German immigration into the province. In 1912 he incorporated the Agricultural Settlement Association, Ltd., a venture to bring two thousand settlers a year to Canada. By 1913 the Vancouver German Press reached more than eight thousand readers in Canada and the United States. Weiss claimed a circulation of six hundred copies in Europe.²⁶

Although Weiss supported German organizations, it was another individual who actually founded and financed German societies. Alvo von Alvensleben, the most prominent German financier in the province, played a major role in promoting German organizations. Alvensleben came to the province in 1904. He worked in a variety of occupations before establishing a real-estate firm in Vancouver which became very successful. He married Edith Mary Estcott, a daughter of a Vancouver pioneer. Through membership in a number of golf clubs, the Royal Vancouver Yacht Club and the Union Club in Victoria he obtained useful business connections.

Alvensleben's flamboyant success in the real-estate business dazzled investors. By 1911 his company paid substantial dividends and he had attracted a steady flow of German capital into the province which he invested in a variety of companies.²⁷ Alvensleben's intimate relationship to the German Consul, Johann Wulfsohn, assured him control over German investments in the province which by 1911 were estimated to be over five million dollars.²⁸ German capital represented the largest foreign investment from Europe and the investments were spread in the coal industries, forests, and lands.²⁹ Alvensleben became so successful in provincial financial circles that "his name on a prospectus had come to be recognized as a guarantee of a genuine proposition."³⁰ The British Columbia Magazine, a businessman's publication, lauded him as promoter of good will between Germany and Canada.³¹ His business success coincided with a greater involvement in German organizations. In 1911 he promoted the establishment of the Deutscher Klub, a businessman's club, where British Columbians

and German businessmen made deals and discussed investments.³²

In addition to the Klub, a secret society, the Hermannsoehne was formed among businessmen of German origin. German women in Vancouver also organized their own club, the Wanderverein. They were interested in tours and hiking and they held their weekly meetings at Germania Hall.³³

The most important social event which brought the new German community and British Columbians together was the Deutscher Verein's annual celebration of the Kaiser's birthday in January. Political and business leaders attended this popular event. Guest speakers such as Premier Richard McBride and the German Consul, Carl Lowenberg lauded the good relations between British Columbians and German immigrants. Songs and speeches praised both the Kaiser and the United Kingdom. At the 1914 celebration, Carl Lowenberg, well known and long a resident of Victoria, underlined his view that German settlers would integrate into provincial life. Although he urged Germans to maintain their cultural heritage, he emphasized that their children could not be expected to carry on traditions of the homeland.³⁵

By 1915 there were four German associations and two German newspapers in the province. Although the German newspapers circulated throughout the province, none of the Vancouver German clubs attempted to branch out into the interior where the small and scattered German population lacked their own associations.

There were, then, two German communities in British Columbia before the war. The early German settlers had accommodated to the

conditions during the gold rush years and they became fully absorbed into the economic and social life of the early small communities. In response to an expanding economy which offered new opportunities for skilled workers, small merchants and adventurous investors, a new type of German immigrant entered the province at the turn of the century. Many of these immigrants came directly from Germany. Although they found work readily, their social adjustment to conditions in Canada was more difficult because they had no prior experience either in the United States or in Eastern Canada. They formed associations to assist their adjustment to new conditions.³⁵ These organizations were not established to create a separate cultural enclave, but as they came under the control of businessmen who desired to maintain close ties to the homeland, the associations acquired a distinctive tone.

British Columbians accepted these associations and expressed respect for German immigrants.³⁶ One author contrasted the German settler to the Austro-Hungarian, whom he considered to be a problem in race assimilation.³⁷

The German settler soon takes his part in the life of his locality, soon sees that churches and schools are erected and soon adopts to Anglo-Saxon conditions. Like the Scandanavian the German₃ is a good settler and a good citizen.³⁷

However, as imperial rivalries between Great Britain and Germany became an issue in Canadian politics and the German community in British Columbia became more involved in the promotion of "Kultur", relations between some Germans and British Columbians became strained. Premier McBride remarked in his address to the guests at the Deutscher Verein's

celebration in 1914 of the Kaiser's birthday that the Kaiser "keeps em all guessing" as to his real intentions in international politics.³⁸ McBride had been a firm supporter of a Canadian contribution to the Imperial navy, an issue which played a part in the conservative party's victory in the federal election in 1911. Increasing concern over Germany's warlike intentions gradually influenced the feelings of many British Columbians towards Germans.

Another segment of the immigrant population, the Austro-Hungarians, were also affected by international and domestic events. The year 1898 marked the entry of the first significant numbers of Austro-Hungarians into British Columbia. They entered with the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway's branch line, the Crow's Nest Pass Railway, in 1898. The line ran from Mcleod, Alberta, to Fernie, at the center of the immense coal fields in the Crow's Nest Pass. The Canadian Pacific Railway developed the coal fields to offset the plans of American capitalists to drain the coal off to the 'Inland Empire', the region surrounding Spokane, Washington.³⁹ The Crow's Nest Pass Company exported much of its coal to the United States but it also used coal for its locomotives and supplied the boundary smelters.⁴⁰ In 1899 operations were expanded from the original shaft at Coal Creek to Michel and Morrissey. These expansions increased the demand for labor. The 'gandy dancers' who had worked on the railway gangs now turned to the mines for employment. When coal production soared from 9,334 tons in 1898 to 379,355 tons in 1910 there were more than 1,200 Austro-Hungarians in the mining

communities⁴¹ the largest concentration of these immigrants in the province.

In the vicinity of Revelstoke another large number of Austro-Hungarians worked in mines, timber camps, or for the Canadian Pacific Railway which had established Revelstoke as its depot and repair center for the eastern division of the Rockies.⁴² At Prince Rupert more than two hundred Austro-Hungarians worked on the construction of the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway terminus, and in the Vancouver region more than 2,000 were employed as unskilled labour in the building industry.⁴³ Although immigration officials had originally planned for the Austro-Hungarians to settle on the prairies many had become migrant laborers who escaped from the transient railway and timber gangs to the turbulent mining towns. Immigration officials foiled their own plans for settling these immigrants on the prairies when they formed a policy whereby Austro-Hungarians would be encouraged to work on the railways.

Immigration officials believed that the construction of branch lines such as the Crow's Nest Pass Railway, and the continental Grand Trunk Pacific Railway and Canadian Northern Railway would provide the means of moving intending settlers to the West. E.S. Robertson, the Assistant Superintendent of Immigration, outlined the plan in the brochure, "Work, Wages, and Land: The Railway Route to a Free Farm."⁴⁴ Wages earned on the railway gangs would enable prospective settlers to purchase implements and stock to begin farming, as well as provide the means for seeing the country and finding a suitable location to

farm. Homesteaders already settled on the land could work on the railways until they received adequate returns from their cultivated fields. Whatever the success of the plan to funnel immigrants into western farms may have had on the prairies, its limitations in British Columbia became immediately apparent. The nature of the economy in the province and the limited extent of land available for pre-emption prevented the implementation of such a plan and pre-determined the occupations of Austro-Hungarians. The secretary of the provincial Bureau of Information and Immigration indicated doubts about the efficacy of the plan when he reported:

Owing to the peculiar conditions of the Province in respect to available lands and the character of the country generally, the question of taking advantage of the great Western movement, which has set in, is perhaps one of the most serious problems now confronting British Columbia. It is now not a matter of attracting settlers to the Province but of satisfactorily disposing of them upon arrival.⁴⁵

Fortunately the entry of Austro-Hungarians coincided with the rapid expansion of railways, timber production and mining development.

The construction of the Crow's Nest Pass Railway in 1897 had drawn many Austro-Hungarians into the Kootenays. When the line was completed they moved onto other rail crews. The demand for labour increased from 1903 to 1911. The general manager of the British Columbia Electric Railway underlined the growing need in 1907 for a labour force in writing to the immigration department that "my company has experienced a serious shortage of labourers this year and it would have employed another 500 or more men steadily if they had been

available."⁴⁶ W. Wilson, manager for the Crow's Nest Pass Coal Company, reiterated this view in reporting to his company directors that the expansion of the collieries at Michel and Morrissey would entail more workers.⁴⁷

The Austro-Hungarians supplied a portion of the province's labour requirements, but the nature of the economy prevented the absorption of these immigrants into the economic and social life of the province. The economy demanded workers who were mobile and single. Railway construction drew workers into isolated bush country where they became completely dependent on the contractors for food, clothing and other supplies.⁴⁸ The intermittent character of their employment compelled workers to move frequently and they usually received such short notice of dismissal that their livelihood was uncertain, if not actually threatened. One traveller in British Columbia summed up the nature of the economy, "Ten days and the job is done, and one must hustle again--this country means going from one job to another"⁴⁹ The migratory character of the Austro-Hungarian's employment led inevitably to a sense of isolation and disorientation in a new land. Unlike the skilled German workers who usually lived and worked in a permanent location, the Austro-Hungarian drifted from one job to another without the benefit of a trade, knowledge of English, or assistance from employers. Under such conditions he became a marginal member of society.

Conditions in the railway camps contributed to the difficulties experienced by the Austro-Hungarians. Workers on the Crow's Nest Pass

Railway, which forged its way westward from McLeod, suffered incredible hardship in the winter of 1897. Receiving only \$1.50 a day, they paid board at the rate of \$4.00 per week. Since their pay was frequently delayed from five to six weeks, they incurred debts to the contractors for high priced supplies.⁵⁰ Housed in unsanitary tents, without adequate heat and medical attention, they became ill. Many refused to continue work under such conditions.

On the 15 January 1898 the House of Commons appointed the Crow's Nest Pass Railway Commission to investigate conditions in the camps and report their findings to the Commons. Through extensive interviews with workers in the camps and the inspection of board and lodgings in Alberta, the commission decided the allegations made against the contractors by workers were true. They found that after deductions for transportation from Winnipeg to the railhead and for food, supplies, lodging and medical insurance, the earnings of a worker amounted to \$5.10 at the end of the year.⁵¹ Housing, food, clothing, and supplies provided for the workers were all found to be inadequate. In summarizing the intolerable situation of the employee the commissioners stated, "Under such conditions he felt like a prisoner in a strange land..."⁵²

The commission made several recommendations. It recommended the enactment of legislation for providing government inspections of all conditions relating to the construction of railways, particularly of the quality and price of food, of housing, and of other supplies.⁵³ In addition, it declared that contractors should be required to provide

adequate medical attention by employing attendants to work and live in the camps and provide accurate information on the terms of employment and wages. These recommendations became law when the government on 11 August 1899 enacted a bill for the Preservation of Health on Public Works. As a result of this act conditions improved dramatically. But though adverse conditions were ameliorated, the immigrant was still without the social institutions which would have assisted him to develop a self-awareness as a new Canadian.

One organization that did attempt to assist the new immigrant to become a Canadian was the Reading Camp Association, or Frontier College. Alfred Fitzpatrick, the founder of the organization, established the association at the turn of the century. His views on the social integration of the diverse nationalities were based on the belief that lumbering and railway camps, regardless of improvements made in them, did not provide the stable conditions necessary for the assimilation of immigrants.⁵⁴ Fitzpatrick believed that society must provide institutions to "reform" the immigrants in order to "bring them into intelligent harmony with our Canadian and British ideals."⁵⁵ Lacking the restraint and the influence of permanent homes, schools, and the church, immigrants would remain uprooted and set apart from Canadian aspirations and ideals. To Fitzpatrick the railway camps seemed to obstruct the moulding of the "diverse elements into a harmonious whole." Yet he recognized that the camps were necessary "evils" in a developing frontier economy. In order to bridge the gulf between the transient work camps and permanent institutions in

stable communities he created the Reading Camp Association.

Fitzpatrick recruited from the schools and colleges of eastern Canada instructors who volunteered to work for one year in the work camps in return for a small stipend to meet the costs of their personal needs and the supplies required for their work.⁵⁶ He envisioned the young instructors as missionaries who would prepare the way for the establishment of Canadian institutions. The key to the association's work was personal contact between the instructors and the immigrants as co-workers. Through this close contact the instructors were to demonstrate "what it really means to be a Canadian."⁵⁷

The instructors set up tents in the camps, where they used a blackboard, basic English texts, magazines, and newspapers for English lessons. The foreigners had to learn English before being instructed in civics, the most important subject in their "curriculum."⁵⁸ The instructors pursued their work with energetic faith in their mission though their correspondence reveals the strain under which they worked and their resentment at lack of financial assistance from large industries. One teacher working at Oklo Holls, where the Pacific Coast Logging Company operated the 'Higgins Camp', conveyed his feelings when he wrote, "I firmly believe that the government will not be doing its duty until it takes charge of just such work."⁵⁹ Without government support and interest on the part of the employers, the instructors thought the task of assisting immigrants to integrate into provincial life would fail. They could not reconcile the lack of

government support with the policy of bringing in thousands of immigrants who were left to find their own way in a new land.

In 1913 the Association had twelve camps in British Columbia, four on Vancouver Island and eight on the mainland. In the 1914 campaign for raising funds from businesses and the government, R.C. Dearle, the director for the province, reported a lack of interest in the endeavor in the interior communities. The churches supported the campaign but the merchants and the businessmen failed to donate much money.⁶⁰ By 1914 the depression in the interior had bankrupted many businesses and people could not afford to contribute to the association. Though the provincial government donated \$600, the sum seemed very little.⁶¹ As the depression worsened work camps began to close down. The Austro-Hungarians drifted into the coastal cities or mining towns where many of their compatriots had long ago settled.

When the Crow's Nest Pass Railway was completed in 1898 many of the Austro-Hungarians chose to work in the mines where a permanent labor force was required. Conditions in the mining communities offered some social amenities when contrasted with the isolation and the hardships of the work camps. At Coal Creek, Michel and Morrissey people spoke their own language. Fernie had a brewery, eleven hotels and several bars which provided entertainment for the miners. The vast majority of the miners were single, and when they had the opportunity to escape the drab company towns nestling in the narrow coal mining valleys in the Kootenay district, they hopped the company train to enjoy the companionship of Fernie's madams.⁶² Another compensation

for living in the mining towns was the presence of the trade union which provided the first occupational organization with which Austro-Hungarians might identify. The relationship between the new immigrants and the English-speaking miners however proved a delicate one, for it was fraught with the tensions of job competition, prejudice, and national rivalries.

In 1898 the Western Federation of Miners organized the first local at Coal Creek.⁶³ However, the miners gradually went over to the more militant United Mine Workers after the W.F.M. failed to negotiate a wage contract with coal company officials. By 1904 the U.M.W. had organized the Kootenay district into district number eighteen.⁶⁴

The United Miner Workers had a successful record of organizing foreigners who were frequently used as strikebreakers and of uniting workers who lived in "an environment disrupted by cultural, geo-economic, and ethnic forces which made a collective response difficult."⁶⁵ The U.M.W. at first had worked in the Pennsylvania coalfields for restrictive immigration policies. When this effort failed it accommodated itself to the reality of the presence of foreign labourers by permitting the formation of separate locals in which the language of the immigrant was spoken. This experience was transported to British Columbia on Vancouver Island when coal company officials brought in Italian workers to scab in the coal strikes; the U.M.W. used an Italian speaking organizer to prevent the Italians from going into the mines.⁶⁶ It proved unnecessary

to organize workers along ethnic lines in district eighteen and Austro-Hungarians were permitted to join the union. Even so, tensions between various nationalities existed and the union was able only to soften the edge of national rivalries between immigrant groups.

Canadian and British workers resented the competition of aliens for insecure jobs in the mines, lumber camps or on the railway crews. The Canadian Trades and Labor Congress, which had lobbied against immigration and the importation of contract labor,⁶⁷ had succeeded in getting passage of the Alien Labor Act in 1897 which was amended in 1898 and 1901. The United States had similar legislation ~~barren bar-~~ rying the importation of unskilled contract labor. The Canadian act applied primarily to American labour but also prevented companies from bringing in large numbers of unskilled laborers. Advertisements for skilled workers were permitted only if such workers were unavailable in Canada.⁶⁸ Although the act permitted individuals to bring ~~suiting~~ in provincial courts against companies violating its provisions, usually the expense and time involved in such proceedings prevented convictions against the companies. Foreigners from the United States continued to pour into the resource industries of the province.

The English speaking miners blamed the unskilled foreigners for the high accident rates in the mines. The disaster at Coal Creek on the 22 May 1902 was considered to have been caused by foreigners who could not read the safety regulations and the instructions.⁶⁹ Miners demanded that foreigners be excluded from

the mining shafts unless they had certificates which they could only obtain if they knew English. However such regulations were not enforced because company officials argued there were not enough miners available to meet the needs of production. As a result the tensions continued between the ethnic groups and when a union leader expressed the opinion that "an inferior class of immigrants are arriving from continental Europe and they do not assimilate", he was actually describing the feelings of many miners in Fernie.⁷⁰

Unlike the German immigrants who had been accepted into the economic and social life of the province, the Austro-Hungarians stood outside the mainstream of provincial life. They entered the province during a boom period when the industrial expansion of the resource industries demanded large numbers of unskilled and skilled workers. They competed directly with Canadian and British workers who resented their employment. Without a secure job, constantly on the move, and prevented from making permanent contacts with social institutions, the opportunities for the Austro-Hungarians to become an integral part of provincial life were very restricted. Even within the ranks of the working class their inadequate knowledge of English and the hostility on the part of Canadian and British workers prevented equal participation in unions or advancement on the job.

The early German immigrants, however, had entered British Columbia before industrial development had begun. These early adventurers had been attracted by gold and the few who remained after the rushes settled primarily in Victoria, where they established themselves

in real-estate, retail stores and brewing. This group of settlers formed the nucleus of a business class whose sons and daughters became fully integrated into provincial society.

The second wave of German immigrants came to the province from 1901 to 1911. Because their predecessors had been effectively absorbed by the receiving culture, the new immigrants moved easily into the life of the province. Their economic absorption into the provincial economy was relatively easy because they possessed special trades. As brewers, skilled workers, or white collar workers these immigrants usually did not compete directly with Canadians or with British immigrants. A number of the new arrivals were also businessmen or professionals. They acquired prominence, particularly in real-estate. However, the successful economic integration of this group into the economy did not mean they had cast aside their German heritage. They formed German associations, newspapers and clubs for the promotion of German culture. Although this development aroused some tensions between the immigrants and British Columbians shortly before the war, their cultural activities did not prevent their equal participation in the community.

Differences in the roles played by Germans and Austro-Hungarians in the province depended on the period in which the immigrant arrived and on social class and skills individuals could offer a developing economy. The status of these groups would undergo changes as the province passed through a severe recession from 1912 to 1915. Canada's entry into the European war would lead to a redefinition of their status in British Columbia.

Footnotes

¹J.B. Kerr, Biographical Dictionary of Well-Known British Columbians, Vancouver, Kerr and Begg, 1890, p. 161.

²Ibid., p. 222.

³Harry Gregson, A History of Victoria 1842-1970, Victoria, Observer Publishing Company, pp. 117-118.

⁴E.O.S. Scholefield and F.W. Howay, British Columbia: From the Earliest Times to the Present, Vancouver, Clarke Publishing Company, Vancouver, 1914, vol. 3, p. 715.

⁵Ibid., p. 716.

⁶Kerr, Biographical Dictionary, pp. 266-267.

⁷Howay and Scholefield, British Columbia, vol. 3, pp. 109-110; pp. 804-805.

⁸Ibid., see also, The Fernie Ledger, 26 April 1905, p. 1.

⁹Kerr, Biographical Dictionary, p. 224.

¹⁰The Fernie Ledger, 26 April 1905, p. 1.

¹¹Howay and Scholefield, British Columbia, vol. 3, pp. 1029-1033.

¹²Canada, Fifth Census of Canada, Ottawa, 1912, vol. 3, p. 340.

¹³Julius Froebel, Die Deutsche Auswanderung und Ihre Kulturistorische Bedeutung, Leipzig, 1858, pp. 52-54. Froebel points out that most of the German immigrants settled in the United States and Brazil. He argues that settlement in independent states as opposed to colonial states is preferable.

¹⁴Ashley G. Brown and J. Boam, British Columbia: Its History, People, Commerce, Industries and Resources, London, 1912, p. 266. The Superintendent of Immigration, W.D. Scott, gives statistics for the increase in immigration.

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1907	13,650
1908	30,768
1909	21,862
1910	30,721
1911	54,626
1912	51,829

In the two years ending March, 1912 35,929 immigrants came from the United Kingdom and 51,016 from the United States. Most of the provincial information to attract immigrants was aimed at encouraging settlers from Great Britain. See, British Columbia, Sessional Papers, "Report of Bureau of Information and Immigration," 1903, p. J31.

¹⁵Canada, Fifth Census, p. 340. See also, p. 100 Heinz Lehman, Das Deutschtum in Westkanada, Berlin, 1939.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 39.

¹⁷C.A. Dawson and Eva R. Younge, Pioneering in the Prairie Provinces: The Social Side of the Settlement Process, Toronto, Macmillan, 1940, pp. 36-37.

¹⁸Lehman, Das Deutschtum in Westkanada, p. 88. This trend was already established in the early period of German immigration. See, Canada, Sessional Papers, "Report on Immigration," 1891, vol. 6, p. 137.

¹⁹Lehman, Das Deutschtum in Westkanada, p. 39.

²⁰John Norris and Others, ed., Strangers Entertained: A History of Ethnic Groups in British Columbia, Vancouver, British Columbia Centennial '71 Committee, 1971, p. 100.

²¹Canada, Fifth Census, 1911, vol. 2, pp. 332; pp. 378-379.

²²Henderson's Vancouver, New Westminster and Fraser Valley Directory, Vancouver, 1908, p. 242.

²³Ibid., 1913, p. 352.

²⁴Howay and Scholefield, British Columbia, vol. 3, pp. 428-31.

²⁵Alexander Malycky and Others, ed., Canadian Ethnic Studies, Calgary, 1969, vol. 1, No. 1, pp. 18-19; p. 25.

²⁶Howay and Scholefield, British Columbia, vol. 3, p. 431.

²⁷ Norris, Strangers Entertained, p. 101.

²⁸ Martin Nordegg, The Possibilities of Canada Are Truly Great, Toronto, Macmillan, 1971, p. 118. See also, Fred W. Field, Capital Investment in Canada, The Monetary Times of Canada, Montreal, 1911, p. 38.

²⁹ Field, Capital Investment in Canada, p. 30; p. 41.

³⁰ "A Canadian Who Has Brought Canada And Germany Into Closer Relations," British Columbia Magazine, Vancouver, May 1914, p. 248. Boam and Brown in British Columbia describe the editors of the British Columbia Magazine, Dr. Frank B. Vrooman and F.O. Penberthy, as following a strong imperial policy. p. 461.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Norris, Strangers Entertained, p. 101.

³³ Henderson's Directory, 1913, p. 252.

³⁴ Canada, Fifth Census, 1911, vol. 2, p. 379.

³⁵ Lloyd G. Reynolds, The British Immigrant: His Social and Economic Adjustment, Toronto, Oxford University Press, 1935.

³⁶ Norris, Strangers Entertained, p. 99. See also, British Columbia Magazine, May, 1914.

³⁷ Frank Yeigh, Through the Heart of Canada, Toronto, 1907, p. 188.

³⁸ Victoria Daily Colonist, 28 January 1914, p. 15. At a banquet given by the Vancouver German Club McBride paid tribute to the character of German settlers and citizenship in June, 1913. See, Castell Hopkins, Canadian Annual Review, 1913, p. 664.

