

FROM INDIFFERENCE TO INTERNMENT:
AN EXAMINATION OF RCMP RESPONSES TO NAZISM
AND FASCISM IN CANADA FROM 1934 TO 1941

CENTRE FOR NEWFOUNDLAND STUDIES

**TOTAL OF 10 PAGES ONLY
MAY BE XEROXED**

(Without Author's Permission)

MICHELLE McBRIDE



INFORMATION TO USERS

This manuscript has been reproduced from the microfilm master. UMI films the text directly from the original or copy submitted. Thus, some thesis and dissertation copies are in typewriter face, while others may be from any type of computer printer.

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted. Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and photographs, print bleedthrough, substandard margins, and improper alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send UMI a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.

Oversize materials (e.g., maps, drawings, charts) are reproduced by sectioning the original, beginning at the upper left-hand corner and continuing from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps. Each original is also photographed in one exposure and is included in reduced form at the back of the book.

Photographs included in the original manuscript have been reproduced xerographically in this copy. Higher quality 6" x 9" black and white photographic prints are available for any photographs or illustrations appearing in this copy for an additional charge. Contact UMI directly to order.

UMI

A Bell & Howell Information Company
300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor MI 48106-1346 USA
313/761-4700 800/521-0600

**From Indifference to Internment:
An examination of RCMP responses to Nazism and Fascism in Canada
From 1934 to 1941**

**by
Michelle McBride**

**A thesis submitted to the
School of Graduate Studies
in partial fulfilment of the
requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts**

**Department of History
Memorial University of Newfoundland**

May 1997

St. John's

Newfoundland



National Library
of Canada

Acquisitions and
Bibliographic Services

395 Wellington Street
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada

Bibliothèque nationale
du Canada

Acquisitions et
services bibliographiques

395, rue Wellington
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada

Your file Votre référence

Our file Notre référence

The author has granted a non-exclusive licence allowing the National Library of Canada to reproduce, loan, distribute or sell copies of this thesis in microform, paper or electronic formats.

The author retains ownership of the copyright in this thesis. Neither the thesis nor substantial extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's permission.

L'auteur a accordé une licence non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque nationale du Canada de reproduire, prêter, distribuer ou vendre des copies de cette thèse sous la forme de microfiche/film, de reproduction sur papier ou sur format électronique.

L'auteur conserve la propriété du droit d'auteur qui protège cette thèse. Ni la thèse ni des extraits substantiels de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation.

0-612-23157-7

Abstract

This study examines the phenomenon of Fascism in Canada during the Depression and how the authorities, primarily the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, chose to deal with it. The topic of Canadian Fascism has been largely ignored in favour of the more fashionable topic of Communism. Fascism was never a large scale movement in Canada; it did, however, effect portions of the German and Italian communities as well as individual French and English Canadians.

The conventional view of the RCMP Security Service argues that the RCMP ignored Fascist movements until external events caused them to take internal actions. I would challenge this argument, marshaling evidence that the RCMP was indeed watching Fascist organizations from their inception, although choosing not to view them as a serious threat. The RCMP began investigating Fascist movements in Canada in the early 1930's but did not view them as much of a threat, seeing them as largely disorganized and, if not as potential allies in their fight against Communists, at least as the lesser of two evils. As both the RCMP and the Fascists were anti-Communists, the RCMP viewed Fascists with rather a benevolent eye. The RCMP was more ideologically to the right and this effected how the RCMP viewed both Fascists and Communists.

Once war broke out the Canadian Government decided to act against groups it had consistently said were not dangerous. For years the Government, via the RCMP

and other government departments, turned a blind eye to foreign interference by the Consuls in both the German and Italian communities, choosing to view events in the immigrant communities as matters for the communities to decide. By viewing Fascism as a limited threat and by allowing foreign coercion to occur in Canada it can be argued that the Canadian government failed to defend its own citizens.

Acknowledgments

The interesting story of how the RCMP regarded Fascist organizations, and indeed that Canada hosted several Fascist organizations during the depression, has come about only through the considerable assistance I have received over the past two years from two men: my husband Dan McLennan and my supervisor, Dr. Gregory Kealey. Without their combined support this project would never have reached completion. My husband has been involved in my work from the beginning, helping out from researching to editing, and without him this work would never have been undertaken. Greg Kealey has been my mentor and my friend for the past two years and it is due to him that this thesis has taken on its current shape. Indeed I never would have made the move from Victoria to Memorial University if it hadn't been for Greg Kealey.

My interest in the history of the RCMP was piqued during my undergraduate degree at UVIC by my supervisors, Larry Hannant and Eric Sager, both of whom encouraged me to study the RCMP when very few people were interested in the topic.

Thanks must also be given to several others who have generously shared their own research with me and pointed out sources that I might not have come up with on my own. Included on that list must be Linda Kealey and Franca Iacovetta both of whom advised me on how to write the history of female internees. Franca Iacovetta has been instrumental in fostering my interest in female internees, offering advice on

sources, writing and editing. Without her chapter five would be a much different product.

Any errors that remain, of course, are my own.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
Abstract	ii
Acknowledgments	iv
Introduction	vii
Chapter 1 -- Canadian Fascism in the 1930s	1
Chapter 2 -- The RCMP: Ideology and Organization	88
Chapter 3 -- The Politics of Internment	126
Chapter 4 -- The Curious Case of Female Internees	187
Chapter 5 -- Conclusion	235
Bibliography	245
Appendices	
Appendix I Personal History File	258
Appendix II Internees Questionnaire	259
Appendix III Internees Data Sheet	277
Appendix IV Female Internees Data Sheet	319

Introduction

This thesis is concerned with the attitudes and actions of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police Security Service (RCMP SS) toward Canada's far right groups from 1934 to 1941. Specifically, it will consider how the RCMP viewed and reacted to Fascist organizations. The first chapter deals with the economic, political and cultural conditions prevalent in Canada during the Depression. It also examines the current literature on the RCMP and on Fascism in Canada. The next chapter provides an overview of the various Fascist organizations, including their locations and sources of support. Chapter 3 offers an overview of the structural basis of the RCMP and the attitudes prevalent among its leadership. The fourth chapter outlines the effects of World War II on Fascist organizations, concentrating on the politics of internment. Chapter 5 examines in more detail the internment of a specific group, women internees. Finally, chapter 6 considers the nature of the Fascist threat, the reaction of the government both prior to and during World War II, and whether its actions were justified.

Fascist groups in Canada were all anti-democratic, anti-organized labour, anti-pacifist, anti-Masonic, anti-liberal, anti-communist, and anti-Semitic. Despite the fact that Fascism was found in several distinct ethnic groups, including the German-Canadian, Italo-Canadian, French-Canadian, and English-Canadian

communities, they shared much the same ideology. Most of these groups hailed a great leader as their saviour, either Hitler, Mussolini, or a local leader. All of the groups imported international literature and propaganda, mainly from Germany. At different point in time, almost all the groups used the swastika as their emblem. The differentiating factor between these groups was the Fascist country each group pledged allegiance to.

The sources upon which this thesis is based include the records of the Department of External Affairs and the RCMP, and the papers of Norman Robertson, Mackenzie King, Ernest Lapointe and O.D. Skelton. In addition, this thesis relies upon scholarly studies in the fields of Fascism, the RCMP and internment history. The main RCMP sources are security and intelligence reports, letters and memorandums now in the CSIS archives, published reports such as the *RCMP Annual Reports*, the *RCMP Gazette* and the *RCMP Quarterly*, as well as RCMP and government documents housed in the National Archives of Canada (NAC). Most NAC documents are largely intact, unlike their CSIS counterparts which unfortunately have been heavily deleted.

Although Fascism was a political alternative supported by many groups in the 1930s it has received little attention from Canadian historians. This lack of investigation may be due to the belief that Canada did not have a Fascist movement, or at least one of little consequence. While Fascism in Canada obviously did not have the membership or the support of its European counterparts, it had an affect on

some of the German, Italian, English and French-Canadian communities.

Canadian historians have largely ignored the topic of Fascism, and even those who have examined it have taken a piecemeal approach. For instance, ethnic historians have chosen to look at individual groups, generally either German or Italians, while others have chosen to focus on the anti-Semitism of Canada's Fascist organizations. A brief overview will demonstrate the problems in the literature. Three sorts of literature will be considered: the security and intelligence (RCMP) literature; internment history; and the history of Canadian Fascism including Italian, German, French and English-Canadian varieties.

As is often the case in security and intelligence history, there are many problems with the evidence. These range from problems of gaining access to the information to dealing with the censors' deletions. Some of these problems can be handled through the Access to Information Act, but this is, unfortunately, at best, a slow, tedious process. Even when the documents are released there can be problems using evidence written and collected by the RCMP. One has to recognize the bias inherent in any government documents, especially those produced by an agency such as the RCMP.

Canadian security and intelligence literature, unfortunately, has not paralleled that of Britain where recent research has focused on the relationship between MI5 and British Fascists. Work by John Hope and Nicholas Hiley has demonstrated that there was a degree of collusion between Maxwell Knight, one of MI5's prominent agents,

and British Fascists.¹ Hope argues that the fact that Knight met no barriers to joining MI5 while a member of the Fascisti indicates that MI5 did not view the Fascists as a hostile force, but rather that MI5 felt they each had a common enemy, the 'Bolshevik menace.'² To date no historians have considered links between the RCMP SS and the far right. Most writers in the field of security and intelligence in Canada have shown far more interest in the left than the right.

The RCMP literature consists essentially of three types: material written by retired or ex-RCMP officers, journalists, and by academics. The literature by ex-RCMP officers, for example former Commissioner Cliff Harvison's *The Horsemen*, glosses over his years in the Security Service.³ It pays some attention to his time investigating Fascist organizations but prefers to discuss the organizations themselves rather than the shape the RCMP investigations took. For instance, Harvison claims that by 1938 the RCMP had penetrated German Nazi, Italian Fascist and French and English-Canadian Fascist organizations to the point of knowing membership statistics and identifying key leaders. Unfortunately, Harvison does not explain how the RCMP knew these details, whether it was by reading newspapers or

¹John G. Hope, "Surveillance or Collusion? Maxwell Knight, MI5 and the British Fascisti," *Intelligence and National Security*, 9, 4 (October 1994), 651-675. John Hope, "Fascism, the Security Service and the Curious Careers of Maxwell Knight and James McGuirk Hughes," *Lobster*, 22 (1991), 1-5. Nicholas Hiley, "Fs and Bs," *London Review of Books*, 9 (March 1995), 24-25.

²Hope, "Surveillance," 654.

³C.W. Harvison, *The Horsemen* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1967).

by having infiltrated the parties. Interestingly, Harvison states that by 1936 the perception of an increasing threat from budding Nazi, Fascist and Canadian Fascist organizations led to the increased strength of local special branches across Canada.⁴ According to other researchers this was not the case as the RCMP was not concerned with Fascism until a later date. Vernon Kemp, author of *Without Fear, Favour or Affection*, and a former Assistant Commissioner of the RCMP, goes into some detail on the workings of an RCMP Detachment and its dealings with Fascism. He concentrates, however, more on the rounding up of internees and the RCMP's prevention of sabotage. Kemp stresses that while German and Italian sympathizers received attention from the RCMP, a third, "...more sinister, group was given like treatment. The Communist Party had been the object of investigation from the earliest days of its history and the Mounted Police knew its aims and objectives intimately..."⁵ This was the closest Kemp came to admitting that the RCMP employed secret agents to investigate subversive organizations.

In the 1970's, treatment of the RCMP focused more upon muck-raking and on a chronological overview of the RCMP as a whole, concentrating on individuals, events, and dates. This literature on the RCMP included both popular histories and journalistic accounts, including works by Lorne and Caroline Brown, Jeff Sallot,

⁴Harvison, *The Horsemen*, 86.

⁵Vernon A.M. Kemp, *Without Fear, Favour, or Affection; Thirty-Five Years with the Royal Canadian Mounted Police* (Toronto: Longmans, Green and Company, 1958), 206.

Robert Dion, Edward Mann and John Lee, John Sawatsky, and later Graeme Mount. Many of these books were born out of the climate of RCMP wrongdoing and the federal MacDonald Commission, which was mandated to investigate RCMP tactics. A prime early example of this was the Browns' book, *An Unauthorized History of the RCMP*, which focused on several cases of RCMP wrongdoing, including the Fred Quilt case and the Muskego Affair both of which dealt with RCMP/native relationships. The Browns attempted to demonstrate a RCMP pattern of misconduct from its nineteenth-century founding until the present. The impetus for the Brown's book was the 1973 celebration of the RCMP centennial and the lack of critical information on the RCMP. Sallot's *Nobody Said No* is another key example of muck-raking which focused on the dirty tricks of the RCMP security service in the 1970's, especially Operation Ham, the RCMP's attempt to steal Parti Quebecois tapes.⁶ Sawatsky's two books, *Men in the Shadows* and *For Services Rendered* both examine the RCMP Security Service.⁷ A journalist, Sawatsky's interest in the RCMP related back to his investigation of the *Agence de Press Libre du Quebec* break-in in 1975-6. Sawatsky is critical of certain RCMP activities, but his rabid anti-Communism makes him sympathetic to the Force's repression of Communists.

