

“CONSPIRACY OF SILENCE:” UKRAINIAN-CANADIANS 1896-1920

By

DEBBY-LYNN GEORGINA RITSCO

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**Remaining errors of fact and interpretation are my own. In what follows I shall explore the *conspiracies of silence* embedded in pre, mid, and post First World War social imaginary and discourses that made Canada's First World War Internment Operations 1914 to 1920 successful.**

## ABSTRACT

### “CONSPIRACY OF SILENCE:” UKRAINIAN-CANADIANS 1896-1920

From discourse analysis of diaries, memoirs, first-person narratives, archived newspaper clippings, archived government documents and records, and scholarly publications, a duplex *conspiracy of silence* emerges, for: (i) the recruited (Ukrainian peasants); and, (ii) the recruiters (Government of Canada). These recruitment practices occurred prior to the First World War and contributed to the dominant Canadian mood from 1896 to 1920, and subsequent ‘scapegoating’ of Ukrainian immigrants. Based on an illusory panacea to alleviate social and economic ‘feudal’ evils of the old country, emigrants made a conscious choice of accepting a paradisaal myth perpetuated by unscrupulous immigration agents who omitted facts and distorted the truth in their haste to exploit ‘human cargo’ and amass healthy bonuses. Caught in the throes of servitude, suffrage suppression, naiveté, and amidst a *conspiracy of silence* the immigrants took an enormous risk and at times were proved factually mistaken about what and whose social imaginary would promote their best interests. Through a *conspiracy of silence* or cognitive internment, young Ukrainian daughters would be assimilated in the guise of domestics working for affluent British-Canadian citizens, an arrangement which may have inadvertently facilitated Freudian-like<sup>1</sup> feelings of shame, repugnance, and inferiority about being Ukrainian. Although the Ukrainian intelligentsia was more literate, they often saw

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1. Freud, *Civilization and Its Discontents*, 740-742.

democracy through rose-colored glasses. That is to say, there are multiple, socially constructed “regimes of truth,” which render neither true or false relevant to the pre, mid, and post First World War experience.<sup>2</sup>

The opening of Canada West set the stage for two polarized cultures mediated through historical trauma. The aristocratic, ‘superior,’ British-Canadian nation builders, after signing treaties with the Indigenous peoples and successfully relocating them on reservations, had the illusion of an all British Dominion of Canada. The sudden appearance of hordes of ‘different’ foreigners shattered this utopian dream. Alarmed by the colossal number of new immigrants, the nativist British-Canadians faced the problematic of civilizing Ukrainian heterogeneity to British homogeneity—a culture that fell short in every dimension of meeting dominant Canadian society’s expectations. Because the Ukrainian proletariat comprised the Canadian Prairie Provinces’ largest proportion of foreign immigrants, they threatened “the Anglo-Canadian middle class vision of Canada.”<sup>3</sup> Many frustrated Anglo-intelligentsia, including Winnipeg Methodist clergyman, social-reform activist, and novelist, James S. Woodsworth,<sup>4</sup> would lament: “But how shall we weld this heterogeneous mass into one people? That is our problem.”

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2. Harcourt, In Defense of “False Consciousness:” 30.

3. Buri, “Enemies within Our Gates,” 1.

4. Woodsworth, Strangers within our gates, 203.

The research findings of “Conspiracy of Silence:” Ukrainian Canadians 1896-1920, entails the discourse analyses of important political and social leaders in Canadian society vis-a vis Ukrainian immigrants’ subjective experiences from the Austro-Hungarian crown provinces of Galicia and Bukovina. It situates immigrants’ old country conditions vis-a-vis with new country conditions and their immigration to Canada (the crown colony of the British Commonwealth) to expose the existence of a *conspiracy of silence* embedded within the social imaginary of established British-Canadian nation-builders that may have led to at least five oppositional relationships: (i) Recruiters versus Recruited; (ii) Conspiracy of silence in Ukrainian immigrants versus conspiracy of silence in British-Canadian intelligentsia and English-language press; (iii) Internment: shift from pre-war recruited ‘stalwart peasants’ to enemy/radical aliens/Red Bolsheviks during the First World War; (iv) Post-First World War restoration of consciousness: the *culture of imperialism* (contemporary Ukrainian-British hybrid intelligentsia) writing-back Canadian history centralizing Ukrainian immigrants as nation-builders of the Canadian state; and, (v) PTSD displaced by resilience.

This project has a ternary focus. The first revolves around the social imaginary of British-Canadian elitists who expected recruited foreign laborers to adopt British institutions and, for mutual benefit, assimilate from a heterogeneity-of peoples into a homogeneity-whole. The second focus revolves around the role that the *conspiracy of silence* phenomenon played relative to recruitment and identity formation. The identity of Ukrainian-Canadian citizens was politically and socially constructed within a social imaginary perpetrated by

important political leaders in the English-language press prior to, during, and following the First World War, an imaginary that propagated and scandalized them to a marginalized and despised “Other” status. The third focus revolves around the social imaginary of the Great War Veterans who seemingly perpetuated the ‘alien enemies’ into demonic Red Bolsheviks deserving post-war internment and deportation.

Three events set the parameters of this project: (i) the first mass influx in Canada of eastern and central European immigrants in 1896; (ii) the declaration of war in Europe, in 1914 (how internal and external factors reshaped Canada’s social imaginary, resulting in the internment of the same recruited immigrants); and, (iii) returned soldiers’ social imaginary of alien enemies as ‘undesirable’ Red Bolsheviks.

Five objectives explore, through critical discourse analysis, how and why, (i) particular pre-conditions led to the establishment of First World War Internment Operations in Canada; (ii) statements of Dominion of Canada leaders and press propaganda contributed to and shaped a new social imaginary; (iii) marginalization contributed to and grew out of new social imaginary; (iv) events during the years 1896-1920 contributed to the shaping of a new Canadian imaginary; and, (v) the discriminatory effects of the Great War Veterans’ social imaginary were felt in the Prairie Provinces and West to British Columbia. The concluding synopsis evaluates if the Ukrainian immigrants’ dream of creating a better future for their children and grandchildren has reached fruition.



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## INTRODUCTION

Most history written by either Ukrainian or non-Ukrainian scholars reflects a chronology of global events of what are perceived to be facts related to the past about those people who were directly involved as internees in Canada's First World War Internment Operations, 1914-1920. They are based on the assumption that other members of the eastern and central European cultural collectives were immune to the unabated struggles of marginalization and assimilation. Therefore, only the worldview of a segment of the immigrant populaces from the Austro-Hungarian Empire has been sufficiently represented. Little is written about how immigrant collectives and their successive generations were psychologically and socio-economically impacted by internment and the Enemy-Alien Legacy, or about what the mood was in dominant Canadian society in the time period between immigration (1896) and the declaration of the First World War (1914) that made internment a success. In lieu of a deficit of primary sources about immigrants' lived experience prior to the First World War, collected stories from private and cultural diaries, journals, memoirs, and newspaper archives are used to bridge this gap with heretofore untold primary, subjective narratives. Further, by situating British-Canadian and non-British-Canadian pre, mid, and post First World War discourses within Deborah Tannen's linguistic lens, cross-cultural misunderstandings are not only unearthed; but, they also become more discernible.

For decades after Canada's First World War Internment Operations many descendants of Ukrainian immigrant pioneers still lived in fear and repugnance—locked in a *conspiracy*

*of silence*—reluctant to self-identify as being Ukrainian, yet not knowing why.<sup>5</sup> In this document, I argue that state policies and everyday marginalization in pre-First World War dominant Canadian society served to intensify the sentiments of fear, apprehension, and intimidation that have circumscribed Ukrainian immigrant pioneers and their descendants to decades of what Naber<sup>6</sup> calls ‘internment of the psyche,’ or the general sense that one is being watched and could at any time be attacked, incarcerated, or disappeared. Building on Foucault’s<sup>7</sup> notion of ‘panopticism’ or the disciplinary measure of generalized surveillance, the concept ‘internment of the psyche’ refers to the covert and unspoken medium that linked sociopolitical institutions and the individual psyche together, ‘making it possible to bring the effects of power to the most minute and distant elements’ of everyday life. According to Naber,<sup>8</sup> “‘Internment of the psyche’, was prevalent particularly among working class immigrants living in poverty,” making it relevant to Canada’s First World War era.

Some saw the majority of those interned as young enemy migrant workers who came to work in mining and forestry industries, then drifted to cities congregating in groups of 18/20 and causing a raucous to earn enough money to possibly go across to the United States, then return to their homeland and purchase land or represent the enemy in the

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5. Schur, Personal Communication, July 1914.

6. Naber, Nadine. “The Rules of Forced Engagement.” Sagepub. 236.  
<http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.1177/0921374006071614>

7. Foucault, “Panopticism,” 209.

8. Naber, Nadine. “The Rules of Forced Engagement.” Sagepub. 254.

Great War.<sup>9</sup> However, as Buri<sup>10</sup> posits and as Schur and Chafe<sup>11</sup> portray in *Strike! The Musical*, “None of these Ukrainian immigrants had the resources to earn enough money to return to their homeland or to better their lifestyle there.” Further, the legal status of “enemy-alien” seemed to be blurred by ambiguous guidelines within the Hague Conventions for the proper treatment of civilians from countries who were considered enemies of the Canadian state.<sup>12</sup>

Because of the language barrier in the Dominion of Canada the immigrants could not explain the reasons they chose to immigrate to Canada: (i) to give their children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren a better life, or (ii) if they were responding to Canadian advertisements offering free land. According to Howard Palmer,<sup>13</sup> prior to 1896, those Canadian provinces that formulated the Palliser Triangle (mainly southern Alberta and Saskatchewan) were not considered “fit for agricultural settlement” due to First Nations and Métis uprisings, in addition to unfavorable weather conditions, farming techniques, grain markets, and lack of railroads. Nonetheless, populating Canada’s West remained the government priority in order to establish a market for eastern manufactured commodities and reciprocal railway freight transportation while simultaneously securing western Canada as part of Canadian Confederation. Although the Anglo-Canadian

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9. Schur, Personal Communication, July 2014; Martynowych, Personal Communication, August 2014.

10. Buri, “Enemies within Our Gates:” 1.

11. Chafe and Schur, *Strike!* Act One, Scenes One to Four: 5-23.

12. Kordan and Mahovsky, *A Bare Impolic Right*: 34.

13. Palmer, *Patterns of Prejudice*, 21.

nativists inhabiting the Canadian Prairies preferred settlers from Ontario, Great Britain, and northwest Europe,<sup>14</sup> farmers from these global states were scarce, leaving central and eastern European immigrants as most fit for filling the national mandate. However by 1896, Ontario and British Anglo-Saxon Protestant settlers had secured “exclusive control of the political, legal, cultural, and educational institutions in Alberta”<sup>15</sup> and Manitoba.<sup>16</sup> An ethnic “pecking order” juxtaposed the influx of “hundreds of thousands”<sup>17</sup> of non-Anglo-Saxon immigrants, sparking an urgent parliamentary debate. Eventually, the emeritus General William Otter (who led the second Riel insurgency in 1885 to suppress the Plains Cree and Métis warriors on Cut Knife Hill, and whose testimony incarcerated Chief Poundmaker, *Pitikwahanapiwiyin*, in Stony Mountain Prison, after the latter spared Otter and his men from further bloodshed), would mothball Canada’s First World War Internment Operations from 1914 to 1920. Inadvertently, most Ukrainian immigrants who were ‘simple farm-folk’ would be erroneously embellished into a ‘grandiose’ national threat in need of vigorous assimilation.

Amidst the assimilation strategies, particularly in the education system, many chose to substitute their cultural customs with dominant Canadian cultural practices in order to alleviate marginalization, maltreatment, and suffering often associated with speaking and doing things differently. For some the consequence of substituting their own heritage

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14. Ibid, 22.

15. Ibid, 23.

16. Buri, "Enemies Within Our Gates:" 3–11.

17. Palmer, Patterns of Prejudice, 22.

with the dominant Canadian lifestyle was *double erasure*, namely, (i) erasure of their ancestors' genealogy (represented in the national archives); and, (ii) erasure of their ancestors' contributions to Canadian nation-building.

In a study of Holocaust survivors, Dr. Yael Danieli et al. have deduced:

that many survivors kept silent, unable to speak about the events, or denying their emotional impact; while, others had a strong need to recount their experiences over and over again—to “bear witness,” to testify to the truth of the Holocaust lest it be forgotten. This urge to tell, however, confronted a *conspiracy of silence*...people were not only unwilling to listen to survivors' experiences but they also refused to believe that the horrors had actually occurred. The prevailing social avoidance, repression, and denial often ensured that survivors, feeling betrayed and alienated, kept silent.<sup>18</sup>

The historical event of Canada's First World War Internment Operations, 1914 to 1920, was seemingly locked in a similar *conspiracy of silence* by Canadian historians' occlusion of the immigrants' contributions to Canadian Confederation as prisoners of war, from Canadian public school curricula, Public Archives, and historical references. A conspiracy of silence also kept internees and many Ukrainian collectives “clammed up”<sup>19</sup>

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18. Danieli, International handbook of multigenerational legacies of trauma, xv and 5.

19. Chafe and Schur, The Braiders (HOTEL BAR-NIGHT),84.

from sharing about their histories and contributions to Canadian nation-building with their children and grandchildren. Only nuances of subdued resentment towards the *Anhliys'ka* (English) were transmitted from the elder to younger generations.

If the British-Canadian homogeneity-based “social imaginary”<sup>20</sup> had not been penetrated and transformed by complex traditional heterogeneity-based social imaginaries of diverse eastern and central European immigrant cultures prior to the declaration of the First World War on August 4, 1914, the First World War Internment Operations between 1914 and 1920 would not have been successful. The Government of Canada’s successful registration of 80,000 enemy-aliens and internment of 8,579 enemy-aliens<sup>21</sup> during the First World War could only have been achieved with the overwhelming support of Canadians—societal consensus. Only a national consensus could provide the federal government with the sweeping powers necessary for Cabinet to enforce media censorship, arrest, detain, deport immigrants, as well as appropriate, control, and dispose of enemies’ property without accountability to Parliament.<sup>22</sup> Canada’s dominant social

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20. Taylor, *Modern Social Imaginaries*, 29.

Charles Taylor defines social imaginary as the ways people imagine their social existence, how they fit together with others, how things go on between them and their fellows, the expectations that are normally met, and the deeper normative notions and images that underlie these expectations. As such, the ordinary way people “imagine” their social surroundings is transmitted in images, stories, and legends. 23-32.

21. Melnycky, *Loyalties in Conflict*, 2.

22. *Ibid.*



imaginary had to have been penetrated and transformed to bring about those ends. Otherwise, Canada's First World War Internment Operations would have failed.

The first section of this document explores the *conspiracy of silence* in the old land and the new land in an attempt to unearth: (i) the reasons why peasants emigrated from their homeland, and (ii) the mood of Canada's pre-war, dominant society (a mood that enabled thousands of initially sought-after immigrants to be suddenly stereotyped and interned as enemy-aliens at the eve of the First World War). The second section analyses the discourses of important Canadian political statesmen, industrialists, and editors in archived newspaper articles, novels, and *Commons Debates*, in comparison with immigrants' diarized narratives about personal experiences. The third section addresses the psychologically-crippling effects of the internment *conspiracy of silence* for descendants and cultural collectives, through the cultural lens of Canadian/Kobzar playwrights, Danny Schur's and Rick Chafe's screenplays, *The Braidiers* and *Strike!*, juxtaposed with Illia Kiriak's novel, *Sons of the Soil*. The document argues that a *conspiracy of silence* strategy among Ukrainian old-timers may have evolved from quasi-feudal undemocratic socio-economic inequity in the old country, colliding with a xenophobic mood in established British-Canadians towards foreigners in the new land that originated in Great Britain,<sup>23</sup> a conspiracy perpetuated by Canadian elitists and Great War Veterans in Canadian English-language press.

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23. There is close synergy between the politics of the British Empire and the crown

Healing the legacy of Canada's First World War Internment Operations (1914-1920) entails comprehension of the complex fragmented relationship between first-wave Ukrainian peasant immigrants in Canada and British-Canadian nativists, implicit to the role of a *conspiracy of silence* in recruitment of these same immigrants (this is specifically relevant to how Ukrainian Canadian citizens were politically and socially constructed and presented by important political leaders and press reports prior to the First World War that propagated and scandalized them to a marginalized and despised "Other" social class). The intent is two-fold: (i) to expose the immeasurable toll of marginalization, confinement, and designation of immigrants as inferior or second-class citizens, for subsequent generations' cultural identity, cultural relativity, and overall mental health; and (ii) to rewrite counter-transformation narratives with Ukrainian-Canadians' experiences and contributions at the center of Canadian economic development transitioning from post traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) manifestations towards resilience. Hopefully, additional healing and resiliency will be procured through voicing the immigrants' untold stories. It is the third and fourth generations of Ukrainian immigrants who are realizing and continuing the freedom and better life that their forbearers assiduously sought. By articulating counter-narratives we are passing their

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colonies of Canada and Australia prior to, during, and following the First World War with British statesmen and businessman implementing desires of the British monarchy.

torch to the successive generations with the hope of extinguishing past inferiority complexes.

## **“CONSPIRACY OF SILENCE:” UKRAINIAN-CANADIANS 1896-1920**

### **Defining Marginalization**

Marginalization is a complex process of relegating specific groups of people to the lower or outer fringes or margin of society—economically, politically, culturally and socially following a policy of exclusion which pushes the community to poverty, misery, low wage, and discrimination and livelihood insecurity, and denies people equal access to the formal power structure and participation in the decision making processes leading to their subordination to and dependence on the economically and politically dominant groups of society. As a consequence of economic, political and cultural deprivation, a vast chunk of the population emerges to be socially ignorant, illiterate, uneducated and dependent.”<sup>24</sup>

Sarah Mills<sup>25</sup> alleges: “Power is therefore a key element in discussions of discourse [in which] someone is prevented from doing what they want to do” or say, often dictated by economic imbalance. Undoubtedly, the 1914 declaration of the First World War and the War Measures Act perpetuated a financial and economic crisis for Ukrainian immigrants in Canada, thereby intensifying their reality of unfulfilled expectations, leading to social and political marginalization, exacerbated by global combat between their old Austro-Hungarian Empire versus their new British Empire. Because Canada was a crown colony of the British Commonwealth, former Austro-Hungarian citizens were automatically seen as a potential threat to Canadian national security—as enemy-aliens.”<sup>26</sup>

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24. Marginalization, Sociology Guide, [www.sociologyguide.com](http://www.sociologyguide.com)

25. Mills, Discourse The New Critical Idiom, 19.

26. Schur, Personal Communication, July 2014.

**PARADOX #1:****Why Ukrainian Peasants Chose Emigration**

*They were just ordinary farm folks, I guess.  
They thought they'd try their luck at a bigger country...*

**Mary Haskett**

**Defining Canada as a British Crown Colony**

The *British North America Act* (March 29, 1867)<sup>27</sup> united Canada into, One Dominion under the crown of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland...Section 91 granted the Queen [authority], by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate and House of Commons, to make Laws for the Peace, Order, and good Government of Canada, with the Governor General acting by and with the Advice of the Queen's Privy Council for Canada.

The opening of Canada West to settlement began with the British Crown signing eleven number treaties with the *Nehiyawak* Plains Cree, *Omeshkegowak* Swampy Cree, Denè, Assiniboine, and *Saulteaux* First Nations peoples between 1871 and 1923,<sup>28</sup> in which 3,486,372 acres of virgin land was ceded to the British Crown,<sup>29</sup> into what would later become the provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta

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27. Archives Canada, THE BRITISH NORTH AMERICA ACT (1867), 7.

[http://www.solon.org/Constitutions/Canada/English/ca\\_1867.html](http://www.solon.org/Constitutions/Canada/English/ca_1867.html)

28. Rice, "Encounters," 81-82.

29. Government of Canada, Resolving Aboriginal Claims, <http://www.aadnc>

[aadnc.gc.ca/DAM/DAM-INTER-HQ/STAGING/text\\_text/rul\\_1100100014175\\_eng.pdf](http://aadnc.gc.ca/DAM/DAM-INTER-HQ/STAGING/text_text/rul_1100100014175_eng.pdf) Accessed October 10, 2016.

and the North West Territories,<sup>30</sup> in exchange for promises of a good life for their children.<sup>31</sup>

Brian Rice<sup>32</sup> writes:

Prime Minister John A. Macdonald would enlist the 60<sup>th</sup> Rifles, the Royal American Regiment, also known as the Red River Expeditionary Force, consisting of an army of 1,200 soldiers, under the command of General Garnett Wolseley, to force the *Métis* to leave their land in the Red River Valley...Some of...the richest land in Canada, still belongs to the descendants of General Wolseley's forces, [such as Andrew Yankowskyi].<sup>33</sup>

*An Act Respecting the Public Lands of the Dominion* (1872)<sup>34</sup> divided the 'treaty' land of the Canadian Prairies into quarter-section homesteads of 160 acres or 64.7 hectares each. Then, British-Canadian statesmen advertised the quarter-sections overseas as "free," to bait and *recruit* "stalwart peasants"<sup>35</sup> from the overpopulated Austro-Hungarian crown colonies of Galicia and Bukovina to settle and develop Canada West, in exchange for ten

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30. Rice, "Encounters," 82.