³⁹ John Fahey, Inland Empire: D.C. Corbin and Spokane, Seattle, University of Washington Press, 1965, p. 63.

⁴⁰ Charles Brian Williams, Canadian-American Trade Union Relations: A Study of the Development of Binational Unionism, unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Cornell University, 1964, p. 154.

⁴¹Ibid., p. 459

⁴²Brown and Boam, British Columbia, p. 366.

⁴³Canada, Fifth Census, 1911, vol. 2, p. 332. The total population of Austro-Hungarians was 7,015 in 1911.

⁴⁴Public Archives of Canada, Department of the Interior, Immigration Branch Files, (hereafter cited as Immigration Files), Box 226, File no. 571672, "Work, Wages and Land, the Railroad Route to A Free Farm," See also, Dawson and Younge, Pioneering in the Prairie Provinces, p. 16.

⁴⁵British Columbia, Sessional Papers, "Annual Report of Bureau of Information and Immigration," 1903, p. J31.

⁴⁶Immigration Files, E.S. Robertson to W.D. Scott, 20 October 1907, Box 226, File no. 571672.

⁴⁷Minutes of the Directors' Meetings, Crow's Nest Pass Coal Company, 1916, p. 76.

⁴⁸Canada, Department of Labor, Labor Gazette (hereafter cited as Labor Gazette), vol. 2, 1903-04, p. 540.

⁴⁹J.B. Thornhill, British Columbia in the Making, London, 1913, p. 152. A successful German farmer told Thornhill he "wished he'd packed a woman with him." p. 85. The need for both the companionship and work that women could do was an important desire in a predominately single male population.

⁵⁰Canada, House of Commons, Sessional Papers (hereafter cited as Can. S.P.), "Report of the Commissioners Appointed to Inquire Into Complaints Respecting Treatment of Labourers on the Crow's Nest Pass Railway," vol. 13, 1898, No. 90A, p. 14.

⁵¹Ibid., p. 17.

⁵²Ibid., p. 19. See also, Allerdale Grainger, Woodsmen of the West, Toronto, McClelland, 1964, p. 43.

⁵³Ibid., p. 21.

⁵⁴Public Archives of Canada, Frontier College Papers, General Correspondence, File: Camp Conditions, vol. 165, unsigned correspondence to Alfred Fitzpatrick, Director, p. 132.

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⁵⁵PAC, Frontier College Papers, vol. 165, p. 1, "Annual Report 1915."

⁵⁶Ibid., vol. 132, Annual Report, 1914, p. 2.

⁵⁷Ibid.

⁵⁸Ibid.

⁵⁹PAC, Frontier College Papers, vol. 165, p. 158.

⁶⁰Ibid., R.C. Dearle to Alfred Fitzpatrick, 12 August 1914, p. 180.^o

⁶¹United States, Department of Trade and Commerce, U.S. Consular Reports, 1914, vol. 3, p. 1133.

⁶²James H. Gray, Red Lights on the Prairies. Toronto, Macmillan, 1971, p. 178.

⁶³Williams, Canadian-American Trade Union Relations, p. 167.

⁶⁴Ibid., p. 168; p. 186.

⁶⁵Harold W. Aurand, "Introduction," From the Molly Maguires to the United Mine Workers, Philadelphia, Temple University Press, 1971, p. 141.

⁶⁶Paul Phillips, No Power Greater, Vancouver, B.C. Federation of Labor, 1967, p. 52.

⁶⁷Harold A. Logan, The History of Trade Union Organization in Canada, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1928, p. 399.

⁶⁸Ibid., p. 377. See also, M.F. Timlin, "Canada's Immigration Policy," Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, vol. 26, No. 4, November 1960, p. 519.

⁶⁹British Columbia, Legislative Assembly Sessional Papers, "Report of the Special Commission Appointed to Inquire into Causes of Explosion in Coal Mines," 1903, p. J15.

⁷⁰H. Logan, The History of Trade Union Organizations in Canada, University of Chicago Press, p. 432.

Chapter II

The Depression and Declaration of War: A Moderate Policy to Regulate Enemy Aliens

In British Columbia the year 1912 marked a downturn in the economic development and prosperity which the province had experienced since the turn of the century. In response to unstable world monetary conditions and a lessening demand for natural resources on the world markets, decreases in coal, mineral and timber production weakened the provincial economy.¹ Conflicts in the Balkan states of Europe and increasingly tense relations between Great Britain and Germany discouraged foreign investors, who began hoarding their capital in case of war.² In his annual report to the United States department of commerce, R.E. Mansfield, the American consul in Vancouver, cautioned American businessmen against making further investments because the depression was affecting all trades and businesses in the province.³ Because of declining revenues and foreign investments, the provincial government was compelled to discontinue many public works,

By the summer of 1914 social unrest had grown amidst the increasing unemployment and rumours of imminent war. Communities in the interior reported unsettled conditions in both the mining and logging camps as companies began shutting down. In the Crow's Nest Pass miners laid off at Michel and Coal Creek expressed bitterness over their dismissals, and over the provincial government's use of military force against the coal miners on Vancouver Island by refusing to contribute to or assist with relief programmes initiated by church groups and businessmen.⁴ Although there were fewer dismissals at the mines and smelters in Grand Forks, Rossland and Trail than in Crow's Nest large numbers of unemployed men and some extremely destitute foreigners appeared in Nelson.⁵ A drought

in the Okanagan Valley which ruined crops forced farm labourers to join the first soup lines ever reported in the interior.⁶ In Prince Rupert, where work had been plentiful since 1905 when the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway announced plans for the construction of a line, over three hundred men were unemployed. Though city officials at Prince Rupert attempted to extend work on the docks and power plant by introducing a split shift whereby men worked one week and then took the next off, the number of unemployed continued to rise.⁷

Towns in the interior, which lacked large businesses capable of organizing and financing charities, were unable to maintain relief programmes. As many small businesses failed the traditional source of donations dried up relief efforts. Idle workers began to drift towards Vancouver where the cost of living was lower and the climate milder.⁸

During the boom years Vancouver had employed many skilled and unskilled workers on a variety of construction projects. The seasonally unemployed -- loggers, fishermen, or cannery workers -- who arrived in Vancouver in early winter found work in the lumber mills or with the large building projects such as the Hotel Vancouver, the Canadian Pacific Terminal or with city street crews. But the recession altered this pattern of winter work. At the beginning of August 1914 more than 2,000 men who arrived in Vancouver from the interior were unable to find work.⁹ Construction projects had practically ceased and the lumber mills were dismissing hundreds of men. By September the Canadian Western Lumber Company and Fraser Mills had released over 1,400 men and reduced the wages of their remaining employees.¹⁰ As

large numbers of non-resident workers congregated in Vancouver, city officials anticipated conflicts between Canadian-British workers and foreigners.

The tendency of Vancouver officials to foresee conflicts between national groups developed from their experiences in previous years. In 1912 organizers of the International Workers of the World had arrived in Vancouver from the State of Washington where they had been thrown out of work camps and towns because of their efforts to organize workers. Immediately on their arrival in Vancouver they began organizing the unemployed. They held numerous street meetings and eventually aroused a large enough following to threaten a march on 8 February 1912 to city hall.¹¹ City officials feared that the march might lead to violence similar to the Chinatown Riots in 1907 when a mob led by agitators from the United States had demolished several shops in the Chinese and Japanese district. The Chief of Police, Chamberlain, increased the size of the force with volunteers and prepared for the worst, issuing a city order to ban all street meetings and processions.¹² At the same time Malcolm J. Reid, director for the Immigration branch in Vancouver, issued instructions to border guards to inspect closely aliens entering from the United States.¹³

In view of the economic situation of 1913 and the activities of radical labour agitators, the Dominion Government issued an order-in-council in the spring of that year prohibiting the landing of all nationalities "to relieve the congested labor market in British Columbia."¹⁴ Although the order effectively prevented immigration from the United

States, it did not relieve unemployment because migrants arrived from the prairie provinces.

An incident in July, 1914 aroused hostility towards aliens. In an effort to test a Canadian regulation barring Sikh immigrants from entering British Columbia a Punjabi agitator chartered the Komagata Maru which arrived with more than 300 East Indians in the summer of 1914.¹⁵ When immigration authorities refused permission for the passengers to land, the vessel remained in False Creek until escorted out of the harbour by the H.M.C.S. Rainbow on 23 July. The incident drew attention to the Sikhs who were employed in the lumber mills and many unemployed men demanded that companies employing East Indians dismiss them. One corporation fired 120 Sikhs. By the end of July nearly 500 were unemployed.¹⁶

In order to provide more jobs for preferred settlers, the Vancouver city council passed a resolution in April 1914 stating that only British subjects and ratepayers would be employed on public works.¹⁷ Maurice Ginzberger, the Swiss consul, objected to the city's discrimination against foreigners already in the province. Since many foreign labourers depended on employment on public works, especially in the construction trades and on street crews, Ginzberger argued that these persons would be left in difficult circumstances.¹⁸ With all industries cutting back employment more men would be competing for fewer jobs on the public works and the foreigners would face only the alternative of either leaving the province, or at least Vancouver, or seeking work elsewhere.

In spite of Ginzberger's complaints, the British Columbia Royal Commission on Labour reaffirmed in 1914 the city council's position when it recommended that only British subjects should be employed on public works and that provincial legislation should exclude both unskilled and skilled alien labour from projects "in which the government can exercise any control."¹⁹

The war which broke out in August focused attention on the Germans and Austro-Hungarians in the province. But the responsibility for establishing regulations controlling the enemy aliens rested with the federal government, which outlined its policy at the special war session of parliament.

Sir Robert Borden, when announcing his government's policy on August 19, emphasized that Canada had a constitutional and a moral responsibility to protect the rights of enemy aliens. Borden introduced the government's policy by stating that he firmly believed the German and Austro-Hungarian immigrants would be loyal to their newly adopted homeland. "Therefore we have declared by Order-in-Council", he stated,

that those people who were born in Germany or in Austria-Hungary and have come to Canada as adopted citizens of this country, whether they have become naturalized or not, are entitled to the protection of the law of Canada... that they shall not be molested or interfered with, unless any among them should desire to aid or abet the enemy or leave this country for the purpose of fighting against Great Britain and her allies.²⁰

The government's position was embodied in an official proclamation which had been issued on 15 August 1914 before the meeting of parliament. The

proclamation outlined the policy and assured enemy aliens that so long as they peacefully pursued their occupations they would not be interfered with unless there was evidence they were assisting the enemy. Military reservists, or anyone attempting to flee the country, would be arrested and detained. However anyone detained under the regulations might be released if he proved his reliability to the authorities and signed an undertaking pledging loyalty and obedience to the Crown.²¹ Borden emphasized that the government's policy would be fairly and judiciously enforced and urged Canadians to accept his moderate approach. The Prime Minister understood that feelings aroused by war might jeopardize his aim to maintain normal relations between enemy aliens and Canadians. Seeking to prevent personal vindictiveness he stated, "We have absolutely no quarrel with the German people."²² He stressed that the entire world owed much to Germany's contribution to civilization, and that Canada was waging a war against "military autocracy", and not against individuals of German origin who had settled in Canada.

Revealing a sensitive understanding for the dilemma in which many enemy aliens found themselves, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, the leader of the opposition, shared the prime minister's views. He maintained that German speaking immigrants had made good settlers and that they would stand true to British institutions.²³ A natural affection for their homeland, particularly among the more recent immigrants, placed them in a painful situation where the "mind and heart are driven in opposite directions."²⁴ Lack of constitutional freedom in Germany had permitted the "personal imperialism" of one man to launch a world war, Laurier declared, and

Germans in Canada would have to share responsibility during the war against such despotism.²⁵

The special war session of parliament had convened not only to approve emergency measures already taken by the government but also to consider the War Measures Bill to ensure to the government legal authority to order any special measures it considered necessary. Included in the broad powers incorporated into the bill was an article authorizing the Minister of Justice to regulate all legal proceedings relating to enemy aliens. Although the courts might proceed in cases involving enemy aliens, any disposition relating to bail, discharge, or trial required the consent of the Minister of Justice.²⁶

Meanwhile the government in British Columbia had responded quickly to the declaration of war. Premier Sir Richard McBride was already directing his full attention to the defence of his province. McBride, who had founded the British Empire League in British Columbia, had long advocated a Canadian contribution to the Imperial Navy.²⁷ On August 30, 1914 he summarized his views in a letter to the editor of Sunset, a popular journal:

No one who realizes the situation can fail to be impressed with the necessity for adequate means of defence both by land and sea, and in the attitude I have taken consistently, I have always advocated this view. Imperial authorities made large expenditures -- the need for strengthening and adding to their work must be evident not only from a Canadian but an Imperial point of view.²⁸

The only warship assigned for permanent duty to the Pacific Coast in 1914 was the H.M.C.S. Rainbow, a second class cruiser. The ship was inadequate for the defence of the province. Early in August McBride

took immediate action to augment the naval forces. On August 4 he secretly negotiated the purchase of two submarines from a Seattle shipping company. When his action was announced, it boosted the confidence of the people of Victoria who felt especially exposed to the threat of naval attack.²⁹ On August 7 the federal government took over the submarines and McBride continued to urge more protection when he cabled to Ottawa recommending that the ocean liner Empress of Russia be manned and equipped for coastal defence.³⁰

The premier also considered the militia and provincial police force to be inadequate. The permanent militia in British Columbia included a staff of 125 officers at Esquimalt, and an active contingent at Vernon and other interior communities. The total strength of the militia was just over three thousand men.³¹ On 31 July, 1914 the premier telegraphed to Borden urging the immediate call for 100,000 volunteers. Three days later he proposed that a British Columbia regiment be recruited for the defence of Victoria, Prince Rupert, Vancouver and other communities.³²

McBride had support for his contention that the land forces of the province were inadequate. On July 10 the Associated Boards of the Western Mainland forwarded a resolution to the provincial government requesting the re-organization and expansion of the provincial police force along the line of the Royal Northwest Mounted Police so that "thorough protection might be afforded all communities."³³ In order to maintain the provincial police at full strength, McBride issued orders on August 22 prohibiting the enlistment of constables

in the Canadian Expeditionary Force.³⁴ On August 10 the federal immigration authorities, who had only nine supervisors and sixty border guards in the province, requested the co-operation and assistance of the militia and provincial police in keeping surveillance of enemy aliens.³⁵

If the provincial government and federal officials were concerned about the forces to safeguard the province, there was no question about popular sentiment favoring mobilization for war. Individuals, organizations and municipalities flooded provincial offices with telegrammes supporting the war effort, offering contributions and volunteering services.³⁶ Men throughout the province rushed to join companies of volunteers. The District of Cowichan telegraphed McBride that two companies had already been formed by August 5 and over 300 additional men wanted to enlist.³⁷ In the Okanagan Valley the rush to enlist gave communities a distinct martial atmosphere.³⁸ Home guards formed overnight in Prince Rupert and other coastal cities. Victoria's British Campaigners Association established the Victoria Volunteer Guard.³⁹ Church leaders expressed full support for the war effort and played an important part in recruitment drives.⁴⁰

In the martial atmosphere generated by the enthusiastic mobilization for war, citizens and government officials turned their attention increasingly to the internal security of the province. People became increasingly concerned over the presence of enemy aliens and as their concern found expression, Germans and Austro-Hungarians began to leave the province in the first week of August. Malcolm J. Reid, Director of Immigration in British Columbia, reported to W.D. Scott the Superintendent of Immigration, that 300 enemy aliens fled to the United

States in the first week of the war.⁴¹ Numerous Germans and Austro-Hungarians applied for entry into the state of Washington. American border guards in August informed Canadian agents that they were receiving an average of fifty immigrants a day. This trend continued until September.⁴²

In order to achieve control of the exodus, Canadian officials required the co-operation of the United States border guards and of the American Consul in Vancouver, R.E. Mansfield. American agents assisted the Canadians by providing the names of enemy aliens who made application to enter the United States.⁴³ With this information Canadian agents apprehended several enemy aliens before they reached the border. Mansfield had also begun to issue an oath to be taken by enemy aliens applying for entry into the United States. Unless applicants swore that they desired to enter the United States only for employment or residence "as it is now impossible for me to obtain employment in British Columbia and it is not my intention to join any military organization", they were not permitted to enter the United States.⁴⁴ Malcolm J. Reid questioned the value of this document and ordered Canadian border guards to be guided by "your own judgment, ignoring, if you deem advisable, any representation made by acting consuls of hostile nations acting in that capacity."⁴⁵ The main objective of Canadian agents was to prevent German reservists from returning to their battalions in Europe.

Among the first people to flee were many reserve officers, who owned property and operated businesses in Vancouver.⁴⁶ Militia and immigration officials considered these men risks to the security of the

province. They feared that they might attempt to organize sabotage or provide information about military installations. General Sir William D. Otter, who became the Director for Internment Operations, described the threat:

The great danger in regard to the Germans and Austrians is not be anticipated from the working classes so much as from those in business. Most of the Austrians are working men, and though they might cause trouble if not kept under observation, it is the German commercial agents, and men in similar position who are most likely to prove dangerous. They do not mix with the workmen -- they are educated, pushful and intelligent, and many of them have seen service in the German forces.⁴⁷

The educated German became the major concern of police, particularly after control on the border became more effective and enemy aliens sought other means of escaping through underground smuggling routes which were directed by German residents.

At the time of the declaration of war Dominion police had received information from Reid that the German Consul, in Vancouver, G. Wulfsohn, was providing transportation and money to anyone willing to leave the province to join the German forces.⁴⁸ After the German and Austro-Hungarian consulates were officially closed, Wulfsohn remained in Vancouver. Canadian immigrations agents, suspecting that he was organizing a smuggling route with the assistance of the Austro-Hungarian consul in Seattle, on 18 September intercepted a letter from the Austro-Hungarian consul outlining plans for giving aid to all reservists returning to Europe. His plan made provision for financial assistance to families who might be left behind.⁴⁹ Immigration agents foiled the

smuggling plans when on 29 September they captured several enemy aliens on a launch headed for Puget Sound.⁵⁰ The agents later arrested Carl von Mackensen, charging him with assisting the enemy by directing the smuggling route from his Port Kells poultry farm.⁵¹ The disclosure of these activities heightened popular sentiment against the moderate policy being pursued by the federal government. For many British Columbians the departure of many well known Germans from Vancouver proved that the Germans were disloyal and untrustworthy.

In Victoria, city officials ordered enemy aliens to register with the city police even though the federal government did not require the registration of enemy aliens.⁵² In Victoria there was fear of German attack on the Esquimalt naval base. Rumours circulated freely about the presence of German spies.⁵³ In Prince Rupert police requested permission from immigration authorities to register all Germans and Austro-Hungarians but the Immigration Branch deferred the request because it had no legal authority to require enemy aliens to register.⁵⁴ Enemy aliens in both Victoria and Prince Rupert failed to report to police and this failure created further anxiety concerning their loyalty to Canada.

In the contagious atmosphere of suspicion prevalent in a society mobilizing for war, rumours spread rapidly. They were not entirely unfounded. Reliable sources reported that spies planned to infiltrate the province to sabotage military installations. A. Carnegie Ross, the British Consul in San Francisco, wired Government House in Victoria on 28 August that fourteen German chemists were bound for Vancouver

to establish signal lights for German cruisers.⁵⁵ In spite of Ross's admission that he could not verify his information, Reid appointed special agents to watch for the saboteurs. On 7 September Ross sent a confirmed report that another group of saboteurs, led by John Galitz, alias "Black Jack", had departed for Vancouver Island to sabotage the coal mines at Nanaimo.⁵⁶

There was also real concern over the possibility of German sympathizers in the State of Washington joining with Irish Sinn Fein elements to invade the province.

The State of Washington had a population of 87,000 Germans and 19,000 Austro-Hungarians. Reid directed his agents in Seattle to "take every precaution in rejecting aliens with whom England is at war."⁵⁷ Provincial police and border inspectors searched all immigrants into British Columbia for concealed weapons. Agents assigned to keep watch on the German-American Alliance reported that at a secret meeting of the Alliance a plan had been formulated for an attack on Canada with the cooperation of Germans and Austro-Hungarians already in the country. Nothing, however, came of this plan.⁵⁸

After the first weeks the war scare subsided, and it appeared that the rumours had been exaggerated. The Dominion Chief of Police, A.P. Sherwood, had placed agents throughout the United States to observe the activities of Germans and organizations sympathetic to Germany. The reports made by his agents showed that there was no attempt on the West Coast to invade British Columbia.⁵⁹ Borden and other federal ministers had also been informed that there did not appear to be "any likelihood of Austrians or Germans in organized bodies attacking

public and private property anywhere."⁶⁰ Reid, however, continued to receive alarming reports from Ross in San Francisco. He took every precaution against any potential threat to the province.

In the crisis of the war emergency, Canadians generally desired assurance that they were receiving protection and considered the moderate regulations embodied in the proclamation of August 15 to be inadequate. As public opinion urged a firmer policy towards enemy aliens this issue occupied federal cabinet ministers in the autumn of 1914.

The government had received proposals for the internment and registration of enemy aliens as early as August. Sir Thomas G. Shaughnessey had written a lengthy letter to Martin Burrell, the Minister of Agriculture, on 14 August recommending that the government intern Austro-Hungarians in British Columbia because so many were unemployed. If they were allowed to become destitute, Shaughnessey felt they would turn to crime in a desperate effort to survive. Enemy aliens applying for relief, he wrote, should be detained and held "until the war is over, or employment offers."⁶¹ All cabinet members received copies of Shaughnessey's letter. But there were objections from some members, and Arthur Meighen, the Solicitor General, opposed the plan because he thought such camps would become "a lazy man's haven."⁶² He proposed instead a plan whereby Austro-Hungarians would receive forty-acre allotments which they would farm. With government assistance Meighen believed enemy aliens would "jump at the chance to acquire a small piece of land."⁶³

Borden disapproved both plans. Instead of deciding to intern

destitute enemy aliens, he was willing to provide funds by order-in-council to various localities to be distributed by American consuls who represented German and Austro-Hungarian interests in Canada. These grants soon proved to be inadequate. In Victoria, where over 300 Austro-Hungarians were absolutely destitute, the city council was obliged to provide work for some of them on the city rock pile. Funds were unavailable for employing the others.⁶⁴ In small communities such as Grand Fords, where many Austro-Hungarians had lost their jobs during the first week of the war, local residents complained that there were no facilities for maintaining or detaining the aliens. They requested information as to what measures should be taken to safeguard the community, since "they are not allowed to enter the U.S.A. in search of employment, it may make them restive further along in the season."⁶⁵ As more complaints came in from communities all across Canada, Borden's government recognized that some changes would be necessary.

Borden considered the internment of enemy aliens en masse an impossibility because of the expense and the number of personnel required to undertake such a huge programme. Some measures were necessary, however, and before making a decision Borden consulted the Colonial Office on what course he should pursue. On 22 October Borden wrote to London saying the Canadian government did not believe mass internment was feasible or just because "the fact that these foreigners have come to Canada practically by invitation makes it especially difficult to deal with."⁶⁶ Sir Edward Grey replied on 26 October that Canada should detain all enemy aliens; this policy was the only way of assuring that

no Germans or Austro-Hungarians would "drift back to the enemy's firing line."