⁶Jeff Sallot, *Nobody Said No: The Real Story about How the Mounties Always Get Their Man* (Toronto: James Lorimer, 1979). Robert Dion, *Crimes of the Secret Police* (Montreal: Black Rose, 1982).

⁷John Sawatsky, *Men in the Shadows: The Shocking Truth about the RCMP Security Service* (Toronto: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1980) and *For Services Rendered* (Toronto: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1982).

While interesting, the Sawatsky books read more like spy thrillers than serious studies. Very few of these books include an examination of the RCMP in the 1930's or the RCMP and Fascism. The one book to delve into the topic is Mount's *Canada's Enemies: Spies and Spying in the Peaceable Kingdom*.⁸ Mount's book offers a superficial glimpse at several periods in Canada's history, from spying during the Spanish-American and Boer Wars to the CIA in Canada during the 1960's. The chapter on Fascism in Canada, "Nazi German Consular Posts as Sources of Information, 1933-1939," is largely a rehash of secondary sources and contains little new information. Mount's account is useful, however, as it concentrates on the information the German Consuls sent to Germany, instead of the more commonly examined topic of how the German Consuls influenced the local communities.

The primary problem with many of these accounts is the sensational manner in which they were written. Almost all of these books were produced during an atmosphere in which RCMP wrongdoing was being exposed. In addition, they concentrate almost exclusively on the period after 1945 and seem fascinated with spies and spying.

While academic literature on the RCMP Security Service is relatively sparse, there has been some serious academic work regarding the internal threats to State Security and the affect these threats had on the growth of the RCMP security and

⁸Graeme S. Mount, *Canada's Enemies: Spies and Spying in the Peaceable Kingdom* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1993).

intelligence service. As Wesley Wark so aptly phrased it, the process of getting information favours narrowly focussed studies rather than broader overviews.⁹ Thus a desperate need for a synthesis on Canadian security and intelligence history remains. Of the work done, two authors stand out as authorities in the field, Greg Kealey and Reg Whitaker. Kealey and Whitaker's contributions to security and intelligence history include their series on the *R.C.M.P. Security Bulletins*, including *The War Series, 1939-1941*.¹⁰ Unfortunately, Kealey and Whitaker concentrate on the RCMP Security Service's fascination, some would say obsession, with Communism. In his introduction to *The War Series*, Whitaker states that while "the weight of state repression did fall most heavily on those judged to be sympathetic to Canada's enemies, yet to the RCMP and to many prominent civilian officials in both Ottawa and the provincial capitals, it was obvious that Communism was the permanent and enduring enemy within."¹¹

While there is no denying that the Bulletins indicate a concentration on Communists in Canada, an explanation of other RCMP documents is prudent to

⁹Wesley Wark, "Security Intelligence in Canada, 1864-1945: The History of a 'National Insecurity State'," in Keith Neilson and B.J.C. McKercher, eds., *Go Spy the Land: Military Intelligence in History* (Westport, CO: Praeger, 1992), 156.

¹⁰Greg Kealey and Reg Whitaker, eds., *The R.C.M.P. Security Bulletins: The War Series, 1939-1941* (St. John's: Committee on Canadian Labour History, 1989). This concentration on communists is also found in Kealey and Whitaker's other books in the series.

¹¹Kealey and Whitaker, *The War Series, 1939-1941*, 10-11.

determine whether that trend is indicative of the RCMP's actual work. Through my thesis I hope to show that, the RCMP was always paranoid about Communists, viewing them as a greater threat than Fascists, since Fascism "guaranteed at least a modified form of capitalism."¹² This does not mean that they ignored the threat to security that Fascism represented. With released RCMP files on Fascists and Nazis numbering in the thousands of pages, I find it difficult to accept Whitaker's argument that since the Bulletins did not reflect this information it must not have been of primary importance to the RCMP. Instead I shall argue that the RCMP did not report on Fascism in the Bulletins because the threat of Fascism was believed to be less than that of Communism. From RCMP reports, however, it is obvious that the RCMP saw the Fascist organizations as an annoyance that had to be monitored. Since the Security Bulletins were written by the RCMP for other RCMP Officers and Canadian state officials, it is not surprising that Fascist surveillance was not emphasized.

Kealey and Whitaker have made important contributions to the field of security and intelligence, including several other volumes of the Security Bulletins and various articles. Kealey's work concentrates on the early years of state security, primarily the 1920s, while Whitaker's work focuses primarily on the 1940s. It is perhaps this time frame which explains the lack of attention to Fascism, as Fascism occurred in the 1930s and early 1940s.

¹²Kealey and Whitaker, *The War Series, 1939-1941*, 10. Quoting Inspector Rivett-Carnac letter to Robertson, NAC, Norman Robertson Papers, vol. 12, file 137, 27 January 1939.

Kealey and Whitaker are not the only academics researching the RCMP Security Service, others such as Larry Hannant have also taken up the challenge. Hannant recently published *The Infernal Machine: Investigating the Loyalty of Canada's Citizens* which was largely based on his PhD dissertation.¹³ Hannant's work is a detailed study of the RCMP's vetting (security screening) program for civil servants, which demonstrates that it originated in 1931 and not in 1945 as was previously thought. Hannant's aim is to explain the motivation and methods for investigating people's loyalty, to describe the creation of the security vetting system in Canada, to explore any connections between Canada, the United States and Britain which could have shaped the screening system in Canada, to fit security screening into a technical context, and to probe the reactions of Canadians to this new means of state security.¹⁴ Hannant's book focuses more on the ideological basis of security screening than on individual case studies. Also, much like Kealey and Whitaker, Hannant is quite quick to dismiss the threat posed by the Communist Party.¹⁵

There has also been a recent upsurge in articles about the RCMP, many of them published in *Labour/Le Travail*, edited by Kealey. Recent examples include Michael Lonardo's "Under a Watchful Eye: A Case Study of Police Surveillance

¹³Larry Hannant, *The Infernal Machine: Investigating the Loyalty of Canada's Citizens* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press), 1995.

¹⁴Hannant, *The Infernal Machine*, 6-11.

¹⁵William Kaplan, "Review: The Infernal Machine," *Labour/Le Travail*, 37 (Spring 1996), 317.

During the 1930's," Paul Axelrod's "Spying on the Young in Depression and War: Students, Youth Groups and the RCMP 1935-1942," and Gary Kinsman's "'Character Weakness' and 'Fruit Machines': Towards an Analysis of The Anti-Homosexual Security Campaign in the Canadian Civil Service."¹⁶ Lonardo's article focuses on the RCMP surveillance of Communists during the 1930's, using the Paddy O'Neill case study to demonstrate the breadth of the RCMP surveillance. Axelrod's article concentrates on the RCMP surveillance of left-leaning students, including the Canadian Youth Congress and the Canadian Student Assembly. While relevant to my research because of their time period, the first two articles demonstrate more about RCMP surveillance practises in general and provide little help on how the RCMP dealt with right-wing organizations. The third article, by Kinsman, centres around the RCMP's quest during the 1950's and 1960's for a scientific test to identify homosexuals who were considered a threat to national security.

Wesley Wark is another historian who has written on security and intelligence matters. Wark's article, "Security Intelligence in Canada, 1864-1945: The History of a 'National Insecurity State'," argues that as Canada faced what it saw as perennial threats both from within and abroad it constructed and strengthened the RCMP Security Service to meet those threats. Wark claims that, generally, a state becomes insecure when it faces internal and external threats and becomes increasingly

¹⁶All three articles appear in *Labour/Le Travail*, 35 (Spring 1995). Lonardo, 11-42. Axelrod, 43-64; Kinsman, 133-162.

dependent on more powerful allies for information. This, combined with a popular mentality of insecurity and a security service that viewed itself as beleaguered fostered a state's insecurity. These factors certainly came together at several times in Canada's recent past, including the late 1930's and early 1940's when the RCMP saw the Communists, and to a lesser extent the Fascists, as its internal threat and the Axis countries as its external threat.

One of the most interesting books to date on the RCMP Security Service is by two RCMP historians, Carl Betke and Stan Horrall, *Canada's Security Service: An Historical Outline, 1864-1966*.¹⁷ This manuscript was written for internal consumption only, prepared to help the RCMP deal with the federal MacDonald Commission which was looking into allegations of RCMP wrongdoing. The manuscript was released, with major deletions, under the Access to Information Act and has proven quite valuable to historians. The Betke and Horrall manuscript, while a defender of the RCMP, traces the origins of security and intelligence in Canada back to Confederation and confirms Kealey's hypothesis that the Winnipeg General Strike was a turning point in the evolution of the RCMP.¹⁸ Betke and Horrall's subtitle, *An Historical Outline*, is quite accurate, since this is not an overview or a

¹⁷Carl Betke and Stan Horrall, *Canada's Security Service: An Historical Outline, 1864-1966* (Ottawa: RCMP Historical Section, 1978).

¹⁸Kealey, "The Surveillance State: the Origins of Domestic Intelligence and Counter-Subversion in Canada, 1914-1921," *Intelligence and National Security*, 7, 3 (July 1992), 180.

history so much as an outline. Some sections are quite detailed while others are almost completely glossed over. Unfortunately, the deletions by CSIS and the pro-RCMP slant render some of the information somewhat problematic. The prime fault with the Betke and Horrall manuscript is its failure to question the emergence of the RCMP as a para-military federal policing force responsible for domestic security and intelligence and counter-subversion.¹⁹ Betke and Horrall fail to notice that this is a situation unique in the Western world. In Britain domestic security and intelligence is handled by MI5, while in the USA it comes under the purview of the FBI. In neither case is the security force also responsible for day to day policing duties and paramilitary.

Three factors account for the late appearance and relative scarcity of critical examinations of the RCMP. Firstly, prior to the sensational exposure of RCMP wrongdoing in the 1970's and 1980's the Canadian public was unwilling to believe that the RCMP had a 'secret police' operation in their midst. Secondly, unlike their American and British counter-parts, RCMP Security Service members and ex-members have taken an extremely tight-lipped attitude to their work. There has been very little whistle-blowing amongst Canada's security and intelligence agencies, one recent exception being Mike Frost and Michel Gratton's, *Spyworld: Inside the Canadian and American Intelligence Establishments*, which focuses on the secret

¹⁹Kealey, "The Surveillance State," 180.

world of the Communications Security Establishment.²⁰ Finally, another reason for the lack of attention was the limited access to the historical records of the RCMP prior to the Access to Information Act. Today, access to RCMP documents is still limited at best. These limitations have shaped how academics have written about the RCMP. Limited files are only released after specific requests are put to CSIS. Thus, specialized interpretations and narrow focuses are common.

Studies on the far right in Canada have also been relatively rare. Unlike the USA, where there is a broad range of material, in Canada there are only a few books directly concerned with the far right. The major theme examined has been racism not the far right itself. While certainly an important theme, anti-Semitism has dominated the literature to an extent that other elements of extreme right-wing thought have been ignored. Concentrating on anti-Semitism is problematic as not all right-wing groups are anti-Semitic. For instance, the Western branch of the Canadian Union of Fascists was only "mildly anti-Semitic."²¹ The same is true of the Italo-Canadian Fascists who did not adopt an anti-semitic platform until late 1938.²² Another problem with

²⁰Mike Frost, as told to Michel Gratton, *Spyworld: Inside the Canadian and American Intelligence Establishments* (Toronto: Doubleday Canada Ltd, 1994). It was interesting to note that Mike Frost has not yet been charged with revealing information. This may make others less afraid of telling their own stories.

²¹Kealey and Whitaker, *RCMP Security Bulletins, 1936-1939*, (St John's: CCLH, forthcoming), 3.

²²Angelo Principe, "The Concept of Italy in Canada and in Italian Canadian Writings from the Eve of Confederation to the Second World War," PhD Thesis, University of Toronto, 1989, 297. The Italo-Canadians fell into line with official

using anti-Semitism as the focal point for research into the far right is that it neglects any consideration of corporatism. Corporatism was as important as anti-Semitism in Fascist ideology, yet it has not been widely researched by Canadian researchers.

A brief review of the literature will demonstrate these problems. Lita Rose Betcherman's *The Swastika and the Maple Leaf* is the major publication. However, it is twenty years old and many new primary sources have subsequently come to light.²³ The most recent historical account is Martin Robin's *Shades of Right: Nativist and Fascist Politics in Canada, 1920-1940*.²⁴ Robin's book, again unfortunately concentrates on anti-Semitism rather than Fascism. For instance, he devotes long sections to whether Duplessis was an anti-Semite. Robin's book contains valuable information, unfortunately in covering a twenty years time span some subjects are inadequately dealt with. Robin also neglects issues such as why people joined Fascist movements, what motivated them, and how long they were members. While Robin uses recent documents such as the RCMP files, he does not appear to give them as much weight as the secondary sources. His chapter "Brethren" on Nazism among German-Canadians is one of his weakest areas, drawing almost

Italian policy with much protest. By early 1939, however, Italian fascist newspapers in Montreal and Toronto were publishing anti-semitic slurs.

²³Lita-Rose Betcherman, *The Swastika and the Maple Leaf* (Toronto: Fitzhenry & Whiteside, 1975).