31. Ibid, 81.

32. Ibid, 78.

33. Piniuta, *Land of Pain Land of Promise*, 27.

Andrew Yankowskyi, a young man from Ternopil, Ukraine, is said to have settled on 100 acres of land he received for his services as soldier in the Des Meurons and the De Wateville regiments which arrived at Lord Selkirk's Red River colony.

34. *Dominion Land Act*, Acts of the Parliament, 807.

<http://data2.collectionscanada.gc.ca/e/e001/e000007931.jpg>

35. Avery, 'Dangerous Foreigners:' 20.

dollars for land registration fees and promises of freedom. Orest Martynowych<sup>36</sup> writes: “These emigrants were “pushed” out of their homelands by nobility who dominated forest and pasturelands and in the absence of an industrial infrastructure to absorb their labour were “pulled” by the prospect of free farmlands and employment opportunities in Canada.”

In 1863, “Valuyev (tsarist Minister of the Interior), had issued a statement that the Ukrainian language never existed, does not exist, and never can exist...The use of the Ukrainian language was banned, and the printing and importation of books in Ukrainian were prohibited.”<sup>37</sup> Thus, Ukrainians (also known as Little Russians) in Russian-dominated Bukovina were subjugated by the autocratic policy of Russification,<sup>38</sup> which abrogated the Ukrainian spirit. As the Ukrainian national intellectual movement rekindled, Tsar Alexander II, in 1876, banned the printing and circulation of Ukrainian books, periodicals, and music, as well as the production of Ukrainian theater, and the singing of Ukrainian songs in public.<sup>39</sup> In the 1800s, Ukrainian artists, such as Taras Shevchenko, stimulated national awareness of political issues in Austrian-dominated West Ukraine and Russian-dominated East Ukraine.<sup>40</sup>

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36. Martynowych, *Ukrainians in Canada*, 3.

37. Piniuta, *Land of Pain Land of Promise*, 14.

38. Ibid; Roman Martin, e-mail message to author, September 30, 2016.

39 Piniuta, *Land of Pain Land of Promise*, 14.

40 . Piniuta, *Land of Pain Land of Promise*, 15-16.

Slava Stetsko <sup>41</sup>writes:

On April 5, 1847, Taras Shevchenko was arrested and arrived at the Orenburg fortress on June 9...forbidden to write or paint...a philosopher-enlightener and fighter for the national freedom of Ukraine [Shevchenko] managed to produce several hundred works of art...even in the most difficult years of exile he did not cease his work as [an artist].

Ukrainian artifacts and Galician-printed revolutionary pamphlets were smuggled into Russia through underground “secret societies” and “clandestine congresses.”<sup>42</sup> Here is where a *conspiracy of silence* seems to have taken root in the old country, for Ukrainian peasants and artisans, alike. Consequently, until 1905, Ukrainian newcomers in Canada were seeking cultural scaffolding, as well as economic stability that would countervail their encounter with Canada’s alien social and cultural institutions. The church had played a central role in the old country, as a protector of authentic heritage, educational institutes, and uniqueness from Polish, Romanian, and Russophile indoctrination. However, in North America, married priests such as Rev. Wolanski were not welcome because they were not celibate.<sup>43</sup> The few celibate clergymen, such as Reverend Nestor Dmytriw, lived in the United States. Until the new homesteaders were anchored in the new land, they were consumed with meeting their material needs, while supporting each other psychologically. Therefore, the immigrants’ fragmented spiritual component was re-conciliated in extraordinary circumstances, as exemplified by Kiriak<sup>44</sup> in *Sons of the*

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41 Stetsko, *The Ukrainian Review*, 5

42 Piniuta, *Land of Pain Land of Promise*, 14.

43. Ewanchuk, *Reflections*, 4.

44. Kiriak, *Sons of the Soil*, 87-90 and 200.



*Soil*, when little Semen Wakar passed away from eating poisonous toadstools that had been mistaken for edible mushrooms and when “[Maria Workun and Wasyl Dub] were married by a priest who happened to be in town on an exploratory mission.” On such occasions, the immigrants improvised, drawing on ‘fragments’ of familiar cultural and spiritual traditions in solidarity to restore order and harmony in their milieu. For the First World War internees, however, this cultural solidarity and continuity was fragmented further, possibly contributing to “Barbed-Wire Disease (BWD) also known as “Captivity Psychosis” and “Internitis.”<sup>45</sup>

Phillip Yasnowskyi<sup>46</sup> recalls Easter Sunday at Kapuskasing internment camp:

gray and dull...there was no work for us that day. To hold a service of worship was out of the question as there was no priest. The men sat the day out in the barracks, silent, depressed, and wrapped up in their somber thoughts. Only now and then someone would softly strike up “*Khrystos Voskres.*”

### **Defining Cultural Fragmentation**

Building on the Hartzian approach,<sup>47</sup> Yarema Gregory Kelebay<sup>48</sup> shows that the founders of the new society in Canada represented only a fragment of the whole ideological

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45. Ste-Marie, Morrissey Camp Conditions, 10.

46. Yasnowskyi, “Internment,” 185 and 191.

The traditional Ukrainian Easter greeting is “Khrystos Voskres” (Christ is Risen) to which the response is “Viosyno Voskres” (Indeed He’s Risen).

47. Hartz, *The Founding of New Societies*, 3.

Louis Hartz believes that the development of all new societies are fragments of the larger whole of Europe struck off in the course of the revolution...For when a part of a European nation is detached from the whole

spectrum of the mother provinces of Bukovina and Galicia. This new Ukrainian society was founded on “feudal fragments” or Tory values because they had immigrated to Canada before the liberal revolution in Europe. Conversely, British Canada was founded on “bourgeoisie fragments” by bearers of liberal individualism who had left the Tory end of the spectrum behind them.<sup>49</sup> As Kelebay<sup>50</sup> explains, “The significance of the fragmentation process lies in the fact that the new society, isolated from the mother country by geography, was also removed from the [holistic] stimulus, interchange, and continuity of social development that the mother country provided.” While the British statesmen who governed the Dominion of Canada continued a symbiosis with the British crown, the central and eastern European immigrants were cast into the role of antagonist/adversary by the simple fact that they talked and did things differently. Thus, stereotypical stigma in reaction to this difference was attached and transmitted from parents to children and grandchildren, and through subsequent descendants that Ukrainian immigrants were lesser than or inferior to British-born Canadian citizens.

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of it, and hurled outward onto new soil, it loses the stimulus toward change that the whole provides. It lapses into a kind of immobility...The fragments reflect every phase of the European revolution, but they evince alike the immobilities of fragmentation...For it is the irony of the impact that it has hurled back at the fragments...Their escape has turned out to be an illusion, and they are forced now to transcend the conservatism to which it gave birth.

48. Kelebay, “Three Solitudes: A History of Ukrainians in Quebec,” 2.

49. Ibid.

50. Ibid.

With the central and eastern European ‘fragments’ isolated and severed from their homelands, then scattered across the Canadian Prairie Provinces, it was difficult to cultivate a transplanted society with a congruent ideological spectrum that juxtaposed the ideological spectrum of the motherland. Rather, “the new spectrum became nearly frozen...in time”<sup>51</sup> like Eric Santner’s<sup>52</sup> “stranded objects [without] possibilities [of mourning] misunderstanding, disappointment, even betrayal.” Kelebay<sup>53</sup> further draws on Hartz’s theory of colonial history to illustrate how the three Ukrainian immigrant waves to Quebec are the product of three distinct immigrant fragments. Each fragment had an anomalous mentality to form the cultural community’s psychological destiny and challenge to the status quo. Kelebay<sup>54</sup> categorizes the Ukrainian immigrants into these three distinct fragments: Fragment I arrived in Quebec between 1902 and 1914 and can be described as “Immigrant Pioneers;” Fragment II, the “Emigré-Patriots,” arrived between 1922 and 1929; and, Fragment III, the “Refugee-Nationalists,” arrived between 1947 and 1954. Building on Kelebay’s and Hartz’s concept of colonization of Fragment I (“Immigrant Pioneers” in Quebec), this study focuses on the colonization of the Canadian Prairie Provinces. To effectively analyze discourse related to the colonization of the Canadian Prairie Provinces, an additional fragment will have to be inserted between Fragment I and Fragment II to accommodate the immigrants (also from Bukovina) who

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51. Kelebay, “Three Solitudes: A History of Ukrainians in Quebec,” 2.

52. Santner, *Stranded Objects*: 2.

53. Kelebay, “Three Solitudes: A History of Ukrainians in Quebec,” 2.

54. *Ibid.*

immigrated to the United States (first via the Port of New York where they claimed homesteads in North Dakota and other American states) before re-migrating and re-claiming permanent homesteads in southern Saskatchewan or Alberta. These immigrants, together with German and Scandinavian pioneers, brought with them farming skills and agricultural equipment that would foster the Canadian agricultural economy. The American fragment also created a need for public schools, churches, and communal and political organizations.

### **Fragment I—Ukrainian Peasant Immigrants**

Martynowych<sup>55</sup> describes the first fragment of Ukrainian peasants from Galicia and Bukovina as being “saddled with onerous financial burdens,” and (as portrayed by Mike Sokolowski in *Strike!*),<sup>56</sup> carried intra-ethnic animosity across the ocean from the old country to the new. In both Galicia and Bukovina, Polish, Romanian, and Russian nobles or tsars had imposed economic colonialism, which had been approved by the central government.<sup>57</sup> Pylypiw<sup>58</sup> describes people in Galicia living on narrow strips of land and not having even a small plot of land for a garden. By the time peasant families subdivided land amongst children, peasant holdings varied from 2 to 5 hectares of land, while 7 to 8

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55. Marynowych, *Ukrainians in Canada*, 7.

56 Chafe and Schur, *Strike!* Act One Scene One-Three, 5-21.

57. Martynowych, *Ukrainians in Canada*, 10.

58. Pylypiw, “How We Came to Canada,” 30.

hectares were required to sustain one household.<sup>59</sup> Thus, a wooden hoe and oxen or horse-drawn plough were used to cultivate the land, grain was sown by hand, cut with scythes, and harvested with flails.<sup>60</sup> With crop rotation being non-existent, the average yield was one third to one half that harvested in Western Europe, peasantry consumption was half that of Europe, and productivity was a meagre one-quarter.<sup>61</sup> The Polish dominated policy-making in Galicia, and the Polish language was the official language of instruction in Galician schools. Similarly, Romanians dominated policy-making in Bukovina,<sup>62</sup> Ukrainian children were not allowed into the Romanian schools, military service was forced, and only the orthodox religion was tolerated.<sup>63</sup> Because these Ukrainian peasants were not in a financial position to purchase the meagre amount of land available to them at exorbitant prices, they began looking abroad for opportunities.<sup>64</sup> Ukrainian peasants in Bukovina heard of Argentina having land for homesteads and began planning to claim homesteads there.<sup>65</sup> Some first wave immigrants to Brazil and Argentina returned disappointed, diverting others to venture to North America.<sup>66</sup> In order

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59. Roman Martin, e-mail message to author: October 1, 2016.

60. Martynowych, *Ukrainians in Canada*, 8.

61. Ibid.

62. Tina Ritsco, LinkedIn message to author: Oral History, March 7, 2017.

63. Ibid.

64. Roman Martin, e-mail message to author: October 1, 2016.

65. Ritsco, *The Other J.R.*, 2.

66. Ibid.

to qualify for the landing status to enter the USA, each immigrant was required to have \$30.00 for each family member.<sup>67</sup>

Peasant struggles for suffrage in Galicia were still intense when Jacob Maksymetz immigrated to Canada in 1898. Kerry Maskiew<sup>68</sup> writes: “The Dominion Lands Act (1872) offered 160 acres of ‘Freeland’ for the sum of \$10.00 to Canadian citizens and immigrants of entrepreneurial spirit...in 1901 [Canada] had a population density of 1.5 persons per square mile,” in contrast to Galicia’s population density of 102 persons per square kilometre (264 per square mile).<sup>69</sup>

Because the mass emigration of peasants left a tremendous labour void for the *pahn* (Polish landowners) in Galicia and *boyars* (Romanian landowners) in Bukovina, the landowners petitioned the Austro-Hungarian government to end emigration regardless the cost.<sup>70</sup> Amendments were made to the Austrian Criminal Code to authorize imprisonment from 6 months to two years for those recruiting villagers to emigrate, with a maximum penalty of three years’ hard labour and a fine of 3,000 gulden for extreme breaches of the law.<sup>71</sup>

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67. Roman Martin, e-mail message to author: October 1, 2016.

68. Maskiew, *Harvest of Memories*, 321-323.

69 Martynowych, *Ukrainians in Canada*, 8.

70. Petryshyn, *Peasants in the Promised Land*, 50.

71. *Ibid*, 51.

Galician agronomy professor Dr. Osyp Oleskiv learnt from Reverend Iwan Wolanski (volunteer Greek Catholic missionary in Pennsylvania) about conditions in the Parana Brazil jungles, about unscrupulous agents' exploitation of Ukrainian peasants, and about the plight of Ukrainian miners in Pennsylvania<sup>72</sup> who were abhorred by WASP (White Anglo Saxon Protestants) miners for keeping their wages low.<sup>73</sup> Hence, they diverted many Ukrainian peasants to Canada. During exploratory trips to Canada, Dr. Oleskiv had identified suitable areas for settlement,<sup>74</sup> had formulated a plan with Thomas Daly (Canadian Conservative Minister of the Interior) for settlement of Ukrainians in the Canadian Prairie Provinces,<sup>75</sup> and had distributed Ukrainian-language pamphlets amongst the peasants, informing them about Canadian opportunities in agricultural and seasonal industrial employment.<sup>76</sup> Further, Pylypiw's<sup>77</sup> positive experiences in establishing husbandry in Canada incited compatriots to follow suit.

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72. Ewanchuk, *Reflections and Reminiscences*, 2-5.

73. *Ibid*, 2.

74. Darlington, "The Ukrainian Impress on the Canadian West," 56.

75. Palmer, *Patterns of Prejudice*, 20.

76. Darlington, "The Ukrainian Impress on the Canadian West," 56; Petryshyn, *Peasants in the Promised Land*, 49.

77. Pylypiw, "How We Came to Canada," 28-35.

To note: Pylypiw and Eleniak came to Canada twenty-three years before the declaration of the First World War, before the inauguration of the War Measures Act, before border-crossing was prohibited for earning cash in the United States, and before xenophobia had taken root in Canada.

Stella Hryniuk's<sup>78</sup> writes,

Seventy hectares of land available for fifty gulden (ten dollars)...brought a surge of Ukrainian immigrants to the Canadian West...those peasants who were moderately wealthy, free of debt, owners of two to five hectares of land, and possessing between five hundred and eight hundred gulden.

Nonetheless, 160 acres of land in the new country was eighty times the 2 to 5 acres of land available to them in the old country for which primitive hand tools would not be suffice.

The upswing in the Canadian economy and the settlement of the American frontiers by the 1890s, created prime conditions for peopling the Canadian Prairie Provinces.

Canada's national immigration policy,<sup>79</sup> under Sifton's predecessors, had failed to quantify that Germany, as well as the Scandinavian and Austro-Hungarian countries, had prohibitive emigration laws which had inadvertently led to the arrest and incarceration of Canadian immigration agent, John Dyke, for six months in Hapburg, Germany.<sup>80</sup> Hence, for the further development of Canada, an Imperialist diversion was incumbent in order to accommodate the vision of British railroad operators and businessmen, thereby allowing railway and steamship company captains to be the spokespersons for "an open-door policy."<sup>81</sup> This imperialist strategy would strike "a fatal blow to the notion of a

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78. Hryniuk, *Canada's Ukrainians: Negotiating an Identity*, 15.

79. Petryshyn, "Sifton's Immigration Policy," 18-23.

80. *Ibid*, 18.

81. Avery, 'Dangerous Foreigners:' 28.



British-Canadian West.”<sup>82</sup> It was within this social and ideological context that the massive influx of Ukrainians evoked a strong anti-alien response from established British-Canadians.<sup>83</sup>

### **Fragment II—American-Ukrainian Immigrants**

Pierre Berton<sup>84</sup> reveals that,

Between 1898 and 1906, the Department of the Interior Immigration Branch spent over two million dollars — more than a quarter of their budget—to convince the Americans that they should come to Canada...the government spent \$5.35 for every American who crossed the border. By 1912, American settlers on the prairies had increased to 217,000 from 40,000 in 1902.

Berton<sup>85</sup> further reveals that,

W. J. White (editor of the *Brandon Sun*) as chief immigration agent operated some twenty-one immigration centers in the United States, with the assistance of twenty-five travelling agents, 276 subagents (farmers and railroad employees, mostly) who received a bonus of three dollars for every man, two dollars for every woman, and a dollar for every child they secured for Canada. The immigrant agent handed out ‘settlers’ certificates’ allowing the holders to travel by C.P.R. from the American border to any Canadian destination for one cent a mile.<sup>86</sup>

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82. Petryshyn, *Peasants in the Promised Land*, ix.

83. *Ibid.*

84. Berton, *The Promised Land*, 170-176.

85. *Ibid.*, 176.

86. *Ibid.*

The American farmers brought ‘money,’ equipment, and experience; were ‘go-getters,’ spoke the English language, and mixed well with established Canadian citizens. Of course, the American immigrants were considered to be a ‘top-notch,’ ‘intelligent progressive race,’ and desirable for assimilation into permanent, patriotic, solid citizens—inseparable from established standards of Canadianism. The American settler sold his American homestead then bought better land in the fertile belt of the Canadian Prairie Provinces for one-quarter the price he received.<sup>87</sup> Some settlers like Gregory Martin claimed a homestead of 160 acres plus an adjacent 160 acres available as pre-emption land.<sup>88</sup> Unbeknown to imperialist politicians, some of these supposedly American-born settlers were in truth Bukovina-born Ukrainians who called themselves ‘Little Russians’ until they had developed a Ukrainian-ness consciousness in the United States.

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87. Ibid; Woodsworth, *Strangers within our gates*, 76.

88. Roman Martin, e-mail message to author, September 30, 2016;

Provincial Archives of Saskatchewan, “Pre-emptions,” Homesteading.

<https://www.saskarchives.com/collections/land-records/history-and-background-administration-land-saskatchewan/homesteading> Accessed May 2, 2017.

Pre-emptions introduced in 1874 allowed a homesteader to obtain a second quarter section of land adjacent to the homestead. The homesteader could receive the patent for the pre-emption by paying a fixed price for the land after receiving the patent for the homestead which could be purchased up to 3 years after the homestead was patented and could remain unimproved for at least 6 years after the date of entry. This system was cancelled in 1890 and reinstated in 1908.

## **PARADOX # 2: Conspiracy of Silence**

### **Defining conspiracy of silence**

Eviatar Zerubavel<sup>89</sup> defines *conspiracy of silence* as:

a socially patterned, quintessential public manifestation of denial and silence [that] presuppose mutual denial, whereby at least two people collaborate to jointly avoid acknowledging something. When something traumatic happens that threatens the psychological wellbeing of a person, there is a tendency to block the disturbing information from entering consciousness...What was known and who knew about the undiscussables and unmentionables were never spoken about openly...Those who were silent witnesses chose to keep the secret creating involuntary tension between knowledge and acknowledgment, personal awareness and public discourse. To onlookers, how someone can be aware and resist public awareness at the same time conjures the notion of social denial...an ominous silence regarding the ‘elephant in the room’ apparition, involving denial and active avoidance.

### **Conspiracy of Silence: Government of Canada**

In the pre-First World War era, Canada favored an open-door policy that went beyond traditional means for systematic recruitment to what in some cases involved a *conspiracy of silence* on the part of Canadian immigration agents.<sup>90</sup> Railroad extension and industrial advancement placed an increasing demand for “cheap” foreign labourers who could cope with climatic changes and labour shifts in the process of developing and settling western Canada. Clifford Sifton, as Minister of the Department of the Interior, between 1896 and 1905, signed “an agreement [with] the North Atlantic Trading Company (NATC) in

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89. Zerubavel, *Elephant in the Room*, 2-6.

The “elephant in the room” is metaphorically evocative of any object or matter of which everyone is definitely aware, yet no one is willing to publicly acknowledge.

90. Avery, ‘Dangerous Foreigners:’ 16.

1899.”<sup>91</sup> To bypass possible arrest in countries with prohibitive emigration laws,<sup>92</sup> the Government of Canada chose to conduct emigration propaganda through NATC which kept syndicate memberships a secret, transmitted communiqués by code, and incorporated booking agents and officials of steamship companies. These steamship companies profited from human cargo, owned hotels in every major European port, and hired and licensed the booking agents who were also licensed by the Government of Canada.<sup>93</sup> By 1896, telegraph, telephone, postal, and newspaper services, as well as railway lines in Eastern Galicia and Bukovina, had penetrated remote rural areas, providing peasants with accessibility to Western European and global affairs.<sup>94</sup> Discreet NATC shipping agents knew how to circumnavigate prohibitive laws. Often, peasant emigrants in Galicia and Bukovina had to pack quickly and depart in secrecy to avoid being detected.<sup>95</sup> Some created a diversion by working in adjacent countries pending their departure. While the original plan was to selectively choose immigrants, according to their versatility and formidability in acclimatizing to seasonal and industrial demands,<sup>96</sup>

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91. Ibid, 8.

92. Petryshyn, “Sifton’s Immigration Policy,” 25.

93. Ibid, 24.

94. Hyrniuk, ““Sifton’s Pets’: Who Are They?” 49.

95. Petryshyn, *Peasants in the Promised Land*, 51.

96. Biega, Alexander. “Introduction: Ukrainian Experience in Quebec” in ukemonde.1

<http://www.ukemonde.com/ukrainian%20experience%20in%20quebec/into.htm>

head count bonuses being paid to NATC agents shifted the priority of immigration based on profit.