The Prime Minister hesitated to accept Grey's recommendation. Apart from the expense of such a policy, Borden had moral objections to wholesale internment. He recognized that the fate of many individuals had been determined by the circumstances of war. He revealed his understanding for the dilemma confronting enemy aliens when he wrote to an immigration officer in Winnipeg regarding the detention of Stephen Schwarz, a chemical engineer who had emigrated from Austro-Hungary in 1913 to take a job in the city:

It is not possible to lay down a general rule. Public opinion has in many instances brought about great hardship by forcing employers to discharge quiet, peaceful citizens, who have no sympathy with the enemies' cause and no desire except to attend to their ordinary avocations.⁶⁷

Even though he was facing criticism from many sources to enact strict measures against the enemy aliens, wholesale internment, Borden feared, would compromise Canada's integrity.

In an effort to preserve Canada's commitment to immigrants the government issued an order-in-council on 28 October 1914 which made several moderate provisions for the control of enemy aliens. It provided for the appointment of "Registrars of Enemy Aliens" in communities that requested registrars. Registration initially applied only to those enemy aliens residing in the community or "within twenty miles thereof."⁶⁸ Registrars had the authority to issue exequats to alien enemies if they were assured such aliens would "not materially assist, by

active service, information or otherwise, the forces of the enemy."⁶⁹

This clause allowed for those enemy aliens who were unemployed and who desired to leave the country to do so legally, so long as local authorities thought they would not return to their homeland to join the enemy's forces. However, registrars also had the power to detain and intern any individual who could not be safely left at large.⁷⁰ A check on this power was included in the order whereby an enemy alien could sign an undertaking pledging loyalty to Canada and the United Kingdom and obtain release so long as he abided by the terms of the order.⁷¹ This clause was intended to prevent the abuse of such authority and it provided a degree of assurance to the enemy alien that he would not suffer internment because of the personal feelings of registrars.

The order-in-council was a departure from the government's policy outlined in the proclamation of August 15, when enemy aliens were exempt from any restrictions so long as they worked peacefully and refrained from expressing pro-German sympathies. In view of the large numbers of enemy aliens who were attempting to leave Canada and the fears awakened by rumours, particularly in British Columbia, the order-in-council was a reasonable precaution against the prospect of hostile activities by enemy aliens.

In Victoria, Mayor Alex. Stewart after consulting with naval and militia officers, requested Ottawa to designate the city as a registration center. Stewart stated this was "an urgent matter due to the activities of aliens."⁷² Although no charges or evidence had been

laid against enemy aliens, Victoria's citizens felt particularly vulnerable to attack because of their exposure to the Pacific and the presence of the Esquimalt base. In fact the militia commander had already set up a department of alien reservists within the militia organization. Major Ridgeway Wilson had directed this department and when Ottawa agreed to appoint a registrar of enemy aliens, Wilson received the appointment on 14 November 1914.⁷³ His appointment had a calming effect on the population in Victoria.

Although the October 28 order-in-council represented a new policy, limitations on the rights of enemy aliens had also occurred in other aspects. When war was declared many enemy aliens who hoped to protect their legal rights applied for naturalization papers. Authority for granting naturalization rested with the courts. A variety of court decisions left the question as to whether the enemy alien could receive citizenship in doubt, but judges in British Columbia tended to decide against enemy alien applications. G.H. Thompson, a county court judge in the Kootenay district held in one case that "No enemy alien has a right to apply to the civil courts during war. His civil rights are suspended."⁷⁴ In the case of an application for naturalization in Victoria, P.S. Lampman held a similar position when he stated in the interest of public safety enemy aliens could not be naturalized.⁷⁵ On the other hand, the British Columbia Supreme Court decided that enemy aliens might receive citizenship. The issue remained unresolved; but generally enemy aliens applying for citizenship failed to receive their papers. As a means of expressing his loyalty

or of protecting his private interests, naturalization of the enemy aliens was not an avenue to maintaining his status in a society at war.

While limitations on naturalization were preventing enemy aliens from becoming citizens, people were clamoring for the removal of naturalized German-Canadians from civil service or political positions. In British Columbia, members of the Legislative Assembly requested F.W. Behnsen to explain his German background. Behnsen had been a resident of Victoria for more than thirty-four years, he was naturalized and he had represented Victoria in the Assembly since 1907. However, he was compelled to reiterate his allegiance to the crown before the meeting of the Assembly in February, 1915.⁷⁶ Another leading member of Victoria's German community, Carl Lowenberg, experienced personal embarrassment and pain when he was forced to leave his adopted land because of his position as German Consul. For many years Lowenberg had been resident in Victoria and had established himself in several lines of business ranging from real-estate, insurance and clothing. When ordered to leave the city he was unable to bear the loss of his home, business and personal relationships in Victoria.⁷⁷

Other residents of the province who had come from Germany more recently made individual decisions as to whether to remain. Many prominent property owners and businessmen fled to the United States leaving behind their substantial interests. Dr. Karl Weiss, the publisher of the Vancouver German Press, had issued a statement to the Vancouver News-Advertiser that Germans in Vancouver would be loyal to

Canada.⁷⁸ Weiss spoke out against the war but he was unable to continue publishing his newspaper, and in September he left for Seattle.⁷⁹ Another leading figure, Alvo von Alvensleben, had been in Germany when war was declared. As he was returning to British Columbia, he was reported to have expected no problems in re-entering the province. "My friends", he said, "know that while I am a good German and that my object in coming back is strictly to attend to my business, I am not coming back as an enemy to the people I have lived among so many years."⁸⁰ Immigration officials, however, prevented Alvensleben from entering British Columbia.

The limitations imposed by the order-in-council, by the court decisions and by the restrictions on the re-entry of resident enemy aliens extended also to the enlistment in the armed forces, a role in which the naturalized German-Canadians might have been able to prove their loyalty. In Vancouver many aliens, among them a few naturalized Germans and Austro-Hungarians, had requested the government to permit them to form a company. The aliens wanted a foreign legion so that they might express their loyalty to the British Empire. German-Canadians who successfully enlisted discovered that once they were in England they were taken out of the Canadian contingents and sent back to Canada. Canadian militia authorities considered the enlistment of persons of foreign birth or nationality inadvisable.⁸¹ Even if they were naturalized British subjects their "German sounding names" made them suspect in the eyes of military officials. One soldier, F.A. Werner, who had been naturalized in Vancouver in 1906, had enlisted

because he "thought if he did not enlist that he would look sheepish after the war."⁸³ However, he was sent back from England because he had been born in Austro-Hungary. The opportunities available to the enemy aliens to prove his loyalty, then, were severely limited. The only way in which they might actively express their loyalty was through contributions to fund raising campaigns. Otherwise they were relegated to a passive role, one in which they were to work peacefully, avoid conflicts with Canadians, and report regularly to registration officers.

Prior to the war, the recession had already focused attention on the presence of aliens in the community. When war broke out the mobilization of citizens for defence at home and service abroad created unrest and drew attention to the enemy aliens. Federal authorities attempted to preserve the legal rights of enemy aliens so long as they were peaceful. But the large numbers of reservists fleeing the country, rumours of sabotage and fears of attack led the public to demand stricter regulations. In response to such demands the government passed orders-in-council requiring registration and in some instances internment. The original intentions of the government to protect enemy aliens from oppressive measures was gradually ending, although as yet the government's policies appeared a reasonable precaution during wartime.

Footnotes

¹ Brian Ray Douglas Smith, Sir Richard McBride: A Study in the Conservative Party of British Columbia 1903-1916, unpublished M.A. Thesis, Queens University, 1959, p. 185.

² Canada, Parliament, House of Commons, Official Report of Debates, 2 March 1915, p. 602, (Hereafter cited as Can. House of Commons, Official Report of Debates).

³ United States, Department of Commerce, Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, U.S. Daily Consular and Trade Reports 1914, (Hereafter cited as U.S. Consular Reports), vol. 3, p. 536.

⁴ Presbyterian Church of Canada, Acts and Proceedings, Fortieth General Assembly, Toronto, 1914, pp. 43-44. Kootenay miners followed developments closely in the Vancouver Island coal strikes since the U.M.W.A. was leading the effort to organize the mines.

⁵ Provincial Archives of British Columbia (Hereafter cited as P.A.B.C.) Sir Richard McBride Papers, Outward Correspondence, McBride to W.J. Bowser, 8 December 1914, p. 1002.

⁶ Presbyterian Church of Canada, Acts and Proceedings 1914, pp. 47-48.

⁷ Public Archives of Canada, (Hereafter cited as PAC) Department of the Interior, Immigration Branch, Correspondence Concerning Unemployment in Vancouver, (Hereafter cited as Immigration Branch, Correspondence) Box 257, File 75 2149, unsigned letter to F.A. Acland, 22 September 1914, n.pp.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Ibid., F.F. Quinn, Dominion Inspector of Employment Agencies for British Columbia to Malcolm R.J. Reid, Dominion Immigration Agent and Inspector for British Columbia, 31 August 1914.

¹⁰ Ibid., Quinn reported that 10,000 people were unemployed in Vancouver, its environs and Victoria. Unemployment was not limited to unskilled labour; it included large numbers of tradesmen, clerical workers and accountants. Quinn proposed that vacant city lots could be used for planting truck gardens with the government supplying seed and implements. He also recommended that enemy aliens still employed should be replaced by Canadian workers.

¹¹ Immigration Branch, Correspondence, Box 257, File 752149, Quinn to Reid, 12 February 1912, p. 1.

¹²Ibid.

¹³Ibid., p. 8.

¹⁴U.S. Consular Reports, 1914, vol. 3, p. 536.

¹⁵Margaret A. Ormsby, British Columbia: A History, Macmillans, Vancouver, 1958, p. 369.

¹⁶Immigration Branch, Correspondence, Box 257, File 752149, Reid to W.D. Scott, Superintendent of Immigration, 29 July 1914.

¹⁷Ibid.

¹⁸Ibid., 21 April 1914.

¹⁹British Columbia, Legislative Assembly, Sessional Papers, (Hereafter cited as B.C.S.P.), "Royal Commission on Labour", 1914, p. 25M.

²⁰Canada, Parliament, House of Commons, (Hereafter cited as Can. S.P.) Official Report of Debates Special War Session, 19 August 1914, pp. 14-15.

²¹The Canada Gazette, vol 47, no. 7, 15 August 1914, p. 530. The clause reads "Such persons so long as they quietly pursue their ordinary avocations shall not be arrested, detained or interfered with...."

²²Can. S.P., Special War Session, p. 14.

²³Ibid., 19 August 1914, p. 10.

²⁴Ibid.

²⁵Ibid.

²⁶Ibid.

²⁷Smith, McBride, p. 237.

²⁸P.A.B.C., McBride Papers, Outward Correspondence, 30 July 1914, p. 932.

²⁹ Gilbert Norman Tucker, "Canada's First Submarines: CC1 and CC2. An Episode of the Naval War in the Pacific, 1914-1918," British Columbia Historical Quarterly, vol. 7, no. 3, (July 1943), p. 156.

³⁰ McBride Papers, Outward Correspondence, McBride to Borden, 3 August 1914, p. 907.

³¹ Brown and Boam, British Columbia, pp. 156-157.

³² McBride Papers, Outward Correspondence, McBride to Borden, 31 July 1914, p. 929.

³³ Ibid., McBride to Bowser, 10 July 1914, p. 754.

³⁴ Ibid., McBride to Conservative Association of Fernie, 22 August 1914, p. 942.

³⁵ Immigration Branch, Correspondence, Reid to Scott, 10 August 1914.

³⁶ McBride Papers, Inward Correspondence, Imperial Order, Daughters of the Empire of McBride, 4 August 1914, p. 924; Royal Mounted Police Veterans Association to McBride, 6 August 1914, p. 928.

³⁷ Ibid., Cowichan District Council to McBride, 5 August 1914, p. 931.

³⁸ R.H. Roy, Sinews of Steel: The History of the British Columbia Dragons, Kelowna, 1965, p. 42.

³⁹ P.A.B.C., Minutes of the British Campaigners Association, passim. see also, Roy Sinews of Steel, p. 37.

⁴⁰ John Fairfax, "Canadian Churches and the Last War," Canadian Forum, v. 16 (November 1934), p. 12, passim.

⁴¹ Immigration Branch, Correspondence, Reid to Scott, 10 August 1914, Box 320, File 881866, Registration of Enemy Aliens.

⁴² Ibid., 3 September 1914. See also, Bellingham Herald, 3 September 1914, p. 3.

⁴³ Ibid., 20 August 1914.

⁴⁴Ibid.

⁴⁵Ibid.

⁴⁶Ibid., Reid to Scott, 4 September 1914.

⁴⁷J. Castell Hopkins, Canadian Annual Review of Public Affairs, 1914, p. 278.

⁴⁸Immigration Branch, Correspondence, Box 320, File 881866, Reid to Scott, 5 August 1914.

⁴⁹Ibid.

⁵⁰The Vancouver Province, 29 September 1914, p. 1.

⁵¹The British Columbian, 16 January 1915, p. 1.

⁵²Immigration Branch, Correspondence, Box 257, File 752149, Chrow to Reid, 29 October 1914.

⁵³Interview with Mr. Ainsley Helmcken, City Archivist, Victoria.

⁵⁴P.A.C., Robert Laird Borden Papers, vol. 191-192, File 674(1) War Aliens, City Council of Prince Rupert to Commissioner of Customs, 2 September 1914, p. 105980.

⁵⁵Immigration Branch, Correspondence, Box 320, File 881866, A.Carnegie Ross to Lt. Governor F. Barward, Victoria, 28 August 1914.

⁵⁶Ibid., 7 September 1914.

⁵⁷Ibid., Reid to Scott, 15 August 1914.

⁵⁸P.A.C., Borden Papers, vol. 191, File 674(1) War Aliens, A.P. Sherwood to L.C. Christie, 4 September 1914, p. 10595. See also, P.A.C., Department of Secretary of State, World War I Files, vol. 52, File no. 203-1.

⁵⁹Ibid., Sherwood to Borden, 4 September 1914, p. 106069; pp. 106064-106065; passim.

⁶⁰Ibid.

⁶¹P.A.C., Borden Papers, Sir Thomas G. Shaughnessey to Hon. Martin Burrell, Minister of Agriculture, vol. 191(1), File War Aliens, 26 August 1914, p. 105935.

⁶²Ibid., 28 August 1914, p. 105952.

⁶³Ibid.

⁶⁴Immigration Branch, Correspondence, Box 320, File 881866, "Memorandum on Germans and Austro-Hungarians in Victoria," Reid to Scott, 29 October 1914.

⁶⁵Ibid., P.T. Callum to Scott, 21 August 1914.

⁶⁶P.A.C., Borden Papers, G.H. Perley to F.R. Acland, 22 October 1914, vol. 191, File 674(2) War Aliens, p. 106260.

⁶⁷Ibid., Borden to T. Walker, Immigration Agent, Winnipeg, 28 November 1914, p. 106373.

⁶⁸Canada, Department of the Secretary of State, War Documents, p. 575.

⁶⁹Ibid., p. 175.

⁷⁰P.A.C., Borden Papers, Alex Stewart to Borden, vol. 171, File 674(2), 9 November 1914, p. 106299.

⁷¹Ibid.

⁷²Ibid.

⁷³Canada, War Documents, p. 175.

⁷⁴Hopkins, C.A.R., 1915, p. 283.

⁷⁵Ibid., p. 284.

⁷⁶British Columbian, 3 February 1915, p. 1.

⁷⁷Ainsley Helmcken, City Archivist, Victoria, 17 October 1970.

⁷⁸ Vancouver News Advertiser, 2 September 1914, p. 1.

⁷⁹ Vancouver Sun, 26 September 1914, p. 1.

⁸⁰ Vancouver Province, 20 August 1914, p. 1.

⁸¹ P.A.C., Department of Militian Defence Papers, vol. 857, File 16, "Enlistment of Galician and Austrian Parentage in C.E.F.", Adj. Gen. Canadian Militia to D.O.L., No. IV, 5 August 1914.

⁸² Ibid., Adj. Gen. Canadian Militia to DC: 2nd Division, Toronto, 24 February 1915.

⁸³ Ibid., File IIIII, "Copy of draft addressed to Governor General of Canada respecting soldier of alien origin in Canadian Training Division, Brawshott, 6 November 1916.

Chapter III

Economic Imperatives and the War: Alien Enemy Policy Transformed

In contrast to their spirited enthusiasm for the war effort during the first weeks, British Columbians exhibited a quiet and calm mood in January 1915. On the European front Canadian forces had not yet been engaged in a major battle and as recruits drilled on the training grounds at Vernon and Victoria, the war still seemed more in preparation than in actual conflict. As the initial fear of invasion failed to materialize and the activities of enemy aliens came under stricter control, there was a less agitated atmosphere. Major Ridgeway Wilson, Registrar of Alien Enemies in B.C., announced that adequate measures had been taken for the registration and internment of alien enemies. On the 5 January 1915 he requested the Minister of Justice to close the Registrar's Office.¹

The active involvement of fathers and sons, who had rushed to join the expeditionary force or the home guards, demonstrated the intense desire to defend the province and the Empire. In some instances enlisted men had a compelling urge to escape the mundane problems of the depression and unemployment. Premier McBride, whose government had faced increasing criticism as the depression deepened, had assumed a dynamic leadership when war was declared. He linked any criticism of his government's policies to disloyalty towards Great Britain. In November 1914 McBride, however, had departed for England leaving his Attorney-General J.W. Bowser to confront mounting opposition to his government from municipalities where welfare costs were rising with the growing numbers of unemployed.

Vancouver City Council had appointed the Rev. George D. Ireland as City Relief Officer in October. During November and December the city expended \$6,464 on relief. Of this amount \$4,312 was for single men.³ This expenditure excluded amounts paid to more than 3,690 men who were working on half-day shifts on a variety of public works.⁴ In the first three months of 1915 relief costs soared as hundreds of unemployed men drifted into Vancouver. In January 1915 the city spent \$19,000 on relief. Ireland predicted the relief bureau would be unable to handle the influx of unemployed who numbered nearly twenty thousand by the end of March. From 1 November 1914 to 31 March 1915 Vancouver spent for food, beds, board, fuel, rent and transportation \$72,424 for direct relief. An additional \$75,000 was expended on relief work for married men.⁵ F.F. Quinn reported to the Immigration Branch that sixty-five per cent of the men on direct assistance were Russians and that the remainder represented a mixture of foreigners, including a few Austro-Hungarians.⁶ Despite fear that bread riots might ensue if the city cut relief, the city discontinued the distribution of bread and soup tickets to more than 2,000 men on 8 April.⁷

The depletion of municipal funds compelled the Vancouver City Council to seek assistance from the provincial government. But Victoria, although it provided assistance to communities, expected incorporated municipalities to look after their own residents. In March, however, Bowser as Acting Premier extended a loan of \$10,000 to Vancouver and intimated that future assistance might be made available to other municipalities particularly with regard to the non-resident unemployed.⁸

The Vancouver aldermen had hoped that the provincial government would assume the responsibility when it voted to cut off assistance to foreigners. Bowser intended, however, to shift this responsibility to the federal authorities. He argued that the provincial government could scarcely be held responsible for maintaining unemployed aliens since aliens came under the jurisdiction of the Immigration Branch. On 9 April he announced that the provincial government had opened negotiations with Ottawa for the deportation of unemployed foreigners,⁹ or for the internment of enemy aliens. In an interview with Vancouver journalists he stated:

I have again urged Sir Robert that some action should be taken with the city of Vancouver towards deporting certain classes and also intern- ing others, and I am pressing upon him that the same practice should be followed in Fort George, for we now, within the last few days, have had thrown on our hands there a large number of alien enemies as well as Russians and other inhabitants of Southern Europe whom we today are feeding.¹⁰

In order to ensure a satisfactory solution to the unemployment problem Bowser continued to pursue the issue with the Federal government. On 12 April he informed the press that his representations had been successful.¹¹ He requested Major Ridgway Wilson to confer with Mayor L.D. Taylor of Vancouver and Colonel Duff-Stewart, the commander of the militia in Vancouver, to make plans for the deportation of enemy aliens and to discuss with the United States Consul the entry of these foreigners into Washington.¹² On 23 April Borden instructed the military authorities that unemployed alien enemies in the province might be interned. On the following day an order-in-council

authorized enemy aliens to ~~depart~~ to the United States.¹³

Borden's decision to permit the internment of unemployed aliens represented a clear change in policy from that which he had advocated in the first months of the war. According to the order-in-council of 28 April 1914, alien enemies, so long as they were registered, reported regularly, and refrained from any hostile acts, were to be allowed to remain at large. Under pressure from the provincial government, which was anxious to relieve the acute unemployment problem, the Prime Minister adopted a new policy.

Bowser, who initiated the effort to get an internment policy accepted by the federal government, had the assistance of H.H. Stevens, M.P. from Vancouver. Since February Stevens had been urging the continuation of public works, specifically, post offices and the Grandview drill hall. He also insisted on a larger share of war contracts for the province.¹⁴ He accused eastern administrators on the War Purchasing Commission "of deliberately blocking business coming to the Coast."¹⁵ To him the fact that the Commission had not established an office on the West Coast was evidence of intentional neglect on the part of the federal government.¹⁶ Stevens also suggested that unemployed British subjects, especially mechanics who were needed in Great Britain for war production, might be assisted to return to England. Together, Bowser and Stevens, exerted enough pressure on Borden for him to compromise his original position on the internment of enemy aliens.

Curiously Borden did not legally formulate his new policy by order-in-council. The order-in-council of 24 April 1915 permitted

the deportation of unemployed alien enemies but did not include a clause relating to the internment of unemployed enemy aliens. Stevens informed the press that he had received a telegram from Borden stating that orders had been given to intern aliens enemies. The Vancouver military authorities, however, aside from making preparations to deport alien enemies, did not intern any aliens.¹⁷ However, the new policy permitting internment of enemy aliens if they were unemployed altered the status of the enemy aliens. Any enemy alien could be interned if he was unemployed.

Some municipalities proceeded with internment. Victoria sent fourteen Austro-Hungarians, who had been employed on the city rock pile, to Vernon.¹⁸ And military authorities directed Grand Forks to send its unemployed aliens to Vernon.¹⁹ As the number of internees increased, it became necessary to establish a larger and more permanent internment facility. In the early months of the war alien enemies had been incarcerated in local prisons until they could be sent to Nanaimo. In the interior, Vernon was the most convenient location for detaining prisoners. On the 7 May 1915 Vernon was designated as the official internment camp for the province and the facilities there were expanded.²⁰

As the provincial government moved to relieve the unemployment situation by interning or deporting the foreigners, public attention focused on the activities of the Germans and Austro-Hungarians. Coinciding with this renewed concern was the launching at the Front of the first major battle in which Canadian forces were involved.

On the 22 April 1915 Canadian troops launched an assault on a strategic patch of forest near St. Julien. British Columbia newspapers headlined the valiant and heroic efforts of the Canadians in the Battle of Ypres and printed long lists of casualties. The loss of six hundred Canadian men in twelve hours awed readers.²¹ By the 4 May over 6,000 men of the Canadian contingent were killed, wounded or missing.²² The 2nd Canadian Mounted Rifles, a contingent from the province, had undertaken some of the severest fighting in the Ypres area and news of their great sacrifice deeply moved British Columbians.²³ To maintain the strength of the Rifles the 2nd contingent departed from Victoria on 4 June. Knowledge of the events on the front was heightened through personal letters received from men in the trenches or in prisoner of war camps in Germany.²⁴ Such letters exposed many people to the horrors of the conflict experienced by their loved ones. Newspaper accounts describing the use of new weapons such as poison gas awakened people to the frightfulness of modern warfare.²⁵ The suffering imposed by the loss of relatives in the trenches prompted an emotional distress among British Columbians that tended to find its outlet in retribution on alien enemies at hand.²⁶

When in the last week of April the German forces counter-attacked at Ypres, British success in the battle appeared uncertain. British Columbians reacted angrily to indications that the resident German community lacked full sympathy with the British aims. When Paul Kopp invited some prominent Germans to an evening party at his Point Grey residence on the 28 April his timing for a celebration

was particularly bad. Point Grey residents associated the party with a German victory celebration. Neighbors were incensed by the holding of a party and threatened to evict the Germans forcibly, unless the police arrested them.²⁷ Public feeling was so high that the police arrested guests and detained them until they could be sent to Vernon.²⁸

Following this incident, in which the authorities felt they had barely averted violence, a fire on the Granville St. bridge and damage to the Connaught bridge awakened rumours that alien enemy incendiaries were active in Vancouver, even though no arrests or evidence substantiated these rumours.²⁹ These incidents contributed to the unrest that had begun with the unemployment issue over the continuing presence of alien enemies.