²⁴Martin Robin, *Shades of Right: Nativist and Fascist Politics in Canada, 1920-1940* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992).

entirely on Wagner's, *Brothers Beyond the Sea*. While Wagner's book is excellent, Robin does not balance it out with more of the newly available RCMP documents. Perhaps the largest problem with the Robin book, however, is that there is little difference from Betcherman. Despite using some new sources, Robin does not challenge Betcherman's essential thesis. In addition, Robin fails to analyze what the Fascist phenomenon could tell us about Canadian society in the 1930's. In a more recent book, Warren Kinsella considers the far right of the 1980's in *Web of Hate: Inside Canada's Far Right Network*.²⁵ Its brief overview of the historical background is mostly culled from Betcherman's *The Swastika and the Maple Leaf*.

There has been very little written specifically on French-Canadian Fascism. Most of the literature consists of chapters in Betcherman and Robin books or sensational books published by supporters of Adrien Arcand. For example, *Adrien Arcand devant le tribunal de l'histoire* was published by the current day reincarnation of Arcand's National Unity Party and Jean Coté's *Adrien Arcand: une grande figure de notre temps* is extremely pro-Fascist.²⁶ There are also two Masters theses on the subject, Real Caux's "Le Parti National Social Chrétien: Adrien Arcand, ses idées, son œuvre et son influence," and Rollande Montsion's "Les Grandes thèmes du

²⁵Warren Kinsella, *Web of Hate: Inside Canada's Far Right Network* (Toronto: Harper Collins Ltd., 1994).

²⁶Parti De L'Unité Nationale Du Canada, *Adrien Arcand Devant Le Tribunal De L'Histoire* (Montréal, 1983) and Jean Coté, *Adrien Arcand: Une Grande Figure de Notre Temps* (Montréal: Les Editions Pan-America, Collection: Histoire et Traditions, 1994).

mouvement national social chrétien et d'Adrien Arcand vus par les principaux journaux fascistes au Canada français, 1929-1938."²⁷ The Caux thesis focuses primarily on Arcand as leader and his influences, while the Montsion thesis examines the overall themes of the N.S.C.P. As both theses end their examinations in 1938, they only explore the founding of the N.U.P., ignoring the internment of Arcand. There is still no examination of why only 27 members of the N.U.P. were interned while 847 Germans and 632 Italians were interned. Several other works concentrate on anti-Semitism in Quebec. For example, Esther Delisle's *The Traitor and the Jew* is concerned with Fascism solely as a means to prove that Lionel Groulx, *L'Action Nationale* and *Le Devoir* were all anti-Semitic.²⁸ Also focusing on anti-Semitism was the multi-volume set *Clouds in the Thirties: On Antisemitism in Canada, 1929-1939*, written by David Rome as part of the Canadian Jewish History series.²⁹ While Rome examines Fascism in the French-Canadian, Italo-Canadian and German-Canadian communities it is also solely from the point of view of their anti-Semitism.

²⁷Real Caux, "Le Parti National Social Chrétien: Adrien Arcand, ses idées, son oeuvre et son influence," MA, Université du Laval, 1958, and Rollande Montsion, "Les Grandes themes du mouvement national social chrétien et d'Adrien Arcand vus par les principaux journaux fascistes au Canada français, 1929-1938," MA, Université d'Ottawa, 1975.

²⁸Esther Delisle, *The Traitor and the Jew* (Montreal: Robert Davies Publishing Inc., 1993).

²⁹David Rome, *Clouds in the Thirties: On Antisemitism in Canada, 1929-1939* (Montreal: Canadian Jewish Congress, 1977). Volumes 1-13.

The field of Italo-Canadian Fascism is growing with several established historians, and graduate students currently working on various aspects of the topic. The research ranges from Fascism and the Catholic Church as in the work of Luigi Pennacchio in his article "The Torrid Trinity: Toronto's Fascists, Italian Priests and Archbishops During the Fascist Era, 1929-1940," to internment, for example the work of Bruno Ramirez.³⁰ Case studies of specific Italian communities have been undertaken by Pennacchio "Citizens of Fascist Italy: Exporting Fascism to Toronto's Italians, 1929-1940," Cumbo in his forthcoming Ph.D. on Hamilton, and Perin, "Making Good Fascists and Good Canadians: Consular Propaganda and the Italian Community in Montreal in the 1930's."³¹ Unfortunately, there are only a few good syntheses on Italians in Canada, let alone on Italian Fascism in Canada. Two of the best books on Italo-Canadians and immigration are Robert Harney's *Italians in North*

³⁰Luigi Pennacchio, "The Torrid Trinity: Toronto's Fascists, Italian Priests and Archbishops During the Fascist Era, 1929-1940," in M.G. McGowan and B.P. Clark, eds., *Catholics at the Gathering Place* (Toronto, 1993) and Bruno Ramirez, "Ethnicity on Trial: The Italians of Montreal and the Second World War," in Norman Hillmer, Bohdan Kordan, and Lubomyr Luciuk, eds., *On Guard for Thee: War, Ethnicity, and the Canadian State, 1939-1945* (Ottawa: Canadian Committee for the History of Second World War, 1988).

³¹Perin, "Citizens of Fascist Italy: Exporting Fascism to Toronto's Italians, 1929-1940," in Franca Icaovetta and Paula Draper, eds., *Sojourners, Settlers and Strangers: Issues in Immigration History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, forthcoming) and Roberto Perin, "Making Good Fascists and Good Canadians: Consular Propaganda and the Italian Community in Montreal in the 1930s," in Gerald Gold, ed. *Minorities and Mother Country Imagery* (St. John's: Institute of Social and Economic Research, 1984).

America and Harney and J. Vincenza Scarpaci's *Little Italies in North America*.³² Harney's work pioneered the field of Italo-Canadian studies and included an article on "Toronto's Little Italy, 1885-1945," which was one of the first articles to examine Fascism and the Italian communities. John Zucchi's *Italians in Toronto: Development of a National Identity, 1875-1935* is another good examination of the Toronto Italian community, including a chapter on Fascism and what effect it had on the Italian community.³³ Another synthesis on Italo-Canadians is Kenneth Bagnell's *Canadese: A Portrait of Italian Canadians*.³⁴ An excellent examination of how world events and cultural developments affected Canadian Italian communities is Angelo Principe's Ph.D. thesis, "The Concept of Italians in Canada and in Italian Canadian Writings from the Eve of Confederation to the Second World War."³⁵ Principe argues that Fascism caused a growing polarization of Canadian Italian communities, with the Ethiopian crisis creating negative feelings towards Italians. Principe's thesis counters the image of Italians as Fascists by examining anti-Fascists. Also working on anti-Fascism are Rob Ventresca and Franca Iacovetta. While the Italian field is

³²Robert F. Harney, *Italians in North America* (Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1981), and Harney and J. Vincenza Scarpaci, *Little Italies in North America* (Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1981).

³³John E. Zucchi, *Italian in Toronto: Development of a National Identity, 1875-1935* (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1988).

³⁴Kenneth Bagnell, *Canadese: A Portrait of Italian Canadians* (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1989).

³⁵Principe, "The Concept of Italians in Canada," 1989.

growing there are still several areas currently unexplored, including the role of women Fascists and the role of Italian spies in sending other Italians to the internment camps.

Like the historiography on the domestic far right, German-Canadian Fascist historiography is quite sparse, but one writer has emerged as the authority in the area. Jonathan Wagner has written several articles and one book, *Brothers Beyond the Sea: National Socialism in Canada*.³⁶ *Brothers Beyond the Sea* attempts to place the phenomenon of German-Canadian Nazism within the context of Canadian society of the 1930's, trying to link it to the socio-economic system that led to the Depression. Wagner's book draws on earlier works, including John Offenbeck's MA thesis "The Nazi Movement and German Canadians, 1933-1939."³⁷ By describing the general characteristics of the German-Canadian community and looking at the formation of the National Socialist Party in Canada, Wagner places German-Canadian Nazism within Canada's Fascist community. One of the benefits of the Wagner book is his use of German sources, not always accessible to researchers in Canada.

Robert H. Keyserlingk has written several key articles on the subject of

³⁶Jonathan Wagner, *Brothers Beyond the Sea: National Socialism in Canada* (Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1981).

³⁷John Offenbeck, "The Nazi Movement and German Canadians 1933-1939," MA thesis, University of Western Ontario, 1970. Other influential works include Heinz Lehman, *The German Canadians 1750-1937*, translated and edited by Gerhard P. Bassler (St. John's: Jespersen Press, 1986), and Robert Keyserlingk, "Breaking the Nazi Plot: Canadian Government Attitudes Towards German Canadians, 1939-1945," in Hillmer, Kordan and Luciuk, eds., *On Guard for Thee*, 53-70.

German-Canadians during World War Two, including "Allies or Subversives? The Canadian Government's Ambivalent Attitude towards German-Canadians in the Second World War," "Mackenzie King's Spiritualism and his View of Hitler in 1939," "Breaking the Nazi Plot: Canadian Government Attitudes towards German Canadians, 1939-1945," "Agents within the Gates: the Search for Nazi Subversives," and "Which Fatherland in War? The Canadian Government's View of German Canadian Loyalties in World War Two."³⁸ Keyserlingk's essays are well written and researched, but his need to prove that the RCMP investigations into German-Canadians never turned up any domestic spies or saboteurs continues to be a problem.³⁹ Keyserlingk attributes this to two things: the lack of intelligence capability of the RCMP and the lack of any subversive threat within the community. He does not make it clear if the RCMP could not catch the Fascists because of a lack of intelligence capacity or because they did not exist. It appears that Keyserlingk

³⁸Keyserlingk, "Mackenzie King's Spiritualism and his View of Hitler in 1939," *Journal of Canadian Studies*, 20, 4 (1985-6), 26-44, and "Allies or Subversives? The Canadian Government's Ambivalent Attitude towards German-Canadians in the Second World War" in Panikos Panayi, ed., *Minorities in Wartime: National and Racial Groupings in Europe, North America and Australia during the Two World Wars* (Oxford: Berg Publishers Inc., 1993), 239-260. "Breaking the Nazi Plot," *On Guard for Thee*, 53-70. "'Agents within the Gates': The Search for Nazi Subversives in Canada during World War II" *Canadian Historical Review*, 66, 2, (1985), 211-239. "Which Fatherland in War? The Canadian Government's View of German Canadian Loyalties in World War Two," in T. Yedlin, ed., *Central and Eastern European Ethnicity in Canada: Adaptation and Preservation* (Edmonton: Central and Eastern European Studies Society of Alberta, 1985), 133-171.

³⁹This is a theme consistent throughout Keyserlingk's articles, for example see "Allies or Subversives?" 246.

believes that, because there were no attempts at sabotage, no German-Canadians should have been interned. Keyserlingk's need to clear the name of the interned Germans detracts from his otherwise well written articles.

Unfortunately, since the writings of Wagner and Keyserlingk there has been little new research, despite the availability of new information in RCMP documents. The RCMP reports contain details on all aspects of German-Canadian Fascism, filling in many gaps in the current literature. One such gap is the discussion of government policy leading up to internment, repatriation, and the changing outlook of the German community not interned.⁴⁰ The RCMP reports also contain other valuable primary sources, including translated excerpts from German language papers and theme songs from various German organizations.

Internment history is a growing field with Canadian historians, rescued from oblivion by the public attention given the internment issue over the recent demands for compensation by Japanese-Canadians, Italo-Canadians, and Ukrainian-Canadians.⁴¹ Earlier works on internment during World War II include Ken Adachi's *The Enemy That Never Was: A History of the Japanese Canadians*, and

⁴⁰CSIS, "The Nazi Party in Canada," R.C.M.Police, Special Branch, Ottawa, February 1947, 58-72.

⁴¹In the case of Italo-Canadians, it is ironic that Luigi Pennacchio, a historian opposed to compensation for Italo-Canadians, actually sparked the Italo-Canadian community's demands for compensation. Pennacchio gave a talk in January 1989 on the internment of Italo-Canadians to a group that included MPP AnnaMarie Castrilli whose outrage over the Canadian government's actions pushed her into demanding redress.

Ann Gomer Sunahara's *The Politics of Racism* both focusing on Japanese-Canadians.⁴² In addition to these have been J.A. Ciccocelli's MA Thesis, "The Innocuous Enemy Alien: Italians in Canada during World War II," Luigi Liberati's "Il Canada, l'Italia e il fascismo 1919-1945," Bruno Ramirez's "Ethnicity on Trial: The Italians of Montreal and the Second World War," and Mario Duliani's *La Ville Sans Femme*.⁴³ In addition, Ted Jones has written a two volume work detailing the daily routine of those interned at Fredericton, *Both Sides of the Wire: The Fredericton Internment Camp*.⁴⁴ More recent works have generally taken the form of articles, most consisting of either case studies or procedural analysis.

The key problem with the ethnic internment studies is that the authors appear to approach their topics with a sympathetic view, not of Fascism itself, but rather of their individual communities. For example, most of the above mentioned authors take great pains to discuss individual motives for joining Fascist organizations, often excusing membership by rationalizing it in terms of insurance, companionship or

⁴²Ken Adachi, *The Enemy That Never Was: A History of the Japanese Canadians* (Toronto: Lester & Orpen Dennys, 1976). Ann Gomer Sunahara, *The Politics of Racism* (Toronto: James Lorimer & Co., 1981).

⁴³J.A. Ciccocelli, "The Innocuous Enemy Alien: Italians in Canada During World War II," MA, University of Western Ontario, 1977. Luigi Liberati, *Il Canada, l'Italia e il fascismo 1919-1945* (Rome: Bonacci Editore, 1984). Bruno Ramirez, "Ethnicity on Trial: the Italians of Montreal and the Second World War," in Hillmer, Hordan, and Luciuk, eds., *On Guard for Thee*.