Canadian immigration officials placed the responsibility for screening immigrant possibilities on the steamship operators eager to earn healthy bonuses of “five dollars for each head of a family and two dollars for anyone else that they brought.”<sup>97</sup> Piniuta<sup>98</sup> reports: “5000 to 6000 agents scoured Galicia and Bukovina outlining the government’s offer of 160 acres of free land per farmer and the prospects of jobs with good pay for workers.” Petryshyn<sup>99</sup> writes, “The Department (of Interior on average spent \$1.72 per head on immigration from the continent of Europe compared to \$4.64 per head on immigrants from the United Kingdom.” Avery<sup>100</sup> discloses, when the contract was cancelled (November 3, 1906), the Canadian government had paid approximately \$367,245.85 to the underground syndicate who monopolized recruitment of farmers and domestics from central and Scandinavian European countries. The Government of Canada had ignored Oleskiv’s opposition to steamship bonuses which severed ties altogether.<sup>101</sup>

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97. Avery, ‘Dangerous Foreigners:’ 16.

98. Piniuta, *Land of Pain Land of Promise*, 20.

99. Petryshyn, “Sifton’s Immigration Policy,” 26; *Common Debates*, April 20, 1906, 1808.

100. Avery, ‘Dangerous Foreigners:’ 20; IB, 113228, No. 4. James A. Smart to Clifford Sifton, 1900.

101. Ewanchuk, *Reflections and Reminiscences*, 12-13.

Petryshyn<sup>102</sup> reveals, between the time that the Auditor General uncovered the secret dealings between the Government of Canada and NATC in July 1905 and the termination of transactions between the Government of Canada and NATC on November 30, 1906, immigration continued, making Sifton's National Immigration Policy an overwhelming success for peopling the Canadian Prairie Provinces. Avery<sup>103</sup> estimates that approximately three million people entered Canada after 1896; yet, during an inquiry by the House of Commons Select Committee on Agriculture and Colonization, the former deputy minister of the interior and the former superintendent of emigration in London, England, would not divulge the names of NATC directors.

Although many immigrants entered Canada as agriculturalists and agricultural laborers, they gravitated to “construction camps, mines, and factories”<sup>104</sup> or wage employment opportunities that gave them a means to support themselves between arriving in Canada and establishing independent homesteads. Often, the immigrant lifestyle required frequent geographical relocations in diverse occupational roles within one year—working in the lumber industry at Iroquois Falls, Ontario in February, in the railway industry along the National Transcontinental in June, as a farm hand during harvest at Grenfell, Saskatchewan in August, and as a coal miner in Fernie, British Columbia in November.<sup>105</sup>

Remarkably, these immigrant workers could shift between agricultural and non-

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102. Petryshyn, “Sifton's Immigration Policy,” 26.

103. Avery, ‘Dangerous Foreigners:’ 16 and 148.

104. Ibid, 16.

105. Ibid, 8.

agricultural labour without difficulty despite not knowing the English language or Canadian environment and lifestyle. Nonetheless, the accumulation of enough capital on a low-wage income was extremely slow; hence, the homogeneous bloc settlement pattern on land with sloughs or swamps supplemented families' basic needs: logs for cabins and furniture, thatching for roofs, water for stock, nutrition from fish and game, thus fending off destitution while preventing an overburden on the Canadian state. Moreover, Ukrainian immigrants could generate supplemental income by exploiting non-agricultural commodities, such as, cutting and marketing cordwood (earning \$.70 per day) or digging snakeroot (*Polygala sena*) (earning over a dollar per day)."<sup>106</sup>

Although ongoing debate and opposition to these immigrants did not reach the point where the federal government legislated a ban or head tax as was done with Asian immigrants, there most certainly was much discussion by newspaper editors, educators, clergymen, and politicians as to what social role they would play in prairie society.<sup>107</sup> This reinforces Tannen's contention "that the consequences of style differences work to the disadvantage of members of groups that are stigmatized in our society, and to the advantage of those who have the power to enforce their interpretations."<sup>108</sup> Avery<sup>109</sup> contends little consideration was given for the immigrant labourers' need for a sustainable income year-round or for the geographical shift that would relocate them

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106. Lehr, "Peopling the Prairies," 42.

107. Palmer, *Patterns of Prejudice*, 27

108. Tannen, "Rethinking Power and Solidarity," 8.

109. Avery, 'Dangerous Foreigners,' 17.

thousands of miles from kin on short notice. For instance, Philip Marchuk,<sup>110</sup> of Beinfait, Saskatchewan, was interned in May 1916, by R.N.W.M.P. Constable, M. Watson, who was later convicted and sentenced for inciting bribes. Philip left a pregnant wife and two children on a newly settled homestead with little shelter or support, and despite his wife's letters, as well as letters from Anglo-Canadians in his district to General Otter, Philip was not paroled as a farm laborer until April 1917. The immigrant worker's cheap labour and internment was for the benefit of the capitalists and the Canadian state alone; "at their beck and call."<sup>111</sup> Steamship and railroad agents and sub-agents who had promoted glorious money-making adventures and an illusory paradise in Canada, had loaded "their human cargo [at] Rotterdam, Hamburg, and Trieste."<sup>112</sup>

### **Conspiracy of Silence: Immigrants' Social Imaginary**

In *Prisoners in the Promised Land*, Marsha Skrypuch<sup>113</sup> portrays the long trans-Atlantic journey to the Port of Montreal, as seen through the eyes of a six-year-old girl aboard a congested ship that had been formerly used to transport cattle, and without the amenities of clean water to drink or to wash hands, or the space to change into clean clothes after the contents of her stomach had spewed all over. The steerage food consisted of "filthy water, rotten herrings, dirty potatoes, rancid lard, and smelly meat, eaten from unwashed

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110. Kordan and Melnycky, *Diary of Castle Mountain*, 95.

111. Avery, 'Dangerous Foreigners:' 17.

112. *Ibid*, 23.

113. Skrypuch, *Prisoners in the Promised Land*, 1-240.



dishes with unwashed cutlery.”<sup>114</sup> Through Anya Soloniuk, Skrypuch<sup>115</sup> captures the repulsive reaction of the Montreal people to the immigrants’ condition when they disembarked at the Port of Montreal. From Montreal, without much opportunity to freshen up, these immigrants were hustled aboard West-bound ‘primitive’ trains<sup>116</sup> to Winnipeg: Gateway City to the West.<sup>117</sup> In urban centers, such as Montreal and Winnipeg, the immigrants were often harassed by swindlers and entrepreneurs eager to extort whatever capital the immigrants possessed, through fraudulent real estate and hot commodity deals. At Winnipeg, immigrants like Nicholas Hryhorczuk’s<sup>118</sup> family were issued train tickets or were taken by a horse-drawn wagon and dropped off two miles from their homestead site. Because the trails were impassable, the Hryhorczuks were left to wander through bushes and marshes the rest of the way.

In “Homestead Girlhood,” Anna Farion<sup>119</sup> describes her experience at seventeen-years-old, travelling by horses and wagon from Winnipeg to Dauphin.

The road got progressively more and more horrible. It was full of holes and stumps, and on each side there was a wall of thick forest. The horses dragged their feet more wearily than we did...we came upon a hovel. The man who lived in the hovel was the same J-- whom the steamship agent

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114. Berton, *The Promised Land*, 48.

115. Skrypuch, *Prisoners in the Promised Land*, 1-240.

116. Avery, ‘Dangerous Foreigners:’ 23.

117. Petryshyn, *Peasants in the Promised Land*, 124.

118. Hryhorczuk, “Reflections from Early Years,” 17.

119. Farion, “Homestead Girl,” 85-96.

Moravets had had write letters to peasants in Galicia, urging them to come to Canada, the land he called paradise. Rumors circulated that Moravets paid him well for his aid, and immigrants cursed him.

Farion<sup>120</sup> continues:

We came to a riverbank...All of a sudden from a cave in the bank emerged—my auntie... I stood by a poplar tree, weeping. Auntie came out and called me in, but I cried all the harder. For what kind of a house was it, dug in the ground? I would rather auntie had said she was inviting me into a cave, instead of call it a house...In this hole there were now fourteen people.

Hryhorczuk<sup>121</sup> recalls the first thing they did was build a temporary “mud hut” that served a dual purpose: as a shelter (with a leaky roof when it rained) for the wife and children, and as a chicken coop, while the husband-father searched for employment. Provisions of flour, corn meal, salt, sugar, lard, and tea supplied by the immigration hall were supplemented with partridges, rabbits, edible mushrooms, and wild berries. Cooking was done on an open fire when the wind was calm and on dry days, providing they had matches. The closest village was about forty miles, accessible by foot following Indian trails. If settlers were fortunate, an established homesteader with oxen or horses and a wagon would fetch provisions. En route, sloughs and marshes would have to be traversed, in which women, children, and provisions would be carried across on the men’s shoulders to lighten the weight of the wagon for the horses to pull it through. During spring break up, these Indian trails would become rutted from animal hooves, surveyors’ footprints, and narrow wagon wheels. Even by horse or oxen-drawn wagon, a

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120. Ibid, 86.

121. Hryhorczuk, “Reflections from Early Years,” 18-19.

trip to the nearest village would take several days. Washing clothes and bathing would be done in the nearest stream or river.

During vermin infestations, Hryhorczuk<sup>122</sup> recalls hair was washed with coal oil and clothes were boiled and washed twice. After a permanent house was built and a *peeche* (clay stove) was installed, cow chips were burned in summer and coal during winter for heat. Though the immigrants had brought hand tools from the old country, they soon learned from established German neighbours about the need for more efficient farming equipment and methods to manage 160 acres versus primitive hand tools that had managed 2 to 5 acres. Initially, the challenges of the homesteaders for eking out a life on the prairies were more of a macrocosmic interrelationship with Nature and Supernatural entities until employment was sustained for immigrant men and youth to bridge the gap from destitution.

### **Conspiracy of Silence: Dominant Canadian Social Imaginary**

Frances Swyripa<sup>123</sup> believes, Ukrainian peasants left Galicia and Bukovina at a time when Ukrainian identity was still being formed; hence, most were ‘Ukrainianized’ in Canada as much as in Ukraine. Some prominent Canadians, such as William Van Horne (C.P.R. President), Charles Constantine (Veteran Mounted Police), R. A. Rutten (immigration agent in Edmonton), and James Dickson (Dominion Land Surveyor) accepted Ukrainian

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122. Ibid, 19.

123. Swyripa, *Wedded to the Cause*, 8-9.

pioneers' otherness in consideration of the economic growth they proffered Canada.<sup>124</sup>

Berton<sup>125</sup> proclaims: "G. A. Griesbach...the young mayor of Edmonton, found [the Galicians] timid and frightened and noticed when a uniformed...well dressed Canadian gave them an order, they would immediately obey...This made them ripe for exploitation." However, not all prominent Canadians reflected such sanguine sentiments.

For instance, in 1899, Clive Phillips Wolley<sup>126</sup> wrote in the *Ottawa Anglo-Saxon*:

the Anglo-Saxon man has reached the highest point of excellence and, that it is our duty to do what we can to bring mankind as a whole up to our level, it is at least fair to ask whether it is wise to spoil THE BEST by reckless admixture of the SCUM...Into Manitoba and the Northwest Territories we are pouring Mennonites, Doukhobors, Galicians, Finns and heaven knows what besides. Why? They are not of our race...

Further, the Belleville *Intelligencer* admonished the Galicians as "disgusting creatures," the Brandon *Independent* called them "human vermin," and the Ottawa *Citizen* referred to them as "social sewage."<sup>127</sup> The Shoal Lake *Star* reported a murder, robbery, wife-beating, and other crimes committed among Galicians of the area; but, when Commissioner McCreary sent an agent to investigate, after every story was proven false, he also forced an apology and correction from the offending reporter.<sup>128</sup>

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124. Berton, *The Promised Land*, 53-54.

125. *Ibid*, 53.

126. *Ottawa Anglo-Saxon*, 9 June 1899; Petryshyn, *Peasants in the Promised Land*, 97-8.

127. Berton, *The Promised Land*, 54.

128. *Ibid*, 55; *Manitoba Free Press*, 27 February 1900.

While at times, Woodsworth<sup>129</sup> (Methodist pastor and social reformer behind All People's Mission in North End Winnipeg), seems empathetic to the plight of the Ukrainian immigrants, he makes villainous statements in reports and novels that had wide circulation. For instance, Woodsworth<sup>130</sup> distinguishes between desirable and undesirable immigrants according to their assimilation adaptability rating the American fragment with "an ample supply of capital and energy, very desirable."

In contrast Woodsworth<sup>131</sup> rates Fragment I as undesirable because

'illiterate and ignorant' Galician and Bukovinian Ukrainians...only a small percentage can read or write. It is probable that if an analysis was done of the nationality of those charged with crimes, the result would show a far greater number of Bukowinians than Galicians...in the police court and penitentiary. Centuries of poverty and oppression have, to some extent, animalized him.

This social imaginary of the 'undesirable' would expose a Red Bolshevik stereotype embedded in the returned soldiers' discourse in public demonstrations and English-language press in a persistent petition to have all alien enemies dismissed from their jobs, interned and deported.

For instance, on January 27, 1919, *Vancouver World*<sup>132</sup> reported:

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129. Woodsworth, *Strangers within our gates*, 70

130. *Ibid.*, 75.

131. *Ibid.*

132. CFWWIRF Digital Map, *Vancouver World*, 27th January 1919. <http://internmentcanada.ca/map.cfm>, Accessed February 22, 2016.

Winnipeg Returned Men Make Threatening Demonstration before Swift Packing Plant, demanding that all enemy foreigners be removed from the plant.

The *Toronto Daily Star*,<sup>133</sup> on the same day, reported:

Returned Soldiers Forced Winnipeg Socialists to Kiss the Union Jack and broke up a mass meeting organized by the Social Democrats of this city to call for the repeal of Orders-in-Council restricting speech and literature. Socialist furniture and propaganda were seized by the veterans, and thrown through the windows to the street; the red flag was wrested from Socialist leaders, and several of the latter were compelled to kiss the Union Jack. Those who refused were severely handled. Military pickets arrived on the scene to restore order.

On 9<sup>th</sup> January 1919, *Manitoba Free Press*<sup>134</sup> reported: Premier Norris and Prof. W. J.

Black pleaded with farmers, as a patriotic duty,

to take returned men...farm training would last twelve weeks and then the pupils would be sent to farmers while legislation was being prepared and passed to get land for the men near railways. Land worth \$5000 could be paid in 25 annual payments at 5 per cent interest...The sum of \$1500 would be available for implements at 5 per cent interest...New land would be broken by neighboring farmers...and the grain-growers could help...One of the beneficent results of the war, would be to bring about a proper solution of the so-called alien problem. The only way was to Canadianize them [or deport them].

From 1908 to 1910, the nativist voice had been so intense that the Dominion of Canada passed the selective immigration policy which required immigrants to pass an economic means test of having from \$25 to \$200 according to their place of origin<sup>135</sup> to enter Canada. Moreover, the non-British proletariat was segregated to urban slums or ghettos,

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133. CFWWIRF Digital Map, *Toronto Daily Star*, 27th January 1919.

134. "Premier Norris and Prof. W. J. Black pleaded with Farmers as a patriotic duty," *Manitoba Free Press* (Winnipeg, MB), Jan. 9, 1919.

135. Palmer, *Patterns of Prejudice*, 38.

such as, Winnipeg's North End<sup>136</sup> and Brandon North End,<sup>137</sup> and was stereotyped as being prone to crime, violence, prostitution, family breakdown, and political corruption. Like Said's<sup>138</sup> Arabs being invested with all the demonic terror of US racial and political xenophobia, the Ukrainian, Polish, Hungarian, Croatian, Serbian, Slovakian, Italian, Slovenian, Russian, Jewish, Romanian, Turkish, Bulgarian,<sup>139</sup> and Finnish<sup>140</sup> civilian male non-combatant was invested with demonic terror by British racial and political xenophobia in Canada.

Michel Beaulieu<sup>141</sup> writes:

The Finns in particular in Port Arthur in 1907 and the Italians and Ukrainians in Fort William in 1908 were a challenge to the Lakehead's labour organizations which were, until then, characterized by a trade based labour aristocracy made up of British-born individuals [with] Anglo-Saxon trade unionists pitted against largely unskilled immigrant workers.

The English-language journalists of the pre-First World War era went beyond describing strange and exotic customs to sensationalizing Ukrainians' differences in order to impress dominant social imaginary with the urgency of reform and prompt assimilation of these diabolically destabilizing threats to British-Canadian society. Assimilation meant

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136. Ibid.

137. Buri, "Enemies Within Our Gates:" 2007, 3-11.

138. Ashcroft and Abluwalis, "Orientalism," Edward Said, 71.

139. Luciuk, In Fear of the Barbed Wire Fence, 25; Melnycky, Badly Treated in Every Way, 1.

140. Avery, 'Dangerous Foreigners,' 7; Ottawa Anglo-Saxon, 9 June 1899.

141. Beaulieu, Michel. "Reacting to the Workers' Revolt:"

Libcom, 11. <https://libcom.org/files/Reacting%20to%20the%20Workers%E2%80%99%20Revolt.pdf>

conformity to Anglo-Celtic Protestant values, dress code, language, customs, attitudes, and religion as quickly as possible.<sup>142</sup> Images of drunken orgies and bloody brawls were propagandized in innumerable English-language newspaper reports, editorials, and widely distributed novels such as Presbyterian clergyman, Ralph Connor's (also known as Charles Gordon) *The Foreigner: A Tale of Saskatchewan*. Connor<sup>143</sup> uses his personal social imaginary to limn a Ukrainian wedding:

in [Winnipeg] north end and in the foreign colony as festivities were drawing to a close in sordid drunken dance and song and in sanguinary fighting...the *Morning News* in a trenchant leader pointed out the danger to which Western Canada was exposed from the presence of these semi-barbarous peoples from eastern and central Europe in hope that the authorities would deal with the present case in such a manner as would give a severe but necessary lesson to the lawless among our foreign population

Avery<sup>144</sup> reveals that, in 1905, Sifton's senior civil servant in the Immigration Branch, James A. Smart, persuaded immigration bureaucrats to collaborate to permit his company to operate "as immigrant bank, steamship agency, and labour bureau," synchronously. See also Berton.<sup>145</sup> Petryshyn<sup>146</sup> further notes pressure was exerted on the government to

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142. Berton, *The Promised Land*, 59.

143. Connor, *The Foreigner: A Tale of Saskatchewan*, 34- 43.

144. Avery, 'Dangerous Foreigners:' 148. .

145. Berton, *The Promised Land*, 245-247.

As early as 1898, James Allan Smart described land in the Moose Mountain country near Moosomin, Assiniboia...as "magnificent"...far too good for the Indians. From that point on, Smart with the help of David Laird (Indian Commissioner of the Northwest Territories) intimidated the Cree and Saulteaux who were committed farmers until they vacated the land and relocated to White Bear Reserve.



permit the entry of unskilled Ukrainian labourers to fill the void created by the enforcement of the Alien Labour Law. These Ukrainian labourers had been imbued for the labour market with socialist dogma as a potent weapon against business interests in western Canada.<sup>147</sup> In addition, Avery<sup>148</sup> shows, whereas Winnipeg's immigration commissioner requested reduced recruits for the 1907 spring seeding, railroad crews, western Canadian agriculturalists, and businessmen pressured the Immigration Branch for more immigrant labourer recruitment through private enterprises. These emigration arrangements triggered much hostility from systematized labour, which led to ripples between labour organizing agents and Canada's Immigration Department, with the foreign labourers paying the ultimate price. Though the immigrants were recruited as agriculturalists and agricultural labours, Avery<sup>149</sup> shows that by 1900, many of the Dominion government recruited immigrant farmers and farm laborers were still not engaged as full-time agriculturalists and the seasonal income as farm laborers was not enough to sustain life. Though mining, lumbering, and railroad companies offered more viable options, their availability during harvest was compromised. Moreover, British-Canadian labourers who were unwilling to work for low wages in substandard working conditions castigated immigrant labourers who were willing to work.<sup>150</sup> If a strike ensued,

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146. Petryshyn, *Peasants in the Promised Land*, 127.

147. *Ibid.*

148. Avery, 'Dangerous Foreigners:' 23.

149. *Ibid.*, 25.

150. Petryshyn, *Peasants in the Promised Land*, 126.

such as the 1901 C.P.R. strike in Alberta and the 1901 Rossland mine strike in West Kootenay of British Columbia, Ukrainian labourers were devastated because they were unable to earn enough money to support their families and establish husbandry within the three-year term stipulated by the *Dominion Land Act*.<sup>151</sup> If the foreign labourers supported the strikers, they lost free transportation privileges that companies provided. Yet, if foreign labourers worked as strike-breakers, the striking labourers stereotyped them as ‘scabs’ and attracted public attention by voicing their grievances in the English-language press. As cited by Avery,<sup>152</sup> strike-breakers were often brought in from foreign countries in violation of the 1897 *Alien Labour Act*—in a *conspiracy of silence*.