It was an external event that finally ignited the feelings of British Columbians and made them resort to direct action against enemy aliens.

On Friday, 7 May 1915, the Lusitania was torpedoed off the English coast. The sinking of the ship horrified the world and brought personal tragedy to some prominent British Columbians. Fourteen of the province's citizens went down with the ship, among them Lt. James Dunsmuir, son of the Hon. James Dunsmuir, a former Lieutenant Governor, who was on his way to the front with the Canadian Mounted Rifles which trained at Victoria.³⁰ The people of Victoria had maintained a very active involvement in the war effort through the record enlistment of practically all their able-bodied men.³¹ This small, intimate community with a predominately British population had an especially strong

sense of patriotism.³² When news of the Lusitania arrived some citizens took immediate action to redress their personal grievances against the Germans.

The sinking of the Lusitania precipitated a riot. Against the backdrop of social conditions -- the high unemployment, conflicts between British Columbians and alien enemies, a growing awareness of the sacrifices in Europe, and the patriotic citizenry whose patriotism was re-enforced by the presence of military headquarters -- the causes of the riot with Victoria became clear.³³

When Walter Roberts, a sailor working in the engine room of a submarine arriving in Esquimalt Harbour, heard the news of the Lusitania on Saturday evening, the 8 May, he joined some crewmates. They set out for the German Club at 909½ Government Street and Courtenay.³⁴ In the sailors' minds the club symbolized the German community in Victoria, a meeting place where moustached 'cultists' of the Kaiser celebrated German victories. In fact the club had been closed since the declaration of war and the gas and light meters had been removed.³⁵ These men, who had been joined by others from the Blanshard Hotel, formerly the Kaiserhof, proceeded to demolish the premises of the club, grasping souvenirs before heading for the Phoenix Brewery, which had formerly been owned by Germans and which, according to one of the rioters, had supplied free beer for the club's victory celebrations.³⁶ As the rioters moved from the German Club to the brewery they were joined by more men who had come from the Blanshard Hotel, and the group was diverted back to the hotel where they demolished the bar and broke windows. At this point a large crowd of well-dressed

onlookers was estimated to have reached nearly 500. A cross-section of citizens participated in the riots.³⁷ They moved on to Carl Loewenberg's business and real-estate offices where they wrecked the interior and broke out the windows. Although the police had been alerted, they were unable to prevent the crowd from moving on to the Leiser Building, where Lenz and Leiser, retail dry goods and grocery merchants, had their offices. In addition to breaking windows, the rioters pilfered the store while some policemen and troops stood by.³⁸ Many of the troops permitted the crowd to continue looting.³⁹

As the rioting died out, more troops were ordered into the city from the Willows Training Camp and the violence ceased, in spite of effort by some men to renew rioting the next evening. The tense atmosphere in the city continued as rumours circulated that German and Austrian employees at Government House were celebrating the Kaiser's birthday.⁴⁰ Although Government House issued a formal denial, the threatening attitude of some citizens led military authorities to place a right guard around the residence. Lt. Governor Francis Stillman Barnard was a well known businessman and native of the province who had married the daughter of Joseph Loewen, the owner of the Victoria-Phoenix Brewery. Martha Loewen had been born and raised in Victoria and she had participated in the social life of the city.⁴¹ Malicious rumours circulated, however, that she was pro-German.

Municipal officials, fearing the rumours of more violence to come, decided to issue a temporary curfew until the atmosphere of

the city calmed. On Monday, 10 May Mayor Alex Stewart read the Riot Act in front of the municipal hall imposing a curfew until "popular excitement had abated."⁴² A rowdy audience forced him back to his offices before he completed reading the act. In the following days he received threats from a few individuals in retaliation for his announcement that rioters would be prosecuted.⁴³ The editor of the Victoria Colonist urged the citizens to "Stop the gossip of unpatriotic neighbors and let all the gossip as to the nationality of individuals cease."⁴⁴

The sinking of the Lusitania and the Victoria riot initiated a series of events which influenced the attitudes of communities throughout the province towards alien enemies. In an effort to prove their loyalty and protect their businesses, businessmen in Victoria advertised they did not employ Germans and in some cases they dismissed German employees.⁴⁵

To assuage the popular resentment towards Germans in Vancouver, a firm in that city announced it was firing Germans or Austro-Hungarians "in view of the prevailing sentiment in this community."⁴⁶ The editor of the Vancouver Sun published a strident editorial (it followed the lead editorial entitled "A Nation of Murderers") recommending a boycott of all German stores and the immediate internment of all alien enemies.⁴⁷ Claiming to be a spokesman for the people of all Vancouver the Sun stated, "Most are in favor of ostracising all Germans who have not been naturalized."⁴⁸ In advocating the boycott of all stores owned by Germans, the editor cited as a glaring

example of the leniency of municipal officials a city contract with the Dominion Bakery, whose owners were purportedly German because of their German-sounding names, Kruck and Schmid. When the owners presented their naturalization papers the editor was forced to apologize but grudgingly retracted accusations and cautioned the paper's readers that:

Every German who can not prove beyond a doubt that he is German only in name must remain an object of suspicion.⁴⁹

The newspaper implied that when British Columbians were at war the formation of attitudes towards people of German descent could be legitimately based on suspicion.

The editor of the Vancouver Province expressed a less biased view towards the Germans, but at the same time advocated that the German community,

... might meet together and pass resolutions condemning anarchy and slavery under which their poor countrymen have been reduced by the worship of a new God.⁵⁰

So long as the German community did not declare its loyalty and condemn the fatherland its own security was jeopardized, the newspaper argued. Although the editor deprecated the violence of the Victoria riot, he wrote there was "... more excuse for it than the anti-Japanese and Chinese riots in Vancouver."⁵¹

In a similar vein the British Columbian in New Westminster observed that Germans should not be surprised at the natural resentment shown by Canadians when confronted with such crimes as

the sinking of the Lusitania;⁵² nonetheless, Canadians should not have succumbed to the tactics of the Germans since these might lead to reprisals against Canadian prisoners of war and compromise the Canadian government's pledge to protect citizens or civilians of German descent.⁵³

Having suggested that the riots were in part excusable, while at the same time deplorable, the newspapers induced an attitude that paved the way for more punitive sanctions against the alien enemies. On 15 May the Colonist joined the Sun in arguing that all alien enemies should be interned because the peace of the community was threatened.⁵⁴

As the issue of internment became prominent in the press, a variety of municipalities and associations began expressing their views. On 26 May the North Vancouver council passed an unanimous resolution favoring internment of all alien enemies. Internment would prevent reprisals against the aliens, the council argued, and thus it was for the citizens' protection and safety. The moral prestige of the Dominion might also be preserved, if the internment would prevent violence.⁵⁵ Vancouver City Council endorsed the same resolution.

British Columbia's businessmen concurred with the positions taken by the municipalities. John Duncan, who represented New Westminster at the annual meeting of the British Columbian Manufacturers' Association, submitted a proposal to that body on 28 May resolving:

That whereas the Imperial German Government has a system of espionage which is a menace to the British Empire and is believed to be in existence here; and Whereas there are aliens in our midst, who, consistent with the dignity of our Empire, should be protected both in a material and physical sense, be it therefore resolved, as a protection to such aliens and a public indication of the indignity we feel at the piratical methods of our enemies, and as an expression of our constant loyalty for those who are fighting for us, that His Majesty's government as represented in the Dominion of Canada be petitioned to take immediate steps regarding the internment of alien enemies.⁵⁶

The framers of the resolution walked a tightrope between a discomforting desire to take punitive measures against the enemy aliens while at the same time preserving the dignity of the Empire. The resolution, which was passed unanimously, indicated the association's desire to take a more active part in the war effort.

Ironically internment was to serve both as an expression of "the indignity we feel at the piratical methods of our enemies" and as a recognition of the good-will of the Dominion by protecting the physical and material needs of alien enemies. To sanction more punitive measures, the association intimated the existence of a close link between German espionage and the presence of alien enemies in the province. Aside from the early underground smuggling route, there was no clear evidence to prove such a link.

The association also justified its actions on humanitarian grounds -- it was protecting the alien from physical threats by some members of society while at the same time providing subsistence for destitute men. Rather than permit enemy aliens to leave

the province, the association desired to make the enemy alien pay a penalty for the 'war crimes' committed by the militarists of his homeland. The wholesale internment of many alien enemies who had no designs for assisting the enemy was rationalized.

Thus while the social relationships between "British" British Columbians and alien enemies were undergoing change, the whole question of the rights of enemy aliens was being pushed aside. The more threatening the war became, the more rigid the attitudes grew towards alien enemies. The war demanded a conformity on the part of all residents to the Canadian war effort and when doubts about the loyalty of the Germans and Austro-Hungarians developed, these persons became the victims of misapprehensions and fears created by the conditions of war.

Premier Bowser had already begun to round up alien enemies employed in the mining camps on Vancouver Island. With the assistance of the military authorities from Victoria, the provincial police on 25 May arrested the first group of internees at Nanaimo, one hundred and fifteen men, and transferred them by train to Victoria where they were held in the Saanich jail.⁵⁷ It was Bowser who reported to a responsive press that approval had been received for the internment of single alien enemies from the Minister of Justice and the Militia Department.⁵⁸ Actually it was Bowser who had taken the initiative in proposing that the federal government assume the responsibility for the aliens. His reasons were explained clearly to the press:

The authorities frankly admit that in taking this action they are at the same time trying to solve difficulties in the local labor situation by providing vacancies for bona fide British subjects...⁵⁹

Bowser proposed that internees should be employed on provincial work projects in the interior, where many communities were willing to accept their labour.⁶⁰ Certain communities looked forward to obtaining alien labor for the construction of roads and telegraph lines. In order to stimulate the moribund economy, delegates from Fire Valley, Edgewood and Nelson appeared at a Vernon city council meeting with a petition signed by one thousand people urging the construction of a road and telegraph line from Vernon to Edgewood.⁶¹

In the interior mining towns the response of miners to the government's policy dramatized their patriotism and their firm support for the internment of enemy aliens. Unemployment remained high in the coal mines during the spring of 1915. In the Crow's Nest Pass, mines were operating on reduced shifts. At Corbin, the mines had been shut down entirely. According to the District Ledger, the United Mine Workers newspaper, Michel had acquired the appearance of a ghost town as houses stood empty and men lived a "hand to mouth existence."⁶² At Fernie and Coal Creek, idleness at the mines forced many men to move to the prairies or the United States where they hoped prospects were better.⁶³ Increasingly angry complaints over the continued employment of alien enemies was heard among the miners.

On 8 June 1915 a group of miners from Coal Creek formed a delegation to request the superintendent of the coal company, L.T. Caulfield to fire all alien enemies working in the mines. Because this

was an ad hoc committee which had been formed without the approval of the UMW executive, Caufield refused to confer. Undaunted, the miners persisted in agitating among their co-workers. On the 11 June they went out on a wildcat strike.⁶⁴ At a mass meeting of nearly 600 men a resolution was passed in spite of the opposition of the union executive and company officials. The miners resolved:

We, as Britishers and other than
aliens are willing and will work,
but not under present conditions,
that is to say with alien enemies.⁶⁵

When he attempted to dissuade the miners from taking action that would compromise the obligations of the union to fellow workers, David Rees, the international UMW representative, was shouted down and forced to leave the meeting.⁶⁶ The spontaneous action of the miners had overturned the leadership of the union. The miners' resolution calling for the internment of all alien enemy workers was forwarded to both the provincial and federal governments.

Provincial authorities, who had already taken similar action in the Vancouver Island mines, responded immediately to the workers' demands. Lt. Col. J. Mackay, the commanding officer at Fernie, swore in thirty deputies and proceeded to intern all single and unnaturalized Germans and Austro-Hungarians.⁶⁷ Overnight the court house grounds, where aliens had been ordered to report, acquired the appearance of an immigration station as aliens arrived with bundles of clothing, blankets and personal belongings.⁶⁸ Because the internment camps at Lethbridge and Vernon were full, militia officers held the aliens at the skating rink. One observer described

the mood at the skating rink as light-hearted and without enmity on either side.

The internees included a mixture of long-term residents, some of whom had been employed by the coal company for over fifteen years, and a group of younger miners who were second generation immigrants, some of them graduates of Fernie's schools.⁶⁹ Many of the 344 enemy aliens who were interned either through ignorance or thoughtlessness had simply neglected to take out naturalization papers. During the early months of the war courts in the Kootenays had refused to accept naturalization of alien enemies.⁷⁰

The internment of the aliens created a deep rift between the union leadership and the rank and file within the United Mine Workers. The president of the local, W.J. Phillips, agreed with David Rees that the rights of the aliens had to be protected.⁷¹ Phillips had proposed that the alien enemies might be segregated in a separate shaft from the other miners until national hostilities had subsided.⁷² The proposal was rejected by the miners who resented the compromising alternative suggested by the leadership.⁷³ Rees, who had stressed the international character of the union, failed to gain a hearing when he argued that the unity of the union would be destroyed by national rivalries. Such measures as internment, he feared, would lead to a further erosion of the rights of alien enemy workers.⁷⁴

Editorially the Ledger, the official voice of the union, opposed the internment. The newspaper blamed the action on the war:

at this juncture the fervor of the public mind is such that dispassionate discussion and calm analysis upon any subject relative to the war is decidedly problematical.⁷⁵

At a meeting of the District 18 officers on 2 July, the union leadership re-emphasized that "working class solidarity" was essential to the goals of the union which was collective bargaining.⁷⁶ The officials admitted that some members had fallen victim to war sentiments and others had succumbed to the dictum "hungry souls have little conscience", but argued that loyalty to the working class goals should come before loyalty to the state.

The efforts of the executive to create a new unity among the miners failed. They could not conceal the fact that more than 600 men had gone on strike and that the sympathies of the more than 800 miners from Britain lay with the Empire rather than with union solidarity. With the union unable to maintain membership, the Ledger admitted on 25 July that,

Candor compels us to admit that whilst financial stringency has been ascribed as the cause of defection, apathy, indifference and illogical opposition ~~were~~ more potent factors than financial stringency.⁷⁷

The union and its newspaper folded on the 25 July.

The war, as it had done in Europe among the socialists, had driven a wedge between the internationalists and the "illogical opposition" which had opted for "war sentiments" rather than working class solidarity. The conflict at Fernie opened the way for similar actions in which miners, smelter workers, and other labourers would undergo the loss of their jobs and suffer internment.

The Crow's Nest Pass Coal Company officials had opposed the strike. The voice of the Canadian mining industry, the Canadian

Mining Journal, also objected to the internment of alien enemies and argued that in the strike "personal interests had become more important than fair treatment of peaceful and useful workers."⁷⁸ It considered the financial burden of internment to be a waste as well as having a debilitating effect upon internees, ~~men~~ who had come in good faith to settle in Canada. The Journal stated:

it is better to have them employed than to entail a bill of expense upon the country and turn men who are now peaceful and law-abiding citizens into sullen and dissatisfied enemies who would take the first opportunity of obtaining revenge.⁷⁹

Clearly, industry spokesmen considered it bad policy to intern peaceful alien enemies who would contribute to war production.

Bowser sought a specific order-in-council that would legalize without question his policy for creating jobs by interning enemy aliens. During the Fernie strike, two aliens, M. Bobrovski and Stefan Jansten, refused to report for internment when ordered to do so by the chief constable, G. Welsby. Both men acquired legal representation from T.T. Mercedy and filed suit against Bowser and Welsby for "illegal detention and arrest without due process of law."⁸⁰ Their counsel argued that they had not failed to comply with the proclamation of 15 August 1914 and therefore they could not be interned.⁸¹ As a result Bowser, who had already ordered an investigation of the number of alien enemies employed at Anyox, where the Canadian Mining and Smelting Company purportedly employed large numbers of Austro-Hungarians, put pressure on the Borden government for an order-in-council to permit the internment of all enemy aliens in the province.

There was, however, some opposition in the federal cabinet to a mass internment policy.

Although the cabinet had approved the internment or deportation of destitute enemy aliens to relieve the provincial relief burden, it had not anticipated Bowser's demand for an extension of the policy to include employed enemy aliens. Bowser had sent two federal Members of Parliament, R.F. Green of Kootenay district, and G.H. Barnard of Victoria, to present the provincial government's case requesting "co-operation between Dominion and provincial authorities in the matter of internment of alien enemies who have been employed in the mining sections."⁸¹ This request that the Minister of Justice obtain an order-in-council giving legal formulation to the internment policy was opposed by A.P. Sherwood, the Dominion Chief of Police. Sherwood wrote to C.S. Doherty, the Minister of Justice, that the Austro-Hungarians had generally been law-abiding people who long before the war had taken jobs on the railways and in the mines "when it was impossible to get Canadians to this class of work."⁸² In spite of the fact that the recession had thrown many men out of work, Sherwood thought the internment of alien enemies "would be manifestly unfair and contrary altogether to the spirit of the Proclamation issued by the Government."⁸³ Sherwood misjudged the intense resentment among miners in British Columbia. The Fernie strike, which expressed the sentiments of the miners, supported Bowser's claim that the mere contact of aliens with British subjects on the job involved an inherent risk to the peace of the community.

Bowser's position prevailed. On 28 June 1915 the federal government issued an order-in-council authorizing the Minister of Justice to direct "the apprehension and internment of aliens of enemy nationality who may be found employed or seeking employment or competing for employment in any community...."⁸⁴ The order was viewed as an expedient and temporary measure to calm hostilities in the province. It permitted only the Minister of Justice to issue internment orders and it allowed him to release prisoners "whenever it appears that they may be permitted to be discharged with due regard to the public safety."⁸⁵ In effect the measure acknowledged the strength of popular sentiment to control the social relationships between nationalities in Canada. It also indicated the pressure war conditions had on the legal processes of the nation. The government was forced to make a new order to fit an emergency situation which actually deprived a group of immigrants of due process. Before the order was passed, people had already been interned without having been convicted of any crime according to regulations then in force.

During the first year of the war the rights of alien enemies, as embodied in the Proclamation of 15 August 1915 had passed through three stages. First, the depression had undermined the economic role of the ~~majority~~ of Austro-Hungarians and some Germans, which had been to fill the unskilled and skilled labour demands of a rapidly expanding economy.⁸⁶ As soon as these aliens began to compete with or displace Canadians or British immigrants, the aliens became the target of ~~resentment~~. The result was that various combinations of associations and organizations under the three levels of governments

to pass regulations restricting the employment of aliens. In the early months of war, as real or imagined fears of invasion and sabotage were linked together with the presence of alien enemies within the province, the social interrelationships between the aliens enemies and British Columbians entered a second stage. Uneasiness concerning the activities of alien enemies, particularly as reports of smuggling routes and instances of espionage spread, overwhelmed British Columbians and they then sought preventive measures to control Germans and Austro-Hungarians. Through registration, reporting procedures, and if necessary, internment, the government hoped to restore a calm atmosphere to the province.

The year 1915 saw the growth of widespread unemployment and a renewal of uneasiness, particularly in Vancouver and Victoria, where large numbers of unemployed British subjects and alien enemies congregated. The concentration of the aliens in the two largest cities focused attention once again on the Germans and Austro-Hungarians. Men without work of all classes -- clerks, skilled workers, unskilled labourers "mingled into one general body of unemployed"⁸⁷ -- felt insecure and threatened both in status and livelihood. Such men were willing to accept radical changes in the legal rights of those they perceived to be a threat to society. At this juncture the Battle of Ypres and the sinking of the Lusitania sparked a popular movement to define more narrowly the role alien enemies would be permitted to play in the receiving culture. Proposals to intern all alien enemies, regardless of the personal convictions of those persons, were accepted by the population and eventually enacted

into law by the provincial and federal authorities. Once the cycle of abrogating the rights of alien enemies was underway, the aliens became social anomalies in both the law and the thoughts of Canadians and British Columbians. As the number of internment camps in the province increased, internment symbolized the consequences of a community imbued with the thoughts and emotions of a society at war.

Footnotes

¹Canada, Department of the Secretary of State, War Documents, p. 586. As of the 9 January 1915 there was still no official internment camp for the entire province. Men were detained in Nanaimo, Victoria or Vernon. By February 10, 1915, 1,310 alien enemies were registered. See House of Commons Debates, 1915, 10 Feb., p. 48.

²S.W. Jackman, Portraits of the Premiers; An Informal History of British Columbia, Sidney, 1970, p. 181.

³Canada, Department of Labour, Correspondence, J.D. McNiven to G.H. Brown, 2 February 1915, vol. 4, File: Unemployment, British Columbia, Reports.

⁴Ibid. The men worked on trunk sewers, streets, under-brushing at Stanley Park and other similar projects. Only British subjects were employed in this work.

⁵Canada, Department of Labour, Correspondence, vol. 4, McNiven to Brown, 5 February 1915. See also Quinn to Reid, 30 March 1915, Immigration Branch, Correspondence, Box 257, File no. 7521419, Unemployment, Vancouver.

⁶Immigration Branch, Correspondence, F.F. Quinn to M.J. Reid, 3 March 1915, Box 257, File no. 7521419.

⁷Ibid., Quinn to Reid, 8 April 1915.

⁸Canada, Department of Labour, Correspondence, McNiven to Brown, 5 February 1915, vol. 4, File: Unemployed, Vancouver.

⁹The British Columbian, 9 April 1915, p. 4.

¹⁰The Vancouver Sun, 24 April 1915, p. 2.

¹¹British Columbian, 12 April 1915, p. 1.

¹²Ibid.

¹³British Columbian, 23 April 1915, p. 1.

¹⁴Ibid.