⁴⁴Ted Jones, *Both Sides of the Wire: The Fredericton Internment Camp*, vol. 2. (Fredericton: New Aberdeen Press, 1989).

culture. While this in itself is not a problem, it becomes one when true Fascists are ignored. In addition, many of these authors appear to have let their sympathies colour the way they view the government's decision to intern members of the ethnic communities. Both Cumbo and Keyserlingk stress that as there were no convicted spies or sabotage cases then the government had no right to intern any members of these communities, regardless of their beliefs. The authors, with some exceptions, do not seem willing to accord their subjects any responsibility for their part in joining and remaining members of Fascist organizations.

Procedural reviews of the internment process have been written by Reg Whitaker, "The Official Repression of Communism During World War II," John Stanton "Government Internment Policy, 1939-1945," and Daniel Robinson "Planning for the 'Most Serious Contingency': Alien Internment, Arbitrary Detention and the Canadian State, 1938-1939."⁴⁵ Unfortunately, all three of these procedural reviews focus predominantly on the internment of Communists, rather than on Fascists. To date there has been very little procedural or case study type evaluations on Fascists, with the exception of Robert Keyserlingk whose articles examine the Canadian government's attitudes towards German Canadians and how this led to internment.

⁴⁵Whitaker, "The Official Repression of Communism During World War II," *Labour/Le Travail*, 17 (Spring 1986), 135-166. Stanton, "Government Internment Policy, 1939-1945," *Labour/Le Travail*, 31 (Spring 1993), 203-241. Robinson, "Planning for the 'Most Serious Contingency': Alien Internment, Arbitrary Detention, and the Canadian State, 1938-1939," *Journal of Canadian Studies*, 28 (Summer 1993), 5-20.

William Kaplan adds to the issue by investigating the little known persecution of Jehovah's Witnesses in his book *State and Salvation: The Jehovah Witnesses and their fight for Civil Rights*.⁴⁶

There has been a recent debate amongst scholars on whether or not internment was justified. On one extreme there are historians who believe internment was wrong no matter what the circumstances and at the other extreme there are those who believe the government acted entirely appropriately given Canada was at war. While the large majority of scholars fall somewhere in between, the renewed interest in internment has sparked calls for official apologies and compensation by several ethnic organizations. There has been a renewed interest in internment, especially among Italo-Canadian historians. On the one extreme is Gabriele Scardellato who believes that by the act of forcing Italo-Canadians to register and potentially face internment the Canadian Government declared war on its ethnic communities.⁴⁷ Bruno Ramirez in part agrees with Scardellato's statements, taking exception to the term declaration of war. Ramirez believes the State humiliated a segment of the population without

⁴⁶William Kaplan, *State and Salvation: The Jehovah Witnesses and their fight for Civil Rights* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989).

⁴⁷Gabriele Scardellato, in question period for session IV, "The Politics of Internment: Italian Canadians in Comparative Perspective," Speech *The Internment of Italo-Canadians During the Second World War: A Conference* to Bruno Ramirez, (York: Columbus Centre), 14 October 1995.

cause by forcing registration and internment on its ethnic communities.⁴⁸ At the other end of the spectrum is historian Luigi Liberati who believes that given the wartime circumstances Canada was justified in its Italo-Canadian internments. Liberati argues that the fact that the RCMP and the IDC drew the line between the leaders of Fascism and the rank-and-file members, shows that it was not indiscriminate internment. Liberati holds the Canadian government responsible failing to differentiate to the public that not all Italo-Canadians were Fascists.⁴⁹ Other historians fall somewhere in the middle, believing that while internment itself was a valid action, it was poorly enacted. Such is the opinion of Franca Iacovetta, Roberto Perin and Angelo Principe who believe that while the State went too far in the internment process that it was not acting with deliberate malice against Italians.⁵⁰ Other historians such as Antonio Mazza agree, adding that the process of internment was too open-ended and needed to be more selective.⁵¹

⁴⁸Bruno Ramirez, "The Unbearable Lightness of the State: Reflections on the Policy of Italo-Canadian Internment" Speech, *The Internment of Italo-Canadians During the Second World War: A Conference*, Speech (York: Columbus Centre), 14 October 1995.

⁴⁹Luigi Liberati, "Surveillance of Radicals and Fascist Activity in the Italian Communities in Canada," Speech, *The Internment of Italo-Canadians During the Second World War: A Conference* (York: Columbus Centre), 14 October 1995.

⁵⁰As was shown by their responses to questions at *The Internment of Italo-Canadians During the Second World War: A Conference*, Speech (York: Columbus Centre), 14 October 1995.

⁵¹Antonio Mazza, "Memory and the Italo-Canadians During the Depression and the War." Speech, *The Internment of Italo-Canadians During the Second World War:*

While the academic debate has largely concentrated on the Italo-Canadian community, historian Robert Keyserlingk has also applied it to German-Canadians. Keyserlingk's argument against internment is two-fold: first, that there was no large-scale Nazi conspiracy in Canada; and second, that even if there was a Nazi conspiracy in Canada the RCMP had neither the manpower or the intelligence capability to find it. Thus, with these contradictory ideas, Keyserlingk argues that internment was unjustified. Keyserlingk states that "in contrast to the published official versions of this matter, the police and bureaucrats had not been directed before the crisis to collect adequate hard information about German-Canadians and Nazism in Canada."⁵² In addition, Keyserlingk believes that the RCMP could not discover domestic subversion amongst such a large and diverse ethnic group as the German-Canadians nor were they ever required to do so by their political masters until just before the war.⁵³ Keyserlingk maintains that the government decision to move against German Canadians had less to do with uncovering security threats, and more to do with domestic political goals. He thinks the politicians were pressured by

A Conference, Speech (York: Columbus Centre), 14 October 1995.

⁵²Robert Keyserlingk, "Agents within the Gates: The Search for Nazi Subversives in Canada during World War II," *Canadian Historical Review*, 66, 2 (1985), 214.

⁵³Robert Keyserlingk, "Breaking the Nazi Plot: Canadian Government Attitudes Towards German Canadians," in Norman Hillmer, Bohdan Kordan and Lubomyr Luckiuk, eds., *On Guard for Thee: War, Ethnicity, and the Canadian State, 1939-1945* (Ottawa: Canadian Committee for the History of the Second World War, 1988), 54.

the panicked public to take action; in turn, the politicians pressured the RCMP and bureaucrats to find them proof of Nazi spying. The politicians wanted to be able to give the public the impression that they were in control of the situation. The harried requests for immediate action led the RCMP to throw together haphazard lists grounded on membership in German cultural organizations, some Fascist but others not, based on anonymous tips or neighbours' denunciations.⁵⁴ Keyserlingk argues that throughout the 1930's the Government paid little attention to the possibility of Nazi subversion in Canada. However, this is not borne out in the evidence. There were RCMP reports detailing Nazism in its many forms, the N.S.D.A.P., the D.A.F. and the Bund from 1933 onwards. Keyserlingk is correct in his assumption that the RCMP was not overly concerned with Nazism, preferring to concentrate on Communism as the greater threat. Keyserlingk's argument that the RCMP was incapable of investigating the German-Canadian communities because of a language barrier is also incorrect as the RCMP had trained officers capable of speaking German.

The current debate over the justification of internment ignores the aspect of responsibility, both state and personal. What responsibility did the government have towards its citizens as a whole and within certain ethnic communities? Does the government have a responsibility to itself and its citizens against those who might have double loyalties? The second question arises out of the concept of loyalty. Can

⁵⁴Keyserlingk, "Breaking the Nazi Plot," 55.

a person be loyal to Canada and another state at the same time? What if that state is an enemy of Canada? What responsibility did these people have for their actions? I would answer the first question by stating that the government failed its ethnic communities during the mid-1930s when it allowed fascism to be propagated unchecked by the German and Italian Consuls. Second, that after already failing the ethnic communities the government had little choice but to attempt to protect the rest of the country from the potential problems of allowing a portion of its population to embrace Fascism, especially when Canada went to war against Italy. Had the government checked the spread of consular Fascism in the first place, there would not have been the need to intern so many people. As for the question of double loyalty, it was never made clear to immigrants that in order to be a good Canadian they were supposed to pledge their allegiance to Canada and Canada alone. However, despite the government's failure to stop the growth of Fascism, not everyone in ethnic communities embraced Fascism. Indeed relatively few did. This brings us to the issue of personal responsibility. While rank-and-file members can be excused for not understanding the issue of loyalty to Italy, those in leadership positions well knew what they were supporting. Those in leadership roles must take responsibility for actively promoting Fascism. As internment was supposed to target only fascist leaders, it can be argued that most of those interned knowingly promoted Fascism. This is not to say that all those interned were Fascist leaders, many were interned under false pretences by vindictive neighbours and the like. Thus, while the

government should have put a stop to overt Fascism earlier on, it cannot be expected to take the blame for interning people whom they believed were leaders in subversive organizations.

There are several key problems running through the literature as it relates to the RCMP and Fascism. These problems include a lack of synthetic work in any of the fields. There is still no history of the RCMP Security Service, nor is there a history of internment in Canada. Authors have chosen, for many reasons, to focus on narrowly defined topics rather than give a synthesis of the field. In addition, the role of women as Fascists has been completely ignored, as has the topic of women internees, both of which desperately need to be examined. My research is relevant to the field for three reasons: first, I attempt to give a broad overview of the topic of Fascism, using documents which give the RCMP's point of view. Second, in concentrating on the RCMP reaction to Fascism it has been necessary to delve into the ideology of key members of the RCMP. This has led to my exploring the ideological makeup of the RCMP during the 1930's. Third, I attempt to introduce the topic of women and Fascism, albeit in a very generalized manner. Hopefully, now that researchers are aware that this topic exists, someone will begin to fill in this gap in the literature. In addition, several local topics need to be examined or re-examined in light of new information being made available through the Access to Information Act. For example, there are very few studies on French-Canadian Fascism, those studies on German-Canadian Fascism are all over twenty years old, and while Italian

fascism is a growing field the area of women in Fascism has been entirely ignored. In addition, my thesis attempts to use RCMP documents to examine how the ideology of the RCMP influenced its writing of reports on fascism. While Robin, Pennacchio and others have used some RCMP documents, they have done so solely for the information they contain on the Fascist groups. No one has looked at what role the RCMP played in Canadian Fascism. This thesis uses the RCMP documents not only for information but also for data the RCMP was concerned which groups were surveilled, and how many agents were working on these cases.

Chapter 1: Canadian Fascism in the 1930s

Fascism swept much of Europe during the 1930s, most notably in Germany and Italy. There were also Fascist movements in North and South America. In Canada, Fascism found adherents principally among three groups: German-Canadians, Italo-Canadians, and non-immigrant Canadians, both French and English speaking. While Fascism never became widespread, even in the German and Italian communities, it is important to assess what role Fascism played. In investigating the arrival of Fascism in Canada and who joined Fascist organizations, this chapter will examine the Fascist phenomenon in Canada during the 1930s. In addition, it will explore the various Fascist groups, not to analyze their ideology, but rather to assess the actions of these groups and, later on in chapter three, the reactions of the RCMP to them.

Canada during the 1930s faced the Great Depression which spawned the increased growth in such radical organizations as Fascism, Communism, and Socialism. The combination of the collapse of Canada's stock and wheat markets and falling construction starts devastated Canada's economy. These factors contributed to the unemployment of over one-fifth of Canadian males. Railways alone laid off over 70,000.¹ As the U.S. export market closed, factories laid off even more employees.

¹Lita-Rose Betcherman, *The Swastika and the Maple Leaf: Fascist Movements in Canada in the Thirties* (Don Mills: Fitzhenry and Whiteside Ltd., 1975), 2.

Especially hard hit were Prairie farmers who faced drought, grasshopper infestations, and rust-infected crops. Many municipalities and some cities were forced to declare bankruptcy.² In an attempt to help, the government issued relief cheques to over 84,000 men, women and children. As the Bennett government continued its policy of *laissez faire* economics, many turned to more radical organizations, such as the Fascists, for alternative solutions.

Immigrants who arrived during the 1920s had a particularly hard time during the Depression. Many had only gained a few years of seasonal employment before the Depression hit. Once unemployed, these new immigrants did not qualify for aid and those that did qualify for aid were put in a tenuous position. Accepting public relief meant the possibility of deportation or, when the war broke out, internment. Immigrants could not become public charges in Canada under Sections 40 and 41 of the Immigration Act which made it mandatory for all municipal and public officials to report any immigrants dependent on relief. During the early years of the Depression relief related deportations sky-rocketed, with 430 deported in 1928, 2106 in 1930 and 4916 in 1933.³ Increasingly, deportations were used as an excuse to shunt the poor and disaffected out of Canada, relieving municipalities, employers and the State from

²Barry Broadfoot, *Ten Lost Years 1929-1939: Memories of Canadians Who Survived the Depression* (Toronto: Doubleday Canada, Ltd., 1973), vii-ix.