Peter Svarich<sup>153</sup> describes the June 1901 railway strike in Alberta:

The railway was the chief source of employment for the first Ukrainian immigrants, who came here poor as church mice and had to have a job to keep their families alive. Some of them had left their families in rented houses or in root cellars in the bush...Whatever the worker earned he sent home to his wife to buy flour or a cow or clothing or footwear...The [railway] strike was called by the men in the railway workers’ union, were demanding higher pay. Our men were satisfied with the pay but were forced to quit their jobs because the strikers harassed them as scabs. They did not receive their pay for the first month and did not have a cent to their names. To make matters worse, the railway company would not provide them free transportation from the section to town and would not feed them. Thus, these miserable souls, hungry and weary, had to foot it hundreds of miles from Medicine Hat to Calgary and from there to Edmonton, begging bread from farmers and ranchers along the way. In Edmonton, they had to wait for several weeks before they got their meagre pay cheques for a month’s or six

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151. Avery, ‘Dangerous Foreigners,’ 25.

152. Ibid, 30. Strike-breakers were persons who were employed in place of others who were on strike, making the strike ineffectual.

153. Svarich, “Getting By,” 129-130.

weeks' work. Hundreds of wretched, famished human beings milled around in the city streets without work and without food.

Though the Government of Canada tried to honor nativists' petitions for stiffer immigration regulations, immigration authorities continued to sign short-term contracts with migratory labourers. Avery<sup>154</sup> reports that "short-term contracts were signed with Eastern Russian immigrant workers in the spring of 1913. In order to accommodate such a request, both the Canadian Pacific and the Grand Trunk Pacific transported these workers from Vancouver to the Prairies in closed boxcars and with armed escort."

Promises were broken. Immigrant labourers were deceived and cheated out of wages. Yet, if immigrant labourers disobeyed, they were threatened with bayonets or rifles or thrown into solitary confinement cells to reinstate obedience and order.

Avery<sup>155</sup> cites the narrative of a Slavic worker in violation of labour contracts:

On the 20<sup>th</sup> [June 1907] inst [sic] at night, 12 men who represented themselves as policemen came again to our place and began to make a wholesale arrest, firing revolvers at the Immigrants...35 men of us were arrested and packed in a fright [sic] car, for a whole long night without no water and no place to rest or even sit upon. In the morning as they made preparations to take us away, we began shouting whereupon said policemen entered the car and putting the muzzles of their guns to our mouths, threatened to shoot if we continued our alarm. In the end, they each had to pay \$17 for transportation costs and \$35 for the policemen who had beaten them with sticks and fired at them. Though the companies were found guilty of the allegations, neither was prosecuted. Rather, provincial authorities placed the liability on the exploited immigrant labourers to seek suffrage.

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154. Avery, 'Dangerous Foreigners:'29.

155. Ibid.

Palmer<sup>156</sup> draws attention to “the flood of Conservative editorials” published in Albertan newspapers prior to the First World War. For instance, the *Calgary Herald* questioned Sifton’s integrity for handing over northwestern Canada to “dirty hordes of half-civilized Galicians who lacked everything but dirt;” the *Macleod Gazette* deplored politicians’ lack of discretion in allowing “promiscuous foreign immigration;” a *Calgary Herald* editorial accused the immigration agents of turning Canada into “a veritable dumping ground for the refuse of civilization.”<sup>157</sup> Contrary to Albertan Conservatives’<sup>158</sup> belief that the overwhelming immigrant support for Liberal politicians was “a corrupt alliance between Liberal politicians and eastern European immigrants,” Dmytro Romanchych<sup>159</sup> asserts that the main reason for Galicians in the Dauphin area voting for Liberal candidates in elections is because it was the Liberal party that had opened the door to Galician immigrants and granted them free lands.

Even the former Prime Minister Mackenzie Bowell<sup>160</sup> expressed his views in the *Belleville Intellegencer*, as follows:

the Galicians, they of the sheepskin coats, the filth and the vermin do not make splendid material for making of a great nation...One look at the disgusting creatures after they pass through the C.P.R. on their way West

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156. Palmer, *Patterns of Prejudice*, 29.

157. *Ibid.*

158. *Ibid.*

159. Romanchych, “The Dauphin District,” 114.

160. Berton, *The Promised Land*, 49-50.

has caused many to marvel that beings bearing the human form could have sunk to such a bestial level.

According to Palmer,<sup>161</sup> Calgary Conservative MP R. B. Bennett appealed to eastern Canadian patriarchs to veto votes of immigrants who did not share the same love for British traditions or aspirations. As well, Ontario-born C.A. Magrath (Conservative MP from Medicine Hat between 1908 and 1911 with close connections to the Northwest Coal and Navigation Company), “demanded restrictions on central and eastern European immigrants because of the threat they posed to Anglo-Saxon institutions.”<sup>162</sup> Conservative critic Hugh John Macdonald (son of first PM Sir John A. Macdonald) referred to Galicians as “a mongrel race.”<sup>163</sup> Every ‘alien enemy’ who got into trouble was “vilified” in bold headlines, such as “GALICIAN HORROR” in the *Winnipeg Daily Tribune*, sending a strong message of conviction before he went to trial<sup>164</sup> in what Tuen van Dijk<sup>165</sup> considers to be powerful manipulative influences within newspaper editorials and radio broadcasts. As well, Palmer<sup>166</sup> notes Ontario-born Frank Oliver (Sifton’s successor as Minister of the Interior and editor of the *Edmonton Bulletin*) was a Liberal politician who vociferously lambasted federal immigration agents for pushing British-bred citizens aside

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161. Palmer, *Patterns of Prejudice*, 30.

162. *Ibid.*

163. Berton, *The Promised Land*, 55.

164. *Ibid.*, 55-56; *Winnipeg Daily Tribune*, 24 February 1902.

165 Van Dijk, “A Plea for Diversity,” 102.

166 Palmer, *Patterns of Prejudice*, 30-33.

and giving preferential treatment to Doukhobors and Ukrainians. Regarding Sifton's national immigration policy, Oliver<sup>167</sup> wrote:

We did not go out to that country [western Canada] simply to produce wheat. We went to build up a nation, a civilization, a social system that we could enjoy, be proud of and transmit to our children; and we resent the idea of having the millstone of the [undesirable] population hung round our necks in our efforts to build up, beautify and improve that country, and so improve the whole of Canada.

Racist underpinnings seemingly motivated the Government of Canada to increase the Chinese head tax to \$500 on all Chinese immigrants to Canada after 1904 because of the impossibility of assimilating Chinese, Japanese, and black immigrants into Caucasians.<sup>168</sup>

In *The Braidiers*, Canadian/Kobzar playwrights Danny Schur and Rick Chafe<sup>169</sup> applaud Inky Mark (Chinese Canadian Member of Parliament) who used Mary Warwaruk's

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167 House of Commons, Debates, 12 April 1901, 2939.

168 Chinese Head Tax, Asia-Canada, <http://asia-canada.ca/meeting-cultures/emigrants-and-immigrants/head-tax>

169 Chafe and Schur, *The Braidiers*, 91-96; Skrypuch (ed.), *Kobzar's Children*, Preface.

Kobzars were blind minstrels who travelled throughout Ukraine from village to village singing stories of Ukraine's history and people. During Stalin's regime, kobzars blended older tales with contemporary stories of Soviet repression, famine, and terror. In the 1930s, Stalin held the first national conference of kobzars in Ukraine where hundreds congregated. Stalin had them all shot. As the storytellers of Ukraine died, so did their stories. Next, Stalin rounded up Ukrainian journalists, artists, novelists, and playwrights, and murdered them, too. However, the kobzar practice lives on through the collection of Taras Shevchenko's poems entitled *The Kobzar* and contemporary kobzar artists, Danny Schur's and Rick Chafe's screenplays *The Braidiers* and *Strike!* tell the stories and history of Ukrainian-Canadians.

(fictional name for last two internment survivors, Mary Manko-Haskett and Mary Hanchurak-Bayrak) testimony as “ammunition” to pass Bill C-331, *Internment of Persons of Ukrainian Origin Recognition Act*, in 2005.

E. G. Prior,<sup>170</sup> Member of Parliament for Victoria, British Columbia, presented an argument in the House of Commons in 1899 related to Galicians whom he had never seen or met. Based on hearsay, Prior<sup>171</sup> admonished Sifton to stop “this class of immigrants from coming in [because he’d been told] that these people are wanting in all principles of loyalty, patriotism, cleanliness...all principles that go to fit them for citizenship.” In April 1899, *Peterborough Daily Evening Review*<sup>172</sup> printed Prior’s view, followed by the *Halifax Herald*, the *Montreal Daily Star*, and the *Ottawa Anglo-Saxon* respectively—all articulating fear that Canada would lose “its British character.”<sup>173</sup> Prior also declared in the House of Commons that “Chinamen are a lower class of human beings than white people”<sup>174</sup>

Harsh reality in the new land held Ukrainian immigrants accountable to replace the images being purported by elitist Canadian citizens in English-language press. The Ukrainian-language press became the official organ for the Ukrainian intelligentsia,

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170 Prior, Commons Debates, 1899, 6842.

171. Ibid.

172. *Peterborough Daily Evening Review*, 5 April 1899; Petryshyn, *Peasants in the Promised Land*, 97.

173. Petryshyn, *Peasants in the Promised Land*, 97.

174. Hall, Clifford Sifton: *The Young Napoleon 1861-1900*, 263.

ascribing worldviews for empowerment of the Ukrainian peasant immigrant, including the Ukrainian peasant immigrant woman, to recognize the necessity of reform, in order to be accepted by British-Canadians. Geraldine Russin<sup>175</sup> shows that the Ukrainian intelligentsia, such as Kyrylo Genik (immigrant agent), Ivan Bodrug (interpreter), and Ivan Negrych (Ukrainian-language newspaper editor), who were all Galicia-born Ukrainian Catholics, believed that the Catholic Church kept their people “subservient...uneducated, ignorant, and superstitious,” and as a result were often seen as traitors to the Ukrainian nationality.

### **Conspiracy of Silence: The Ukrainian Woman**

The Ukrainian woman was culturally perceived as the key to the prosperity, status, and Ukrainian identity of her group, her family’s upward mobility, and her family’s propensity towards Ukrainian-ness. The *Edmonton Bulletin* (with Frank Oliver as editor), in 1897, ridiculed Sifton’s choice by tying his national immigration policy to the Ukrainian women in their ‘unfashionable’ negligee attire parading Edmonton streets, creating verminous nausea and emissions.<sup>176</sup> Likewise, Reverend Nestor Dmytriw<sup>177</sup> expressed much embarrassment and dismay over the appearance and behavior of his compatriots, “as *mahum necessarium* (a necessary evil) [and great morose for] the kind-hearted administrators of the immigration homes...One can only imagine what they think

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175. Russin, “The History of a Unique Canadian Religious Experience,” 47.

176. Kotash, *All of Baba’s Children*, 34-35.

177. Dmytriw, “Canadian Ruthenia,” 37.



of our people.” Yet, Dmytriw<sup>178</sup> predicted an optimistic future for Ukrainian daughters in Canada who worked for English and Jewish families.

In contrast, Swyripa<sup>179</sup> believes that immigrant daughters’ employment as domestics was a smokescreen for driving a wedge between the first and second generations in the emergent process of assimilation. In *Sons of the Soil*,<sup>180</sup> Mrs. Fraser disapproves of her son John’s fraternizing with her Ukrainian domestic, Maria Workun: “So Maria left the Frasers laden with gifts, [a] precious cow, and a calf”<sup>181</sup> until John returned to boarding school. Kiriak<sup>182</sup> uses a counter-example of Helena Workun being in “constant dread of Elizaveta marrying that—the Lord forgive me—Calvinist!” However, Helena learns to accept her daughter’s choice and Hrehory ensures that the neighbours will not think he is trading his daughter for a team of horses.

As Swyripa<sup>183</sup> puts it, Canadian freedom displaced the traditional Ukrainian bonds, values, and community mechanisms when Ukrainian youth (the group’s future) were thrust unsupervised and unprepared into the life of the new country while playing right into the hands of Anglo-Canadian assimilators. Bleak economic circumstances in Canada

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178. Ibid, 40.

179. Swyripa, *Wedded to the Cause*, 56.

180. Kiriak, *Sons of the Soil*, 161.

181. Ibid, 162.

182. Ibid, 212.

183. Swyripa, *Wedded to the Cause*, 69.

had forced homesteaders to send their daughters to work for strangers, removing them from parental and communal supervision—to experiment with new ideas, new activities, and new relationships<sup>184</sup> In an attempt to fit in with the Anglo-Saxon milieu, many third-generation Ukrainian-Canadians lost more of their cultural identifiers and values than they gained. Thus, Ukrainian womanhood was perfidiously projected (to borrow Ste-Marie’s term) as “ennui,”<sup>185</sup> as uniformly passive, helpless, downtrodden, and lacking motivation to change. As for child brides betrothed to men their fathers’ age, bearing fifteen or sixteen children in exchange for two cows and four pigs, they were seemingly destined to procreate ‘puny and weak offspring’<sup>186</sup> by mainstream feminine standards. Although Ukrainian peasant immigrant women were invisible, isolated, and marginalized, and 90 percent of Ukrainian peasant women in Galicia and Bukovina had been considered illiterate, malnourished, and lacking in good hygiene,<sup>187</sup> these same women would prove resilient on the Canadian prairies—the rock who taught her children how to clear land, how to help others in need, and most importantly how to pray with unwavering faith.<sup>188</sup> In *Sons of the Soil*,<sup>189</sup> Helena Workun, as a midwife, delivered babies

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184. Ibid.

185. Daniel Ste-Marie, “Morrissey Camp Conditions with Regards to Privation and Discipline 1915-1918” (paper presented at Symposium held in Fernie, B.C. in partnership with Simon Fraser University, August 21 to 23, 2015): 12.

186. Swyripa, *Wedded to the Cause*, 37.

187. Ibid, 21.

188. Ibid.

189. Kiriak, *Sons of the Soil*, 121.

during ‘bitterly cold’ weather and continued the tradition of naming infants after saints when doctors, hospitals, and priests were inaccessible. Industrious women made feather ticks as bed coverings, and feather pillows, recycled flour bags into embroidered tea towels, pillow cases, tablecloths, blouses, and male apparel, and washed, carded, and spun wool into yarn for knitting mitts, toques, scarves, and socks for their families. Horpina Ritsco built a mud house<sup>190</sup> by mixing earth with straw, then forming the mixture into one foot by two feet by eight-inch thick blocks with a *peech* (clay oven) inside, used on hot summer days to bake ten long loaves of bread at a time to feed her large family. Some followed Shevchenko’s example, by encouraging catharsis through re-enacting painful treatment through Kobzar-like dramatic performances, music, and creative artifacts such as writing *pysanky* (eggs with traditional folk motifs and designs) or celebrating *khrams* (Patron Saint’s Days). Therefore, to measure the Ukrainian peasant woman’s intelligence validly, a wider scope of female education must be considered.<sup>191</sup>

Post-colonial feminist, Cheryl McEwan,<sup>192</sup> affirms that in some cultures both private and public domains are used politically, within which motherhood is reconstructed as a chosen political occupation with important social and economic benefits that challenge western feminist assumptions of home, family, and motherhood as sites of oppression. By voicing disapproval of marginalization and maltreatment, non-British ethnicities deconstruct practices that “Other” or homogenize their groups of heterogeneous people

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190. Ritsco, *The Other JR*, 3-5.

191. Swyripa, *Wedded to the Cause*, 34.

192. McEwan, “Post-colonialism, Feminism and Development: Intersections and Dilemmas,” 98.

and open the door for acknowledgement and celebration of their ‘diversity’ and ‘multiplicity’<sup>193</sup> as resistance to being culturally blamed for disruptive circumstances occurring in non-dominant communities in the past.

It was a challenge for immigrants to afford cheap living accommodations in Canadian cities with one pay cheque. Subsequently, four or five families chose to dwell together in one house, usually near the city’s train station. For instance, Russin<sup>194</sup> shows

Ukrainian immigrants chose to settle in Winnipeg’s North End where working class foreign immigrants found “cheap poorly constructed housing...Fewer than half of these [immigrants] were connected with the city’s waterworks system resulting in the highest infant mortality rates of the city. Up to the 1920s, Winnipeg remained one of the continent’s most unhealthy cities, especially for the poor living in the North End.

In Winnipeg, the construction of 120 miles of track through the North End created employment for Ukrainian immigrants, but at the same time racially segregated the foreign labourers from mainstream city residents.<sup>195</sup> Though the North End development juxtaposed the house construction boom of Winnipeg after 1896, the 25 or 32 foot lots specific to that area of the city were crammed together like sardines. Negligent civic maintenance perpetuated substandard living conditions due to insufficient sanitary

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193. Ibid, 99.

194. Russin, “The History of a Unique Canadian Religious Experience,” 22.

195. Petryshyn, *Peasants in the Promised Land*, 125.

service, dirty back yards, muddy malodorous streets, inadequate lighting—subverting these immigrant districts into ghettos.<sup>196</sup>

During strikes non-Anglo-Saxon immigrant working populations were not only marginalized in Winnipeg's north end<sup>197</sup> but were also stereotyped as being prone to crime, violence, prostitution, family breakdown, and political corruption. "Police authorities were particularly concerned with this *conspiracy of silence* in large ethnic "ghettos" like North End Winnipeg and in the single enterprise industrial communities in western Canada."<sup>198</sup> James Albert Manning Aikins (leader of the Manitoba Conservative Party in 1915) forewarned Prime Minister Borden about the "foreigners" in North-End Winnipeg and the likelihood of vandalizing "property, public and private [and other]...crazy wicked things."<sup>199</sup> A Press Censorship Board was established in July 1915 to monitor the ethnic press in Canada.<sup>200</sup> Women's organizations, such as the Alberta and Saskatchewan Women's Temperance Union,<sup>201</sup> appalled with immigrants' inferior, immoral living standards, including the low status of immigrant women and teenage marriages, aimed to raise immigrant women's education standards to "our" level or the

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196. Ibid.

197. Palmer, *Patterns of Prejudice*, 38.

198. Avery, 'Dangerous Foreigners:' 88.

199. Aikens to Borden, 12 November 1914, Sir Robert Borden Papers, 106322, Public Archives of Canada; Avery, 'Dangerous Foreigners:' 80.

200. Martynowych and Kazmyra, "Political Activity in Western Canada," 88.

201. Palmer, *Patterns of Prejudice*, 38.

“whole national life,”<sup>202</sup> was doomed. Immigrants were disenfranchised from voting in the 1917 election. Palmer<sup>203</sup> argues: “Prohibition was...another way of controlling the German and central and eastern European immigrants and the franchise for women was a way of assuring that the old Protestant middle-class virtues could be better protected against the “enemy-aliens.” Prime Minister Robert Borden’s diaries confirm that enfranchisement of women and disenfranchisement of immigrants during the wartime election was indeed a political ploy to win votes for Conservatives’ re-election. Borden<sup>204</sup> diarizes:

Friday, 25<sup>th</sup> May 1917: “Whole thing out among press men tonight...Our Ministers afraid of a general election...Think we would be beaten by French, foreigners and slackers.

Friday, 17<sup>th</sup> August 1917: “Long confce with W.J.Tupper as to alien enemy vote in west. He says we have no chance unless it is disfranchised or segregated...”

Monday 10<sup>th</sup> September 1917: “moved to proceed to Orders of Day and followed this by motion to proceed to Franchise Bill...both motions passed unanimously.”

Tuesday, Sept. 25 1917: “Meighen...is strongly opposed to taking

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202. Ibid, 39.

203. Ibid, 57.

204. Archives Canada, The Diaries of Sir Robert Borden, 1912-1918. Transcribed by Dr. Kathryn Rose. (Unpublished). <http://research.library.mun.ca/2428/> Accessed October 1, 2016.

[Liberals] in [coalition government] at this stage. I am beginning to feel that we should take them in as our first duty is to win at any cost the coming election in order that we may continue to do our part in winning the war and that Canada feel not disgraced.”

Bernard Harcourt<sup>205</sup> purports, our dominant ways of talking and beliefs (no matter how strongly we believe them to be true) are an illusion produced in unanticipated ways by forces that are unrelated to the reasons we give. For instance, the establishment of forced labour camps for building infrastructures for further settlement and to solve the unemployment crisis amongst First World War immigrants in Canadian cities was actually a smoke screen to reduce the capital expenditures for the bourgeoisie who refused to feed destitute “enemies” and therefore renders the publicized ‘national threat’ social imaginary as a cryptic ambiguity. Foucault argues that not only are the criminals subdued by disciplinary structures in kind, but also their collectives as a whole.<sup>206</sup> Foucault’s argument is relevant to former citizens of the enemy, Austro-Hungarian Empire, whose movements were monitored by the War Measures Act and its revisions, according to the vacillating stereotypes accompanying global events. So entire cultural collectives were psychologically imprisoned and bore the brunt of British compatriots’ fear, suspicions, and xenophobia in inhumane ways. As Mills<sup>207</sup> aptly puts it: “The regulatory regimes devised in prisons [and battle fields] have been extended to other

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205. Harcourt, “Radical Thought,” 39.