- ¹⁵Public Archives of Canada, (Hereafter cited as PAC), A.E. Kemp Papers, War Purchasing Commission: British Columbia, Stevens to Kemp, 15 September 1915. Stevens urged Kemp to give a greater share of the war contracts to the province. Stevens argued the commission "deliberately blocked business coming to the West."
- ¹⁶Ibid.
- ¹⁷The Vancouver Sun, 24 April 1915, p. 2.
- ¹⁸Victoria Colonist, 4 May 1915, p. 1.
- ¹⁹Immigration Branch, Correspondence, Callum to Scott, 21 August 1915.
- ²⁰British Columbian, 7 May 1915, p. 1.
- ²¹Ralph Allan, Ordeal by Fire: Canada 1910-1945, Toronto, 1961, pp. 78-79; 81.
- ²²Ibid., p. 83.
- ²³Reginald Roy, Sinews of Steel: The History of the British Columbia Dragoons, Toronto, 1965, pp. 57-58.
- ²⁴Peter McArthur, "Public Opinion and Political Life," (ed.), J.O. Miller, The New Era in Canada, London, 1917, p. 334. McArthur argues that mail from Europe was the most important factor influencing the "plain people" of Canada and it enhanced their "Canadianism". For personal letters dealing with the war and an internment camp in Germany (Ruhleben) see Deborah Florence Glassford, Letters, Envelope II, Items 35, 60, 72; Envelope III, Items 29, 32, and Envelope IV, items 100, 101.
- ²⁵British Columbian, 24 June 1915, p. 4.
- ²⁶P.A. Sorokin, Man and Society in Calamity, New York, Dutton, 1942, p. 125. See particularly Chapter II, "How Calamities Affect Our Cognitive Processes, Desires, and Volitions," pp. 27-47.
- ²⁷PAC, R.L. Borden Papers, Reid to Sherwood, 28 April 1915, vol. 192, File 674, (3) War Aliens, p. 106486. Those arrested were Dr. Otto Grunnert and a man named Luttwizand and Frederick Stridsel, a former valet of Alvensleben. Two women servants were also arrested. They were later interned at Vernon.

²⁸Ibid.

²⁹J.C. Hopkins, Canadian Annual Review, 1915, p. 364.

³⁰Roy, Sinews of Steel, pp. 48-49. See also Vancouver Province, 11 May 1915, p. 1.

³¹Harry Gregson, A History of Victoria 1842-1970, Victoria, 1970, p. 85.

³²Ibid., p. 82; also p. 88.

³³Ralph W. Conet and Molly A. Levin, Problems in Research on Community Violence, Praeger, New York, 1969. This study points out many of the difficulties in studying community violence and emphasizes that the documentary approach because it depends on fragmentary sources must be particularly careful to avoid distortion. For this reason multiple sources are required: newspapers, diaries, personal accounts, official reports and police or government records. Apparently there are no official reports on the riot, but I have used the Victoria police records, specifically the Charge Books which reveal very little. Court proceedings were unavailable. The emphasis here is on the diffusion of beliefs and ideas associated with the riot as it unfolded, and not the violence itself. My account is based on newspapers, photographs, an interview with Mr. Helmecken, the Victoria City Archivist, and a letter to Borden discussing the mood of the military and general community sentiment in Victoria. See also, C. Humphries, B.C. Historical News, vol. 5, no. 1, 1971, pp. 15-23.

³⁴P.A.B.C., Vertical File, Riots 1915, Walter Roberts, A Night At The Club, undated letter to the editor, Victoria Colonist. See, Victoria Times, 19 January 1916, p. 11.

³⁵Ibid. Robert's stereotyped description which he attributes to all Germans reveals the image that some people had of the aliens. He pointed to the "moustache cult" among the Germans.

³⁶Ibid. See also C.C. Pemberton Collection, Vertical File, Riots 1915. Enclosed in the envelope is a ticket from a German Club function. Inscribed on the envelope is "during the riots on the occasion of the sinking of the Lusitania."

³⁷PABC, Photographic Collection, Lusitania Riots. Photographs of the riot reveal extensive damage to all the establishments which the

rioters attacked. Photographs also reveal that the rioters were not only unemployed men, or military personnel. Most of the crowd were dressed in suits and ties. Mr. Helmcken confirmed that at Leiser's store diverse elements were involved in the looting of the store. Various estimates of damage ranged from \$20,000 to \$60,000.

³⁸PABC, Photograph Collection, Lusitania Riot. Newspaper accounts mentioned the soldiers did not prevent the rioters from looting the store.

³⁹Borden Papers, vol. 192 674(3) War Aliens, James Gadden to Borden, 13 May 1915, pp. 106491-92. All the victims of the riot (businessmen who had had their property damaged) were British or naturalized British subjects.

⁴⁰Ibid., p. 106530, 11 May 1915.

⁴¹Gregson, History of Victoria, pp. 112-118.

⁴²Victoria Colonist, 10 May 1915, p. 1.

⁴³Ibid., 12 May 1915, p. 4.

⁴⁴Ibid., 11 May 1915, p. 3.

⁴⁵Ibid.

⁴⁶Vancouver Sun, 12 May 1915, p. 4.

⁴⁷Ibid.

⁴⁸Victoria Colonist, 11 May 1915, p. 3.

⁴⁹Vancouver Sun, 12 May 1915, p. 1.

⁵⁰Vancouver Province, 11 May 1915, p. 6.

⁵¹Ibid.

⁵²British Columbian, 11 May 1915, p. 4.

⁵³Ibid.

- ⁵⁴Victoria Colonist, 15 May 1915, p. 1.
- ⁵⁵British Columbian, 26 May 1915, p. 3.
- ⁵⁶Ibid., 28 May 1915, p. 1.
- ⁵⁷Vancouver Province, 25 May 1915, p. 1.
- ⁵⁸Ibid.
- ⁵⁹Ibid.
- ⁶⁰Vernon News, 14 May 1915, p. 9.
- ⁶¹Ibid., 6 May 1915, p. 1.
- ⁶²District Ledger, 1 May 1915, p. 1.
- ⁶³Ibid.
- ⁶⁴Ibid., 12 June 1915, p. 1.
- ⁶⁵Ibid.
- ⁶⁶Vancouver Province, 9 June 1915, p. 3.
- ⁶⁷Ibid., see also, Ledger, 12 June 1915, p. 1.
- ⁶⁸Vancouver Province, 9 June 1915, p. 3.
- ⁶⁹District Ledger, 19 June 1915, p. 1.
- ⁷⁰Hopkins, Canadian Annual Review, 1915, p. 283.
- ⁷¹Ledger, 12 June 1915, p. 1.
- ⁷²Ibid.
- ⁷³Vancouver Province, 9 June 1915, p. 3.

⁷⁴Ledger, 12 June 1915, p. 2.

⁷⁵Ibid., 19 June 1915, p. 2.

⁷⁶Ibid., 10 July 1915, p. 1.

⁷⁷Ibid., 25 July 1915, p. 1.

⁷⁸Canadian Mining Journal, vol. 36, December 1915, Mines Publishing Company, p. 329.

⁷⁹Ibid.

⁸⁰Ledger, 19 June 1915, p. 1.

⁸¹Ibid.

⁸²British Columbian, 18 June 1915, p. 4.

⁸³PAC, Borden Papers, vol. 192, File 674(3) War Aliens, A.P. Sherwood to C.J. Doherty, 14 June 1915, p. 106544.

⁸⁴Canada, Department of the Secretary of State, War Documents, pp. 624-625.

⁸⁵Ibid.

⁸⁶J.J. Spengler, "Effects Produced by Pre-1939 Immigration," Brinley Thomas, ed., Economics of International Migrations, London, 1958, p. 22.

⁸⁷Canada, Department of Labour, Correspondence, vol. 4, File: Unemployment Vancouver, J.W. Willinson to T.W. Crothers, 14 November 1915.

Chapter 4

Internment in British Columbia: 1914-1918

At the beginning of the war few Canadians foresaw the establishment of numerous internment camps throughout the Dominion. But in less than one year after the commencement of hostilities the legal foundation for an internment policy was laid, an administrative system was organized, and twenty internment camps were put into operation in Canada. The Minister of Justice and the Privy Council determined the legal regulations regarding the alien enemies; but the administration, supervision and organization of the camps was delegated by an order-in-council of 6 November 1914 to Major-General Sir William D. Otter. In spite of Otter's attempt to set up a uniform system for the operation of the camps in Canada, variations in the social and economic conditions influenced the administration and organization of the camps in the various provinces.

In British Columbia political, business and labour groups clashed with federal policy makers over the types of camps that should be operating in the province, over the parole of prisoners for work in the civilian labour force and over the personnel appointed by Otter to run the camps.

When Major-General Sir William D. Otter came out of retirement to accept the appointment on 6 November 1914 as Director of Internment Operations he had a long career behind him. During the Northwest Rebellion he had commanded a battalion of troops.

Otter served as an adjutant of the O.R. during the Fenian raid of 1866. In 1874 he commanded a regiment and in 1885 he served in the permanent militia during the Northwest Rebellion. He commanded

the first contingent of troops sent to South Africa in 1899, and from 1908-1910 he was head of the general staff in Ottawa.¹ Otter's duties as Director of Internment Operations included the establishment of rules and regulations for the operation of the camps, the care of the prisoners and the troops and the formulation of a work routine for the prisoners.²

Before Otter had accepted his appointment the militia in British Columbia in August 1914 had already taken precautions against the activities of alien enemies by forming a Department of Alien Reservists -- the only one of its kind in Canada -- which was headed by Lt. Col. W. Ridgway Wilson. Otter inherited both the services of Wilson, who came under his command, and the facilities provided by the provincial government at Vernon and Nanaimo for the detention of enemy aliens.³

When, as Director of Internment Operations, Otter, assumed control of the administration of the camps, he initiated a set of rules and regulations based on the Hague Convention, setting out the basic requirements for the provision and care of prisoners of war. According to the Convention prisoners of war were to receive the same treatment as captured troops. Prisoners were not to be treated as civilian criminals and procedures for trying and punishing crimes or misdemeanors were under the jurisdiction of military courts.⁴ Prisoners' food, clothing, housing and pay for work were to be equal in quality and kind to those of the militia.

Although prisoners were entitled to equal treatment to soldiers, within the internment camps there were two classes of internees. First class prisoners, as defined by the Hague Convention, included all officers. In adapting these regulations to Canadian conditions, Otter distinguished between prisoners on the basis of their social class. "Owing to the difference existing in their previous occupation," he placed professionals in the first class category.⁵ This group of professionals comprised doctors, lawyers, merchants and dentists. They became especially active in the life of the internment camp. They formed camp committees to protect prisoners' rights and tried to improve camp conditions. However, first class prisoners were usually motivated by a desire to maintain a style of life which they considered appropriate to their own status and usually the camp committees they formed represented only their own interests.⁶

Second class prisoners were composed largely of Austro-Hungarian labourers, primarily those who had been destitute and found themselves "unloaded" from municipal welfare lists onto the internment camps.⁷ In British Columbia a large number of the second class prisoners had been interned when the provincial government urged federal authorities to pass an order-in-council permitting the internment of employed enemy aliens whose presence threatened to cause labor unrest. This order was passed on 28 June 1915. It included a clause whereby these prisoners might be released as soon as the conditions which prompted their internment -- unemployment and zealous patriotism of

the British citizens -- subsided.⁸ The wives and families of these prisoners received support either through payments which permitted them to maintain their residences or they were interned along with their husbands.⁹ Very few families actually received support; most of them had to seek employment to maintain themselves.¹⁰ Most of the second class prisoners, however, were single.

During the war a total of 8,579 people were interned, among them 156 children and 81 women who had accompanied their husbands. Austro-Hungarians, including Croats, Ruthenians, Slovaks and Czechs made up the largest number of prisoners, 5,954. There were 2,009 German prisoners, 205 Turks and 99 Bulgarians in the camps. Another 312 prisoners represented a variety of nationalities, some of whom were interned for political reasons during the labour crisis in June 1919.¹¹

Some alien enemies encountered internment for the first time at a receiving station. Such stations were temporary holding centres where prisoners were registered and detained in immigration buildings, barracks or prisons until they could be transferred to permanent camps.¹² When a prisoner arrived at the permanent camp he was assigned a number, he completed forms relating to his citizenship, profession, length of residence in Canada, and he surrendered money or jewellery. The money was deposited with a Prisoners of War Trust Fund and the jewellery with the camp commander.¹³ Many of the prisoners who had been long residents of Canada owned real-estate, homes or securities. These properties were placed

under the jurisdiction of the Custodian of Enemy Alien Properties which came under the control of the Ministry of Finance. The Minister could require banks and businesses to provide full statements of any property, debts or accounts owned by enemy aliens. Such properties were placed to the credit of the Canadian government until the ending of the war would bring about a settlement.¹⁴

In British Columbia Vernon became the central permanent camp for the province. Lt. Col. W. Ridgway Wilson assigned all first class prisoners to this camp. Two other permanent camps operated at Nanaimo and at Fernie-Morrissey.¹⁵ These two camps included a large number of second class prisoners who were later transferred to the third type of camp, the working camp.

The working camps were located in the interior of the province where the provincial government desired road construction or clearing of parks. Work crews were composed primarily of Austro-Hungarians who were experienced in such work. Provincial public works officials had a direct interest in maintaining these camps because some interior communities had expressed interest in having work done which the Bowser government was unprepared to undertake at its own expense.¹⁶ Communities also looked forward to the hiring of horse teams and guards in their localities or to obtaining contracts for supplying the camps. Since the federal government was responsible for financing the camps the provincial government could obtain the completion of projects without any cost.

The Hague Convention, although it clearly stated prisoners of war could not be forced to work, permitted three classes of employment for prisoners. All prisoners were obligated to maintain their own quarters and cook for themselves.¹⁷ Prisoners performed such duties grudgingly, and the supervision and inspection of their quarters sometimes provoked friction between soldiers and internees. The Convention allowed the state to employ prisoners of war on public works or the maintenance of the camps. Payment for such work amounted to twenty-five cents per day, the equivalent of the Canadian soldier's "working pay".¹⁸ The third type of labour permitted the prisoners of war was employment with private corporations. Companies hiring prisoners had to furnish quarters and food; salaries were negotiated with internment officials and prisoners' earnings usually did not exceed a soldier's pay.¹⁹ Both the working camp and the practice of private employment of prisoners occurred during the war. However, as prisoners' complaints about working conditions in the remote and isolated camps grew and as resistance to discipline developed in the camps, Otter turned more and more to private employers as the best means for employing prisoner labour.

Prisoners of war resented the work on the government road and provincial park projects. Aroused early to begin an eight hour work day, prisoners cooked their own food and stared despairingly at work on a road which ended nowhere. After a day's work with pick and shovels they returned to rough bunkhouses or cold tents to cook their meals, clean camp and fall to sleep in weariness.

Little distinguished the life of guards from that of the prisoners. The monotonous routine, fatigue, and dreary weather also taxed the patience of the guards who lived under the same conditions as the prisoners and who frequently complained that they received government issues of clothing, straw hats, boots and other working gear after the prisoners were supplied. One guard commented to a visitor, "We get the dirty end of it,"²⁰ and petty issues became important to soldiers who were working for very little compensation. It was difficult to relate one's guard duty in a wilderness camp to the heroic sacrifices of front-line soldiers which the newspapers brandished in the headlines.

In the spring of 1916 militant opposition to the working conditions and discipline at the Edgewood and Mara Lake camps arose among the prisoners. The prisoners who had been assigned heavy work on a road at Edgewood, refused on 20 April to continue work.²¹ By May the refusal to work had become an organized strike involving 110 prisoners. The commander of the camp, Lt. C. Hawly reduced rations and placed the "ring leaders" in solitary confinement.²² When these measures failed to bring submission he requested permission from Otter to reduce rations for another week.²³ Otter refused permission and ordered Col. W. Ridgway Wilson to inspect the conditions at the camp.

Wilson reported that the prisoners were quiet and orderly. They complained about inadequate clothing, poor food, working an eight-hour day for a pittance, and about the non-payment of earnings to prisoners who were released from camp.²⁴ He recommended a change in the command of the camp, arranged to have the strike leaders removed and

urged Otter to take measures to enforce discipline. "If we have to give in and they win," Wilson wrote, "then we must give up all idea of controlling them and getting work out of them in the future."²⁵ He thought that the aim of the strikers was to undermine the working camp system and feared that lack of firm action at Edgewood would jeopardize the entire working camp system in the province. Unrest was already developing at the Monashee-Mara Lake camp.²⁶

When Otter received Wilson's report he feared that the protracted strike at Edgewood might lead to an insurrection. Rather than risk a major outbreak, Otter decided to disband the camp. Instead of punishing the strikers and removing the leaders, he ordered Wilson to shut down the camp and transfer all prisoners to Fernie-Morrissey.²⁷ Wilson, however, was under pressure from Thomas Taylor, the provincial Minister of Public Works, to see that the camp operations continued. When Taylor informed Wilson that the provincial government could not replace the prisoners and consequently would have to discontinue the road project entirely,²⁸ Wilson notified Otter that he wanted to maintain the camp, and urged him to agree with his own proposals. The Director of Internment Operations hesitated; finally he approved Wilson's recommendation. The twenty "worst offenders" were removed to Vernon and replaced by new prisoners.

Put under a new command, the prisoners at Edgewood began to work again. Otter cautioned the commander against punishment of prisoners, particularly the civilians. He also pointed out that

the majority of the Austro-Hungarians were civilians. Technically only 3,138 internees were classified as prisoners of war, reservists or men captured in arms.²⁹ Since prisoners could not actually be forced to work, Otter stressed that encouragement and good relations with the internees were essential to camp operations. As a positive incentive to work Otter recommended that those prisoners who performed well should be released to find employment with industries in the province.³⁰ Because of continuing difficulties with the prisoners, in September Otter finally ordered the camp closed.

The events that transpired at the Edgewood camp convinced Otter that prisoner of war labour camps were ineffective. It was clear that Austro-Hungarians who had earned \$3.50 a day working on roads and railways before the war would refuse to work for twenty-five cents a day. Many of the prisoners had been sent to the camps because they were destitute or ill or because municipalities wanted to dump responsibility for them onto the federal government. Otter objected to this policy and informed Wilson such cases would be returned to the cities.³¹

Coinciding with the difficulties at Edgewood and Otter's subsequent decision to parole increasing numbers of prisoners was a growing demand among the industries in British Columbia for labour.

By the spring of 1916 the economic situation was showing a marked improvement and employers were seeking additional workers to meet the demands of war production. However, the labour force had been depleted by recruitment drives. Canadians were enlisting at the

rate of nearly thirty thousand men a month in January 1916. The manager of the Crow's Nest Pass Coal Company, W.R. Wilson, reported in September to company directors that "District 18 (Ferne) has already supplied more men to the Front than any other district in Canada; over 1,280 men, almost all of them our own workmen, having joined the colors."³² The shortage of labor prevented maximum production of coal, Wilson declared, and he urged Ottawa to discontinue recruitment in the Fernie district.³³ In May 1916 the company's lawyers requested Premier Bowser to persuade federal authorities to release prisoners from the camps for work in the mines. The lawyers pointed out that releasing alien enemies was a delicate matter which would have to be handled very carefully "as it might be interpreted as unpatriotic."³⁴ Lumber manufacturers also encouraged similar action. The Mountain Lumber Manufacturing Association in Nelson asked the federal government to remove restrictions on the entry of workers from the United States.³⁵ Without additional labour these lumbermen maintained they would be unable to meet demands.

While industries in the province were requesting more manpower, the Imperial Munitions Board was investigating the acute labour shortage which was interfering with the production and delivery of munitions.³⁶ Suggestions were made that the Alien Labor law should be suspended and that a massive publicity campaign should be launched to recruit more labour.³⁷ Posters urged those people who were unable to fight to join the war effort by producing munitions. "Every Shell is a Life Saver," the posters proclaimed

and they challenged the reader with the question, "Have you offered?"³⁸

While recognizing the need for additional labour, the federal government hesitated to move too quickly to meet the demands of industries by releasing interned alien enemies. Opposition to such a step appeared in British Columbia in the summer of 1916. On 5 June the South Vancouver council forwarded a resolution to Premier Bowser opposing the release of interned alien enemies to work on railways in the province.³⁹ This resolution supported a similar plea from the Elko Board of Trade which considered the employment of enemy aliens an injustice to the men at the front who were sacrificing their lives and prosperity to defend Canada.⁴⁰ Vancouver City Council convened a special meeting in the last week of July to discuss with immigration officials, militia representatives, secret agents and city police the increased number of enemy aliens who were moving from the prairies to work in the province.⁴¹ So long as an enemy alien had a travel permit from the police in his locality he was permitted to move about. Vancouver's council feared that the migrating aliens might rekindle the anti-alien feelings. Although Rev. G.D. Ireland, the Director of Welfare, reported that most of the Austro-Hungarians were finding employment, he doubted this condition could continue.⁴² The Vancouver council recommended to federal authorities that enemy aliens should be debarred from travelling from one province to another.⁴³

Labour organizations also objected to releasing enemy aliens from the camps. The Federationist claimed that workers were leaving

British Columbia because "bohunks of the Austro-Hungarian species" were still employed in the Slocan district, on the railways and at the Britannia mines on Howe Sound.⁴⁴ The newspaper complained that enemy aliens replaced every man who enlisted. The Vancouver Trades and Labor Council wrote to the Militia Department and Otter requesting that enemy aliens not be released to work.⁴⁵ In August the Federationist published a reply from internment operations stating,

"There is a great scarcity of workers now in the country and the employment of alien enemies is absolutely essential to meet the requirements."⁴⁶

Dissatisfied with the reply, the labour unions were willing to support measures to prevent the release of enemy aliens.

While municipal governments and labour were urging the federal authorities to maintain the restrictions on the movement and employment of enemy aliens, militia authorities in British Columbia took a firm stand on these issues, especially after a report was submitted to Lt. Col. Joseph Mackay by Sgt. C.G.G. McInnes. In July 1916 McInnes had travelled in the Kootenay and Boundary districts on a recruiting and inspection tour. In several communities he had found a lack of spirit among inhabitants, he had received a cool reception and in Sandon he had been forced to leave because of resentment over his recruiting efforts.⁴⁷ He attributed the opposition to recruiting to local Germans and Irish, but he also blamed opposition on high wages and on anxiety among workers lest they be replaced by enemy aliens if they joined the militia.⁴⁸ McInnes

emphasized that the release of enemy aliens had undermined his recruiting efforts. He also suggested that the employment of Americans, who were indifferent to the war effort, encouraged a lack of interest among some workers.⁴⁹ He found it intolerable that government appointees of German origin had been retained in some of the interior towns.⁵⁰

McInnes thought that federal officials showed a disregard for the provincial and national interest by permitting alien enemies to work. He could not accept a policy which compromised the loyalty of soldiers and citizens when a national war effort required absolute unity and the support of all men and women within the Empire. With these concerns in mind, McInnes and his superior officer, Lt. Col. Joseph Mackay, recommended to the district command in Victoria that the release of alien enemies from the camps should be discontinued and that alien enemy workers should receive only a living wage.⁵¹ Other aliens, his report suggested, should be taxed fifty per cent of their earnings. In addition, all British Columbians between the ages of eighteen and forty-five should be conscripted.⁵² McInnes's report with his recommendations was forwarded to Premier Bowser who sympathized with the petitions and the suggestions which he had received from groups opposing the release of alien enemies from the camps.

Since Bowser faced an impending election in September, he wanted to avoid a controversy over the alien enemies. It was his initiative in the spring of 1915 that had resulted in the internment of the

Austro-Hungarians. He continued to support the position taken by the municipalities, organized labour and the militia that alien enemies should remain in the camps.⁵³

Meanwhile, in answer to criticism in the province over the federal government's internment and parole policy, a brief was prepared for the Minister of Justice by W.F. O'Connor, a deputy minister within the department. The brief, which he entitled the "Detention, Internment, and Release of Aliens of Enemy Nationality," outlined the federal government's policy.⁵⁴

After outlining briefly the order-in-councils providing for the internment of alien enemies and the rights and obligations of alien enemies in Canada, O'Connor dealt with the problem of releasing alien enemies from the camps. He argued that the Austro-Hungarians had originally been interned for humanitarian reasons.⁵⁵ Both their own destitution and the opposition from organized labour had compelled the government to intern them. Misfortune, rather than hostility or suspicion had been the main reason for interning these aliens.⁵⁶ Since the federal government could release these wards whenever the conditions which had led to their internment ceased, O'Connor posed the question,

Why should those who have been interned, not because they were dangerous to leave at large, but because they were unable either to obtain work or to leave the country, be supported at the public expense, with their wives and families, when if released, they can obtain work and may leave the country?⁵⁷

Continuing internment was too costly and further expenditures could not be justified, O'Connor argued, when war production demanded increased labour. In response to labour's objections that enemy aliens earned less than other workers and undercut their salaries, O'Connor felt that enemy aliens should be released only if Canadian workers were unavailable.⁵⁸ Employers, he contended, paid equal wages to the enemy aliens. This, however, was not always the case. The employment of prisoner of war labour frequently appealed to some companies because it was cheaper. Prisoners working on the railway crews received twenty cents an hour from which fifty cents was deducted for food.⁵⁹ Although a company employing alien labour was obligated to supply housing, its expenses were minimal because the militia continued to guard the prisoners on the job. On the other hand McInnes and the Federationist had complained that the earnings of enemy aliens had been too high.⁶⁰ The issue remained unresolved.