³A. Grenke, "From Dreams of the Worker State to Fighting Hitler: The German-Canadian Left from the Depression to the end of World War I," *Labour/Le Travail*, 35 (Spring 1995), 67. Citing *Canada's Yearbook*, 1940, 161.

the costs of relief.⁴

As conditions worsened many Canadian citizens and immigrants became increasingly radicalized, which led to ideological polarization among immigrant groups.⁵ It was not until 1937-1938 that Canada began to move out of the Depression but by that time many Canadians had already lost faith in the system.⁶ Despite some new immigrants finding a niche in the economy, a social distance still existed between them and their Canadian neighbours. Combining this distance with the tendency of new immigrants to honour their homelands meant most new immigrant groups were not as quickly assimilated into Canadian society as the government wanted.⁷ Programs such as *Achat chez nous* and "Canada for Canadians" only encouraged new immigrants to turn further into their own communities, forming 'Little Italies', and equivalents, in cities and countrysides. Many of the newcomers found work in Canada as unskilled labourers, building roads, railways, sewers and canals or working in mines, foundries or factories. These jobs

⁴Barbara Roberts, "Shovelling Out the 'Mutinous': Political Deportation from Canada Before 1936," *Labour/Le Travail*, 18 (Fall 1986), 79. Roberts, *Whence they Came: Deportations from Canada 1900-1935* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1988).

⁵Carmela Patrias, "The Politicization of Peasant Immigrants," in Franca Iacovetta and Paula Draper, eds., *Sojourners, Settlers and Strangers: Issues in Immigration History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, forthcoming), 11.

⁶Broadfoot, *Ten Lost Years*, 15.

⁷Charles M. Bayley, "The Social Structure of Italian and Ukrainian Immigrant Communities in Montreal in the 1930's," MA Thesis, McGill University, 1939, 3.

were extremely vulnerable to market fluctuations which often led to high levels of unemployment.⁸

Part of the appeal of "isms" such as Fascism and Communism was the apparent success of their alternative economic systems. The economic situations in Germany, Italy and the Soviet Union appeared to be on the upswing while Canada had yet to show much recovery from the Depression. Many believed that Stalin's Five Year Plans, Hitler's decrease in unemployment and Mussolini's making the trains run on time were indicative of more efficient systems. The appeal of Fascism in Canada involved several factors including: a rejection of or disaffection with the existing political and economic order including a denial of democratic rights, both religious and racial elitism, extreme nationalism and a belief in the need for the State to affect capitalism (corporatism).⁹ Fascists used military trappings such as uniforms, drilling, and a similar command structure to attract members, many of whom joined out a sense of mission. Fascists espoused the ideology that when economic crisis prevailed, it could only be met by drastic action, with a strong leader rescuing the country.

Life in the immigrant communities was regulated by a social structure made up of religious, mutual aid and national political organizations. These organizations

⁸Bayley, "The Social Structure of Italian," 5.

⁹Morris Schonbach, *Native American Fascism During the 1930s and 1940s: A Study of Its Roots, Its Growth and Its Decline* (New York: Garland Publishers Inc., 1985), 21-22.

served as intermediaries between the immigrants and 'Canadian society' helping the immigrants to understand and gain entry into Canadian institutions. Initially, new immigrants were segregated into rooming-houses, flats and tenements often near industrial areas. As immigrants became more established, often with the first generation of Canadian-born wage-earners, they moved to newer areas with more adequate conditions.¹⁰ In some cases political, mutual aid and religious organizations strengthened ties to the homeland and retarded immigrant assimilation into Canadian society. This was the case in the Italian and German-Canadian communities in the 1930s where the Consular, cultural and mutual aid societies focused on ties to the homeland rather than ties to Canada.

The Italo-Canadian community was not a homogenous entity, in fact it was made up of many people who considered themselves more of a town (*paese*) than of a nation.¹¹ This began to change with the shared migration experiences of new Italian immigrants. Many immigrants from different parts of Italy were thrown together once they got to Canada, sharing rooms at a boarding house, working together and sharing labour agents. They also faced similar experiences in dealing with a mainstream Canadian society which often could not distinguish between different groups of Italians. This change from diverse sub-communities to a more consolidated

¹⁰Bayley, "The Social Structure of Italian," 10.

¹¹Robert F. Harney, "Toronto's Little Italy, 1885-1945," in Harney and J. Vincenza Scarpaci, eds., *Little Italies in North America* (Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1981), 44-45.

community occurred with the growth of Italian pride during World War I and through the efforts of diverse leaders in the Italian community, including priests, businessmen, Fascists and the Italian Consuls, to get people to see themselves as Italians first.¹² By 1927 when Mussolini began appointing loyal fascists to the diplomatic corps, Italy was considering all emigrants as Italians abroad, still Italian citizens, and encouraging its consular officials to spearhead a drive to remind Italians of their heritage.¹³ The Italian Government also began viewing Italian immigrant communities as colonies of Italy.¹⁴ Italians abroad were to serve as emissaries of Italy, as a lobby group for Italy, and as promoters and purchasers of Italian goods. Throughout the 1930s the Italian Consuls attempted to make Fascism synonymous with nationalism, and to make Italy, the Fascist Party, and the bureaucracy one and the same. In attempting to centralize ethnicity, the Consuls wanted to become the centre of cultural and ethnic life in Italo-Canadian communities. It did not succeed in bringing the diverse segments of Italian communities into one entity. However, the Consular Officials manage to give the appearance, both inside and outside the Italian community, of

¹²Harney, "Toronto's Little Italy, 1885-1945," 50.

¹³Harney, *Italians in North America* (Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1979), 18.

¹⁴Luigi Pennacchio, "Citizens of Fascist Italy: Exporting Fascism to Toronto's Italians, 1929-1940," in Iacovetta and Draper, eds., *Sojourners, Settlers and Strangers*.

heightened Italian patriotism and of less factionalism.¹⁵ Only a small portion of the Italian community ever endorsed Fascism enough to join Fascist organizations, but many were enthusiastic over the rebirth of pride in Italy. Such identification initially caused little concern in the Anglo-Canadian society which up until the Ethiopian crisis viewed support for Mussolini as simply honouring one's heritage. Prior to 1936, many Canadian authorities supported Mussolini's strong anti-Communist and anti-labour stance and admired his ability to rebuild Italy, despite the Depression. They believed Mussolini was the champion of the middle class against Bolshevism.¹⁶ Even after 1936 the Canadian government maintained the attitude that Italo-Canadian enthusiasm for Mussolini was an internal matter for the Italo-Canadian communities.¹⁷

Italian settlements appeared in many Canadian towns with industry, canal and road construction, sewer work, railwork or ports.¹⁸ For instance, Hamilton, Toronto, Montreal and Thunder Bay all had large Italian communities. Toronto emerged as a port of entry for Italians in the early 1900s. Many Italians used Toronto as a base camp to work in northern mining, railway and timber towns or

¹⁵Harney, "Toronto's Little Italy, 1885-1945," 55-58.

¹⁶Harney, *Italians in North America*, 17.

¹⁷Harney, "Toronto's Little Italy, 1885-1945," 57.

¹⁸Harney, Robert and J. Vincenza Scarpaci, *Little Italies in North America*. Toronto: MHSO, 1981. 1.

along the Welland canal. Initially the immigrants were predominantly male, with 2200 men and 800 women listed in the 1911 census for Toronto.¹⁹

Prior to 1928, leadership in Italo-Canadian communities was largely composed of skilled tradesmen, businessmen and professionals who ran voluntary agencies and provided other services to the population. Essentially, these men became leaders either by defending the Italian population, creating institutions such as mutual aid societies, newspapers, churches and banks in the local communities, acting as links between the ethnic community and the rest of Canada, holding official positions, or attaining higher educational or occupational status.²⁰ Leaders stressed the necessity of a homogeneous community and loyalty to Italy in an attempt to raise ethnic consciousness among their communities.²¹ With the arrival of a strong Consul the independence of the local leadership was challenged. Local leaders were forced to turn to the Consuls for support, which enabled the Consuls to take advantage of the groundwork laid by the local leaders in stressing homogeneity and ethnic consciousness. Grateful for the attention Italy was showing them, many apolitical Italo-Canadians were attracted to Fascism. The 1930s proved to be difficult for

¹⁹Harney, *Little Italies in North America*, 46.

²⁰John Zucchi, *Italians in Toronto: Development of a National Identity, 1875-1935* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's Press, 1989), 142-143.

²¹John Zucchi, "The Rise of Fascism and Toronto's Notabili," Speech given at The Internment of Italo-Canadians During the Second World War conference (York: Columbus Centre), 14 October 1995.

Italo-Canadian communities. They faced problems such as restrictive immigration legislation, struggles between Fascists and anti-Fascists, and the depression. The Canadian government placed increasing pressure on immigrant communities to become acculturated. There were between 100,000 and 125,000 people of Italian descent in Canada during the inter-war period. For many Italians pride in Mussolini returned their sense of dignity which had been missing since their arrival in Canada.

The Consuls attempted to convince Italians that they could be both loyal Fascists and supporters of Mussolini and still remain good Canadian citizens. In addition, the Consuls attempted to seize control of every facet of life in the Italian communities. To appeal to differing interests the Consuls created several different Fascist organizations for people to choose from. Leading the Fascist movement were two overtly Fascist organizations, the Fascio and the *Opere Volontarie Repressione Anti-fascio*, or the Organization for the Repression of Anti-Fascism (O.V.R.A.). Other Fascist organizations claimed to be non-political, including the *DopoLavoro*, the *Associazione Combattenti Italiani* (Italian War Veterans Association), the *Organizzazioni Giovanili degli Italiani all' Estero* or Italian Youth Abroad (O.G.I.E.), the *Fronte Unico Morale* (Italian United Moral Front), and the Order of the Sons of Italy.²² All of these groups were used by the Italian Consuls, to unify the Italo-Canadian communities in an effort to disseminate Fascist propaganda in Canada.

The Canadian Fascio was a counterpart to the Fascio in Italy, whose

²²CSIS, vol. 7. *Re: Italian Fascism*, 23 January 1940.

constitution described itself as "a voluntary civic militia under orders of the Duce and at the service of the Fascist State."²³ The Canadian Fascio was described as "organizations of Italians who have elected for their civic and private life to obey the Duce and the Fascist laws, and endeavour to rally all the Italians in foreign countries."²⁴ While Fascios were not created by the Consuls (they existed prior to Mussolini's seizure of power), the Consuls quickly shaped them. The Consuls were the liaisons between Rome and the local Fascio organizations and took control of the decision-making process.²⁵ The Italian Consul's will was carried out by the Fiduciary and the Secretary of the Fascio, both of whom were appointed by Rome at the suggestion of the local Italian Consul. The Secretary's job was to know the moral and political antecedents of every Fascio member and to ensure that each member lived up to the rules of the Fascio.²⁶ The Fascio's Directorate was made up of five persons and was divided into four main branches: Administration, Youth Activity, Propaganda, and Sports. Each Fascio branch had an Advance-Guard, a Fascio Feminile, and a junior section.²⁷ To join the Fascio, applicants were screened in

²³CSIS, 87-A-130. *Fascism*, 14.

²⁴CSIS, 87-A-130. *Fascism*, 14. Also Schonbach, *Native American Fascism*, 75.

²⁵Pennacchio, "Citizens of Fascist Italy," 7.

²⁶CSIS, vol. 7. *The Organization and Activities of the Italian Fascist Party in Canada*, 30 November 1937, 1.

²⁷CSIS, vol. 7. Translated, *Il Bollettino*, 12 February 1932. *The Organization and Activities*, 6.

both Canada and Italy. After an application was approved by the local secretary of the Fascio and confirmed by the local Italian Consul, it was forwarded to the Italian Government where it was ultimately rejected or accepted. Becoming a member of the Fascio meant swearing the Fascist oath to "obey without discussion all the orders of the Duce and to serve with all their strength and even their blood the Fascist revolution."²⁸

The Fascio was strongest in areas with a large Italian community and an active Consular presence. While Ontario and Quebec had strong Fascios, movements in Alberta, B.C. and the Maritimes never gained much of a foothold. From 1923 to 1933 the Fascio in Montreal were not overly successful. This started to change in 1933 with the arrival of a new Secretary of the Fascio who was also responsible for distributing municipal relief. When he used the relief money to increase the membership of the Fascio, membership jumped, but it was only temporary as the public became increasingly outraged as he spent relief money on parades and Fascist uniforms. Circumstances forced the Secretary to flee Quebec, but the relief scandal caused many in the Italian community to distrust the Fascio.²⁹ The Montreal Fascio only began to recover after the arrival of Royal Italian Consul Guiseppe Brigidi in

²⁸NAC, MG 30, E163, vol. 14, file 174. *Re: - Interned Italians - General and Confidential Report of the Examining Officer - Montreal.* Gerald Fauteux, K.C., 5 September 1940, 4.

²⁹CSIS, vol. 7. *Survey of Italian Fascism*, 2 September 1937. CSIS reviewers deleted this person's name.