206. Mills, “Feminist Theory and Discourse Theory.” 81.

207. Ibid.

spheres such as the school, the church and the home, so that discipline is internalized by individuals and begins to be seen as [self-disciplinary] confessionals.” Particularly noteworthy is “the relation between confessing and submitting to a relation of power...as compliant subjects, in the process constructed themselves as those compliant subjects.”<sup>208</sup>

Situating pre- and mid- First World War eastern and central European immigrants within Mills’s discourse allows insight into the language barrier not only being a major gap but also a determinant of their subjugation by British-born and English speaking government authorities, who exercised power over the said immigrants, who could not understand nor speak the English language. Hence, their being misunderstood was conveniently projected into a social imaginary of a national threat to be abhorred. Mills<sup>209</sup> shows that if one variable of the nexus of power relations is altered, the type and form of speech produced will change. Schur and Chafe<sup>210</sup> eloquently portray in *Strike!* a revised variable of the nexus of power by creating a new imaginary of the younger immigrant working class generation (Stefan Dudar, Moishe Almazoff, and Rebecca Almazoff) organizing cross-cultural and cross-gendered solidarity for seeking suffrage through the 1919 Winnipeg General Strike. Taylor<sup>211</sup> suggests that improvisation and modification of elitist praxes were ‘launched’ by the elitists themselves, in kind to recruit a larger and larger base with a set of practices which progressively changed their meaning for people, and

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208. Ibid.

209. Mills, “Feminist Theory and Discourse Theory,” 99.

210. Schur and Chafe, *Strike!*, Act One Scene One, 5.

211. Taylor, *Modern Social Imaginaries*, 30.



hence helped to constitute a new social imaginary (“the economy”), which profoundly changed Western societies’ social imaginary of their milieu. Similarly, implicit imperialistic catalysts, which would have undoubtedly dominated pre-First World War Canadian history, would have inadvertently made British-Canadian capitalistic ideologies and conditions irreconcilable with the immigrants’ feudalistic experiences of labour. The social imaginary upon which British-Canadian society grounded its petitions for punitive practices (such as, harsher penalties, deportation, stricter/closed-door immigration to deter further “enemy-aliens” from infiltrating Canadian society) were pointless because Sifton’s streamlined national immigration policy recruited a greater and greater flow which could not be reversed, nor could its effects and, therefore, such punitive practices were not a deterrent of the global events leading up to the First World War. Rather, Sifton invited “tyranny to open up to democratic transition.”<sup>212</sup> Furthermore, rehabilitation in Canada-wide internment camps did not work because the recruited individuals were not responsible for the behavior of global leaders’ quests for sovereignty, nor for their oppressive working and social conditions brought on by ‘internment of the psyche’ of recruited individual immigrants, their families, descendants, and cultural collectives.<sup>213</sup>

Currently, contemporary Ukrainian-Canadian artists and scholars, descendants of the alleged enemy-aliens/radical aliens/Red Bolsheviks, such as Armistice Films’ Ryan Boyko, in “The Camps,” a web-series, are revising the fallacy of authenticity, thereby nullifying mainstream discourses of the pre-, mid-, and post-First World War era. Yet, to

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212. Taylor, *Modern Social Imaginaries*, 27.

213. Harcourt, “Radical Thought,” 39.

reject all polluting influences of imperialism, capitalism and modernity,<sup>214</sup> is useless because, realistically, it would have been impossible for these non-British peasants to revert back to the pre-colonial, ‘original purity’ of a culture that no longer existed in their homeland.

Abadian<sup>215</sup> believes the initial step to regeneration of healthy cultures is the telling of life-affirming and healthy narratives. Richard Terdiman’s<sup>216</sup> counter-discourse system, of an *opposing* discourse of fractures, opens up and allows forms of resistance to operate *within* discourse, causing recognized texts to lose centrality and power to dominate. *The Braidiers*<sup>217</sup> is a cinematic life-affirming healthy narrative of the last two survivors of Canada’s First World War internment: Mary Manko-Haskett and Mary Hanchurak-Bayrak (both of whom inspired the role of Marika/Mary Warwaruk) and lived to see Bill C-331 (Internment of Persons of Ukrainian Origin Recognition Act) passed in Canadian Parliament. As Bryant-Davis<sup>218</sup> argues, the public must be educated to support the traumatized persons. If the multi-layered historical trauma events of Canada’s First World War internment led to multi-layered sufferings due to the assimilation policies and were concealed in a “*conspiracy of silence*,”<sup>219</sup> and if pre-First World War immigrants did

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214. Ashcroft, “Resistance,” 25.

215. Merritt, “Trans-generational Trauma,” 2. Shane Merritt is an Australian Kamilaroi Aboriginal man.

216. Ashcroft, “Resistance,” 32-33.

217. Chafe and Schur, *The Braidiers*, Super, 96.

218. Fast and Collin-Vezina, *Trauma and Resilience*, 132.

219. Danieli, *International handbook*, 5; Chafe and Schur, *The Braidiers*, 85.

not talk about their experiences before passing away, then there may still be “walking wounded”<sup>220</sup> descendants with PTSD because such a historical “*event* [lies] outside the range of human experience.”<sup>221</sup> The ordinary response to atrocities is to banish them from consciousness;<sup>222</sup> however, the psychologically crippling effects associated with historical trauma can be transmitted from initial victims to subsequent generations, in what Shane Merritt calls “*trans-generational transmission* [in which] any type of dysfunctional issue can be transmitted through parenting styles or personality issues of the individual person”<sup>223</sup> to anyone interacting with the perpetuated person through spiritual and DNA alterations long after the perpetuated has reposed. Although we may not have people interned any more, we still have the impact of that, which we are living with now and into the future, unless the cycle is broken.<sup>224</sup> For instance, Mary Warwaruk, in *The Braidors*,<sup>225</sup> drifts in and out of pernicious memory fragments, accompanied by compulsive behaviorisms, until she attains catharsis through dialogue with Tanya.

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220. Brown, “Not Outside the Range...Psychic Trauma,” 123.

221. Ibid.

222. Herman, *Trauma and Recovery*, 1.

223. Merritt, “Trans-generational Trauma,” 1.

224. Ibid.

225. Chafe and Schur, *The Braidors*, Mary’s House/Kingston Cemetery/Warwaruk Ghetto Apartment (1917), 85-89.

According to Abraham and Torok<sup>226</sup> the path of the secret creates a psychically mute zone, unexpectedly inaccessible and incomprehensible to the small child (Marika, Tanya). The isolated parts or enclaves of the psyche are often filled with fantasies of the reason(s) for the parent's absence, as well as of reparation of the parent's damaged part. It is, hence, the splitting of the ego, the creation of enclaves (in John) that is transmitted and not the contents of the secret per se...Despite the possibility of the secret being benign and harmless as to its contents, the splitting of the ego into foreign parts [has been] devastating<sup>227</sup> for Tanya and Mary. The perpetuated (George/John) keeps the trauma alive in a "posthumous victory,"<sup>228</sup> which evolves into post traumatic effects in successive generations if resolution is not attained.<sup>229</sup> Hence, Schur and Chafe nip intergenerational psyche melancholia in the bud and extinguish it completely through Tanya's and Mary's reciprocal catharsis, preventing the effects from projecting as PTSD in Jenna.<sup>230</sup> Understanding the collective circumstances of one's people allows the descendants to realize that they, the family, community, and nation are victims of something that occurred years before and that continues to play out negatively in their communities today.<sup>231</sup> As a consequence of cultural fracture during assimilation, and

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226. Abraham and Torok, "The Inner Crypt," 3.

224. Ibid; Duran and Duran, *Native American Psychology*, 41.

228. Danieli, *International handbook*, 5.

229. Duran and Duran, *Native American Psychology*, 41.

230. Brown, "Not Outside the Range...Psychic Trauma," 119.

231. Rice and Snyder, "Reconciliation in the Context of Settler Society," 59.

Canada's First World War internment, the cultural languages, traditions, and national histories of some Eastern European immigrants were not completely transmitted to the third generation. The omission of their forbearers' contributions to the settlement and development of Canada West in the majority's writings of Canadian history constitutes a second level of erasure, with secrets engraved in many forbearers' "crypts,"<sup>232</sup> which end up going into their graves with them.

During immense construction projects for the CPR, the Great Trunk Pacific, and the Canadian Northern, the captains (as cited by Avery)<sup>233</sup> petitioned the Immigration Branch for the recruitment of "industrial" navvies. Avery reveals that Duncan Ross (1910), on behalf of the construction company of Foley, Welch & Stewart, also persuaded Prime Minister Laurier to reverse the decision of the minister of interior from stiffening the immigration test.<sup>234</sup> From 1907 to 1914, "between 50,000 and 70,000 railroad workers satisfied these captains' demand for cheap labor, with Italian, Bulgarian, Slavic, and Polack navvies considered superior construction workers."<sup>235</sup> Yet, dominant social imaginary begat intensified outcries that the same ethnicities were a "menace to the community."<sup>236</sup> Mining companies hired private bureaus to recruit over 200,000 workers

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232. Derrida, *Forward: The Wolf Man's Magic Word*, xxii.

233. Avery, 'Dangerous Foreigners:' 27.

234. *Ibid*, 27-29.

235. *Ibid*, 27.

234. *Ibid*, 29.

a year, most of whom were immigrants.<sup>237</sup> Yet some companies, such as the Davis & Nagel labour agency of Montreal, were accused of exploiting hundreds of Ukrainian, Bulgarian, and Hungarian labourers while working on the construction of the Temiskaming and Northern Ontario Railway.<sup>238</sup> Others were deceived into believing that companies, like McRae, Chandler & McNeil Construction Company,<sup>239</sup> would reimburse their out-of-pocket travelling expenses. Often, immigrant labourers were prevented from leaving work sites by bayonet/rifle-carrying foremen and sub-contractors who forcefully re-instated obedience to company orders, and resorted to solitary confinement for workers who refused to comply. Those who escaped were tracked down by special company constables with local police and judicial officers' help.<sup>240</sup>

Though an immigration office was set up in London, England to promote European immigration to Canada, and the C.P.R. sponsored traveling exhibitions, the Ukrainian and other non-British groups' response to Canadian advertisements seemed to complicate the ubiquitous Canadian expectation by their differences.<sup>241</sup> The major phobia (according to the *Edmonton Bulletin*,<sup>242</sup> 8 June 1899) was that such a large group living in squalor and in ignorance, were destined to reduce the living standard of the entire Canadian populace

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237. Ibid, 31

238. Ibid, 34.

239. Ibid, 34-35.

240. Ibid, 35.

241. Petryshyn, *Peasants in the Promised Land*, 15-18.

242. *Edmonton Bulletin*, 8 June 1899.

to an inferior state. A smallpox epidemic heightened contamination to a personal level. Bloc settlement patterns spawned suspicion about the delayed assimilation process. A *Swift Current Sun*<sup>243</sup> subscriber complained about the “long explanations to foreigners who cannot grasp the simplest language.” Yet, intercommunication between Ukrainian immigrants and established German farmers was seemingly impeccable. Some Saskatchewan established farmers accused Ukrainian labourers of being sympathizers of the Central Powers if they refused to accept lower prewar wages and published vindictive poems like “The Ferocious Farmer,” and a representative of the Manitoba Government Labour Bureau accused Austrian labourers of spending the winter in Winnipeg in order to drive up the wages for farm help during seeding.<sup>244</sup> Thompson<sup>245</sup> writes: “Beginning during the harvest of 1916 and continuing into the postwar period, western farmers demanded that...all “foreigners”—be conscripted...as farm labourers, and that their wages be fixed at \$1.10 a day, the wage of a soldier in France.” Hence, it may be said that the Ukrainian civilization, language, and cultural contestant has been one of the deepest and recurring images of the “Other” in Canadian history. Candidly, government agents did not care whether or not the ‘recruited’ were able to adapt, and British-Canadian aristocracy, prominent politicians, as well as intelligentsia, did indeed reflect

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243. CFWWIRF Digital Map, *Swift Current Sun*, 8 September 1916.

244. Thompson, “The Enemy-alien and the Election of 1917,” 30.

245. W.P. Dutton to Norris, 12 November 1917, T.C. Norris Papers, Provincial Archives of Manitoba (PAM), Winnipeg, Manitoba; Calgary Farm and Ranch Review, 5 November 1917; and petition of Balcarres Grain Growers, December 1916, Walter Scott Papers, SAB cited in Thompson, 30.

Said's<sup>246</sup> Orientalist conviction: "Lurking everywhere behind the pacification of the [Ukrainian immigrants'] subject race [was the] imperial [British cultural global enterprise]." That is to say, British spokespersons spoke for and represented Ukrainian immigrants according to their social imaginary, in which imperialist domination allowed for comparatively wealthy British-Canadian nativist statesmen, businessmen, and mainstream society to exploit and demonize immigrants in English-language publications without consequence for, or censorship of, their imperious actions. Implicitly, marginalization of the said cultural groups had nothing to do with their illiteracy and subsequent inferiority in a foreign land, but was more reflective of British power over former Austrian-Hungarian subjects and the Orientalist-type social imaginary reflected in British-Canadian society's pre-, mid-, and post-First World War discourse—a close conspiracy with the socio-economic and political principles of the imperialist power giant: the British Commonwealth. Hence, eastern and central European immigrants, being *enemy-aliens* and therefore a national security threat, were (to borrow Said's words)<sup>247</sup> "a created body of theory and practice in which for many generations, there has been a [cognitive imperialist]<sup>248</sup> investment" with a system of *imagined* knowledge of

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246. Said, *Orientalism*, 36.

247. *Ibid*, 6.

248. Rice, *Seeing the World with Aboriginal Eyes*, 4; Marie Battiste, *Discourses of Difference: Cognitive Imperialism, Culturalism and Diversity*, 16

<https://www.usask.ca/education/documents/profiles/battiste/diversity.pdf>



Ukrainians becoming the accepted economy. This shift, using Harcourt's<sup>249</sup> 'radical thought' theory, illuminates why Ukrainian subjects chose to resort to a *conspiracy of silence* to develop cultural consciousness, because the cognitive set of beliefs held by ordinary persons' heterogeneity-based principles, worldview, and wisdom are more complex than proposed by dominant society's homogeneity-based social imaginary.

### **Conspiracy of Silence: Ukrainian Youth**

Woodsworth<sup>250</sup> makes two recommendations for transforming Slavs into Canadians: (i) proper distribution; and, (ii) education. Beginning the assimilation process with fresh young minds, devoid of deep-seated cultural and linguistic predispositions seemed to be the best plan because unity of race and religion in the new land had already been fragmented. School Inspector T.M. McGuire<sup>251</sup> reported:

in Western Canada, with its heterogeneous population...these congruous elements have to be assimilated, have to be welded into one harmonious whole...The chief instrument in this process of assimilation is the public school.

Russin<sup>252</sup> cites that Superintendent Dr. Robertson, on behalf of the Presbyterian Home Mission Committee in Winnipeg (1899-1900), recommended that because the foreigners in Manitoba differed "from Canadians in language, manners, customs, ethical and religious opinions...every effort should be made to evangelize, educate and assimilate

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249. Harcourt, "Radical Thought," 43

250. Woodsworth, *Strangers within our gates*, 139.

251. McGuire, *Report of Department of Education, (Manitoba)*, 31.

252. Russin, "The History of a Unique Canadian Religious Experience," 23.

them [and they] should be put into the great Anglo-Saxon mill and be ground up, in the grinding they lose their foreign prejudices and characteristics.”<sup>253</sup> Further, as reported by Principal J.T. Cressy,<sup>254</sup> the aim of the *Report of the Department of Education* was “to make bilingual teachers into good Britishers, so that Ruthenian people will become synonymous with British people saluting One King, One Empire, One Race, and One Flag.

Because most Ukrainian-Canadians believed that education and more education was the key for breaking the chains of servitude,<sup>255</sup> and because English-speaking teachers were unwilling to teach in isolated ethnic communities for low pay and in substandard living accommodations, Ukrainian parents began petitioning the three prairie provincial governments for the establishment of special training schools for foreigners. Ukrainian bilingual teachers did not wish to create a “Canadian Ukraine” but simply wanted to educate their people in a bilingual context.<sup>256</sup> Ukrainian immigrants recognized that without proper schooling, an entire generation of immigrant children would remain illiterate drudges with the aspirations of slaves.<sup>257</sup> Because Ukrainian school-aged children outnumbered their French peers, who received bilingual education in the French

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253. Ibid, 26.

254. Cressey, *Report of the Department of Education (Manitoba)*, 115.

255. *Ukrainkyi Holos*, 14 March 1910.

256. Petryshyn, *Peasants in the Promised Land*, 180-181.

257. Sissons, “Illiteracy in the West,” 450; Petryshyn, *Peasants in the Promised Land*, 174.

language, it was difficult to understand why a similar program could not be developed and provided for Ukrainian-speaking children.

Petryshyn explains how and why the social imaginary changed between newcomer Ukrainian-Canadians and established British-Canadians over the heated bilingual school debate. Prominent leaders in British-Canadian mainstream society who had advocated settlement suddenly assumed a devil's advocate position to counteract the bilingual-education petition of Ukrainian parents. For instance, commencing in June 1913, John Dafoe<sup>258</sup> published 65 articles, daily, in the *Manitoba Free Press*, castigating bilingual schools; the Orange Lodges, in October 1913, requested that Manitoba be made a British province with English being the primary language in the public schools; and Norman F. Black published *English for the Non-English*, also in 1913, articulating that the most effective way to teach English in the public schools was to use English exclusively in the classroom...Therefore...it was not desirable to have teachers drawn from the immigrant communities teaching in the schools of those communities. Petryshyn<sup>259</sup> provides a succinct synopsis: "With a suspicious, hostile public, and ever-increasing restrictions on their civil liberties becoming a preoccupation, Ukrainian leaders attested their loyalty to Canada and the British Empire and kept a low profile" by retreating into 'inconspicuousness.'" The declaration of the First World War suddenly catapulted Ukrainian-Canadians into justifiably despised enemy-aliens. All the ducks were lined up in a row for successful First World War Internment Operations in Canada, from 1914 to

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258. Petryshyn, *Peasants in the Promised Land*, 181.

259. *Ibid*, 187.

1920. Hence, the First World War fight for democracy legitimately amounted to preserving the unilingual impetus of Anglo-Celtic homogeneity. Looking through Lukes's lens (of the estate tax repeal benefitting two percent of the wealthiest American taxpayers), who would have benefitted the most from the marginalization and internment of non-British immigrants as enemy-aliens, radical aliens, and Red Bolsheviks in Canada during and after the First World War?

### **PARADOX 3: Internment**

#### **Preliminary**

Building on Tuen van Dijk's<sup>260</sup> framework, the overall societal domain for the First World War Internment Operations, 1914 to 1920, includes: Great Britain, the Dominion of Canada (a British crown colony) obliged by the British North America Act (1867) to pledge allegiance, and global states of the enemy Austro-Hungarian Empire embroiled in the First World War in Europe. The overall actions involve: King George V of the British Empire, Governor General Prince Arthur representing the King's Privy Council for Canada, Prime Minister Sir Robert Borden, Major-General Sir William Dillon Otter (commander of internment operations), military officers, Royal North West Mounted

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260. Tuen van Dijk in "An Appeal to Diversity," 108, believes dominant discourse aims to construct "desired mental models and social representations [by] influence, manipulation or control of the mind [and] links local context with "the immediate, interactional situation in which a communicative event takes place such as an overall domain (politics, business), an overall action (legislation, propaganda), participants in various communicative and social roles as well as their intentions, goals, knowledge, norms, and other beliefs...[Therefore], what we say and how we say it depends on who is speaking to whom, when and where, and with what purposes."

Police, Dominion police, British-born Canadian citizens, immigrants (former citizens of the enemy Austro-Hungarian Empire), government representatives and businessmen (who wanted infrastructures built for settling western Canada), newspaper and radio editors and reporters (who kept dominant society frenzied about global events). The local setting is Canadian urban centers and Canadian northern hinterlands. The communicative role of the participant is the Canadian militia, protecting Canada from the social imaginary national threat. The interactional role of defenders and spokespersons is assumed by the descendants of “the stalwart peasants.”<sup>261</sup>

The outbreak of the First World War made it easier for the Government of Canada to legislate ‘anti-foreign’ policies. Zoé Denness<sup>262</sup> argues that the *Aliens Act* (1905), introduced by Britain, reflected pre-war anti-alienism at least a decade before the onset of the Great War. David Saunders<sup>263</sup> also predicates that ‘hostility’ in the British towards Germans had been growing since the turn of the century, but it constituted only a fraction of the total hostility to foreigners.” Saunders<sup>264</sup> further explains, albeit from 1823 to 1906, no foreigner was prevented from entering Britain or forced to leave, as early as 1887, Arnold White (a prominent right-wing radical) advocated for immigration in Britain to stop because England is no longer the rubbish heap for discarded elements of Continental societies. During the Aliens Act negotiations, in 1904, Winston Churchill opposed

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261. Avery, ‘Dangerous Foreigners:’ 9.

262. Denness, “The History of British Civilian Internment:” 134.

263. Saunders, “Aliens in Britain and the Empire during the First World War,” 100.

264. Ibid., 100-101.

denying freedom to the “simple immigrant, the political refugee, the helpless and the poor who [Churchill predicted] will be caught in the trammels of the bill and may be harassed and hustled at the pleasure of petty officials without the slightest right of appeal.”<sup>265</sup> True to Churchill’s prediction, events in kind would unfold in Canada as global rivalry escalated. The British government began taking precautions with amendments to the 1889 *Official Secrets Act*, granting powers, (i) to arrest aliens without previous reference to the Attorney-General, and power of search; (ii) to obtain registration at all times of all aliens arriving in this country; and, (iii) to execute similar wartime powers as those conferred during the 1803 Napoleonic Wars.<sup>266</sup> The first proposal was implemented in 1911, the second related to the registration of aliens took effect unofficially, and the third in the form of a draft order-in-council was ready for enactment to impose restrictions on aliens in the event of war.<sup>267</sup>

Through the lens of van Dijk’s mental model, “the We-group” in pre-, mid-, and post-First World War Canada consisted of the Anglo-Canadian elite who set the conditions and controlled the public discourse related to immigrant issues. British loyalty stemmed from an expected allegiance to the monarchy, the British Empire, and British heritage enmeshed with an attitude and belief that Canada’s greatness was due to Anglo-Saxon exceptionalism. Therefore, there was already a collective social imaginary ingrained in the governing elitist consciousness that preordained the central and eastern European

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265. Saunders, “Aliens in Britain and the Empire during the First World War,” 101.