The federal government used O'Connor's brief to justify further paroles and releases in spite of objections by British Columbia. Borden replied to South Vancouver's objections to the employment of prisoners of war by stating that enemy aliens were essential to war production.⁶¹ On the 6 September W.R. Wilson of the Crow's Nest Pass Coal Company was informed by the Minister of Labour that orders to discontinue recruitment in District 18 had been issued to the Militia and Defence department.⁶² In December the Alien Labor Act was suspended to permit companies to recruit workers from the United States.⁶³ By July, 1917 the internment officials had

released 5,826 prisoners, the vast majority of them Austro-Hungarians.⁶⁴ Intent on alleviating the shortage of labour and curtailing the expense of internment, the federal authorities gradually relaxed their policies. However, they were unwilling to extend such a concession to the German prisoners of war.

Unlike the Austro-Hungarians, the majority of Germans had been interned because they were reservists, many of them officers, in the German forces. Only one hundred of the German prisoners were civilians. Germans did not join in the working camps in the province and many enjoyed the privileges of first class prisoners because they were professionals or officers. They had separate quarters, they were not required to join the occasional work forays outside the Vernon camp and their financial position enabled them to supplement their rations with extras from the canteen. Many of these prisoners had considerable investments, securities or bank accounts which had been deposited with the Custodian of Enemy Alien Property. Any profit derived from these properties -- the prisoners could sell any property with the approval of the Custodian so long as the transaction did not involve trading with the enemy -- was deposited to the prisoner's account. The prisoner could then use his money to purchase clothing, additional foods or other amenities. Prisoners were supposed to limit additional purchases to \$5 a month, but this regulation was not rigidly enforced.

Business transactions between prisoners and the outside world, however, were difficult. Since all correspondence went through the

local commander to be forwarded to Otter and then to the Custodian of Enemy Property, transactions frequently took several weeks to complete. Usually the banks, unsure of the exact status of alien enemy property, issued foreclosure notices to prisoners. Since the prisoner was unable to maintain payments, his property often went to public auction where he lost considerably on its value. Purchasers, who knew they could take advantage of the prisoner's inability to move quickly and deal with a variety of buyers, pressed hard on agreements to purchase from prisoners. Egon von Parpart, who had been interned at Vernon, held a farm valued at \$75,000.⁶⁵ He had an outstanding loan of \$24,000 and was informed by the mortgagee that he should sell his farm. The price was \$20,000.⁶⁶

During the war, first class prisoners tried to take as much advantage as possible of their funds. In a desperate effort to maintain class distinctions and a style of life enjoyed outside the confines of the Vernon camp, they purchased a variety of luxuries which they hoped would soften the blow of the loss of property, freedom and social respect.

One prisoner, who loaned money to penniless peers at usurious rates of interest and demanded titles to property as collateral, ordered more than \$500 worth of clothing, caviar, candles, and special teas to alleviate the dreariness of camp fare.⁶⁷ He also had constructed a private cottage from lumber which had been unused by camp authorities.⁶⁸ Another group of first class prisoners joined together in the summer of 1915 to employ Carl von Mackensen's former

housekeeper Fannie Priester to cook for them since "the living conditions in the first class camp had become absolutely unbearable and the food especially was practically uneatable...."⁶⁹ These prisoners employed Fannie Priester for almost two years. When Miss Priester planned to terminate her services, camp authorities hesitated to grant her permission to leave since she was a shrewd and suspicious woman who might carry information about the Vernon training camp to the enemy.⁷⁰ In a lengthy letter to the American Consul which was passed on to Canadian authorities, von Mackensen admonished officials "that an internment camp for an unmarried woman is not the place with 250 unmarried men around, and she had to live in a tent alone...."⁷¹ Doherty, the Minister of Justice, amenable to such gentle reproof, permitted Fannie Priester to leave the camp on the 26 February 1917.

The efforts of the first class prisoners to recreate their pre-war world was a desperate diversion to recoup what they knew were permanent losses. They realized repatriation and deportation awaited them at the end of the war. Embittered by the fateful circumstances which had shattered their status and acceptance in British Columbian society, many of them resolved to express their loyalty to Germany. In June 1919 a camp committee of first class prisoners at Vernon declared that they desired repatriation.⁷² One prisoner expressed his disillusionment and bitterness when he wrote to Otter shortly after his internment,

I thought to evade the tyrannical German
 Militarism when I left a beautiful land
 for this prosaic Dollaria: Now I got caught
 here by a Military Despotism, worse yet and

still far less in the line of civilization, because it perfidiously catches and wrecks its victims unaware after drawing them here with alluring advertisements! Contemptible Canada!⁷³

The expectations and success of some Germans, shattered by the pandemic patriotism of nationals at war, left a bitter legacy in their thoughts and feelings about the beckoning opportunities offered by Canada.

The outward appearances of luxury among the first class aroused complaints from some British Columbians who viewed the pampering of prisoners as an affront to the sacrifices made by soldiers and citizens in the war effort. During the autumn of 1916, when objections to the release of Austro-Hungarians compelled the government to issue O'Conner's brief, Otter became particularly sensitive to the problem solved in the release of prisoners in British Columbia. In reply to the American consul's request for freeing Fannie Priester, Otter informed the consul that she could not be released because of her knowledge of the training facilities at Vernon and "... the strong prejudice of the British Columbia public now extant."⁷⁴ Both Otter and the Militia Department showed special concern over the publication of any newspaper or magazine articles dealing with the internment camps and the release of prisoners. The chief press censor, Chambers, informed the Edmonton Journal that "it seems desirable on general principles for our papers to give as little information as possible regarding the internment camps..."⁷⁵ He censored a photograph and article published by the paper describing the Jasper camp; and he issued instructions that the Journal's staff should undertake

no further assignments. Similarly, when Chambers submitted proofs to Otter for a Maclean's article on a camp in Nova Scotia, permission was withheld for its publication.⁷⁶

In spite of the press censorship and Otter's efforts to maintain good public relations, the Vancouver Council of Women investigated complaints about "overpetted internees". The Council presented a report to the Department of Justice in the fall of 1918, complaining not only about the luxuries available to the prisoners but also about the programmes offered by the Y.M.C.A. as being too entertaining for prisoners of war. At Vernon and Fernie-Morrissey the Y.M.C.A. had constructed buildings with funds provided by the internment operations. Otter attributed the peaceful and generally calm atmosphere of the Vernon and Fernie-Morrissey camps to the programmes offered by the Y instructors. These programmes included "sing songs", films, language instruction, lectures and religious services.⁷⁷ Some prisoners performed concerts with instruments they had either made or purchased. When the strike at the Edgewood camp had threatened to spread to the Mara Lake camp, Otter had arranged for a Y.M.C.A. instructor to begin a programme at that camp.⁷⁸ The prisoners responded well to the camp meetings and the Y.M.C.A.'s work in Otter's view alleviated the malaise that might have turned the camp into another Edgewood. Otter refused to curtail the Y.M.C.A. programmes, but he did inform camp commanders that canteen privileges and mail orders for luxuries, "particularly at Vernon" would have to cease.⁷⁹

The outward appearances of luxury among prisoners belied the stress and anxiety experienced by many internees. The strain of

long-term confinement, loss of property and jobs and the complete reversal in their fortunes led in several instances to insanity.⁸⁰ Tuberculosis and other diseases were not uncommon, and they ruined the health of individuals who otherwise would have been healthy. Within the Vernon camp there were rival factions, the presence of which increased the anxiety and the insecurity felt by many prisoners. The socialist faction threatened to overrun and loot the aristocrats who lived in a separate quarter of the camp.⁸¹ The uncertainty of this life, the lack of control over events and the rejection by the society which had formerly accepted them was a personal calamity for the prisoners.⁸²

But public indignation over the conditions in the camps continued to bring criticism on the federal government. The luxuries enjoyed by first class prisoners suggested that a lenient policy had been adopted by Otter and by camp commanders. Men and women, whose sons lived and died in the trenches, or whose husbands were returning with patchy lungs and lost limbs, viewed the easy treatment of prisoners as a betrayal of their own sacrifices.

The internment camp was an extreme measure for controlling the enemy alien population. The federal government recognized this and attempted to enforce internment regulations judiciously. However, with the growth of a war psychology among various segments of provincial society the government was compelled to intern hundreds of Austro-Hungarians who represented no actual military threat to the country. When economic conditions improved the government released these prisoners but not without strong opposition from labour, provincial

militia leaders and provincial politicians. When veterans returned to the province they strengthened the voices which demanded recompense for sacrifices and a cleansing of Canadian society. In making their demands they sharpened the angry edge of national rivalries which would sever Germans and Austro-Hungarians from post-war participation in Canadian immigration policy.

Footnotes

¹W. Stewart Wallace, The Macmillan Dictionary of Canadian Biography, London, Macmillan, 1963, pp. 567-568. See also, p. 252; p. 308, George F.G. Stanley, Canada's Soldiers, The Military History of an Unmilitary People, Toronto, Macmillan, 1960.

²Canada, Minister of Justice, Report by Major-General Sir William Otter, Director of Internment Operations, Internment Operations: 1914-1920 (hereafter cited as Otter, Internment Operations), Ottawa, King's Publishers, 1921, p. 3.

³Ibid., p. 4.

⁴Ibid., p. 7.

⁵Ibid., p. 6.

⁶Public Archives of Canada (hereafter cited as PAC), Secretary of State Papers, Custodian of Enemy Property, World War I, Internment Operations, Administration Files (hereafter cited as Can., Custodian of Enemy Property), vol. I, No. 1077, C.E. Michaelis, P.O.W. #782 to Beni Iseli, Consul General of Switzerland, 1 May 1919; See also, Michaelis to Otter, 4 September 1919. Michaelis's correspondence includes almost nine hundred pages and provides insight and information into camp conditions at Vernon, the problems confronted by prisoners and the stress and anxiety accompanying internment camp life.

⁷Otter, Internment Operations, p. 6.

⁸Canada, Department of the Secretary of State, War Documents (hereafter cited as Can., War Documents), p. 623.

⁹Otter, Internment Operations, pp. 6-7.

¹⁰PAC, Robert Laird Borden Papers (hereafter cited as Borden Papers), vol. 192, File 674 (4) War Aliens, H.H. Stevens to Borden, 26 January 1916, p. 106598. Stevens reported that some families of interned Austro-Hungarians were destitute and unable to support themselves.

¹¹Otter, Internment Operations, p. 6.

¹²Ibid., p. 5.

¹³Otter, Internment Operations, p. 11.

¹⁴PAC, Custodian of Enemy Property, vol. 9, File 2273, 6 August 1916. Regulations applying to enemy property came under the Consolidated Orders Respecting Trading with the Enemy, 2 May 1916. By the 30 November 1918 real and personal property held by Germans in Canada amounted to \$8,427,543; by Austrians \$322,313. The Secretary of State had the authority under his own warrant to wind up an enemy concern, but in all cases the authority of the courts was invoked and applications were made for the appointment of receivers and controllers. See, Can., Custodian of Enemy Property, vol. 11, Memorandum for the Secretary of State, 25 September 1918.

¹⁵Otter, Internment Operations, p. 5. The opening and closing dates for camps in British Columbia were:

Vernon	18/9/14	20/2/20
Nanaimo	20/9/14	17/9/15
Monashee-Mara Lake	2/6/15	29/7/17
Fernie-Morrissey	9/6/15	21/10/18
Edgewood	19/8/15	23/9/16
Revelstoke-Field-Otter	6/9/15	23/10/16
Jasper	8/2/16	31/8/16

¹⁶Vernon News, 14 May 1915, p. 9.

¹⁷Otter, Internment Operations, p. 9.

¹⁸Ibid., Prisoners working in the railway camps earned 20¢ an hour less 50¢ a day for subsistence.

¹⁹Ibid., pp. 9-10.

²⁰PAC, Young Men's Christian Association Papers (hereafter cited as YMCA Papers), vol. 1, file 3103, Mara Lake-Sicamus Station, R.M. Jones, instructor, to Shepard, YMCA secretary, 13 July 1916.

²¹PAC, Can., Custodian of Enemy Property, vol. 2, File 3130, Block to Otter, 20 April 1916.

²²Ibid., File 3168, Hawly to Otter, 2 May 1916.

²³Ibid., 6 May 1916.

²⁴Ibid., Wilson to Otter, 14 May 1916.

²⁵Ibid.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Can., Custodian of Enemy Property, vol. 2, File 3168, Otter to Wilson, 17 May 1916.

²⁸ Ibid., Wilson to Otter, 18 May 1916.

²⁹ Otter, Internment Operations, p. 6.

³⁰ Can., Custodian of Enemy Property, vol. 2, File 3168, Otter to Edgewood Commandant, 28 July 1916.

³¹ Ibid., Otter to Wilson, 26 June 1916.

³² Crow's Nest Pass Industries, Ltd., Fernie, B.C., Minutes of the Meetings of the Directors of the Crow's Nest Pass Coal Company 7 August 1908 to 10 June 1921 (hereafter cited as Minutes, CNPCC), W.R. Wilson to Directors, 11 September 1916, p. 288.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Provincial Archives of British Columbia (hereafter cited as PABC), Premier's Official Correspondence, H.W. Herchmer to Bowser, 15 May 1916, p. 605.

³⁵ PABC, Premier's Official Correspondence, Mountain Lumber Manufacturing Association to Bowser, 21 July 1916, p. 1000.

³⁶ PAC, Borden Papers, vol. 211, File 1052, G.B. Gordon, Vice-Chairman to Elliot, Master General of Ordinance, 18 August 1916, p. 118813.

³⁷ Ibid., 15 September 1916, p. 11838.

³⁸ PABC, Premier's Official Correspondence, J.B. Springforth to Bowser, 5 July 1916, p. 763.

³⁹ PAC, Department of National Defence, Military District No. 11, vol. 4661, File 99-221, Employment of Aliens, B.C. (hereafter cited as Can., D.N.D.), Elko Board of Trade to General Sam Hughes, 23 October 1915.

⁴⁰ PABC, Premier's Official Correspondence, M.M. Bennett to Bowser, 31 July 1916, p. 973.

⁴¹Ibid., M.B. MacLennan to Rev. G.D. Ireland, 19 July 1916, p. 973.

⁴²Ibid.

⁴³British Columbia Federationist, 9 June 1916, p. 1.

⁴⁴British Columbia Federationist, 9 June 1916, p. 4.

⁴⁵British Columbia Federationist, 4 August 1916, p. 1.

⁴⁶PABC, Premier's Official Correspondence, Lt. Col. Joseph Mackay to Bowser, 16 July 1916, p. 999.

⁴⁷Ibid.

⁴⁸Ibid., p. 1002.

⁴⁹Ibid.

⁵⁰Ibid., p. 1004.

⁵¹Ibid.

⁵²Bowser had forwarded petitions opposing the release of alien enemies to the federal government, though he refused to act as an intermediary for the Crow's Nest Pass Coal Company or the lumber interests who favored changes in restrictions on alien labour.

⁵³PAC, W.F. O'Connor Papers (hereafter cited as O'Connor Papers), vol. 10 (1), O'Connor to C.J. Doherty, Minister of Justice, 9 November 1916.

⁵⁴Ibid., p. 3.

⁵⁵Ibid.

⁵⁶Ibid., p. 4.

⁵⁷Ibid.

⁵⁸Otter, Internment Operations, p. 10.

⁵⁹British Columbia Federationist, 16 February 1917, p. 1.

⁶⁰Canadian Annual Review, 1916, p. 432.

⁶¹ Minutes of the CNPCC, 6 September 1916, p. 284.

⁶² Ibid., 14 December 1916, p. 320.

⁶³ PAC, Sir William D. Otter Papers, vol. 1, File 1, Internment Operations, Prisoners of War, 10 August 1917.

⁶⁴ PAC, Can., Custodian of Enemy Property, vol. 2, File 2799, Egon von Parpart to Otter, 10 October 1917.

⁶⁵ PAC, Can., Custodian of Enemy Property, vol. 2, File 2799, 10 October 1917.

⁶⁶ Ibid., vol. 1, No. 1077, C.E. Michaelis to Otter, 5 September 1916; see also, 6 November 1916.

⁶⁷ Ibid., Michaelis to Otter, 17 June 1916.

⁶⁸ Ibid., Carl von Mackensen to G.N. West, 8 November 1916.

⁶⁹ Ibid., Otter to West, 2 November 1916.

⁷⁰ Op. cit.

⁷¹ PAC, Can., Custodian of Enemy Property, vol. 1, No. 1077, File 5, Michaelis to Iseli, 1 May 1919.

⁷² Ibid., Michaelis to Otter, 4 April 1915.

⁷³ Ibid., File 3102, Otter to West, 2 November 1916.

⁷⁴ PAC, Department of the Secretary of State Papers, Chief Press Censor 1915-1920, vol. 45, File 197, E.J. Chambers to Jennings, p. 3.

⁷⁵ Ibid., Chambers to Otter, 29 June 1917, p. 64.

⁷⁶ Otter, Internment Operations, p. 14.

⁷⁷ PAC, YMCA Papers, vol. 2, File 3103, Mara Lake, 10 June 1916, Shepard to Otter.

⁷⁸ PAC, Can., Custodian of Enemy Property, vol. 2, File 5, Otter to Commandant, 18 September 1918.

⁷⁹ Otter, Internment Operations, p. 8.

⁸⁰ British Columbian Veterans Weekly, 24 July 1919, p. 9.

⁸¹ E.H. Vaughan, Community Under Stress: An Internment Camp Culture, Princeton University Press, 1949, pp. 127-133.

Chapter 5

The Returned Soldier and the Enemy Alien

The veterans who poured back into the civilian homefront society from 1918 to 1920 represented an unique and dynamic element in provincial life. The influx of several thousand returned soldiers, men who had joined the Canadian expeditionary Force for a variety of reasons -- patriotism or adventure or escape from unemployment -- created an unsettling atmosphere in provincial life. The returned soldier viewed his surroundings from the perspective of his experience; several years in uniform had influenced his thoughts and feelings about the nature of civilian society, its proper ethnic composition, its politics and its social and economic relationships.

Many veterans believed that the battlefield in Europe and the "cleansing fire" of war had provided them with special credentials for true citizenship.¹ Convinced that experience at the front was the true test of a man's loyalty, returned soldiers frequently demanded representation on committees or organizations designed to assist veterans, for they felt that fellow soldiers understood their needs best.

The war had a leveling effect since class distinctions had been blurred in the heat of battle. Some veterans carried this equalitarianism over into civilian life where they hoped to apply their war-time experience and their new political activism to the solution of political and social problems. A few veterans entered politics proclaiming that the returned soldier was psychologically fit to take immediate action on problems which the traditional political parties were unable to tackle because they were bound to business and other interests. Although the returned soldiers rejected revolutionary tactics, they demanded a change from the old style, pre-war politics

to a "more social, economic and political democracy."² In spite of the radical rhetoric which characterized some of their speeches, the majority of them returned their attention to specific problems and issues.

By the time that the largest number of returned soldiers arrived in the province in the spring of 1919, many veterans had already formed soldiers' clubs. These were small organizations formed to assist veterans in finding employment and adjusting to civilian life. With the assistance of business groups the organizations were usually successful in locating jobs, but even between 1916 and 1918 when labour was at a premium, work could not be found for some returned soldiers. As early as March 1916 a Member of Parliament from Vancouver, H.H. Stevens, inquired on behalf of veterans as to what plans the government had to assist the soldiers. In reply, both the Militia Department and the district commander, Col. J. Duff-Stewart, suggested that returned soldiers could be employed on guard duty throughout the province.³ The veterans' association reported that returned soldiers in Vancouver, Victoria and New Westminster were disinclined to serve as guards because the pay was inadequate.⁴

By the spring of 1918, when the number of returned soldiers had reached nearly six thousand, the veterans undertook the formation of their own provincial organization to represent their interests and unify the disparate local organizations in the province. In February 1918 Vancouver and Victoria veterans joined together to form a branch of the Great War Veterans' Association. This Association was recognized nationally as the official veterans' organization both because of its

large membership of 40,000 persons and its national extent. The provincial organization urged other veterans' organizations such as the Comrades of the War, whose membership included only men who had served in France, and Campaigners of the War, the Army and Navy Veterans Association, to form an united front by joining the G.W.V.A.⁵ David Loughnan, a veteran from Vancouver, who was elected president of the provincial G.W.V.A. on 7 February 1918 outlined the objectives of the association in the British Columbia Veterans' Weekly, the official organ of the membership. The G.W.V.A. was to preserve the spirit of mutual service by working on projects useful to both the soldiers and the public, maintain memories of the war, and encourage loyalty to Canada and to the Empire.⁶ Clause five of the G.W.V.A.'s charter stated that it was the duty of the veterans "To voice reasonable demands and just grievances."⁷

The expectations of soldiers had been raised by Sir Robert Borden's announcement that "Canada is yours." British Columbia's premier, John Oliver, had also spoken of "Homes fit for heroes,"⁸ and thus had awakened the hope that the returned soldiers would be welcomed and assisted by the province. These men expected to play a leading role in what they described as the "regeneration in our national life."⁹ With the strength of an unified association which had national affiliations, the veterans in British Columbia began to take action to solve their problems.

The first difficulty usually confronting the returned soldiers was finding employment. Since men could take their discharge in any

province of the Dominion with transportation expenses included, many had decided to receive their discharge in British Columbia, which was noted for its climate, its prosperity and its warm-hearted premier. More than seventeen thousand veterans who had enlisted from other provinces settled in British Columbia.¹⁰

Municipal and provincial officials, who were alarmed by the large numbers of returning soldiers, feared their potential discontent if they found no jobs awaiting them. The larger cities attracted the majority of the veterans, and these municipalities objected to the permission granted to the soldiers to be discharged wherever they chose. Mayor R.H. Gale of Vancouver informed Borden's government that unemployed soldiers would become a problem" unless your government is prepared either to guarantee their employment or maintain them in comfort until they shall have secured positions."¹¹ He urged the federal government to assume full responsibility for the care of unemployed veterans. The provincial government also affirmed its understanding that the provincial-dominion conference held in November 1918 had agreed that the federal government was responsible for the expenses of the programmes set up to re-establish the veterans. Premier John Oliver wrote to the acting premier, W.T. White, that the British Columbia government, although willing to share in the administration of programmes for soldiers, had understood "that the duty of the re-establishment of returned soldiers in civilian life pertains to the Federal government."¹² Oliver was concerned that not enough work and financing was available and that discontent on the part of returned

soldiers could develop into an explosive situation.