1936. Brigidi's strong leadership after 1936 led to the founding of the Italian school and increasing membership in the Fascio.³⁰ Fascio branches subsequently flourished, and in Montreal alone there were six branches of the Fascio and six branches of the Fascio Feminile.³¹

With the arrival of strong Consuls, the Fascio flourished and invited many independent groups to join its ranks. In Montreal, these groups all became part of the Italian United Moral Front, formed by Italian Royal Consul Brigidi in 1934 in an attempt to gain control of the Montreal's diverse Italian community associations. Brigidi appointed himself honorary president of these Associations and each group had to decide whether or not to accept his leadership. Rejecting his authority meant being denounced in *L'Italia Nuova*. In joining the United Moral Front the associations were 'asked' to donate to the Casa d'Italia building fund, which earned Brigidi \$7,000.³² There were 38 societies and association in the United Moral Front, including branches of the Order of the Sons of Italy, the Fascio, the DopoLavoro, several Catholic Churches, local Chamber of Commerces and Casa D'Italias.³³

The elite of Montreal's Fascio branches were selected to join the *Centuria*

³⁰CSIS, vol. 7. *Report, Re: Fascist Party - Italian - In Canada*, 3 January 1938.

³¹CSIS, vol. 7. *The Organization and Activities*, 12.

³²CSIS, vol. 7. *Survey of Italian Fascism in Canada, 1934-1935*, 11.

³³CSIS, vol. 7. *Re: Order of Sons of Italy - Canada - Generally*, 20 September 1940. *Re: Fascism - Italian - in Canada*, 16 June 1938.

D'Onore (One Hundred Valiants) composed of 100 Fascists deemed the most trustworthy and loyal members "...ready to answer any call at any time and to execute the orders of the superior without any discussion."³⁴ An RCMP report stated that the *Centuria D'Onore* paraded around Montreal with black shirts in military fashion several times a month and that the Italian people seemed quite afraid of them as they informed on people unsympathetic to their cause to the Italian consulate. The report concluded: "In other words this body is simply a group of spies and fulfil the duties not because of financial remuneration but of their faith and devotion to the Fascist Party."³⁵

One RCMP report speculated on why some Italians joined the Fascio. Italo-Canadians were totally dependent on the Italian Consul if they had family left in Italy. The Italian Consul controlled access to Italy and anyone who needed marriage certificates, birth records, official or private documents had to first go through their local Consul under Italian law. If the person was a Fascist, the documents arrived within a few weeks. If the person was not a Fascist and was willing to join, the documents arrived in about a month. If the person was not a Fascist and refused to join, the documents might be delayed indefinitely, and members of their family in

³⁴CSIS, vol. 7. *Re: Centuria D'Onore*, 11 September 1937, 211.

³⁵CSIS, vol. 7. *Re: Centuria D'Onore*, 11 September 1937, 211.

Italy could be harassed.³⁶

In Toronto, the Vice-Consul Prince Guido Colonna assumed leadership of the colony and attempted to destroy any organizations that did not fit his agenda. Much of the Vice-Consul's time was spent in propaganda efforts trying to keep the Canadian and Italian relationship running smoothly and to limit Canada's reliance on Britain. Members of Parliament, Mayors, Chiefs of Police, and other dignitaries were regularly invited to special meetings and banquets which created a belief in the Italian community that the Canadian authorities were supportive of Fascist organizations.³⁷ For instance, in Montreal the Italian Consul Paolo de Simone hosted a banquet for the Mayor of Montreal after the Mayor's return from a European tour which had included a stop in Italy. After a word from Simone, the Mayor was treated very well while in Italy, which caused the Mayor on his return to promise more help to the local Italian community.³⁸

There were two separate divisions of the Consulates: the business side, found in all consulates; and, the O.V.R.A. In Italy the O.V.R.A. was the secret service organization.³⁹ In Canada, the O.V.R.A. was used to gather information on

³⁶CSIS, vol. 7. *Survey on Italian Fascism*, 2 September 1937, 214. Also in *The Organization and Activities*, 16-17.

³⁷CSIS, vol. 7. *Memorandum -- 2, Toronto*, October 1937.

³⁸CSIS, vol. 7. *Re: Fascism - Italian - in Canada*, 23 July 1937, 1.

³⁹CSIS, 87-A-130. *Fascism*, 15.

anti-Fascists and relay it on to Rome.⁴⁰ The Montreal branch of O.V.R.A. was made up of the Italian Consul (Paolo de Simone), the Secretary of the Fascio (Mr. Biffi), the President of the Fascist War Veterans Association (Camille Vetere), and the Director of Italian Fascist Schools in Montreal (Arrigo De Bernardo).⁴¹ The Director of Italian Fascist Schools was an Italian civil servant and a Militia officer. His principal duty was to teach Italo-Canadian youths to admire Italian Fascism. O.V.R.A. officials received salaries from the Italian government, despite their status as naturalized British subjects. It is interesting to note that in 1937 the RCMP report classified the O.V.R.A. as the correspondent agent to Russia's O.G.P.U. (secret police) only more dangerous. Its activities "... extended to every country, to control the political opinions of all people who bear Italian names."⁴²

O.V.R.A.'s principal duty was to influence the political viewpoints of all Italo-Canadians. The O.V.R.A. attempted to compile information on the private and public lives of all Italians in Canada, with special attention paid to their political leanings, activities and movements. It also identified any Italians working in vital industries such as railways, ammunition plants, aircraft plants, and harbours. The O.V.R.A. was also to determine the exact locations and any other details on these indust

⁴⁰Pennacchio, "Citizens of Fascist Italy," 6.

⁴¹CSIS, vol. 7. *Re: Fascism - Italian - In Canada*, 9 August 1937.

⁴²CSIS, vol. 7. *Survey of Italian Fascism in Canada*, 2 September 1937.

ries. In addition, the O.V.R.A. was "to find out slum districts where fire could be set in a most destructive manner. All this in view of paralysing the life of the country in case of emergency."⁴³ The O.V.R.A. used methods such as oral propaganda, discrimination, intimidation and violence to make the Italian community more loyal to Mussolini.⁴⁴

In general, an affinity for Fascism could be found amongst Catholic leaders, with both Fascists and Catholic leaders acting as 'missionaries' willing to use each other to gain converts.⁴⁵ This was due in part to Mussolini's accommodation of the Catholic Church in recognizing the Vatican as a separate State, restoring Catholicism as the State religion, and compensating the Church for its seized properties. In return, the Catholic Church gave its support to Fascism.⁴⁶ Both the Toronto Vice-Consul and the Toronto Catholic clergy saw the benefits of co-operation. For the Catholic Church, co-operation helped to keep the Italian Catholic identity intact against Irish Catholicism, and the attempts by Protestant churches to steal Catholic adherents. In addition, both Fascists and the Catholic Church emphasized Italian

⁴³CSIS, vol. 7. *Report Re: O.V.R.A.*, 1 August 1939.

⁴⁴CSIS, vol. 7. *Survey of Italian Fascism*, 2 September 1937, 230.

⁴⁵Luigi Pennacchio, "The Torrid Trinity: Toronto's Fascists, Italian Priests and Archbishops During the Fascist Era, 1929-1940," in Mark McGowan and Brian Clarke, eds., *Catholics at the Gathering Place: Historical Essays on the Archdiocese of Toronto 1841-1991* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993), 233.

⁴⁶Pennacchio, "Citizens of Fascist Italy," 11.

nationalism and shared a common enemy in Communism. Both groups hated the United Church, the Catholics for its attempts to steal parishioners and the Fascists because the United Church had given refuge to anti-Fascists. Two Italian churches, Madonna of the Defense and Mont-Carmel, were supportive of the Montreal Italian Consul. The priests of these churches, Father Manfredi and Father Maltempi, were both active Fascists who collected wedding rings for the Ethiopian campaign. In Toronto, priests at three churches actively fostered fascism, with Reverend Truffa of St. Agnes stating "when one says Italy, he also means Catholic and because Catholicism has for the first time assured us place as a state religion, I give my approval and augur Fascism well..."⁴⁷ While not as supportive as the above-mentioned 'clerico-Fascists,' the Toronto Archbishop adopted a laissez faire attitude towards Fascism, preferring to expend his energy fighting the growth of Communism.⁴⁸

Fascist communities were aided by several Fascist-oriented newspapers, including those published in Vancouver, Montreal and Toronto. One of the main Fascist papers, Montreal's *L'Italia Nuova*, was owned by Julius Romano, a naturalized Canadian. According to Camille Vetere, *L'Italia Nuova* received three-fourths of its operating money from the Italian gov

⁴⁷Pennacchio, "The Torrid Trinity," 236.

⁴⁸Pennacchio, "The Torrid Trinity," 241.

ernment with the remaining money coming from public subscription and advertising.⁴⁹ Vetere was a member of the Montreal Fascio and *L'Italia Nuova* was published in the same building that housed the Montreal Italian Consular Offices.⁵⁰ *L'Italia Nuova* regularly included a two-page English and a six-page French supplement, to help further the relationship between the Italian, French and English communities. Another major paper, Toronto's *Il Bolletino*, the official newspaper of the Italian Consulate, had its editor on the payroll of the Vice-Consul of Toronto.⁵¹ At its peak *Il Bolletino* had 3863 subscribers.⁵² The Italian Vice-Consuls could be ruthless in dealing with Fascist newspapers which disagreed with them. This was evidenced in the case of *Il Cittadine*, a newspaper which disagreed with Vice-Consul Brigidi over the location of the Giovanni Caboto monument, and as a result was forced out of the Italian United Moral Front and eventually out of business.⁵³ By 1939 the circulation of Italian Fascist newspapers had trebled.⁵⁴

A key link in the Fascist organizational structure was the *DopoLavoro* which

⁴⁹CSIS, vol. 7. *Re: Fascism - Italian - In Canada - "L'ITALIA"*, 20 January 1938. 1.

⁵⁰Fred Rose, *Fascism Over Canada: An Expose* (Toronto: New Era Publishing Ltd., 1938), 16-17.

⁵¹CSIS, vol. 7. *The Organization and Activities*, 32.

⁵²Pennacchio, "Citizens of Fascist Italy," 12.

⁵³CSIS, vol. 7. *Survey of Italian Fascism*, 2 September 1937, 219. And, *The Organization and Activities*, 32.

⁵⁴CSIS, vol. 7. *Re: Activities of the Italian Fascio in Canada*, 16 October 1940.

purported to be a sporting and entertainment association. The DopoLavoro used feasts, sporting events, and amusements to win over community sympathies to Fascism. The DopoLavoro claimed to be above politics, yet evidence points to the DopoLavoro's being an auxiliary to the Fascio.⁵⁵ Control of the DopoLavoro was in the hands of "the Committee of Honour" headed by the Italian Consul, the Secretary of the Fascio, and two other prominent Italians. The DopoLavoro aimed at influencing those Italo-Canadians who were unwilling to wear blackshirts and march in the streets. Members could play bocce, baseball and basketball, as well as play cards or borrow books from the library for a one dollar initiation fee and ten cents a month afterwards.⁵⁶ By January 1937, the DopoLavoro attracted 546 members including 499 Italian men, 42 Italian women and 5 English-Canadians. Led by prominent Fascist, Luigi Pascale, the Montreal DopoLavoro wanted to add 100 new members every month until they reached 2,000 members, a goal they did not achieve.⁵⁷ Interestingly, Luigi Pascale was an employee of the Immigration Department of the Canadian Government. Other Fascist leaders were also employed by the Government, including Windsor leaders, Luigi Mecone, who worked for the

⁵⁵CSIS, vol. 7. *Memorandum*, 13 July 1937, 173. And *Survey of Italian Fascism*, 2 September 1937, 222. CSIS, vol. 7. *Re: Dopo Lavoro*, 29 September 1937, 241.

⁵⁶Pennacchio, "Citizens of Fascist Italy," 8.

⁵⁷CSIS, vol. 7. *Memorandum, Toronto*, 29 September 1937, 5.

Post Office, and Joseph Falsetto who worked for the Liquor Control Board.⁵⁸

Another convert to Fascism was the *Associazione Combattenti Italiani* (Italian War Veterans), a mutual aid society, with branches in almost every Italian community. The *Associazione Combattenti* was organized during the Great War to assist Italian veterans with employment and health problems. After 1934 the organization became increasingly politicized with all its members forced to swear allegiance to Mussolini and to become Fascists.⁵⁹ In 1938, Mussolini decreed that the War Veterans Association be directly subservient to the corresponding Fascist party. In Canada, this meant that the War Veterans Association was subservient to the Fascio. The War Veterans showed little opposition to this, perhaps because the Italian Government controlled their pensions or because the Veterans had already shown a penchant for the military lifestyle.

As the Consuls saw the future of Fascism resting with the next generation of Italians, a Fascist education was deemed very important. Italian language schools had existed for almost as long as there were Italian communities in Canada, but prior to the Consuls' intervention they were operated haphazardly. The Italian Consuls turned

⁵⁸*NOW: Hitler over Canada*, vol. 1, no. 1, 18.

⁵⁹CSIS, vol. 7. *Report Re: Fascism - Italian - In Canada*, 9 August 1937, 2476. Not all members of the War Veterans Association became fascists, a split occurred with about 50 members severed their ties with the organization and organized the Independent War Veterans Association. This allowed the War Veterans Association to change its name to the Fascist War Veterans Association. CSIS, vol. 7. *Memorandum*, 29 September 1937, 7.

the schools into a network, promoting not only language and culture, but also dictatorship and Fascism. The O.G.I.E was responsible for regularly sending children, most of them Canadian born, to Italy for training purposes and for supervising schools for Italian children in Canada. Language schools were set up to foster the Fascist spirit in children, through teaching Italian language, culture and Fascist doctrine, and by using Fascist textbooks sent from Italy.⁶⁰ Many of these schools were held in Catholic churches and separate schools. These Italian language schools were supposedly administered by a committee of businessmen and social leaders but were, in reality, dominated by the Vice Consuls. The Italian language schools were well attended, with between 8-10,000 across Canada.⁶¹

Many children were also offered the opportunity to compete to travel to Italy free of charge, or to go to Italian summer camps in Canada.⁶² Candidates who showed the most zeal and had parents in good standing with the Fascist Party were chosen from the Italian Schools to visit Italy. From 1934 to 1937 over 500 children attended Italian camps, often led by prominent Italo-Canadians Fascists such as O.V.R.A. agents, a director of *Il Bolletino*, and a leader of the Sons of Italy. While

⁶⁰CSIS, vol. 7. *The Organization and Activities*, 24-26. Pennacchio, "The Torrid Trinity," 242.