266. Ibid, 102.

267. Ibid.

migrant masses to be viewed with suspicion and disdain. The historical communicative action<sup>268</sup> was that of the War Measure's Act and subsequent revisions. Newspapers and radio broadcasts hyped the casualties on the battlefields, which kept dominant society's xenophobia at its peak, lashing out at the very immigrant labourers who were in the process of clearing the land and building infrastructures for dominant society's convenience and pleasure. The "persuasive structure of the text,"<sup>269</sup> of news reports and editorials, played on dominant society's emotions and loyalties, thereby influencing a negative public opinion while, simultaneously, keeping the ethnic cultures from the Austro-Hungarian Empire in an inferior psychological and socio-economic position. Yet the persuasive structure of the text in Luhovy's documentary film, *Freedom Had a Price*, reveals that not all Canadians had the same opinion about the practices of the Government of Canada during the First World War era.

The British Empire passed the *British Nationality, Naturalization and Alien Act* in May 1914, which complicated procedures for obtaining naturalization certificates, and when the British Empire declared the First World War, the *Alien Restriction Act*<sup>270</sup> of 5<sup>th</sup> August 1914 went into effect: "all alien enemies wherever resident, and all aliens residing in prohibited areas were required to register with the local police...and report any changes of residence or any alterations in the particulars registered within 48 hours." McDermott and Silverman cite that "Prime Minister Asquith passed the *Defense of the*

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268. Van Dijk, "An Appeal to Diversity:" 109.

269. Ibid, 110.

270. Saunders, "Aliens in Britain and the Empire during the First World War," 102-103.

*Realm Act* (DORA) on August 7, 1914, which granted authority to intern anyone of “hostile origin or associations,”<sup>271</sup> in Britain, and the *War Measures Act* (WMA) followed in Canada on 15 August 1914, making all subjects of enemy countries liable to arrest and detention, if they attempted to leave Canada.<sup>272</sup>

### **Discourse Analysis: Mutual Conspiracy of Silence**

By situating eastern and central European immigrants in Canada within Lukes’s “False Consciousness” theoretical lens (as purported by Bernard Harcourt),<sup>273</sup> at the onset of the First World War they come into focus as being helplessly voiceless and at the mercy of the powers imposed by the British Crown’s agents. Phillip Yasnowskyi<sup>274</sup> shows how vulnerability evolved into ‘resistance’ to domination in the Schmacher Gold Mine in northern Ontario in response to the Russian co-miners’ ‘obnoxious’ taunts and later to Toronto and Kapuskasing internment camp guards’ exploitation. Yasnowskyi<sup>275</sup> describes

being unemployed, being separated from his wife and receiving a “censored” letter, contemplating the possibility of being treated as deserter by his compatriots, being arrested when trying to find work in the United States on suspicion of his intending to raise money to return to his homeland and fight for the enemy empire, being transferred by “armed guard” to Toronto internment camp, having to sleep on bare floors, having

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271. McDermott, “Internment during the Great War,” 339-340; Silverman, “Return to the Isle of Man,” 4.

272. Kordan and Melnycky, *In the Shadows of the Rockies*: 8.

273. Harcourt, “Radical Thought,” 27-29.

274. Yasnowskyi, “Internment,” 179-195.

275. *Ibid*, 179-188.



food rationed, having complaints ignored, being in a barbed-wire fence enclosure guarded by bayonet-carrying soldiers, being transferred to Kapuskasing, being famished, being expected to fell trees, build railway tracks, construct roads, dig ditches, at bayonet point as if we were responsible for our homeland being at war with the Allies or as if we had committed a crime, being thrown into jail for refusing to work at the civilian boss's command, questioning a system that uses jails to drive fear into the hearts of innocent people to subject them to forced labor; fabricating a story during a tribunal inquest, and being reassigned lighter work duties.

According to Desmond Morton<sup>276</sup> the primary reason for establishing Internment Operations in Canada during the First World War was to relieve the widespread unemployment and destitution amongst the immigrant labourers, and not because of the dominant social imaginary that they posed a military threat. Thompson<sup>277</sup> adds: for every Trotskyite who the Government of Canada guarded during the war, thousands of harmless Ukrainian labourers paid an enormous price for imaginary foes. By examining the “regimes of truth”<sup>278</sup> through a *mutual conspiracy of silence* lens, Crown government agents of pre-, mid-, and post-First World War global, national, provincial, civic, and municipal affairs within the Dominion of Canada seemingly contributed to the Ukrainian immigrants' inequities that resulted in their destitution and internment, because of the mistaken British-Canadian social imaginary of Ukrainians as *Rusyns* from the Enemy Empire being a national threat. Deborah Tannen's ambiguity theoretical modality comes into play here as to whether 'a national threat' meant armament invasion or a

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276. Morton, “Sir William Otter and Internment Operations in Canada,” 39.

277. Thompson, “The Enemy-alien and the Election of 1917,” 29.

278. Harcourt, “Radical Thought,” 30.

‘demonized’ foreign social imaginary displacing the British social imaginary in Canadian institutions. The latter would surely explain why people turned a blind eye from grave injustices, disenfranchisement, and the Ukrainian bilingual-controversy at the eve of the Great War. From a Marxist and Lukes’s *false consciousness*<sup>279</sup> perspective, Dominion parliamentary representatives chose to believe the dominant social imaginary and turned a blind eye rather than address the genuine destitute consequences when government policies did seemingly “Other” pre- and mid-First World War unemployed foreign labourers to urban ghettos. Orders-in-council also seemed to have given British-Canadian citizens the justification, in accordance with the dominant social imaginary, to vandalize Chinese Laundromats in Calgary, to vandalize German establishments in London, to vandalize Slavic meeting places in Winnipeg without consequence.

The dominant Canadian social imaginary held that: ‘Foreigners from enemy countries were getting rich while Anglo-Canadians were spilling their blood on the battlefield.’<sup>280</sup> As local Canadian casualties mounted overseas, the dominant social imaginary intensified the belief that internees should be punished more severely.<sup>281</sup> The war atrocities veiled the social reality that many immigrants who had survived war, revolution, military defeat, foreign occupation, physical genocide, and national-culture

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279. Harcourt, “Radical Thought,” 31.

280. Martynowych, Personal communication, August 2014; Morton, Sir William Otter and Internment Operations, 55; CFWWIRF Digital Map, Toronto Evening Telegram, 27 April 1918.

281. Kordan and Melnycky, *In the Shadows of the Rockies*, 60.

and political oppression in the mother land<sup>282</sup> had also been marginalized and mistreated in Canada, at least ten years before the First World War was declared—a pattern synonymous with that of Great Britain as previously mentioned.

Situating dominant society's imaginary discourse within Rusche and Kirchheimers's<sup>283</sup> lens of discourse of deterrence or correction exposes an ambiguous political economy of punishment behind King George V's social imaginary, of his right to punish and justify the type of punishment needed to solicit docile, cheap labourers shaped by modes of production (bayonet-carrying soldiers) and social relations (forced labour) to build Dominion economy, at little cost to the British sovereign,<sup>284</sup> whose "finances [according to Prime Minister Borden's<sup>285</sup> diaries were], in a very desperate condition." Borden<sup>286</sup> diarizes, on Wednesday, Feb. 27, 1918:

Went...to White House at 12. Pres. very cordial...Told him of our effort, of trade conditions, of 500 millions that we must pay U.S. on trade balance and for interest.

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282. Swyripa, *Wedded to the Cause*, 8.

283. Harcourt, "Radical Thoughts," 36.

284. *Ibid.*

285. Archives Canada, *The Diaries of Sir Robert Borden, 1912-1918*. Transcribed by Dr. Kathryn Rose. (Unpublished). Entry for Tuesday, Feb. 26, 1918. <http://research.library.mun.ca/2428/> Accessed October 1, 2016.

286. *Ibid.* Entry for Wednesday, Feb. 27, 1918.

Avery<sup>287</sup> reveals, “because of their brawn and industry [eastern and central European] human machines” were ideal ‘cheap labour,’ available at the least cost for clearing land and constructing infrastructures for the settlement and economic development of western Canada. The image of these human machines’ work habits during the First World War, within the Dominion’s dominant social imaginary, reflect forced labour rather than an act of humanitarianism.

Foucault<sup>288</sup> blends Nietzsche’s genealogical paradigm with Rusche and Kirchheimer’s political economic paradigm to expose, beneath the modern progress narrative of increasingly enlightened punishments, exist disciplinary forms that more effectively render the human body docile. Given Foucauldian<sup>289</sup> panoptic surveillance mechanisms, the Castle Mountain log book shows that the Government in Canada obliged POWS (prisoners of war):<sup>290</sup>

to construct roads, clear timber, build bridges, drain land, and install culverts and fireguards. Relocated to Banff, internees engaged in land filling, draining recreation sites, clearing forest and cutting trails for gun range, golf course, tennis courts, horse pastures, as well as, building ski jumps and sidewalks, repairing streets, and chiseling with pick and hammer on the cliffs to create the quarry sites--“to give the valley an open, park-like appearance, and at the same time remove dead timber, to lessen the danger of fire by sparks from [train] engines falling on it.” At Banff, internees also

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287. Avery, ‘Dangerous Foreigners,’ 8-9.

288. Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 37.

289. Foucault, “Panoptism,” 195-228.

290. Kordan and Melnycky, *Diary of Castle Mountain*, 18-30.

constructed roads and bridges to the Upper Hot Springs and cleared land for development of new residential subdivisions.

By situating the dominant social imaginary of ‘enemy-aliens’ within a Foucauldian lens of truth, the marginalization and internment of eastern and central European immigrants pre-, mid-, and post-First World War becomes less to do with their being a threat to Canadian national security and more to do with the dominant Canadian social imaginary of producing a docile, assimilable, yet slightly inferior proletariat for growing an empire. Beyond the work camps, the dominant social imaginary posited these foreign labourers would need proselytization to assimilate Ukrainian immigrants with the Anglo-Saxon social imaginary of Presbyterians and Methodists that decried the moral degradation of ‘nativist’ Manitobans, Albertans, and Saskatchewanians. From a Freudian<sup>291</sup> perspective, punishment in the form of internment, and forced labour, is best understood as a collective act of repression that served to induce feelings of guilt and repugnance in immigrants for being citizens from the enemy empire, in order to mask dominant society’s own war-frenzied xenophobia within their social imaginary that kept them believing that Austro-Hungarian human subjects had to be intimidated and tamed through propagated threats of internment, solitary confinement, and deportation. The sense of guilt, born of the tension between desire and restraint

expresses itself as a need for punishment...Civilization [in this case the British Empire]...obtains mastery over [social imaginary of] an individual's desire for aggression by weakening and disarming [the social imaginary enemy-alien problem with the War Measures Act] and by setting up an agency [Internment Operations commanded by Major General Otter and

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291. Freud, *Civilization and its Discontents*: 33.

implemented by bayonet-carrying soldiers] with [the social imaginary terrorist aka enemy-alien], to be watched over like a garrison [forced labour camp/internment camp with 8-foot high barbed wire fences] in a conquered city [24 internment camps across Canada].”<sup>292</sup>

By situating immigrants within this social imaginary, within Freud’s “The Prisoner’s Dream,” the plausibility of a social imaginary reflecting a docile dreaming prisoner of war whose passions have been tamed becomes more vivid, yet increasingly more terrorizing. Morton<sup>293</sup> reports that when Otter received the first prisoners for internment in November 1914, “proper custodial accommodations” had not yet been arranged to house them, which suggests a major disconnect between government internment policy and the agents’ activities in the field. Morton’s<sup>294</sup> findings also suggest that government administration procrastinated in establishing internment camps, while local registrars across Canada expedited the process of arresting immigrants for internment before Otter had finished arranging work assignments to keep the prisoners of war from starvation. Morton<sup>295</sup> argues,

The Order-in-Council of 28<sup>th</sup> October made it clear that internees were prisoners of war, not convicts. Therefore, they were subject to the rules of the Hague Convention of 1907, which Great Britain had signed on behalf of the empire [meaning] that internees were entitled to the same standard of clothing, food, and quarters as Canada’s own soldiers.

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292. Harcourt, “Radical Thoughts:” 38.

293. Morton, “Sir William Otter and Internment Operations,” 39-41.

294. Ibid.

295. Ibid, 41.

The Castle Mountain log book reveals that this clause of the Order-in-Council was overlooked, with internees' as well as formal requests being ignored. The lack of implicit guidelines in the Hague Conventions regarding the care of the internees' wives and families further exacerbated their vulnerability to unjust treatment and neglect. Though Otter's intention was to keep German internees confined to internment camps, due to the potential danger they posed, (the Austrians were streamlined into work assignments as far as possible from major Canadian urban centers), he seemed cognizant of incongruities between municipal councillors' voiced complaints of prisoners' disruptive behavior on the one hand but on the other hand they seemed eager to profit from prisoners' forced labour and federal subsidies for completing municipal projects. Furthermore, inappropriate clothing for working in below-zero weather, delayed arrival of supplies, inclement weather, supplier shortages, intrusion of a predatory bear,<sup>296</sup> failure to honor formal requests for new clothing, particularly replacement of internees' tattered work boots, and internal conflict between camp guards supplied by the Militia of Justice, and camp commandants and guard commanders seemed to undermine internment operations from running smoothly, which left internees unfairly suffering repercussions.<sup>297</sup> In response to foreign objection (as cited by Morton),<sup>298</sup> Canada's minister of justice, E.L. Newcombe, argued that Canadian policy had been generous by allowing starving

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296. CFWWIRF Digital Map: "Bear Steals Bacon From Castle Camp," *Brandon Daily Sun* (Calgary, AB), August 17, 1916.

297. Melnycky and Kordan, *In the Shadows of the Rockies*: 56.

298. Morton, "Sir William Otter and Internment Operations," 45-46.

‘indigents’ to become prisoners of war, and by permitting them to earn a full twenty-five cents a day, the same working pay of a Canadian soldier, instead of letting them become state charity. The sinking of the British passenger ship, *Lusitania*<sup>299</sup> on May 7, 1915, shifted internment policy to urgency. By the end of 1915, mining companies were petitioning for massive internment, using bogus incriminations. But as war progressed, a changing public, social imaginary queried the confinement and maintenance of such a large body of harmless men performing menial tasks.

Castle Mountain diary documents the release of ‘harmless Austrians:’<sup>300</sup>

Monday, April 23<sup>rd</sup> [1917] 18 prisoners of war released to C.P.R.; Tuesday, April 24<sup>th</sup> 16 prisoners of war released to the C.P.R. Wednesday, April 25<sup>th</sup> 21 prisoners of war released to the C.P.R.; Thursday April 26<sup>th</sup> 27 prisoners of war released to the C.P.R.; No. 505—Pendziwiater turned over to the civil authorities as insane; Tuesday May 1<sup>st</sup> 27 prisoners of war released to the C.P.R.

On May 29, 1916, the *Winnipeg Tribune*<sup>301</sup> reported, the release of approximately 1000 interned aliens to pulp and mining companies in Nova Scotia, Alberta, and British Columbia. These were men who were interned because of their inability to make a living rather than hostile intentions on their part. Instead of continuing to be an expense to the community they would henceforth contribute to its industrial welfare.

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299. [www.nationalarchives.gov.uk](http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk)

300. Kordan and Melnycky, *Diary of Castle Mountain*, 131.

301. CFWWIRF: “TO FREE 1,000 INTERNED ALIENS FOR MINE WORK, *Winnipeg Tribune* (Ottawa, ON), August 26, 1915.



This generated a strong anti-German message,<sup>302</sup> reported in *Vancouver World*:<sup>303</sup>

Caustic comment has been evoked by the fact that in the neighbourhood of 200 Austrians and Germans working in the Rogers Pass tunnel...these aliens could, if they so desired, procure dynamite from the magazines and blow up the entire workings, as the guard placed at the pass is not sufficient to cope with the number of aliens employed in the work.

On April 1, 1915, *Vernon News*<sup>304</sup> reported the escape of three German POWs; two were recaptured while the third was speculated as being on an eastbound train. On October 5, 1916, *Brandon Daily Sun*<sup>305</sup> reported:

The timely discovery by the guards at the internment camp between Golden and Field recently frustrated a desperate attempt of the fifty odd prisoners to escape. The prisoners occupy a tent twelve feet from the stockade. With tools fashioned from knives and other metal they tunneled beyond the stockade, stowing the dirt beneath the bunks on the floor, and trampled smooth. A candle box covered with a blanket served as a tram car to haul the dirt from the tunnel. It was necessary to tunnel twelve feet from the stockade to get beyond the radius of lights from the sentry walk, and the prisoners had made a total of fourteen feet when the plot was discovered. The prisoners were lined up and searched, and each had fashioned a dirk from table knives ready to give battle to the guards...For some time the prisoners have been surly, and it was necessary to place some on short rations and inflict punishment.

Beginning 1<sup>st</sup> June 1917, an Order-in-Council tightened security to prevent escape attempts due to sloppy guarding, and rationed food drastically for internees not involved

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302. Morton, "Sir William Otter and Internment Operations," 48-49.

303. CFWWIRF Digital Map: ALIEN ENEMIES AT WORK IN ROGERS PASS:

Two Hundred Austrians and Germans Employed in Tunnel Operations," *Vancouver World* (Vancouver, BC), June 5, 1915.

304. CFWWIRF Digital Map: "Three Germans Escape from Internment Camp, *Vernon News* (Vernon, BC), April 1, 1915.

305. "Discovery of Plot Prevents Escape," *Brandon Daily Sun* (Golden, BC), Oct. 5, 1916.

in bush work.<sup>306</sup> Morton<sup>307</sup> reports: “the cost of keeping a few thousand internees had amounted to \$1,172,000 in 1917; the total cost of Canada’s First World War internment operations was estimated at \$4,452,092.<sup>308</sup> Ironically after the armistice was signed, a debate with Great Britain ensued over what to do with the ‘dangerous’ inmates. Thereafter, the “enemy” of the pre-war social imaginary shifted to that of Red Bolshevism<sup>309</sup> with Finnish, Ukrainian, Jewish, and Russian immigrant sympathizers being branded as radical activists deserving deportation. However, deportation would leave an enormous labour void in ‘rough’ industrial labour, and the over-taxed sea circuit would delay the expatriation of the third batch of enemy-aliens from Canada until the 27<sup>th</sup> February 1920.<sup>310</sup> Prime Minister Robert Borden’s diary entries denote an abrupt social imaginary shift that culminated during the 1919 Winnipeg Strike. Borden<sup>311</sup> diarizes:

Tuesday, Sept. 11 1917: “News from Russia growing worse.” Monday, Jan. 21, 1918: “Bolsheviki have dissolved constituent assembly by force. Statesmen apparently absorbed in themselves.” Thursday, Dec. 19, 1918: “Very important and instructive memoranda from Eastern Committee (Ld. Curzon) on territorial adjustments and spheres of influence and establishment of new States in Turkish Empire including Arabia. Tendency

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306. Morton, “Sir William Otter and Internment Operations,” 51.

307. Ibid, 56.

308. Ibid, 59.

309. Ibid, 56.

310. Ibid, 58.

311. Archives Canada, The Diaries of Sir Robert Borden, 1912-1918. Transcribed by Dr. Kathryn Rose. (Unpublished). <http://research.library.mun.ca/2428/> Accessed October 1, 2016.

to partition the world into spheres of influence and to divide up territories of *backward races* clearly discernible”

Dominant society’s new social imaginary of the Russian Revolution seemed to progressively change Ukrainians’ marginalization in Canada from an enemy-alien as “threat” social imaginary into an enemy-alien as revolutionary, “radical” social imaginary, to a terrorist “Red Bolshevik” social imaginary, poised to take over Winnipeg, Canada, Britain, the world—as portrayed in *Strike! The Musical*. Given Foucault’s<sup>312</sup> theorization in *Discipline and Punish*, it seems apparent that punitive measures of strict control of time and space were used to keep the Ukrainian simple-farm-folk-trying-their-luck-in-a-new-country (Mary Haskett) continuously compliant in Canada to quell fears of the dominant social imaginary about immorality, crime, and terrorism. Foucault<sup>313</sup> believes that society did not punish less, but learned to punish social imaginary perpetrators better, with a greater severity, universality, and necessity, in order to insert the power to punish [social imaginary criminals] more deeply into the social [imaginary]. Canadian/Kobzar cinematographers, Danny Schur and Rick Chafe, authentically and eloquently portray this phenomenon through John Warren (aka Yurko/George Warwaruk) in the cinematic historical narrative, *The Braidors*.<sup>314</sup> Through an extraordinary set of circumstances, Tanya Warren unravels a dark family secret: her

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312. Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 52.

313. *Ibid*, 53

314. Chafe and Schur, *The Braidors: Church/Tanya’s Father’s House*, 1-6.

father's internment during the First World War.<sup>315</sup> The writers eloquently bring to light how the *conspiracy of silence* began for young Marika (George's sister) on the day her father was arrested and interned, and her mother begged the 'confused' child to keep it a secret.<sup>316</sup> As the consequences of war intensified, young Marika's secret shifted into selective self-anesthesia, then into melancholia in Mary as an adult, manifested by involuntary memory fragments and compulsive behaviorisms triggered by innocuous events.<sup>317</sup> Robert Stolorow<sup>318</sup> explains that "painful emotional experiences become enduringly traumatic in the absence of an inter-subjective context within which they can be held and integrated."