Although the provincial economy had revived during 1918, especially at Vancouver and Victoria, the cessation of hostilities threatened a work stoppage. As the wartime demand for coal, minerals and lumber products diminished many men were forced out of work.¹³ The creation of new jobs became, as one soldier described it, "the only hope for the future." The employment of alien enemies, many of whom had gotten jobs because of earlier labour shortages,¹⁴ was denounced by the veterans.

The initial spark which made the employment of alien enemies into a burning issue was the Unionist election campaign of December 1917. The campaign had been characterized by vitriolic rhetoric emphasizing the evils committed by Prussian militarism and the German war machine. During the war the press had transformed the Germans into barbarians, "uncivilized Huns", and destroyers of civilization. This new image was imprinted on the public mind. H.H. Stevens and H.S. Clements, both representatives in Parliament from Vancouver ridings, compared the future of Vancouver to Brussels' fate if Germany's autocratic power was left unchecked. German disrespect for women and to humanity in general was painted in lurid details by candidates who described the Germans as "uncivilized savages", lustful and cruel men who "violated women and girls, murdered their husbands, tortured and mutilated children and murdered babies."¹⁵ The campaigners simplified the issues and equated a vote for the Unionists with a vote for the protection of Canadian women and the preservation of the Empire.

Unionist candidates were successful in British Columbia, where they had swept twelve representatives into the House of Commons. Only one Liberal entered parliament from the province.

The campaign had raised fears concerning the activities of Germans and Austro-Hungarians in the province. H.S. Clements, who was returned from Courtenay-Comox, reminded Sir Robert Borden after the election that provincial candidates had promised their constituencies that something would be done to restrict the entry of aliens into the province. He wrote to Borden,

"If we are going to save Canada for the Anglo-Saxon race now is the time to begin doing it. I have particularly in mind the following races: Greeks, Italians, Austrians, Swedes, and naturalized Germans. Wherever I went in my district our own blood and kin bitterly complained that these aliens were opposing the government and supporting the Laurier Liberals.¹⁶

Clements recommended the setting up of a semi-military commission to register and classify all aliens in Canada according to origins, attitudes, family ties, and religions so that a record of their progress towards assimilation might be made.¹⁷ His views won approval from many members of the G.W.V.A. who thought that true reform and a revitalization of Canadian life involved the exclusion of aliens. They campaigned for the internment of all alien enemies, their deportation after the war, and a post-war immigration policy which would exclude Europeans, especially Germans and Austro-Hungarians. Hyphenated Canadians had become an intolerable anomaly in national life.

Though they were most vehement in denouncing enemy aliens, the returned soldiers also considered other "aliens" to be incompatible

with Canadian ideals. These "aliens" were war profiteers and grasping landlords. Numerous cartoons appeared showing the war profiteer riding in his highly polished car, a fat cigar stuck in his mouth, and a fur-coated dame settled by his side as symbolizing the men who had stayed behind and reaped the profits of war contracts while the soldiers were fighting in the trenches. "While others are giving everything, even life itself, these fiends in human disguise, vampires and vultures, are sucking the blood and picking the bones of those who fall by the wayside," the editor of the Veteran wrote.¹⁸ One cartoon in this newspaper depicted the fist of a returned soldier smashing the three types of aliens in Canadian life -- enemy aliens, profiteers¹⁹ and landlords. The procrastinating, partisan politician who refused to take firm action was considered to be in league with these "aliens."

The returned soldiers in British Columbia grew increasingly impatient with the federal policy of tolerating the presence of enemy aliens. Because of the "criminal slackness" shown by federal authorities in dealing with the problem, the G.W.V.A. sent representatives to Ottawa to join representatives from other provinces, where the headquarters of the Association had expressed equal concern about enemy aliens. In March 1918 the delegates proposed to the Union cabinet the conscription of all enemy aliens for labour and their deportation after the war. Allied aliens who had failed to register under the regulations of the Military Service Act would be required to serve in the Canadian or their respective forces. The veterans believed that these allied aliens were not only shirking their duty, but also earning high wages

without making contributions to victory loans or making sacrifices for the war.²⁰ Free of war burdens and capable of moving from one area of the country to another, the aliens were considered a menace to the community.²¹ If the conference failed to produce concrete proposals delegates pointed out that "in the larger cities serious difficulties might arise."²²

The returned soldiers considered their proposals both just and realistic. The sacrifices which had been demanded of them could also be required of aliens. If thousands of men could be mobilized to travel overseas to the trenches with complete equipment and personnel, then the conscription of enemy aliens for work, most of whom were already registered, presented even less of an administrative problem.

In preparation for his meeting with the veterans Borden had ordered a report from the Minister of Justice. Loring C. Christie, the deputy minister, prepared the memorandum outlining the government's reasons for opposing the conscription of aliens. His report covered both the domestic and international implications of adopting such a policy. Keeping within the limitations of the Hague Conventions, it was argued, that the government had done what it considered to be both legal and necessary to regulate the alien enemies. The internment of incorrigible alien enemies and the registration of all other enemy aliens had been undertaken.

The prime minister viewed these measures as adequate. As for the conscription of aliens, Borden argued that "discriminatory legislation would instantly provoke reprisals on the part of enemy states...."²³

If the government took such a risk, the practical difficulties of carrying out such a policy were insurmountable. The administrative machinery and the dislocation of current war production would result from conscription of enemy aliens and presented gigantic problems.²⁴ Furthermore conscripted labour was far less productive than "the voluntary work of these people."²⁵

For the same reasons the government rejected internment. Although the government conceded that "irritation" was caused by the presence of alien enemies, it rejected the proposals of the soldiers because of legal and practical considerations.

Another objection presented to the soldiers' delegation was the hostility which had been expressed by labour groups to conscription of labour. Borden had met with labour leaders earlier in the year and they had informed him that labour was opposed to any form of conscription.²⁶ The G.W.V.A. argued that only the radical labour leaders had opposed conscription and that even the conservative Canadian Federation of Labour had recommended a modified form of conscription.²⁷ The Trades and Labour Congress, however, was opposed to conscription of labour and had adopted a resolution stating that,

"No man, alien or otherwise, should be forced to work unless he is granted full industrial freedom of a citizen of Canada."²⁸

The Congress supported internment of dangerous enemy aliens; but it declared that all labour, so long as it obeyed regulations, should be free.

The unions opposed conscription of any group, because they thought "industrial freedom" was a basic right of the worker. They

also feared that if one group were conscripted, a precedent might be established which if the war continued, would apply to all Canadian labour. Government intervention loomed as a potential threat to the increasing political and economic strength of the unions, especially during the war years, when labour unions had increased their membership and finances.

After rejecting the veterans' proposals Borden appointed a committee to hold further discussions with the veterans. The immediate reaction on 27 March was a mass march of more than two thousand veterans who paraded past the parliament buildings in Victoria demanding a "square deal".²⁹ When this news reached soldiers in British Columbia they described the federal government's inaction as a stunning blow.³⁰

After its failure in Ottawa, the provincial association directed its efforts towards the provincial government. Although it realized the regulations controlling aliens came under federal jurisdiction, it hoped that a massive campaign throughout the province, backed by a resolution from the provincial government, would force Ottawa to reconsider its decision. As the community G.W.V.A. organizations gained strength, the provincial association pressed civic and social organizations to pass resolutions calling for the internment or conscription of aliens, and for a post-war immigration policy to exclude future immigrants from enemy countries.

Following their failure in Ottawa, the first step taken by the veterans in Victoria was to organize a massive march on the legislative

buildings because the federal government "had been or was unable to recognize representations made through ordinary channels."³¹ On 10 April 1918 a procession of nearly three thousand people, representative of a cross section of Victoria citizens, marched to the government buildings to present a petition to Premier Oliver demanding that the provincial government support the conscription and the deportation of alien enemies.³² The resolution had the backing of the Victoria Board of Trade, the soldiers' organizations, and other groups such as the Anti-Hun League.³³ The G.W.V.A. expected the provincial government to endorse this resolution.

Oliver, however, qualified his endorsement of the G.W.V.A. resolution, stating what the veterans already knew: aliens were a Dominion matter and the federal government had special reasons for its decisions.³⁴ Under pressure from members of the demonstration who catcalled demanding a forthright statement, the premier conceded that his government would support proposals to "make aliens shoulder their share of the burden...."³⁵

To maintain pressure on the government and to make its vague commitment into a firm resolution, the G.W.V.A. held a similar march in Vancouver on 13 April. Marching bagpipers as well as cars of disabled veterans leading fifteen hundred "battle scarred" veterans attracted cheering crowds as they proceeded to the Cambie Street parade grounds. Placards inscribed "Intern or Conscript All Alien Enemies", and "A Square Deal for Returned Soldiers" illustrated the mood of the veterans. David Loughnan addressed the crowd in a rousing speech in which he

criticized both levels of government for their inaction and their lack of assistance to the returned soldiers.³⁶

The veterans hammered at the same theme at all their meetings, but they also stressed that a militant stance represented no threat to the public order. They pointed to the support that they had obtained from civic associations and business groups as evidence of the acceptance of their legitimate complaints. The Veteran reassured the public that the soldiers' movement was under control and the G.W.V.A. was "a force of calm and deliberate opinion." The veterans desired to maintain a good image: the Association included in its statement of objectives a clause "To secure and maintain the complete confidence of the public."³⁷

Members of the Legislative Assembly agreed with the soldiers that a statement of policy was necessary. On 21 April Oliver announced that his government would support a resolution to send the veterans' proposals to Ottawa. An unanimous vote carried the resolution on the same day.

In the debate Liberal members attacked the opposition for politicizing the returned soldiers issue in order to make political capital in the forthcoming Victoria bye-election in which the soldiers intended to run their own candidate. W.J. Bowser, the Conservative leader, asserted that Oliver's government had appointed Germans to civil service posts and neglected appointments of veterans. The Hon. T.D. Pattullo presented evidence that P. Lorenzen, whom Bowser had accused of being German, was in fact originally from Denmark.³⁸ The Liberals also claimed that too

many returned soldiers were unqualified for some jobs but that every effort was being made to employ veterans wherever possible.

The veterans, however, remained dissatisfied. It was with reluctance that the veterans had entered provincial politics for fear of splintering the unity of the soldiers' movement. However, the G.W.V.A. was ready to support any politician who would advance its aims. When the Victoria association chose Pvt. Frank Giolma as the soldiers' candidate in the bye-election the Veteran supported his candidacy. When Giolma won a surprise victory over the traditional parties, his election was heralded as proof that the returned soldiers were stronger than those who ran "bogus returned soldiers" in the hope of deceiving the veterans.³⁹

The June bye-election dismayed the two major parties who had expected the soldier vote to splinter. Giolma, an unknown and inexperienced private who had served in France, had no political background or any connection with business or political leaders in the city. Returned soldiers celebrated his victory as an example of the growing alliance between soldiers, women's groups and workers.

The G.W.V.A. kept close tabs on the federal members of parliament and their statements regarding enemy aliens. H.S. Clements presented the G.W.V.A. resolutions along with the provincial government's statement of support for the soldiers to the House of Commons on the 22 April, but his effort to obtain satisfaction failed. Undaunted but embittered by this failure, Clements declared in an interview with the editor of the Veteran that,

the time has arrived in the great stress of this international war, when international law might very well be forgotten, and when the Act of Confederation might be overlooked, if necessary, to meet the situation.⁴⁰

The Veteran also gave large coverage to Major R.C. Cooper's view that enemy aliens were playing too large a role in the affairs of the labour unions. The Member of Parliament from Vancouver-South had voted for the soldiers' resolution, but he refused to accept Clements extreme position.⁴¹ Other Members of Parliament, particularly H.H. Stevens and S.J. Crowe, both of whom represented Vancouver ridings, urged restraint on the soldiers and their acceptance of government policy.⁴² But like Cooper and Clements, the members of parliament attributed the labour unrest in the province to the activities of enemy aliens. In so doing they lent indirect support to the soldiers' claims that aliens were indeed a real threat to the war effort.

Once the connection was made between labour agitation and the presence of aliens in the unions, a review and investigation of alien enemy activities got underway. In British Columbia the Mountain Lumber Manufacturers' Association prompted an investigation of radical labour organizations when it informed the government on the 11 February 1918 that members of the International Workers of the World (IWW) were secretly working in the lumbering districts in the province.⁴³ It requested the government to censor the circulation of foreign language materials and to outlaw the IWW,⁴⁴ which was distributing pamphlets. Sir Joseph W. Flavelle, director of the Imperial Munitions Board, also suspected that German sympathizers might be providing

direction for the labour difficulties in the West. He suggested to Borden that the fact that executive members of the International Brotherhood of Boilermakers -- Schmidt, Hinzman, Reinemeier -- had German names might indicate a link to German agents.⁴⁵ In May 1918 Flavelle reported that "There is a large body of opinion in the province that the troubles in British Columbia are to no small extent incident to the presence of dangerous men who are actuated by pro-German motives."⁴⁶

Borden ordered an immediate investigation into the IWW and other radical labour organizations. The Dominion Commissioner of Police, Sir A.P. Sherwood, placed undercover agents in suspected organizations in Vancouver and lumbering districts.⁴⁷ Although no direct link between German sympathizers or enemy aliens and the labour difficulties was discovered, the federal authorities persisted in the investigations.

From the spring of 1918 until the summer of 1919 the alien enemy continued to be a central theme of all discussions relating to labour unrest. Workers in the shipyards in Vancouver, New Westminster and Victoria went on strike on the 28 May 1918 for wage parity with American shipyard workers. On 4 June workers were compelled to return to work without a wage increase.⁴⁸ The veterans opposed the strike because the ships were essential to the war effort.⁴⁹ Although the veterans believed the shipyard strike had been inspired by unpatriotic workers who were influenced by IWW and Bolshevik agitators, an exhaustive investigation by the police produced no evidence linking radicals or revolutionaries with the strike.⁵⁰ Still the feeling

persisted among the veterans and the general public that aliens were responsible for the unrest.⁵¹

Although the veterans had viewed Giolma's election in Victoria as evidence of the potentiality of an alliance between veterans, women and workers, in fact any political relationship between workers and soldiers, so long as the war continued, had inherent difficulties. The labour unions were seeking to maintain their high wages and their bargaining strength which they had gained as a result of the demands for war production. As rising costs for basic necessities forced them to strike for higher wages, the war experience for them centered around consolidation of their power to bargain with war contractors. For the returned soldier, in contrast, the winning of the war and a spirit of sacrifice was the major consideration.

In August 1918 another strike severed the soldiers and a large segment of Vancouver's population from the labour organizers. As a protest to the shooting of Albert Goodwin, a labour organizer and pacifist draft evader from Cumberland, the British Columbia Federation of Labour called for a twenty-four hour sympathy strike. In Cumberland a large parade of workers marched through the town to mourn Goodwin's death. In Vancouver street railway men, longshoremen and many other workers walked out. In response to the strike about 300 soldiers made a raid on the Labour Temple and forced leaders of the strike to kiss the flag.⁵² The following day, 3 August, the soldiers renewed their attack on labour leaders when they gathered at the Longshoreman's Hall to demand that the strike leaders and foreigners be deported. The soldiers

and the press blamed German influence for the agitation and denounced the strikers as "Red-Socialists with pro-German ideas."⁵³ The strike leaders had miscalculated entirely on the public response. From this time forth there was no prospect of an alliance between radical workers and the soldiers. This strike reaffirmed the common belief that aliens were behind the labour agitation.

In the summer of 1918 Borden had requested C.H. Cahan, a prominent Montreal lawyer, to undertake an extensive investigation to determine whether a new and a more effective organization was necessary to formulate and administer additional regulations to control aliens and radical labour leaders, some of whom might be German agents or operating with German support. In July Cahan produced a secret report to the cabinet outlining his views. His research had revealed that many Ukrainians, Russians and Austrians had been influenced by the recent revolution in Russia but the radical literature circulating among them posed little threat to Canada's security; and such literature, he argued, could not be traced to German agents or war propaganda.⁵⁴ The formation of protective leagues, an idea suggested to Cahan by the minister of justice, did not appeal to him. Such leagues had been formed in the United States as quasi-vigilante committees to look into reports of disloyalty among Germans and to ban some German societies, publications, and the teaching of European languages. Cahan argued that if such leagues were formed in Canada they would probably degenerate into factions seeking to expose discrimination in the teaching of French and English in the schools, the enforcement

of the Military Services Act, or religious quarrels.⁵⁵ Rather than benefitting Canadian unity, such extra-legal associations would only embroil local citizens in racial conflicts. He recommended that the police, RNWMP, and immigration officials adequately control any "isolated cases of German or other disloyal intrigues."⁵⁶

As for the wave of unrest, flowing from the west across the country, Cahan attributed it to the war weariness of Canadians who had not anticipated such a long-term and costly commitment to the war. Instead of directing its efforts towards a crusade against local German propaganda, Cahan emphasized that the diminishing enthusiasm of the Canadian people should be bolstered with "a great moral and intellectual propaganda in favor of the successful prosecution of the war to a bitter end."⁵⁷ Complaints over high taxes, rising food costs, war profiteering, and neglect of returned soldiers' demands were more important substantive issues than German propaganda. He urged the government to tackle these problems, although he admitted they seemed incapable of "any early satisfactory solution." Before the government could attack these problems, Cahan emphasized that,

the people of Canada must be more fully informed, their patriotism again refreshed and enthused, their resolution hardened, and their purpose to fight and to suffer till the end strengthened and sustained.⁵⁸

How to strengthen and maintain the will of the people, became, then, an important goal for the government.

Impressed by Cahan's analysis, Borden decided to acquire his abilities in the government. In September he requested the Montreal

lawyer to undertake another secret report, this time to re-evaluate the administration and the efficient enforcement of laws regulating the enemy aliens, and the "surveillance and control of all aliens resident in Canada...who are otherwise disposed to be in sympathy with the political and military designs of Germany, Austro-Hungaria, Bulgaria and Turkey?"⁵⁹

In this report Cahan's views changed substantially. Even though the existing laws had been well enforced, he thought additional measures should be taken to extend the registration of aliens to include all Ukrainians, Russians, and Finns, if the "public order and preservation of public safety in Canada" were to be maintained.⁶⁰ Supplied with secret documents from the United States government's Committee for Public Information which included special, secret orders for German agents in Canada and the United States to organize disruptions in the ports and in the major commercial centres of Canada so that the delivery of war materials would be tied up, and having made a closer inspection of the sources of the radical literature being circulated in foreign languages, Cahan was thoroughly convinced that the Ukrainians and Finns had come under German influence, and that the strikes associated with radical labour leaders were indirectly controlled by German agents.⁶¹ As evidence of the extent of revolutionary activities among the Russians, Ukrainians and Finns, Cahan provided numerous translations of newspapers, pamphlets and leaflets advocating anti-war sentiments, the destruction of state authority, the subversion of religion and the overthrow of capitalism. A

pamphlet entitled "Who Needs War," published in Russian, suggested a pro-German attitude:

Now everybody talks about German brutalities and crimes and vandalism! But take Germany previous to the war: Was not Germany the first and most popular and educated of all Nations of the world? Did not the whole Universe obtain their education and culture from Germany? And now they are the lowest race existing! Why? Here we have an indication which proves that Germany's foes are the most hypocritical Nations that live upon the Earth!⁶²

The prevention, the pamphlet concluded, could only be achieved in one way:

All the working classes all over the world must be united and establish one world-wide Union-Socialism, take all property from their masters, banish all Capitalists and Exploiters, over come all Rulers, and take the reins into their own hands and use them to good purpose.⁶³

Singling out several organizations, among them the Social Democratic Party of Canada, the Ukrainian Social Democratic Party, the Russian Revolutionary Group and "any other Society or Organization inculcating the same doctrines or teachings", Cahan recommended the suppression of such groups and the censorship of all radical literature.⁶⁴ To administer additional laws and regulations to preserve the public safety, he proposed the setting up of a new branch within the department of justice to be known as the Public Safety Branch. Such a branch would co-ordinate all government departments which had some part to play in the enforcement of federal laws and regulations relating to the aliens in Canada. It would function "until peace is declared and general mobilization effected." Such a branch, Cahan

suggested, would receive popular approval and enable the government to gain the assistance of public and private organizations who were interested in the efficient enforcement of regulations.

The press in British Columbia had been concerned not only over the radical publications but also had objected to the continuing circulation of German newspapers. The Chief Press Censor, C.J. Chambers, had adopted the policy of permitting German newspapers to publish under strict supervision because he thought this would prevent the smuggling of dangerous literature into the country, while at the same time permitting the government to keep watch on the thoughts and feelings of Germans and Austro-Hungarians, especially in the prairie provinces.⁶⁵ In Vancouver the German newspapers had ceased publication when the war began. However, papers such as Der Courier and Der Northwestern were available in Vancouver and the local press waged a campaign to have them banned. The Sun and Province urged Chambers to forbid these publications and the Vancouver city council passed a resolution on 9 May 1918 recommending that the government ban all German publications.⁶⁶ The Sun reported that at Prince George people were overheard saying, "We will welcome the day when the German language and German publications are forbidden in Canada."⁶⁷

Apart from the expressions voiced in the press, Chambers was receiving confidential reports from an R.E. Nichols, Director of Public Information, who was travelling in the West with the War Lecture Bureau. Nichols's reports revealed the general atmosphere of suspicion existing among government agents to the effect that Germans

and labourers were disloyal. He described overhearing a woman in Victoria, "bearing evidence of Germanic extraction in face and speech and weight, remark recently to a citizen: 'Germany had won, but the Allies (Alleys, she pronounced it) don't seem to know it!'"⁶⁸ Nichols reported that labourers attending the war lectures frequently denounced speakers for not discussing the high cost of living and war profits.⁶⁹

Cahan had correctly gauged the sympathy of the press and a public which suspected the existence of a link between enemy aliens, foreign languages and labour unrest. His report represented more than a lawyer's analysis of radical literature and revolutionary organizations; it also embodied an understanding of the grievances underlying the potentially explosive unrest that was stirring among organized labour, returned soldiers, women, businessmen, newspaper editors, and municipal and provincial politicians. To prevent a collision between these groups Cahan had recommended in his first report a re-invigorated patriotism and a concerted effort to solve the "financial, industrial and economic problems growing out of the war, and which are, perhaps, incapable of any early satisfactory solution."⁷⁰ His second report concentrated not on the seemingly insoluble problems confronting the Union government in the last months of the war and the approaching problems of demobilization, but focused on the preventive measures and regulations "for safe guarding (sic) the public interests against enemy aliens."⁷¹ That the government had instructed Cahan to undertake a review of existing regulations and their effectiveness in controlling enemy aliens both as a response to public discontent and from a

growing sense that political and social instability posed a threat to Canada's security is evident.

On two levels Cahan's report had a particular impact. His investigation of radical literature, reinforced by information attained from United States sources, confirmed his suspicion that a link existed between enemy aliens, radical labour organizations and Germany's war effort. The enemy alien was no longer a boggle, but in fact, he was the source of labour unrest and social instability. This view legitimized a large segment of popular feeling that contended that the preservation of Canada's security rested primarily ~~with control of enemy~~ alien. Secondly, the report had an immediate effect on the Union cabinet. On receiving the report, the Minister of Justice, C.J. Doherty, notified Cahan,

The facts which you have placed before us and the recommendations based thereon, demand in my judgment, immediate and vigorous action. I am circulating the report as a secret document to my colleagues, and I expect to have the subject taken up this afternoon or tomorrow at the latest.⁷²

After conferring with the cabinet Doherty proceeded to appoint Cahan as Director of the Public Safety Branch. This committee would coordinate the branches of the federal government and insure the co-operation of provincial and municipal authorities in dealing with the aliens. On 28 September the government passed an order-in-council containing Cahan's recommendations banning any party advocating revolution.