⁶¹Roy Davis, "Primers of Treachery," *Maclean's*, 1 September 1940, 9. 400 students went through the Toronto schools in the 1938-1939 academic year alone. Pennacchio, "The Torrid Trinity," 243.

⁶²CSIS, vol. 7. *Survey of Italian Fascism*, 2 September 1937, 220.

at these camps, the children were instructed in Italian culture, geography, religion, history, literature and language, and military training. For those unable to go to Italy, a summer camp was started in Rowdon, Quebec, offering similar courses. In addition, Italo-Canadian children were taken to the local branches of the Fascio where they learned to salute the flag, drill with dummy rifles, and sing patriotic Italian songs. Older children were invited to join the Avanguardista, the Giovani Fascisti, and eventually the Fascist Party.⁶³ The O.G.I.E. also sponsored athletic events for teenagers and older children that were organized along strict military lines with uniforms. Children were broken down into groups by age: the Balilla (boys) and Piccole Italiane (girls) from 9 to 13 years old; the Avanguardista (boys) and Giovane Italiane (girls) from 14 to 17; and the Giovani Fascisti from 18 to 25 years old. Upon entering the Balilla the boys took the oath stating that "In the name of God and of Italy, I swear to execute the orders of the Duce without discussion and to serve the cause of the Fascist Revolution with all my strength and if necessary with my blood." This oath was much the same as the oath to enter the Fascio.⁶⁴

While there was no doubt that the Fascio was a Fascist organization, several other Fascist organizations claimed to be independent. The Order of the Sons of Italy was one of these. The Order of the Sons of Italy was one of the foremost benevolent and mutual associations for Italians in Canada. It operated in every province, with a

⁶³CSIS, vol. 7. *The Organization and Activities*, 1.

⁶⁴CSIS, 87-A-130. *Fascist*, 18.

series of lodges throughout Canada. The Sons of Italy also put on ball games and banquets in addition to its offering unemployment, life insurance and funeral services. In Ontario alone there were five lodges in 1926-1927 and 39 lodges by February 1940, with approximately 1700 adult members and 300-500 members in the youth lodges.⁶⁵ The Sons of Italy claimed to be a non-political, indeed, its constitution forbade any political discussions or interference. However, by 1937 an RCMP report confidently stated that, "during the past ten years the Order of the Sons of Italy turned Fascist."⁶⁶ There was a split in the Sons of Italy in 1934 when the leadership moved towards the ideals, doctrine and dogmas of Fascism and not all of the members supported that decision. The break-away members founded the Independent Order of the Sons of Italy that remained loyal to Canada and King, later becoming the Italo-Canadian Order. One RCMP report stated that "I am fully convinced that the Order Sons of Italy is 100 per cent a Fascist Organization, which side by side with the Fascio has been endeavouring to spread Fascist, subversive and anti-British propaganda in the country."⁶⁷ By August 1940 the RCMP viewed membership in the Sons of Italy as tantamount to membership in the Fascist Party. It is noteworthy

⁶⁵Gabriele Scardellato, "La Colonna dei Figli d'Italia: Print Media in the Fascist period in Toronto," Speech at *The Internment of Italo-Canadians During the Second World War: A Conference* (York: Columbus Centre), 13 October 1995. Pennacchio, "Citizens of Fascist Italy," 10. Pennacchio states that there were 1600 members in Ontario with assets of \$15,993.64 to finance its social programs.

⁶⁶CSIS, vol. 7. *Memorandum, Toronto*, 29 September 1937, 8.

⁶⁷CSIS, vol. 7. *Re: Sons of Italy*, 20 September 1940.

that the RCMP was aware that not all members of the Sons of the Order of Italy were fascists. One RCMP member stated that:

I am well aware of the fact that many Italians who belong to the Order Sons of Italy, had nothing else in view but the protection of their interests, and if the Order Sons of Italy is declared illegal they will be made to suffer through no fault of theirs. What I would suggest is that while the Order Sons of Italy should be declared illegal, it could be permitted to function as a purely mutual and benevolent organization under the supervision and control of a duly appointed government officer.⁶⁸

Despite this, the RCMP managed to convince Under-Secretary of State Norman Robertson of the subversiveness of the Order of the Sons of Italy. Robertson stated that:

All things considered, this report establishes a reasonable presumption that Office holders in the Order of the Sons of Italy, particularly in districts where the Fascio was not formally organized, should be regarded as practically members of the Fascist Party. I doubt, however, whether we would be justified in assuming without further special evidence in individual cases, that the rank and file policy holder in what, after all, was started as a mutual benefit association should be, by the fact that he is a member of the Order, assimilated to the members of the Fascio and regarded as 'dangerous in wartime'.⁶⁹

An RCMP survey found that the majority of Sons of Italy leadership belonged to either the Fascio, the DopoLavoro, the War Veterans Association, or the Italian Moral Front.

Many of the forementioned Italian organizations used the Casa d'Italia as their

⁶⁸CSIS, vol. 7. *Re: Sons of Italy*, 20 September 1940.

⁶⁹CSIS, vol. 7. Letter from Robertson to Supt. Bavin, 11 September 1940, *Re: Sons of Italy*.

base of operations for entertainment, education and meeting purposes. In most communities the money to build the Casa D'Italias came from public subscription, fundraising and business donations, but the buildings were owned by the Italian Government. The Casa D'Italia's maintained a dual role between Consulate and community centre. In Toronto, the Italian Consulate, the War Veterans Association, the DopoLavoro, the Italian Fascist school committee, the Sons of Italy Lodges, and the Italian Chamber of Commerce were all locate in the Dundas St. Casa d'Italia.⁷⁰ Most Casa D'Italias contained an auditorium, a gym, a library, and office space and were designed to be the cultural centre of the entire Italian community, where all important holding meetings and events were held, whether cultural, educational, social, political or diplomatic.

Fascism in the Italo-Canadian communities reached its nadir during the Ethiopian Crisis when Italian pride and increased support for Italy clashed with state approved sanctions against Italy. This was the first indication to many Canadians that many of those in its ethnic communities had divided loyalties.

With the exit of the Italians consuls at the outbreak of war many Italian communities were left without strong local leadership. Local leaders had either joined with the Consuls and faced internment or had been silenced. This left Italian communities and the internees with no credible spokespersons. In allowing the Consuls to assume so much local influence the Italo-Canadian communities did not

⁷⁰CSIS, vol. 7. *Memorandum, Toronto*, 29 September 1937, 7.

realize that the Consuls' main role was furthering Italy, not protecting Italo-Canadian communities.⁷¹ Opposition to Italo-Canadian F

ascism came largely from the Italo-Canadian left, mainly socialists, anarchists and Communists. Many of these leftists left Italy following the 1922 Fascist seizure of power. Once in Canada, these leftists became involved in political and labour organizations fighting Canada's exploitative system and Italy's Fascist regime.⁷² Italo-Canadian radicals were a relatively small group, based mainly in Toronto, Montreal, and Windsor with smaller organizations in Sault Ste. Marie, Niagara Falls, Calgary and Vancouver. Their opposition to Fascism was largely ignored by the Canadian authorities who often blamed the left, typified as 'Reds' and malcontents, for the factionalism of the Italo-Canadian communities.⁷³ In fact, authorities like the Toronto Police Red Squad often accepted information from the Fascists about the Left, including in the case of Italian anarchist Attilio Bortolotti.⁷⁴ O.V.R.A. officials collected dossiers on anti-Fascists which they transmitted to Rome where pressure could be applied to the relatives of anti-Fascists. In addition, O.V.R.A. officials gave details of their findings on anti-Fascists to the RCMP and the

⁷¹Zucchi, "The Rise of Fascism and Toronto's Notabili."

⁷²Franca Iacovetta and Rob Ventresca, "Italian Radicals in Canada: A Note on Sources in Italy," *Labour/Le Travail*, 37 (Spring 1996), 205.

⁷³Harney, "Toronto's Little Italies," 57.

⁷⁴Reg Whitaker, "Official Repression of Communism During World War II," *Labour/Le Travail*, 17 (Spring 1986), 143.

Department of External Affairs who did nothing about O.V.R.A.'s actions.

Opposition was also mounted by Italian citizens who believed one did not have to support Mussolini (or his consuls) to be a loyal Italian. Many of these people opposed Fascism because they saw it as turning the Italo-Canadian communities against Canada and its political system.⁷⁵

When the Nazis seized power in Germany, they began considering the far flung German communities, including the 500,000 Germans in Canada, as elements to be won over to the National Socialist Revolution. The 1931 Canadian census described the 473,500 individuals of German origin as follows: 174,000 in Ontario, 129,000 in Saskatchewan, 74,5000 in Alberta, 38,000 in Manitoba, 27,000 in Nova Scotia, 17,000 in B.C., 10,500 in Quebec, 2500 in New Brunswick and a smattering of others in P.E.I. and the Territories. Of these, 10,500 were under the age of ten, 100,000 were between 10-20 and the rest were adults.⁷⁶ To win those of German origin over to National Socialism the German government established several competing agencies. In Canada these agencies were the *Auslands organisation der N.S.D.A.P.*, the *Deutsche Bund Kanada*, the *Deutsche Arbeitsfront* (D.A.F.), and the *Deutsche Arbeitsgemeinschaft* (German United League).⁷⁷ Essentially, the goal of

⁷⁵Harney, "Toronto's Little Italies," 57.

⁷⁶CSIS, 87-A-130. *The Nazi Party in Canada*, 1.

⁷⁷Jonathan Wagner, *Brothers Beyond the Sea: National Socialism in Canada* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1981), 31.

these organizations was to develop sympathy for the German Reich and its policies, and to strengthen ties to the Fatherland.

German-Canadian communities in the 1930s were divided into two relatively distinct groups in Eastern and Western Canada. In Eastern Canada, especially Ontario, German-Canadians had become more established, especially prominent as shop keepers. In Western Canada the immigrants were more recent, with a large number of them having arrived in the early inter-war period. These Western Canadian German-Canadians were also more agriculturally and rurally oriented than their Eastern counter-parts. The roughly 500,000 residents of German origin in Canada by 1939 represented 5 per cent of the overall Canadian population.⁷⁸ Of these, 60,000 had been born in Germany (including many of Jewish origin), and only 16,000 still retained their German citizenship. Of the Western Canadian German population of roughly 300,000, just under one-third, 90,000, had immigrated during the inter-war period. Of those, the majority immigrated from outside Germany, including 20,000 Mennonites from the U.S.S.R. Ontario's earlier German-Canadian immigrant wave of 200,000 was quite urbanised and many were non-German speaking, having been assimilated into mainstream Canadian society. Hence, by the

⁷⁸Robert H. Keyserlingk, "Allies or Subversives? The Canadian Government's Ambivalent Attitude towards German-Canadians in the Second World War," in Panikos Panayi, ed., *Minorities in Wartime: National and Racial Groupings in Europe, North America and Australia during the Two World Wars* (Oxford: Berg Publishers Inc., 1993), 240. This was down from the half million German and Austro-Hungarians in Canada during World War One, roughly 6 per cent of the population.

outbreak of World War Two the vast majority of Germans in Canada had few or no ties in Germany and were naturalized Canadians.⁷⁹

Similar to their Italian counter-parts, the German Consuls were instrumental in promoting Nazism and the growth of links to Germany. The German Consuls were also actively seeking information on Canada's foreign relations, especially on Canada's support for a British war. The information they sought resulted in surveillance of German dissidents in Canada, contacts with other Fascists including Italian and domestic Fascists, and collecting newspaper clippings and other literature on Canada.⁸⁰ In 1933 there were only two German Consulates in Canada, in Montreal and Winnipeg, but by 1938 this number had grown to five, with new Consulates added in Toronto (G. Kropp), Ottawa (Dr. Erich Windels), and Vancouver (Dr. H.W. Mahler).⁸¹ Left largely on their own, the German Consuls each took a different approach to promoting Germany. While Windels and Eckner were mainly concerned with their diplomatic duties, Kropp was active in the Nazi cause, being the leader of the N.S.D.A.P. Ortsgruppe in Toronto. Three of the most influential members of the diplomatic corps in Canada were Ludwig Kempff, Heinrich Seelheim, and Wilhelm L. Rodde.

⁷⁹Keyserlingk, "Allies or Subversives?" 240.

⁸⁰Graeme Mount, *Canada's Enemies: Spies and Spying in the Peaceable Kingdom*, (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1995), 53.

⁸¹*NOW: Hitler over Canada*, vol. 1, no. 1, 3. Interestingly, Mahler was a naturalized British subject of German birth.