Denness<sup>319</sup> argues that the internment camp experience caused irreparable psycho-social damage for German, enemy-alien survivors and their families in Great Britain; that the *Aliens Restriction Act* (1919)<sup>320</sup> gave the Government of Great Britain authority to continue "vindictive" measures against foreign civilians after the Armistice was signed on November 11, 1918, in violation of the International Hague Accords. Similarly, the 1919 *Immigration Act Amendment* authorized the Government of Canada to continue

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315. Ibid: Kingston RMC-Tanya's Office, 67-68.

316. Ibid: Warwaruk Pioneer Home, 14.

317. Ibid: Mary Warwaruk's House, 12 and 20.

318. Stolorow, *Trauma and Human Existence*, 46.

319. Denness, "A Question That Affects Our Prestige as a Nation:" 138.

320. Ibid, 134.

oppressive measures while global leaders' fixation on the war front blurred the social imaginary associated with British and Canadian violation of the Accords.

In *The Braidiers*,<sup>321</sup> Schur and Chafe portray Yurko/George Warwaruk being interned as an enemy-alien. During his internment at Ghost Lake internment camp, Warwaruk refuses to work in accordance with his rights under the Hague Convention, but is thrown into solitary confinement, and eventually deported. However, Avery's writings and Harasymchuk's<sup>322</sup> personal narrative suggest that oppressive brutality against immigrant labourers was happening in labour camps across Canada at least ten years before the First World War commenced. War merely unearthed, intensified, and accelerated the atrocities as justifiable punishment for calming society's dominant, war-frenzied, xenophobia social imaginary.

### **Stalwart Peasant versus Enemy/Radical Alien versus Red Bolshevik**

The *Canadian War Measures Act* (WMA),<sup>323</sup> enacted on 22 August 1914, authorized the Governor General, (i) to censor, control, and suppress publications, writings, maps, plans, photographs, communications and means of communication; (ii) arrest, detain, exclude, and deport; (iii) appropriate, control, forfeit, and dispose of property without accountability to Parliament or being subject to existing legislation. According to

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321. Chafe and Schur, *The Braidiers: Halifax Harbour/Ghost Lake Internment Camp*, 23 and 52-53.

322. Harasymchuk, "In the Snows of a Foreign Land," 157-164.

323. Canadian War Measures Act, 1-8. file:///C:/Users/Debby/Downloads/War%20Measures%20Act.pdf

Accessed May 9, 2017.

Morton<sup>324</sup> the idea of detention camps for unemployed Austrians and Germans was first posed to Prime Minister Borden by Sir Thomas Shaughnessy of the Canadian Pacific Railway through minister of agriculture, Martin Burrell, in August 1914. Throughout Borden's diaries it is clear that, in most decisions pertaining to Canada, Great Britain had the final say, which at times restricted Borden's choices. Desmond Morton<sup>325</sup> writes:

Borden's preference would have been to allow the men to cross over to the United States. He sympathised with their plight and recognized that few of them, predominantly Austrian, had the slightest intention of observing their military obligation...it would be difficult for them to make their way back to their homeland...he loyally consulted the British government. Whitehall's reply, conveyed through George Perley, the acting Canadian high commissioner in London, was firm. The Foreign Office distinctly preferred that the Canadian government detain any potential enemy soldiers rather than allow them to drift to the hostile firing line. With this pressure, the government returned to...Sir Thomas Shaughnessy's suggestion...imprison enemy-aliens to keep them from starvation.

Morton<sup>326</sup> further argues, both patriotic preference and prejudice would dictate that foreign labourers be among the first to be laid off and the last to be hired. By October 1914, unemployment among Ukrainian and other Austro-Hungarian immigrants in Canadian cities had become a country-wide catastrophe.<sup>327</sup> Martynowych<sup>328</sup> reports that, in Montreal, as many as 7000 Ukrainian immigrants lived in tenant slums. The former Austro-Hungarian Consul-General to Montreal pleaded with the American Consul-

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324. Morton, "Otter and Internment Operations," 37.

325. Ibid, 38.

326. Ibid, 37.

327. Ibid, 37-38.

328. Martynowych, Ukrainians in Canada, 142.

General in Ottawa, John G. Foster, to implement a relief plan for destitute Austrians and Hungarians in Canada that would grant them freedom of movement to search for work to stave off starvation.<sup>329</sup> Canadian civic and municipal taxpayers refused to feed the country's unemployed enemies.

Instead, the “*Trading of the Enemy Act*,”<sup>330</sup> passed 6<sup>th</sup> October 1914, further catapulted destitution of the said immigrants, by authorizing the Government of Canada to seize and liquidate enemy-alien businesses and commercial property. The clause that declared that the Government of Canada would return the property and the treasury balance with accrued interest to the original owner upon the cessation of hostilities was never honoured.<sup>331</sup> The unclaimed earnings, assets and property...were transferred to the General Revenue Fund.<sup>332</sup> The several thousand dollars in cash and valuables that vanished at the Toronto internment camp was left without culpability.<sup>333</sup>

By autumn of 1916 internees across Canada were asserting their rights under the Hague Convention. Phillip Yasnowskij<sup>334</sup> recalls the deplorable conditions and bestial treatment

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329. Melnycky, *Loyalties in Conflict*, 1983.

330. Archives Canada, *Trading of the Enemy Act of 1917*, 7. <https://www.treasury.gov/resource-center/sanctions/Documents/twea.pdf> Accessed May 9, 2017.

331. Kordan and Mahovsky, *A Bare Impolic Right*, 16.

332. *Ibid*, 23.

333. Melnycky, *Badly Treated in Every Way*, 1993.

334. Yasnowskij, “Internment,” 191-195.

at Kapuskasing internment camp, and co-internees' 'resistance' that brought local, national, and international attention that triggered a formal inquest and their release shortly thereafter. Further, media representatives, through news reports about local casualties on the European warfront, published in the *Brandon Daily Sun* and *Banff Crag and Canyon*, exercised their voices and writing to escalate what van Dijk terms 'mental images'<sup>335</sup> of hostility within dominant society's local meanings towards anyone who identified as Austrian. By highlighting local tragedies, which were the central focus of national events, local newspapers propagated personal feelings and hysterical war-frenzy to the perception of the enemy-within; thus, the international became national; the national local; and the local personal.<sup>336</sup>

On 20<sup>th</sup> October, 1914, an article in the *Toronto Daily Star*<sup>337</sup> reports:

An Aid to the Enemy:" Naturalization Laws Help Germans and Austrians. Montreal –The naturalization law as it stands aids and abets the enrolment of locally Justice Lebeuf, of the local circuit court, in the course of an interview on the subject today. "I am perfectly convinced," proceeded his lordship, "that, in the great majority of the ever-increasing number of applications to Canadian citizenship on the part of Austrians and Germans, the petition presented is but a cloak to enable the interested ones the better to make their way to their native countries, there to rake up common cause against the arms of the Empire."

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335. Van Dijk, "A Plea for Diversity," 102.

336 Denness, "A Question That Affects Our Prestige as a Nation:" 138; Schur, Personal communication, July 2014.

337. CFWWIRF Digital Map, Toronto Daily Star, 20th October 1914.



The 12<sup>th</sup> May, 1915, *Brandon Daily Sun* <sup>338</sup> reads:

the singing of songs in foreign languages must be stopped at all costs by  
going as far as is necessary.

In September 1917, the *Wartime Elections Act*<sup>339</sup> disenfranchised all enemies born in enemy countries and naturalized after 1902. Albeit in 1917, casualties were mounting on the warfront, the formerly considered enemy-aliens were the only plausible alternative for Canada's labour shortage, and all above the age of sixteen were registered with the Canadian Registration Board.<sup>340</sup> An anti-loafing law enacted in April 1918 required all male residents of Canada to be engaged in useful employment.<sup>341</sup> In September 1918, escalating fear that discontent labourers were hooking up with Red Bolsheviks prompted the suppression of all foreign literature and a ban on left-wing associations.<sup>342</sup> The *Aliens Restriction (Amendment) Act*<sup>343</sup> of 1919 gave the Government of Great Britain the power to continue "vindictive" measures against foreign civilians after the Armistice was signed on November 11, 1918, in violation of Hague Accords, and Canada's 1919 *Immigration*

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338. Buri, "Enemies Within Our Gates," 3 -11; CFWWIRF Digital Map, *Brandon Daily Sun*, 12 May 1915.

339. Martynowych and Kazmyra, "The Ukrainian Socialist Movement," 88.

340. Ibid.

341. Ibid.

342. Ibid.

343. UK Archives, *Aliens Restriction (Amendment) Act*, 3-10; Denness, *The History of British Civilian Internment*, 134-138.

(Amendment) Act,<sup>344</sup> was legislated out of fear that Bolshevik subservient activists would infiltrate Canada.

#### **PARADOX 4: *Culture of Imperialism* Writing Back Canadian History**

*In the Shadow of the Rockies: The Diary of the Castle Mountain Internment Camp, 1915-1917*,<sup>345</sup> authenticates the suicide death of a Castle Mountain internee<sup>346</sup> as the underpinning to the historical meaning of Canada's First World War internment experience. In essence, the dominant social imaginary interned civilian prisoners of war (POWs) on the basis of "heavy accents," "broken-English," "foreign" pronounced names, enlistment in the Canadian militia in violation of prohibition of "enemy-aliens" serving in the military, searching for work to counter starvation. Yet, when the POW's duress led to tragedy, the Departments of Justice, Militia, and Internment Operations deliberated over who would pay for his burial.<sup>347</sup> News coverage of the incident was low key, brief, apathetic, without bold headlines, and unsubstantiated. In an uncensored letter, Dmytro Tkachyk<sup>348</sup> further describes

sick internees being diagnosed by the camp medical officer as fit and forced to work by being probed with bayonets. Inmates who could not work were sentenced to a dark cell on bread and water or chained by legs and arms and

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344 . Immigration Act (Canada) (1919), <http://immigrationtous.net/142-immigration-act-canada-1919.html>

345. Kordan and Melnycky, *Diary of Castle Mountain*, 21.

346. *Ibid*, 8.

347. *Ibid*.

348. *Ibid*, 49-55.

placed in a cell for fourteen days on bread and water with only one blanket...Those working on road construction who sought respite from the back breaking work were chained or tied to trees.

Despite the American Consul's<sup>349</sup> report "that work required of the [Banff] internees contravened the Hague covenant on the treatment of prisoners of war, and despite the Canadian authorities' expectations of prisoners being in clear violation of international law...as Canadian casualties mounted overseas, [the dominant social imaginary was that the internees] were not being punished severely enough." Despite internees'<sup>350</sup> forced labour poured into developing Banff as a tourist resort, dominant social imaginary became more vindictive immediately following the announced fatal neck wound of a local boy, while serving on the western warfront. Here is another example that is congruent with Van Dijk's<sup>351</sup> ideology of biased discourses reflecting how the representations of us (in-groups) and them (out-groups) are polarized within both local and global meaning analysis, to emphasize 'positive self-presentation and negative other presentation,' in which *our* good things and *their* bad things are emphasized and *our* bad things and *their* good things are de-emphasized. Van Dijk further shows how the formation of macro-nodes of the readers' mental model to "persecution" text and repeated words with "implicit or indirect meanings"<sup>352</sup> is influenced at the local semantics level by the readers' underlying ideological beliefs, not of the text itself. These beliefs

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349. Kordan and Melnyky, *Diary of Castle Mountain*, 66.

350. *Ibid*, 108.

351. Van Dijk, "A Plea for Diversity," 103.

352. *Ibid*, 104.

may be precursors “to the formation of a biased, polarized model of events where the actors are differentiated between good and bad.”<sup>353</sup> Lastly, van Dijk’s view regarding omissions in texts are relevant for those descendants of the central and eastern European immigrants in Canada, who did not know that the First World War internment operations had even existed till viewing the documentary film *Freedom Had a Price*, by Yuriy Luhovy. Canadian educational curricula and historical accounts had omitted the immigrants’ history and contributions to Canadian Confederation. With immigrant elders locked in a conspiracy of silence or deceased, the immigrants’ worldview (100 years later) has been challenging to piece together coherently.

In lieu of Canada’s First World War internment operations, Ukrainian-Canadians found their “enemy-alien status” to be a betrayal and an injustice when they had abided by immigration recruitment agents’ promises in exchange for building infrastructures for the Canadian economy. Further, it was a grave violation of their integrity that they should be alienated through marginalization to the outer fringes or ghettos of Canadian society in perpetuity. As veteran soldiers returned from Europe, anti-foreigner sentiment shifted, with the large populace of non-British “alien” immigrants being blamed for causing the deteriorating global economic unrest and the emerging political radicalism. For instance, the Great War Veterans' Association petitioned for enemy-aliens to be forced to work for the government at \$ 1.10 a day or be interned and deported.<sup>354</sup> The war veterans’ proposal was replicated by “F. Maclean, the publisher of the *Toronto World*, by Horatio Hocken,

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353. Ibid, 105.

354. Morton, “Sir William Otter and Internment Operations,” 55.

editor of the *Orange Sentinel*, by S.F. Tolmie, future premier of British Columbia,<sup>355</sup> and by established Saskatchewan farmers. New government policies were passed to investigate, incarcerate, and deport ‘undesirable’ alien enemies in order to control the potential spread of Bolshevism in Canada.<sup>356</sup> Understandably, such stringent edicts were bound to provoke fear and repugnance, not only for those immigrants and their families directly affected by internment, but also for entire cultural collectives who bore the brunt of insolent eruptions from nativist xenophobic castigation. For instance, in 1915, Ukrainians were obviated from participation in Winnipeg’s Dominion Day parade, and three years later, Ukrainian and other ‘foreign’ establishments were vandalized in demand that all foreigners be relieved from their jobs and homesteads and deported.<sup>357</sup> If the residential school legacy caused post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) amongst Aboriginal peoples in Canada,<sup>358</sup> and if the internment camp experience caused irreparable psycho-social damage for many German enemy-alien survivors and their families in Great Britain,<sup>359</sup> then, in all probability a similar trans-generational dilemma exists, unknowingly, amongst some eastern and central European descendants here in Canada.

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355. Ibid; CFWWIRF Digital Map.

356. Buri, “Enemies Within Our Gates,” 2; Schur, Personal communication, July 1914.

357 Martynowych and Kazmyra, “The Ukrainian Socialist Movement, 88; Chafe and Schur, Strike!, Act One Scene Three 13; CFWWIRF Digital Map.

358 Kelly, “Confession of a Born Again Pagan,” 29.

359. Denness, “The History of British Civilian Internment,” 2012.

In Kirkconnell's<sup>360</sup> words: "there were few on whom the long years of captivity had not left their mark of confinement in a strange land, inactivity and hopeless waiting were in themselves enough to shatter the nerves and undermine the health."

Shane Merritt<sup>361</sup> believes that trans-generational traumatic issues can be due to the influence of "past and present government policies [if] unresolved grief and loss or the effects of trauma [are not worked out], it's passed down...in a ripple effect—trans-generationally with the traumatic effects being inherited by children, and grandchildren, and great-grandchildren in a complicated and at times disruptive manner long after cultural identifiers have been extinguished." That is to say, "You carry the foreigner inside...a malady of melancholy of...persistent fantasy of identification that cleaves and cleaves to the marginalized,"<sup>362</sup> and if the normal cycle is altered in any way, with a person, a collective, or a nation—if atrocities or injury are not acknowledged or if cultural continuity has been disrupted or if an individual's coping mechanisms have been interfered with, if parenting patterns have been distorted by alcohol, drugs, or stolen generations, then the natural capacity to heal and move forward will be disrupted, as well. Disruption as such will compromise the way the afflicted individuals interact with other persons in the future. Laura Brown<sup>363</sup> writes: "We have yet to admit that [intergenerational psyche trauma] can be spread laterally through an oppressed social

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360. Kirkconnell, "Kapuskasing," 274. Watson Kirkconnell was a former Kapuskasing internment camp staff member.

361. Merritt, *Trans-generational Trauma*, 2.

362. Cheng, *The melancholy of race*, 60.

363. Brown, "Not Outside the Range," 129.

group when membership in a group means a constant life-time exposure to [or in denial of] certain traumata.”

In *The Braidiers*,<sup>364</sup> Steven Berezowski (MP for Etobicoke) says to Tanya:

I can tell you my dad knew about [Canada’s First World War Internment Operations]. In the Fifties, he found the remains of a First War internment camp—Castle Rock at Banff. But here’s the thing. He couldn’t get a Ukrainian, anywhere, to talk about it. The old timers all clammed up...Afraid of being branded disloyal. Or being picked up again...If anything, the *conspiracy of silence* is within the community.

Ashcroft<sup>365</sup> uses Spivak’s hypothesis of hybridization to combine dominant culture with immigrant culture into *the culture of imperialism*. Interpolation of history through literary and other non-empirical texts allows post-colonial narratives of historical experience to shift the colonial experience from an empty space to a human social space, which gains its material and ideological identity from the *practices of inhabiting*,<sup>366</sup> allowing postcolonial societies to re-conceptualize imperial discourse by engaging colonial power with postcolonial transformation emerging from a power relationship—between European imperial discourse and colonial societies. From this perspective, although over 8,000 immigrants were interned and approximately 162,000 were un-interned, most identified with the implicit British Empire, the implicit Canadian state, the implicit Montreal/Winnipeg/Brandon/whatever metropolis and discourse, leading to hybridization

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364. Chafe and Schur, *The Braidiers*, HOTEL BAR-NIGHT: 84-85.

365. Ashcroft, “Resistance,” 6.

366. *Ibid*, 16-17.

and ‘discursive transformation’ at the local level.<sup>367</sup> At this stage, the tenacity and the practical assertiveness of the ‘powerless’ comes under discourse analysis in the way in which local communities resist absorption and transform global culture.<sup>368</sup> Initially, during the pre-, mid-, and post-First World War era, there were several forms of truth affecting several ethnicities, occurring concurrently, that were omitted and compressed into one: Austrian falsity. Therefore, these diverse forms of falsity, as they become unbraided, expose the truth at the core of the enemy-alien legacy, by situating the immigrants’ heterogeneity at the center of Canada’s homogeneity-based historical narrative. Uncensored articles published in national English-language press created a wide abyss between non-British and British inhabitants’ conciliation.

The following newspaper excerpts reflect deeply embedded xenophobia:

One Banff citizen wrote: “the majority of our citizens are of the opinion that the scenic outlook is not vastly improved by the presence of the slouching bovine-faced foreigners.”<sup>369</sup>

On 1<sup>st</sup> December, 1916, the following typewritten anonymous letter<sup>370</sup> was posted on the doorknob of the *Banff Crag and Canyon* newspaper office:

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367. Ibid, 17.

368. Ibid.

369. Kordan and Melnycky, *Diary of Castle Mountain*, 108.

370. Ibid, 109.



Strenuous measures to be taken to at once by the commandant and officers in charge to suppress the growing evil, if they wish to avoid trouble. Otherwise some muscular Canadian, who remembers his mother was a woman, will wade into the gang of foul-mouthed, leering Austrians and, armed with a club or some other persuasive weapon, to teach the brutes a lesson they will not soon forget—that the women of our land are entitled to and must have respect.

The *Banff Crag and Canyon*<sup>371</sup> also reported “an ever decreasing respect for the rights of the internees...that the guards were ungentle in handling the prisoners...The majority of the foreign scum should be ‘gentled’ with a pickaxe handle.”

*Toronto Daily Sun*:<sup>372</sup> CONSCRIPT ENEMY-ALIENS:  
Winnipeg Veterans Would Put Them in Labor Battalions.  
Winnipeg, June 22 [1917] report—“Local army and navy veterans passed a resolution last night, advocating the conscription of enemy-aliens into labor battalions.”

*Toronto Daily Sun*:<sup>373</sup> WINNIPEG MOB WRECKS AUSTRIAN  
CLUBHOUSE: Bolshevik-Hunters “Beat-Up” Aliens and Smash Furniture  
Following Disturbance, Canadian Press Dispatch. Winnipeg, Jan. 27 [1917]  
report—“Following the raid by veterans on the Bolshevik headquarters  
Sunday the Austro-Hungarian club in the north-end of the city, located at  
the corner of McGregor street and Mountain avenue, was completely  
wrecked by the angered mob, which seemed determined to destroy anything  
Austrian and German, and “beat-up” all the aliens and Bolsheviks they  
could lay hands on. All the windows in the club were smashed, while the  
furniture was sent flying out the windows. The piano was sent crashing into  
the street from the second floor, and was then smashed up. Billiard tables,  
chairs, tables, etc., were demolished, and many carried away trophies in the

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371. Kordan and Melnycky, *Diary of Castle Mountain*, 111.

372. *Toronto Daily Sun*, 22nd June 1917. CFWWIRF Digital Map, <http://internmentcanada.ca/map.cfm>  
Accessed February 22, 2016.

373. CFWWIRF Digital Map, Canadian Press Dispatch, “WINNIPEG MOB WRECKS AUSTRIAN  
CLUBHOUSE, *Toronto Daily Sun* (Winnipeg, MB), 27th January 1918. Ibid.

form of parts of tables, table legs and parts of the piano. The crowd then went to Elmwood, suburb, and great excitement was caused in the streets as the Bolshevik-hunters, as they called themselves, searched for a German club. They did not locate the place they were after, however, finally returned to the city.”