While the federal government was centralizing the control and regulations of enemy aliens through the creation of the Public Safety Branch, the G.W.V.A. took the lead in encouraging other associations throughout British Columbia to press for internment of enemy aliens and for a post-war immigration policy excluding the entry of residents of former enemy countries. The Anti-Hun League in Victoria recommended not only internment and prohibition of German immigration but also the curtailment of trade with post-war Germany.⁷³ When, in January and February 1919 waves of returning soldiers entered the province, pressure on the government to amend the Immigration Act mounted. The British Campaigner's Association passed unanimously a resolution calling for the deportation of all alien enemies.⁷⁴

In addition to the support of the soldiers organizations which included the Army and Navy Veterans of Canada and the Navy League, the G.W.V.A. successfully brought together municipal bodies, the provincial government and various citizens groups. The Victoria City Council had passed a resolution on 16 December 1918 agreeing to the G.W.V.A.'s proposals to oppose the immigration of enemy aliens. At a meeting of the Men's Auxiliary to the G.W.V.A. in Victoria the association received approval for its demands that enemy aliens remain disfranchised, be prohibited from immigrating to Canada, denied citizenship, and excluded from membership in the Victoria Board of Trade, The municipal council, the Win the War League, the Rotary Club and the Local Council of Women,⁷⁵ supported these proposals.

In Vancouver H. Bell-Irving, a leading businessman, headed the

formation of a 'Reconstruction Group' with the intention of organizing all local bodies to,

protest against the release of interned aliens except for the purpose of deportation, in view of undesirable citizenship and their probable competition with returned men.⁷⁶

The efforts of this group proved successful. The city councils in Vancouver, South Vancouver, West Vancouver and Port Coquitlam forwarded resolutions to Ottawa urging the deportation of enemy aliens and a new immigration policy.⁷⁷ Communities in the interior -- Kamloops, Penticton, Prince George and Fernie -- also passed resolutions which were sent to the Union cabinet.

The response of the British Columbians and of people in the other regions of the country to the returned soldiers' demands for action overwhelmed the federal government. In February the Acting Premier, Sir Thomas White, wired to Borden in Paris that public opinion across the country threatened to break out in violence unless the government passed new order-in-councils or enacted new legislation.⁷⁸ Borden replied that the government would continue to deport those enemy aliens already interned, but that limited shipping facilities hindered the speed of such an undertaking. As a concession to the urgent demands he recommended the passing of an order-in-council to permit local judges to hear cases brought against alien enemies

by any person who in the opinion of the judge is sufficiently representative of the feeling of the community to lay a complaint.⁷⁹

If a county or a district court judge determined that an alien was guilty of sedition, he would have the authority to intern him. This order permitted localities to proceed against undesirable enemy aliens and in effect decentralized federal control of enemy aliens. Citizens could now initiate action against any enemy alien who might come under suspicion.

Another objective of the returned soldiers was to replace the enemy aliens who were employed in the industries of the province. On the 7 February 1919 returned soldiers planned a march in Victoria demonstrating against the employment of enemy aliens at Ladysmith, the Crow's Nest Pass and the smelter at Anyox.⁸⁰ Their decision may have been influenced by a violent attack on enemy aliens which returned soldiers in Winnipeg had made. Companies responded quickly to the demands of the soldiers. The Grand Forks Gazette reported on 7 March 1919 that the management of Granby's northern plant had replaced 135 enemy aliens with veterans. Though forty enemy aliens still worked at the smelter, the company promised to replace them as soon as veterans were available.⁸¹ The newspaper had unkind words for the Great Northern Railway which was hiring Doukobors and enemy aliens. Condemning the railway for employing these aliens, the newspaper emphasized that even naturalized citizens of enemy origin would have to go. "Naturalization has been the camouflage that has covered untold cunning and gloating of enemy aliens", wrote the editor.⁸² Unless the railway recognized the rights of the returned soldier, he predicted, it could expect labor difficulties. Two

weeks later the Great Northern fired enemy aliens and hired veterans.⁸³ Other companies followed suit. The provincial government reported that only 96 Germans and 530 Austro-Hungarians were still employed in the lumber and mining industries.⁸⁴ By the end of 1919 a marked reduction had taken place in the number of foreigners employed in all categories of labour and the efforts of the returned soldiers to find employment for themselves had improved substantially. Nonetheless Vancouver's mayor, R.H. Gale, continued to plead with the federal government to supply more jobs for the soldiers. Because veterans tended to congregate in Vancouver, the situation seemed especially acute there and Gale feared that an alliance between the soldiers and the unions was still a possibility.⁸⁵

At a meeting of the British Columbian Federation of Labour, held in Calgary on 10 March 1919, the Federation had attempted to heal the wounds created by Goodwin strike debacle by forming a committee to negotiate with the returned soldiers so that a common bond might be created between labour and the veterans.⁸⁶ The Federation argued that the aliens were being employed by the capitalists as a wedge to divide the veterans from the workers. Although it objected to the "wholesale immigration of workers from other parts of the world...", the federation condemned the capitalists as the true aliens.⁸⁷

The Federation's effort to bring about a re-conciliation between the workers and soldiers to form an united front against the real alien, the capitalist, was exactly what government officials wished to avoid. The Federation had backed a successful strike of more than 3,000

Vancouver shipyard workers because of the dismissal of one returned soldier on 5 December 1918. Immigration in fear of such an alliance.

As the Winnipeg strike unfolded in May 1919 labour groups began calling for a mass sympathy strike in Vancouver. Immigration agents wired that men being discharged from the shipyards might join in a general strike. The immigration agent in Vancouver, R.G. Macbeth, emphasized that unless post-discharge pay for the soldiers was extended, they might join the workers:

Nothing could be worse than to allow the returned men who are now a strongly loyalist party to drift into a kind of alliance with the Bolshevik element that wants to smash everything.⁸⁸

When a central strike committee in Vancouver called out the workers for a sympathy strike with Winnipeg groups, a majority of workers went out. But most soldiers' organizations failed to participate in the strike. Strike leaders were accused of being foreign agitators by the press, the Citizen's League and by Premier John Oliver.⁸⁹ The G.W.V.A. condemned the Winnipeg Strike and opposed any form of support of the Winnipeg strikers.⁹⁰

The response of the federal government to the Winnipeg Strike was immediate and swift. On 15 June 1919 the R.N.W.M.P. issued orders to western offices that secret service men be prepared in Winnipeg, Vancouver, Calgary and Edmonton "to trace out and look after all undesirables."⁹¹ W.H. Routledge, the Assistant Commissioner of the R.N.W.M.P., issued on 16 June circular 71 directing agents to arrest prominent agitators in British Columbia and intern them without delay

at the Vernon internment camp.⁹² Immigration agents were instructed to assist the police and prevent undesirables entering from the United States. If additional assistance was necessary then agents were to employ, preferably, returned soldiers.⁹³ In Vancouver several Russians were arrested and sent to Vernon, where they were held until deportation proceedings could be undertaken.⁹⁴

The legal authority permitting the arrest, internment and deportation of labour agitators and "undesirables" derived from clauses of the immigration act which had been amended on the 12 May 1919. Although the federal cabinet had passed an order-in-council on the 30 November 1918 debarring the immigration of enemy aliens, further measures seemed necessary in light of public hostility towards aliens. On 7 April 1919 J.A. Calder, Minister of Immigration and Colonization, presented Bill 52, An Act to Amend the Immigration Act, in response to the public concern for a new immigration policy, a concern which had arisen as a result of the war.⁹⁵ The main issue before the Commons was to determine what class or type of immigrant would be allowed to enter Canada after the war.

Two sections of the bill relating to aliens were critical in determining a new policy that would allow the government broader discretion in excluding undesirables. Section 38 (c) provided power by order-in-council to prohibit persons for any "reason which may be deemed advisable."⁹⁶ Without defining or classifying specific criteria for the exclusion of an applicant, the section could be applied to any individual or group. Under section 3, paragraph (p) enemy

aliens or persons who had been enemy aliens were excluded from entering Canada.⁹⁷ Equally important was section 41 of the bill which permitted the government to deport anyone advocating or "teaching disbelief or opposition to organized government."⁹⁸

Taken together these three clauses represented a move away from the pre-war open immigration policy for European settlers. Immigrants who had formerly been accepted as suitable for Canadian settlement were now excluded from entering Canada. Prime Minister Borden, commenting on the necessity for such measures, stated that the public mind lacked the "usual balance" and therefore a firm policy was essential to restoring a normal "balance" in Canadian society.⁹⁹

The agitation of the returned soldiers flowed dynamically through provincial society in the last year of the war and reawakened hostility towards Germans, Austro-Hungarians and other aliens in British Columbia. By directing attention to the enemy alien as the cause of post-war social and economic difficulties, the community projected its anxieties onto the immigrants and opened the avenue to a simplistic explanation for post-war problems, problems which existed not only in Canada but also in the United States, England and Europe. In a strenuous effort to re-establish stability and control, the Canadian government enacted legislation and set up agencies to suppress aliens. However, as a succession of measures--internment, deportation, an exclusionist immigration policy -- failed to prevent labour unrest and turmoil, it appeared that the enemy alien had not been the cause for Canadian problems after

all. The leaders of the strikes and radical labour organizations had not been Germans or Austro-Hungarians.¹⁰⁰ When the Royal Commission on Industrial Unrest made its report in July 1919 no reference was made to the enemy alien as the cause for labour unrest.¹⁰¹ The enemy alien had been a scapegoat.

On 27 February 1920 the last group of prisoners of war in Canada were shipped back to Europe. On board the SS Melita were 26 men who had been interned at Vernon. Among them was C.E. Michaelis who had written a short poem to internment officials entitled O Canada.

Five sad years on every hand,
did I say, I am your friend?
Five made years, with bitter
woe did you answer, I'm Your
foe.

Yet, you land so young and chill,
cannot help to love you still,
woeing ture in woe and weal
sometimes won a hear of steel
Steel you had around your breast,
War was your interest.
Now that peace once more is here,
Won't you change your mind, my Dear?¹⁰²

Canada had changed its mind, but in favor of a nationalistic fervor which defined the presence of the German and the Austro-Hungarian as incompatible with the Canadian society of the post-war era.

Conclusion

The outbreak of war in August 1914 compelled the federal government to consider two problems in dealing with the enemy alien: his loyalty and his legal status. So long as enemy aliens obeyed the law and pursued their occupations peacefully the government considered them loyal members of the community. The Conservative government placed no demands on the enemy alien to express his loyalty actively by joining the militia for overseas duty. If he maintained a peaceful and passive neutrality the government assured him the protection of his property and civil rights.

As the war entered the autumn of 1914 the federal government discovered it was less able to keep its promise to the enemy aliens because of growing popular sentiment against the lack of restrictions imposed on the aliens. In response to pressures from labour, provincial organizations and provincial governments, the Conservative government was compelled to pass an order-in-Council providing for the registration and internment of enemy aliens. The significance of this order was that it provided the means whereby aliens could be excluded from continued participation in the community. The order was a step in re-defining the social relations between the receiving culture and the enemy alien immigrant because internment offered a new dimension to municipal and provincial authorities. If necessary, they could recommend to militia authorities that certain enemy aliens should be interned, especially when unemployment and labour unrest threatened in some communities.

Economic conditions played a role in the change of attitudes towards the aliens. The severity of the recession in 1913 continued into the first year of the war. Construction projects, railway developments and mining and timber production curtailed operations because of inadequate markets. Municipal and provincial governments used internment to alleviate some of the unemployment and hostility against the enemy alien. These rapid changes in economic and social conditions heightened the visibility of the enemy alien. The enemy alien was defined as a threat to the stability of society and he became an object of fear and hatred. With the return of veterans in 1918 and 1919 the effort to sever the German and Austro-Hungarian from participation in Canadian life regained strength.

During four years of war the status of the German and Austro-Hungarian population changed dramatically. The declaration of war, the persisting depression and the fear of attack had triggered resentment and then hatred for the enemy alien and the naturalized subject of enemy origin. This hatred grew as a result of stories of German atrocities in Belgium, news from the warfront and the sinking of the Lusitania. The attitude that the immigrant of enemy origin was undesirable became ingrained in the minds of British Columbians and Canadians and they demanded action to restrict enemy aliens. The unanimous endorsement by the Legislative Assembly of a G.W.V.A. resolution to deport and exclude enemy aliens from post-war immigration and citizenship signalled the beginning of new regulations for European immigrants desiring to settle in Canada. The "new era" of which Carl Lowenberg spoke in 1914 would be postponed until another time.

Footnotes

¹ British Columbian Veterans Weekly (Hereafter cited as BCVW) (7 February 1918, p. 11.

² Ibid., 13 February 1919, p. 13.

³ Public Archives of Canada (Hereafter cited as PAC), Canada, Department of Militia and Defence, Vol. 848, File "Employment of Returned Soldiers for Guard Duty", H.H. Stevens to A.E. Kemp, 27 March 1916, p. 84.

⁴ Ibid., p. 153.

⁵ BCVW, 7 February 1918, p. 8; 9 May 1918, p. 3; 24 October 1918, p. 1. The Great War Veterans Association was recognized as the official returned soldiers organization both because of its large membership and national extent. By May 1918 it had 40,000 members and its supporters in British Columbia were estimated at 6,000. It urged other groups in the province such as Comrades of the War, whose membership was limited to only those men who had served in France, the Campaigners of the War (men who had actually served in the trenches), the Army and Navy Veterans Association, and British Campaigners Association to join with the G.W.V.A. to form a united front to achieve their goals. As the only provincial wide organization it took the lead in voicing the veterans' grievances and in organizing communities to support their aims.

⁶ BCVW, 7 February 1918, p. 2.

⁷ Ibid., The fifth clause of the GWVA's statement of purpose read, "To voice reasonable demands and just grievances". Clause six stated, "To inculcate at all times loyalty to Canada and the Empire."

⁸ S.W. Jackman, Portraits of the Premiers, Sydney, B.C., Gray's, 1971, p. 191.

⁹ BCVW, 7 February 1918, p. 6.

¹⁰ British Columbia, Annual Report of the Department of Labor, 1919, p. K 43.

¹¹ P.A.C., Canada, Department of the Interior, Immigration Branch (Hereafter cited as Immigration Branch), Box 257, File 751249, "Unemployment: Vancouver," R.H. Gale to F.P. Healy, 13 December 1918.

¹²British Columbia Sessional Papers (Hereafter cited as BCSP) 1919, Vol. 2, Correspondence Regarding Conference, 19 November 1918, p. M 17.

¹³BCSP, 1919, Vol. 2, p. K 6.

¹⁴British Columbia, Annual Report of the Department of Labor (Hereafter cited as B.C. Labor Report) 1918, p. H 5. See also, Immigration Branch, Box 257, File 752149, Jolieffe to Scott, 15 May 1917.

¹⁵P.A.C., H.H. Stevens Papers, Vol. I, Clipping Books, 18 December 1918. Included in this volume is a Union Campaign pamphlet entitled German Atrocities, pp. 1-3.

¹⁶P.A.C. Robert Laird Borden Papers (Hereafter cited as Borden Papers) Vol. 30, H.S. Clements to Borden, 27 December 1917.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 2.

¹⁸BCVW, 21 March 1918, p. 12.

¹⁹Ibid., 12 December 1918, p. 1.

²⁰BCVW, 28 March 1918; 4 April 1918, p. 1.

²¹Ibid. The Weekly frequently portrayed in cartoons an image of the alien as a "hidden menace," usually difficult to identify because they posed as Belgium or Dutch immigrants. This placed a premium on suspicion.

²²Ibid.

²³P.A.C., L.C. Christie Papers, Vol. 2, Memorandum, p. 1324.

²⁴Ibid., see also BCVW, 11 April 1918, p. 2.

²⁵Ibid.

²⁶Robert Laird Borden: His Memoirs, Vol. II, 1916-1920, Carleton Library, Toronto, 1969, p. 115.

²⁷Canada, Labor Gazette, Vol. 18, 1918, p. 782.

²⁸Ibid., p. 833.

²⁹BCVW., 4 April 1918, p. 6.

³⁰Ibid.

³¹BCVW., 4 April 1918, p. 6.

³²BCVW., 18 April 1918, p. 4. See also Victoria Daily Colonist, 11 April 1918, p. 1.

³³Provincial Archives of British Columbia (Hereafter cited as PABC) Premier's Official Correspondence (Hereafter cited as POC) F.E. Elworthy to John Oliver, 9 April 1918.

³⁴BCVW., 18 April 1918, p. 4.

³⁵Ibid.

³⁶BCVW., 25 April 1918, p. 6.

³⁷Ibid.

³⁸Victoria Daily Colonist, 21 April 1918, p. 5.

³⁹BCVW., 11 July 1918, p. 9.

⁴⁰BCVW., 16 May 1918, p. 6.

⁴¹Ibid.

⁴²BCVW., 13 June 1918, pp. 12-13; 27 June 1918, p. 1.

⁴³P.A.C., Borden Papers, Vol. 238, File 2363, Mountain Lumber Manufacturer's Association to R.L. Borden, 11 February 1918, p. 56588.

⁴⁴Ibid., p. 56589.

⁴⁵P.A.C., Borden Papers, Vol. 238, File 2363, J. Flavelle to Borden, 20 February 1918, p. 56593.

⁴⁶Ibid., Flavelle to Borden, 16 May 1918, p. 56623.

⁴⁷Ibid., A.P. Sherwood to Borden, 5 March 1918, p. 56601.

⁴⁸P.A.C., Immigration Branch, Box 257, File: "Unemployment Vancouver", 27 May 1918, p. 1.

⁴⁹Ibid.

⁵⁰P.A.C., Borden Papers, A.P. Sherwood to Committee on the I.W.W., 16 June 1918, p. 56672.

⁵¹Ibid., F.A. Acland to Deputy Minister of Labour, 10 June 1918, p. 56665.

⁵²P.A.C., Immigration Branch, Box 237, File: "Unemployment Vancouver", Quinn to Calder, 3 August 1918.

⁵³Ibid.

⁵⁴P.A.C., Borden Papers, Vol. 104, OC 519, "Enemy Aliens and Bolsheviks," C.H. Cahan to Borden, 20 July 1918, p. 56657.

⁵⁵Ibid., p. 56658.

⁵⁶Ibid., p. 56659.

⁵⁷Ibid., p. 56660.

⁵⁸Ibid.

⁵⁹Ibid., Cahan to C.J. Doherty, 14 September 1918, p. 1.

⁶⁰Ibid., p. 4.

⁶¹Ibid.

⁶²Ibid., p. 11.

⁶³Ibid.

⁶⁴Ibid., p. 12.

⁶⁵ PAC, Department of the Secretary of State Papers, Chief Press Censor, Vol. I, File 119, Chambers to A. Meighen, 4 January 1918.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 9 May 1918.

⁶⁷ Ibid., 21 June 1918.

⁶⁸ Ibid., File 199, Mr. Nichols to Chambers, 11 June 1918.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ PAC, Borden Papers, vol. 104, OC 519, "Enemy Aliens and Bolsheviks", C.H. Cahan to Borden, 20 July 1918, p. 56657.

⁷¹ Ibid., p. 56665.

⁷² Ibid., Doherty to Cahan, 14 September 1918, p. 56685.

⁷³ Victoria Times, 23 September 1918, p. 4. The Victoria organization was probably affiliated with the Anti-Teutonic League which had been inaugurated on 15 November 1915 in Edmonton. The organization was devoted to the total exclusion of all Germans and any connections with Germany. See pamphlet entitled "The Anti-Teutonic League" in PAC, Department of Militia and Defence Papers, vol. 426, file HQ 54-21-1-53.

⁷⁴ PAC, Borden Papers, vol. 155, OC 252, "Aliens", Army and Navy Veterans Association to Borden, 31 June 1919, p. 85. See also, University of British Columbia, Special Collections, S.F. Tolmie Papers, Box 24-3, E.B. Halsall to S.F. Tolmie, 20 December 1918.

⁷⁵ Victoria Colonist, 24 December 1918, p. 4.

⁷⁶ Victoria Times, 16 December 1918, p. 9.

⁷⁷ PAC, Borden Papers, vol. 155, OC A 252, "Aliens", Loyal Orange Lodge, Kamloops, B.C. to Borden, 21 January 1919, The file contains numerous resolutions calling for deportation and for an exclusionist immigration policy.

⁷⁸ Ibid., White to Borden, 11 February 1919, p. 23054.

⁷⁹ Vancouver Sun, 14 February 1919, p. 1.

⁸⁰Victoria Times, 7 February 1919, p. 11.

⁸¹Grand Forks Gazette, 7 March 1919, p. 1.

⁸²Ibid., p. 2.

⁸³Ibid., 23 March 1919, p. 1.

⁸⁴BCSP, vol. 2, Annual Report of the Department of Labour, 1919, p. K 6.

⁸⁵PAC, Department of Immigration and Colonization Papers, Box 238, File 752149, Gale to Acting Premier Sir Thomas White, 24 March 1919. See also Victoria Colonist, 25 March 1919, p. 1.

⁸⁶PAC, Minutes of the Meeting of the Convention of the B.C. Federation of Labor Held in the City of Calgary, March 10-12, 1919, p. 82.

⁸⁷Ibid., p. 79.

⁸⁸PAC, Department of Immigration and Colonization Papers, Box 238, File 752149, R.G. MacBeth to Col. A.B. Perry, 17 May 1919.

⁸⁹Dorothy G. Steeves, The Compassionate Rebel, Vancouver, Evergreen, 1960, p. 51.

⁹⁰BCVW, 15 May 1919, p. 4.

⁹¹PAC, Royal Northwest Mounted Police Papers, vol. 70, Crime Investigation Branch, File 22/2, A.A. McLean to W.H. Routledge, 15 June 1919.

⁹²Ibid., W.H. Routledge to Officers Commanding Districts, 16 June 1919.

⁹³PAC, Borden Papers, vol. 155 OC A 252 "Aliens", W.W. Cory to Agents, 15 June 1919, p. 83125.

⁹⁴PAC, Department of Immigration and Colonization Papers, Box 324, W.W. Cory to A.L. Jolliffe, 11 October 1919.

⁹⁵Canada, Official Report of the Debates of the Houses of the Dominion of Canada, 1919, vol. 2, p. 1866.

⁹⁶Ibid., p. 1207.

⁹⁷Ibid., p. 1883.

⁹⁸Ibid., vol. 3, p. 2283.

⁹⁹Borden, Memoirs, vol. 2, p. 214.

¹⁰⁰Steeves, Compassionate Rebel, p. 51.

¹⁰¹Canada, Labour Gazette, 1919, supplement of "Report of Commission to Enquire into Industrial Relations in Canada", p. 6.

¹⁰²PAC, Department of the Secretary of State, Custodian of Enemy Property, vol. 1077, C.E. Michaelis to Internment Camp Commandant, 28 February 1919. Another poem written by Michaelis to the Swiss Council in June 1919 entitled Kriegsgefangenschaft, read,

Jahre Kommen, Jahre gehen --:
Wie in aller Menschenwelt
ist es rechtlich zu verstehen
dass man uns gefangen haelt?

Jahre kommen, Jahre gehn,
Und so geht dad Leben hin--:
Menschenwelt, Kannst du verstehen,
dass ich dir entremdet bin.

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