No charges were laid. Rather, in February 1919, an Alien Investigation Board was organized by the Manitoba Provincial Government to investigate who among the aliens had been loyal and who had to be deported.<sup>374</sup> Yet, over 8000 innocent foreign labourers had been incarcerated as “enemy-aliens” in twenty-four internment camps across Canada; albeit, they had not committed a crime. The veterans’ demands for federal reparation for their sacrifice in serving in the Great War and their social imaginary shift to stereotyping foreigners as Red Bolsheviks were unstoppable. As growing labour unrest collided with unemployed war veterans’ angst in 1919, the federal government amended the Immigration Act to terminate Canada’s open-door policy. Nonetheless, by 1919, the *culture of imperialism* (the educated descendants of the eastern and central European immigrants) was seeking suffrage for oppressive living and working conditions as Schur and Chafe eloquently portray in *Strike!*.<sup>375</sup> By Bloody Saturday (23<sup>rd</sup> June 1919), there was a shift. The mayor’s wife Susan Ashdown, war veterans O’Reilly and MacDougall, and Ukrainian Catholic railway worker Mike Sokolowski, converted to being sympathizers with the 1919 Winnipeg strikers.

## **PARADOX 5: PTSD to Resilience**

### **Counter-Transformative Narratives**

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374. Martynowych and Kazmyra, “The Ukrainian Socialist Movement,” 88-89.

375. Chafe and Schur, *Strike! Act Two: Scenes Three to Six*, 60-69.

John Herd Thompson's<sup>376</sup> counter-transformative narrative erases dichotomous ambiguities with the following assertions: (i) the treatment afforded enemy-alien groups was the product of pre-war nativism legitimized by an atmosphere charged with patriotism; (ii) the manipulation of the votes of naturalized citizens, women, and soldiers serving overseas determined the election results and not the conscription mandate; (iii) Ukrainian Catholic Bishop Nykyta Budka's pastoral letter beseeching all Austrian compatriots to return to Austria to defend the state did not reflect the Ukrainian majority's sentiments; (iv) Dafoe's editorial published in the *Manitoba Free Press* did indeed advocate that, "the majority of the Slav settlers of Manitoba or of Canada...will be faithful sons of their adopted country;" [but Dafoe would repudiate his loyalty during the Ukrainian-bilingual school debate and 1917 federal election]; and, (v) Ukrainian patriotism towards English Canadians in non-socialist Ukrainian-language press was advocated through encouraging readers to obey the laws and regulations established by the federal government, by offering Ukrainians assistance in filling out the registration cards, and by *Ukrainskyi holos* (Ukrainian Voice) and *Kanadyiskyi rusyn* (Canadian Ruthenian) publishing Ukrainian translation for registration card questions for Ukrainians without knowledge of English. Despite disenfranchisement, Ukrainian Canadians were encouraged to purchase victory bonds to show allegiance to Canada instead of the German Kaiser.<sup>377</sup> Distinguished statesmen, such as Robert Fletcher (supervisor of

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376. CFWWIRF Digital Map, *Manitoba Free Press*, 11 August 1914; Thompson, "The Enemy-alien and the Election of 1917," 27.

377. *Ukrainskyi holos*, 7 November 1917; Thompson, "The Enemy-alien and the Election of 1917," 27

schools), in a 1915 report described “the Ruthenians as loyal...Their sympathies are largely with [the] Allies,” and Prime Minister Borden suggested that “the spirit of loyal cooperation” of Ukrainian Canadians during the war “deserves every commendation.”<sup>378</sup>

Therefore, it appears that the Canadian nativist labourers’ and returned soldiers’ animosity towards Ukrainian labourers on the Canadian Prairies juxtaposed the pattern of Pennsylvanian WASP coal miners versus Ukrainian “strike-breaker” labourers.<sup>379</sup>

Canadian nativist labourers and returned soldiers retaliated with vindictive public accusations in Canadian English-language press at a time that non-British voices had been silenced by censorship. For instance, the *Calgary Daily Herald*<sup>380</sup> reads: “working men of the British race have been going idle while the foreigner has got the jobs and the money... Foreigners are being put to work while the British can starve.” Further, on the 9<sup>th</sup> of January 1919, the following article appeared in the *Manitoba Free Press*:<sup>381</sup>

Farmers Must Lend a Helping Hand to Heroes. Premier Norris and Prof. Black Address Grain Growers on Reconstruction Problems: Suitable Land Sufficiently Near Railways Must Be Secured for Returned Soldiers.

Brandon, Man., Jan. 9.--(*Free Press Special*).--“These men have written the name of Canada high upon the map of the world, and it is our task to keep it

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378. Borden to Matthew Popovich, 16 February /1918. Sir Robert Borden Papers, OC 498, Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa cited in Thompson, “The Enemy-alien and the Election of 1917,” 28

379. Thompson, “The Enemy-alien and the Election of 1917,” 28-29.

380. CFWWIRF Digital Map, *Calgary Daily Herald*, 30 September 1915; Thompson, “The Enemy-alien and the Election of 1917,” 29.

381. CFWWIRF Digital Map: “Farmers Must Lend a Helping Hand to Heroes,” *Manitoba Free Press* (Winnipeg, MB), January 9, 1919.

there...Prof. W. J. Black [pleaded with] farmers...to help returned soldiers back to civil life through the Dominion Soldiers' Land Settlement scheme.

Eighteen days later, *Vancouver World*<sup>382</sup> headlines read:

Winnipeg Returned Men Make Threatening Demonstration Before Swift Packing Plant, Winnipeg, Jan. 27 [1919]—The biggest crowd of returned soldiers which have so far assembled visited the packing plant of Swift & Company here this afternoon and demanded that all enemy foreigners be removed from the plant.

The *Manitoba Free Press*<sup>383</sup> on 4<sup>th</sup> of February 1919 reported:

The returned soldiers were determined to have all 50,000 alien enemies in the province of Manitoba...with 24,000 in Winnipeg...deported in lieu of what they had experienced with enemy soldiers on the battlefield.

On the 6<sup>th</sup> of February 1919, *Toronto Globe*<sup>384</sup> reported:

Alien Enemies "Who's Who" Commission established to adjudge the loyalty status of all men of enemy birth.

*Winnipeg Tribune*:<sup>385</sup> Local Boards to Deal with Alien Problem:

OTTAWA, Feb. 13 [1919]—The creation of local boards or tribunals to determine whether or not aliens of enemy nationality now in Canada are undesirable and dangerous.

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382. CFWWIRF Digital Map, *Vancouver World*, 27<sup>th</sup> January 1919.

383. CFWWIRF Digital Map, *Manitoba Free Press*, 4<sup>th</sup> February 1919.

384. CFWWIRF Digital Map, *Toronto Globe*, 6<sup>th</sup> February 1919.

385. CFWWIRF Digital Map, *Winnipeg Tribune*, 13<sup>th</sup> June 1919.

On the 22<sup>nd</sup> May 1918, the *Toronto Daily Sun* reported:<sup>386</sup>

*The Winnipeg General Strike.* INTERNATIONAL TRADES UNIONISTS, “...One newspaper in Winnipeg, while admitting the unionists’ right to strike—as a final resort,—describes the attitude of some of the strikers as Bolshevism.

Nonetheless, class consciousness of the *culture of imperialism* was undeterred.

Thompson argues that it was not the Ukrainians’ disloyalty that infuriated British-Canadians, but rather the success of the Ukrainian farmers, because during the war years the Ukrainian farmers became anchored in Canadian soil as being home, despite deep-seated xenophobia and government policies. In *Sons of the Soil*,<sup>387</sup> Hrehory Workun recalls the pivotal year when Prairies’ homesteaders truly moved forward from penury without looking back. Building on Rice’s<sup>388</sup> model, in *A History of First Encounters*, of taking a dominant tool of imperial representation—the historical narrative embedded with ethnographic content—it can be discerned that it was during the Ukrainian immigrants’ first encounters with English-speaking Canadian nativists and American WASPs, that the seed of xenophobia and racism took root in the Americas and determined “how we have arrived to the present.” Counter-discourses in kind offer *resistance* by refusing to accept imperialist binaries, by interrupting transformative energy of imperialist texts, by creating possibilities of changing worldview of dominated cultures, by exposing the caustic

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386. CFWWIRF Digital Map, *Toronto Daily Sun*, 22nd May 1918.

387. Kiriak, *Sons of the Soil*, 166-167.

388. Rice, *First Encounters*, v.

and merciless ‘darkness’ of colonial powers, henceforth resisting hegemonic control of colonial discourse.<sup>389</sup>

As noted by Ashcroft,<sup>390</sup> “when we consider the pedagogical formation of the colonized child in attending colonial schools and learning the colonial language, we see a process in which hegemony, ideology, appellation, and language all come together in a powerful instant of subject formation” that too often is ignored, overlooked, and bypassed during the assimilation process. Though the availability of dominant imperial or global culture as ‘capital’ appears to marginalize cultures, it can also facilitate personal empowerment, because “the concept of cultural capital exposes a process whereby colonized subjects of all races and classes appropriate, or ‘consume,’ the dominant, ‘hegemonic’ culture, discourses, and technologies, for the purposes which are very different from those of the disseminators of that culture.”<sup>391</sup>

**“Mourning without solidarity is the beginning of madness.”<sup>392</sup>**

As a consequence of cultural fragmentation during Canada’s First World War internment, gaps exist in the transmission of cultural languages, traditions, and national origins of Eastern European immigrants to the third generation. As well, their contributions to settlement and development of a prosperous Canadian economy were omitted from the majority’s writings of Canadian history. These omissions constitute double erasure, with

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389. Ashcroft, “Resistance,” 35.

390. Ibid, 38.

391. Ibid, 43.

392. Santner, *Stranded Objects*, 26.

well-protected secrets deeply engraved in the forbearers' "crypts"<sup>393</sup> going into the graves with them. Danny Schur's and Rick Chafe's screenplay, *The Braidors*, is a viable cultural lens for mourning cultural injury, provoking abreaction, and rekindling a social imaginary of the magnitude of cultural losses displacement has sustained in the process of assimilation into Canadian Dominant society. Moreover, *The Braidors* provides a cultural lens for dramatizing intergenerational psyche trauma in Canadian history, in Shevchenko-like, *Kobzar* literary style in what Stephen Brown calls a talisman of healing.<sup>394</sup> As Rice and Snyder<sup>395</sup> show, a fundamental sense of unreality may develop if a critical part of one's history goes unrecognized. Repression becomes a form of negative organizing, a principle determining which emotional experiences are to be prevented from coming into full being.<sup>396</sup> The horizons of awareness continuously shift as products of one's unique inter-subjective history of what is or is not allowed to be felt or known within the inter-subjective fields that constitutes one's current living.<sup>397</sup> For example, in *The Braidors*,<sup>398</sup> Marika's mother Ilena constantly denies the frightening realities of the war and internment by never openly grieving or verbalizing the absence of her son Yurko/George or her husband Metro. Ilena seems more concerned about the social

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393. Derrida, *The Wolf Man's Magic Word*, Forward.

394. Brown, "Narratives from the Borderlands," 30-44.

395. Rice and Snyder, "Reconciliation in the Context of Settler Society," 59.

396. Stolorow, *Trauma and Human Existence*, 27.

397. *Ibid*, 28.

398. Chafe and Schur, *The Braidors*, 12-13.



imaginary of what the neighbours will think than with Marika's fragile emotional state which remains outside the horizons of symbolized experiences and thus nameless and largely melancholic, until they find a hospitable home with her niece Tanya where they can be named and given voice.<sup>399</sup>

**“It is problematic when an ill-informed majority  
wreak havoc on a blameless minority.”<sup>400</sup>**

*The Braidors*<sup>401</sup> screenplay offers spectators the opportunity to witness, as the writers skilfully trace and unbraid Tanya's and Mary's bouts of un-mourned trauma or melancholia,<sup>402</sup> as they work out,<sup>403</sup> together through healthy mourning,<sup>404</sup> and re-braid painful memories into resilient narratives for healing and moving forward.<sup>405</sup> By recreating the visual re-presentation, Schur and Chafe<sup>406</sup> block intergenerational psyche trauma from being transmitted beyond Tanya's generation to her daughter, Jenna. Hence,

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399. Stolorow, *Trauma and Human Existence*, 30.

400. Sunhara, *The Politics of Racism*, vii.

401. Chafe and Schur, *The Braidors*, 1-96.

402. Freud, “Mourning and Melancholy,” 237-258.

403. LaCapra, “Trauma, Absence, Loss,” 696-727.

404. Freud, “Mourning and Melancholy,” 237-258.

405. Coetzer, “Impact of Intergenerational Trauma,”

<http://www.wentzelcoetzer.org/impactingentrauma.htm>

406. Chafe and Schur, *The Braidors*, Mary Warwaruk's House/Kingston's Cemetery/Warwaruk Ghetto Apartment (September 1917), 85-86.

Schur and Chafe give “others” permission to become whole again by plunging restored Truth into the heart of intergenerational psyche trauma and by rekindling the beauty and richness of the Ukrainian culture.

Schur and Chafe’s screenplay goes beyond history and digs up phantoms from the depths of invisibility and anonymity through visual re-vitalization and performance that gives *all* spectators a semblance of Truth and wholeness. *The Braidiers* show that both Tanya and Mary had to go through a process of decolonization and dis-identification, working through memory and identity aphasia in order to unearth the Truth that was the cause of John Warren’s alcohol dependency, estrangement from his sister Mary and the Ukrainian collective, violence towards his daughter Tanya, and appropriation of an anglicized identity. Concurrently, Tanya learns to reframe the perverted lines of power in dominant bureaucratic academia by standing up to the “myopic” Professor Sampson at Royal Military College, “an emblem of all the corruption and alienation associated with the Dominant Canadian way of life,”<sup>407</sup> and to pursue Mary pertinaciously. By witnessing historical trauma and resilience, Schur’s and Chafe’s screenplay offers a prescription for surmounting the insidious myopic xenophobia that permeated dominant society’s misperceptions of foreign immigrants being a risk to Canadian national safety. They further permit First World War Ukrainian immigrants’ descendants to shed the cloak of inferiority, backwardness, and stereotypes that castigated them to otherness at the outer fringe of society, despite their attempts at Assimilation. The playwrights re-braid the

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407. Schur and Chafe, *The Braidiers: Tanya’s Office Door*, 63.

shattered dreams of hope and freedom—betrayal, marginalization, internment, deportation, losses and intergenerational psyche trauma—into a comprehensible narrative of triumph and resilience, by exposing the wrong done to Ukrainian and all eastern and central European Canadians. Both *Strike!* and *The Braidiers* induce catharsis as the prerequisite for development of class consciousness and resiliency. Growing dissatisfaction with global, national, provincial, municipal, and civic politics amongst non-British Canadians became a catalyst for more determination and perseverance for obtaining suffrage through solidarity in the 1919 Winnipeg Strike. Schur and Chafe<sup>408</sup> show in *Strike!* that the *War Measures Act* gave Senator Robertson the power to execute control long after the Armistice was signed on November 11, 1918, because *War Measures Act* provisions were not rescinded in Canada with the veterans' return from Europe. Here the actors concerned assume ambiguous global, national, and local communicative roles in communicative situations on the basis of non-communicative situational biases of the Red Scare.

International, national, provincial, civic, and municipal social structures (groups, organizations) and relationships (power, legislation, and education) converged to affect local actions and discourse. For instance, *the Aliens Restriction (Amendment) Act* (1919)<sup>409</sup> gave the Government of Great Britain and the *Immigration Act Amendment*

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408. Chafe and Schur, *Strike!* Act Two Scene Three, 58.

409. Aliens Restriction (Amendment) Act (1919),

[http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1919/92/pdfs/ukpga\\_19190092\\_en.pdf](http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1919/92/pdfs/ukpga_19190092_en.pdf) Accessed June 19, 2017.

(1919)<sup>410</sup> gave the Government of Canada authority to continue “vindictive” measures against foreign civilians after the Armistice was signed on November 11, 1918, in violation of Hague Accords. Situating these international and national political strategies within van Dijk’s<sup>411</sup> lens of linguistic discourse analysis refines the way discourse is involved in the reproduction of dominance in the form of power abuse and predisposes the violation of norms and human and social rights formulated at the macro level of groups, movements, institutions, and nation states. These discursive discourses are extremely important for clarifying the extenuating circumstances that allowed and condoned newspaper propaganda and “published biased stories” of immigrants who had come from enemy-alien states. Further, Canadian government policies gave British-born government agents the power to dominate immigrants by ongoing oppressive living and working conditions in the Dominion of Canada who had advertised freedom, equality, and diversity for all.

## CONCLUSION

Eastern and central European immigrants were the pioneers and nation builders who made possible settlement of the Canadian Prairie Provinces and West including British

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410. Canadian Museum of Immigration at Pier 21, Immigration Act Amendment (1919),

<http://www.pier21.ca/research/immigration-history/immigration-act-amendment-1919> Accessed June 19, 2017.

411. Van Dijk, “A Plea for Diversity,” 119.

Columbia.<sup>412</sup> It is only through telling and retelling their counter transformative narratives that liberation and redress can truly be attained. By blending re-kindled traditions with contemporary lifestyle, patriarchal colonial parodies can be displaced and gaps left in original historical accounts can be filled. The theme of bicultural hybridization also arises in the reality of affected subjects seeking to fill a void of rootless-ness, in-between-ness, and accompanying inferiority. Thus, interpretive literary and cinematic historical narratives offer a positive alternative to bicultural alienation, which in turn can become what Stephen Brown<sup>413</sup> calls “talismans” of redemption. By re-writing narratives, celebratory healing rituals culminate in positive realities of their hybridization, while counteracting psychologically crippling effects of marginalization, oppression, and assimilation. Given Brown’s ‘healing ritual,’ the alienating effects of deracination, acculturation, and whatever painted forbearers so darkly, can be reduced. Contemporary Canadian ‘kobzars’ such as Yuriy Luhovy, Marsha Skrypuch, Ryan Boyko, and Danny Schur, are continuing Taras Shevchenko’s example by empowering subaltern subjects, including hybrid descendants, to ‘imaginatively enter into the past’ of their people through cultural lore, history, and traditions as a critical part in the process by which membership is re-conferred, identity re-constructed, and subject status regained.

To summarize, using Harcourt’s and Lukes’s lens, faith in the Canadian government was manufactured within an *Illusion of Freeland and Freedom*. Sequentially, between 1896

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412. *Freedom Had a Price*. Documentary. Directed by Yuriy Luhovy. Toronto: National Film Board of Canada, 1994.

413. Brown, “Narratives from the Borderlands,” 30-44.

and 1920, the freedom of the immigrants was regulated, deregulated, and hyper-regulated according to how Canadian policy-makers' visions filtered down into illusions and delusions within dominant society's social imaginary. Given van Dijk's cognitive perspective, it is not Canadian government officials, or dominant society, or even the immigrant internees who form the semiotic basis for the redress petition, but rather those descendant scholars of immigrants who seek restitution for the way the government omitted Canadian internment operations and dismissed immigrants' contributions towards building Canadian economic infrastructures as mentally irrelevant events. One major illusion is that the First World War internment camps were established in a mood of self-righteous humanitarianism: to imprison enemy-aliens, to keep them from starvation.<sup>414</sup> Is it mere coincidence that Major-General Otter (who had led the second Riel insurgency that suppressed Poundmaker's Plains Cree and Métis), was reinstalled as Commander of the First World War internment operations if immigrants' oppression was not part of the Canadian government's *conspiracy of silence* agenda? Is it any wonder that history would repeat itself with dominant Canadian society, particularly returned soldiers, 'demanding' that the Government of Canada deport all enemy-alien immigrants following the First World War in the same way Poundmaker was sent to Stony Mountain Penitentiary after saving General Otter and his scouts from further bloodshed? This trend would continue until the 1919 Winnipeg General Strike shifted the dominant social imaginary to the reality of the immigrant labourers' inequities. The ensuing *conspiracy of silence* among the Ukrainian old-timers was merely a matter of self-preservation from

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414. Morton, Sir William Otter, 38.

being arrested, interned, and deported back to a life of greater tyranny and less opportunity for their children.

According to Ashcroft, only the masses are colonized and only the masses have a pure culture which can contest the culture of the colonized<sup>415</sup> authentically and successfully as *the culture of imperialism*.<sup>416</sup> Has pre-First World War immigrants' dream of creating a better future for their children and grandchildren reached fruition? Absolutely! Descendants, including hybrid descendants, by exhuming the ashes of their forbearers' unknown stories of resilience are seeing diamonds glittering in the dust as they attain egalitarianism in every Canadian profession. The greatest challenge in doing this research project was the massive amount of data collected which proved time-consuming and tedious to reduce in scope succinctly, without leading to integration confusion. Moreover, because the research topic is so close to the heart, the researcher has found the depth and reality of the secrets and consequences to be emotionally draining at times. Nonetheless, as a third and fourth generation descendant of Ukrainian and Romanian immigrants from Bukovyna/Bukovina, it is an honor to study, write, and articulate their story--in celebration or *panakida* for the freedom they have attained for us grandchildren, great-grandchildren, and great-great-grandchildren. [Vichnaya Pamyat! Memory Eternal!](#)

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415. Ashcroft, "Resistance," 30.

416. Ibid, 6.



**Athabasca  
University** Master of Arts – Integrated Studies

*Identity is formed at that point where the unspeakable stories of subjectivity  
meet the narratives of history, of a culture*

Stuart Hall



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