Kempff was the General Consul for Montreal from 1921 until his death in 1937. While slightly ambivalent to the N.S.D.A.P. regime in Germany, Kempff nevertheless pledged loyalty to it, distributing pro-Nazi propaganda and publicly defending Hitler and his policies.⁴² Despite actively aiding the 1934 launch of the Bund in Canada, Kempff was not pleased with the Bund's tactics in trying to shape German-Canadian Clubs. Kempff ran into problems with Karl Gerhard, Bund leader and Canadian representative of the N.S.D.A.P. Gerhard believed the Party was superior to the State and hence he was Kempff's superior, a claim Kempff flatly denied. Kempff also faced conflicts with the leader of the N.S.D.A.P. in Montreal, Heinz Weisback, over Kempff's refusal to bow to the Party. After Kempff's death in 1937 the position of German Consul was filled by Dr. H. Eckner.⁴³

Dr. Heinrich Seelheim was the Winnipeg Consul from 1930 until 1937 when he was transferred to Yokohama. More of a Party supporter than Kempff, Seelheim regularly reported to Germany anything he felt might be of interest. These reports included details on German communists, exiled members of the Reichstag, and others unfavourable to Nazi Germany.⁴⁴ Seelheim enjoyed a friendly relationship with both Winnipeg's N.S.D.A.P. and Bund branches, being a personal friend of Bernhard Bott,

⁴²CSIS, 87-A-130, *The Nazi Party in Canada*, February 1947. A. Alsvold, Corporal, R.C.M.P. First draft in 1944 but rewritten in 1947, 20.

⁴³*NOW: Hitler over Canada*, vol. 1, no. 1, 3.

⁴⁴Wagner, *Brothers*, 38.

the leader of the Bund in Western Canada. Seelheim was responsible for financing the *Deutsche Zeitung fur Kanada* and addressed many crowds of German-Canadians speaking in glowing terms about Hitler and the Third Reich. Seelheim closed one speech to the German-Canadian Reunion at River Park, Winnipeg, on 28 June 1936 with "Herr Hitler is the German Nation and the German Nation is Herr Hitler" and the Nazi salute.⁸⁵

After Seelheim's promotion and transfer, he was replaced by Wilhelm Rodde as Winnipeg's General Consul. By far the most fervent Party supporter of the three men, Rodde joined the Nazi Party in 1931, was a member of the S.S., and served on von Ribbentrop's staff. Rodde was very committed to promoting the advancement of local pro-Nazi groups, especially the Bund. Quite soon after his arrival in Canada Rodde assumed leadership of the N.S.D.A.P., and moved the Party headquarters from Montreal to Winnipeg. Rodde was appointed to Winnipeg in 1931 because Western Canada had the largest proportion of new immigrants and the highest number of potential New Germany supporters. Rodde bullied and badgered people into supporting the New Germany, tactics which finally forced his recall in March 1939.⁸⁶

The official Nazi Party in Canada was the N.S.D.A.P. Membership in the N.S.D.A.P. was restricted to elites who had retained their German citizenship, were

⁸⁵CSIS, 87-A-130. *The Nazi Party in Canada*, 19.

⁸⁶CSIS, 87-A-130. *The Nazi Party in Canada*, 51.

born in Germany proper, and were of good standing with the German government.⁸⁷

The N.S.D.A.P attempted to foster the Nazi spirit in Canada and was supported by official and semi-official German channels, such as the German Consuls and the Office of the German State Railways and Steamship Lines. Divided into local cells, N.S.D.A.P. meetings were held in secret, and consisted mainly of training in public speaking, gathering information on conditions and persons in Canada, studying party literature, and assuring each other that they had faith in Hitler and his methods. The RCMP estimated that the total membership of the N.S.D.A.P. was 100.⁸⁸ Members had to swear an oath of allegiance which stated "I swear absolute allegiance to Adolf Hitler and implicit obedience to him and to the leader appointed over me by him."⁸⁹

According to the leader of the Foreign Division of the N.S.D.A.P., Ernst Bohle, the pillars of every N.S.D.A.P. movement were blind obedience, loyalty and discipline.⁹⁰

The first Nazi group in Canada was formed in 1933 by E.F. Dente and called The Friends of New Germany. Part of a United States organization, the Nazi

⁸⁷CSIS, 87-A-130. *The Nazi Party in Canada*, 12. RCMP, *Law and Order*, 161.

⁸⁸CSIS, 87-A-130. *The Nazi Party in Canada*, 6, 12. Keyserlingk claims 250 members for the N.S.D.A.P. "Breaking the Nazi Plot," 57.

⁸⁹CSIS, 87-A-130, *The Nazi Party in Canada*, 6-7.

⁹⁰*Mitteilungsblatt der Auslandsorganisation der national sozialistischen Deutschen Arbeiter Partei* (Hamburg, July 1934), No. 8. Reprinted in *The German Reich and Americans of German Origin*, 25.

movement established branches in Toronto, Kitchener, St. Catherines, Montreal, Winnipeg and Vancouver.⁹¹ Due to its overt political radicalism the group did not last more than a year, with members moving to the newly established Deutscher Bund Kanada, the N.S.D.A.P. or the D.A.F.

On 1 January 1934, the Deutscher Bund Kanada (Bund) was formed as a cultural society to bring existing German-Canadian clubs and organizations in line with the Nazi Party movement in Germany. Created in Waterloo, Ontario by five devoted Hitler supporters, Ernest Kopf, Otto Geisler, Georg Messer, Paul Lechscheidt and Karl Gerhard, the Bund attempted to convert German-Canadians to the 'truths' of National Socialism, and persuade them to become part of a German movement world-wide to unify 'Germans abroad.' Led by German-Canadians, the Bund wanted to sidestep the problems of the Friends of New Germany by avoiding overt political radicalism. Dedicated to upholding the *Völkisch* ideology, the Bund insisted it was not a political organization, rather that its goals were social and cultural identification with Germany.⁹² Maintaining this illusion, the Bund

⁹¹NAC, RG 25, vol. 1964, 855-E-39, Part 1. *His Lordship Mr. Justice J.D. Hyndman and Sgt. Barnes, Intelligence Dept. RCMP*, 2. This information is from S.A. 407 and contradicts available secondary sources such as Betcherman and Wagner who argue that the Friends of New Germany was disbanded later in 1933. Wagner states that after Heinz Spanknoebel, leader of the American Friends of New Germany, fled the USA to avoid an indictment the entire movement on both sides of the border collapsed. Wagner, *Brothers*, 65.

⁹²Wagner, "The Deutscher Bund Canada, 1934-39," *Canadian Historical Review*, 58, 2 (June 1977), 176-200.

prohibited any discussion of Canadian politics and religion. After new members were accepted into the Bund, they had to swear the oath, stating: "I herewith make application for admission into the Deutsche Bund Kanada, I am a blameless Volksgenosse and have completed my eighteenth year. I am acquainted with the statutes of the Bund and undertake to fulfil the obligations contained therein."⁹³ In addition, Bund member were also expected to live up to a code of conduct, to recruit *Volksgenossen* (national comrades), to respect and esteem Canada and its laws, to help create a lasting friendship between Germany and Canada, to defend Germany against lies and to uphold *Volksgemeinschaft* (work and service to the national partnership).⁹⁴ The Bund also 'recommended' that its members subscribe to the *Deutscher Zeitung fur Kanada* (Winnipeg) as it existed independent of party-politics influences and was independent of anti-German sentiments. As well, Bund members were expected to send their children to German schools and organizations which tried to educate both boys and girls through instruction in sports, social evening, lectures, theatre, music and camps.⁹⁵ The Bund was most active in Western Canada, mainly because the German Canadian community there was newer and less assimilated than its counterpart in Eastern Canada.

⁹³Wagner, *Brothers*, 67.

⁹⁴CSIS, vol. 7. *Auslands Organization of N.S.D.A.P.*, 26 June 1939, 2.

⁹⁵CSIS, vol. 7. *What is the German Bund, Canada, and What are its Intentions. Directions and Regulations*, 2.

Essentially, the Bund appealed to those in marginal economic positions. The typical Bund supporter was under the age of forty-five, a recent immigrant not yet assimilated, an artisan, unskilled labourer or small shopkeeper. Offering security through unity with the *Volk*, the Bund used the Jewish 'menace' as a convenient rationale for economic woes. Even at the height of its popularity, however, membership of the Bund was less than 2,000, spread across Canada in 71 units, 57 of them in Saskatchewan.⁹⁶ In Saskatchewan, the Bund's popularity was due to the large number of recent German immigrants and the high percentage of Germans in relations to the total population.⁹⁷ Throughout Canada, 85 per cent of all Bund units were in areas with less than 1000 residents. Overall, less than 1 per cent of the German population belonged to the Bund.⁹⁸ The Bund offered several advantages to members, including sick benefits, low dues, social work for the needy, social functions, and the possibility to go to the Nuremberg Conference at a subsidized rate after being a Party member in good standing after a year or two.

The Bund was divided into three main districts — Western, Central and Eastern-Canada — as well as several sub-divisions. While the Bund's main strength lay in Western Canada with the majority of the membership, Montreal had the

⁹⁶Jonathan Wagner, "Heim ins Reich, the story of Loon River's Nazis," *Saskatchewan History*, 29 (1976), 41-43.

⁹⁷Wagner, "Heim ins Reich," 41.

⁹⁸Wagner, "Heim ins Reich," 43 and RCMP, *Law and Order*, 162.

country's largest Ortsgruppe (local group) with 170 members. Not as large, but still very active, were the Toronto and Kitchener-Waterloo centres. None, however, were as active as those in Manitoba and Saskatchewan. Less than 5 per cent of Bund members were also members of the N.S.D.A.P., a number reduced through German directives that members of the N.S.D.A.P. must be German citizens and that they were forbidden from activity in Volksdeutsche organizations like the Bund. Interestingly, two Bund Ortsgruppen in Vancouver were liquidated and transformed into D.A.F. locals as most of their members were German citizens, including employees of the German Steamship Lines. There were two main types of Bund activities: meetings and activities limited to Bund members, and events open to the general public. Both types of activities had a purpose, the first to keep Bund members devoted, the second to bring Nazi propaganda to the German-Canadian community.

The Bund was dominated by two main figures: Karl Gerhard of Montreal and Bernhard Bott of Winnipeg. Gerhard was a key Bund figure from 1934 to 1936, while Bott's importance increased from 1936 to 1939. Gerhard was one of the five men involved in the creation of the Bund and subsequently became its leader. After two trips to Germany, Gerhard also became leader of the fledgling N.S.D.A.P. This dual role forced Gerhard into conflicting roles and he ended up resigning from the Bund in October 1935. Seeing himself as the National Fuhrer, Gerhard ran into problems with Montreal Consul Ludwig Kempff. Gerhard faced rebellion from Bund

groups in Ontario, and by late 1936 he was also removed from the leadership of the N.S.D.A.P. With Gerhard's removal the Bund focus shifted to the West under the leadership of Bernhard Bott. Bott was born in South Germany in 1892, and immigrated to Regina in 1923 after a stint as a journalist and in the German army in World War I. Upon arrival in Canada, Bott became the editor of *Der Courier* and was granted Canadian citizenship in 1929. After a 1934 visit to Germany, Bott's admiration for Hitler increased tenfold and he became increasingly active in the Bund upon his arrival back in Canada. His pro-Nazi leanings precipitated his leaving *Der Courier* after which he helped to establish the *Deutsche Zeitung fur Kanada*. As editor and managing director of the *Deutsche Zeitung*, Bott was considered one of the principal driving forces behind Nazi activities in Canada. Bott actively promoted separating the Bund from the N.S.D.A.P.⁹⁹ Bott was also instrumental in trying to get the Mennonite communities to support the German Nazi movement rather than the fascist Canadian Nationalist Party of William Whittaker.¹⁰⁰

In May 1936 the RCMP sent out a memorandum requesting information on the Bund in response to the Bund's request for a charter to enable it to sell beer. An RCMP report described the Bund as being composed of 50 per cent unemployed and being quite anti-communist in nature. In the report RCMP Superintendent Mead

⁹⁹CSIS, 87-A-130, *The Nazi Party in Canada*, 24.

¹⁰⁰Ted Jones, *Both Sides of the Wire: The Fredericton Internment Camp*, vol. 2 (Fredericton: New Aberdeen Press, 1989), 340.

stated that as withholding the charter might lead to members becoming recruits for the Communist Party, which in his mind "would be far more detrimental to the best interests of the State, than by coming under the influence of the above-noted society,"¹⁰¹ he recommended waiting three months before granting the charter. An earlier report on 29 August 1935 described the political nature of the Bund, stating that it was headed by Karl Gerhard who was supposedly being paid by the German government. Despite the Bund's aggressive spreading of Nazi propaganda RCMP Corporal Lamothe stated that "As far as the character of the leaders are concerned they are honest and law abiding citizens, as so is the membership which is composed mainly of Germans who have been in this country from five to ten years and a great deal of whom are unemployed."¹⁰²

In Canada, the *Deutsche Arbeitsfront* (D.A.F.) provided a framework for a mass organisation of German Nationals. Those who wanted to join the N.S.D.A.P. first had to undergo a three year probationary period in the D.A.F.¹⁰³ To join the D.A.F. applicants had to be German nationals of Aryan descent with good reputations. Started in 1936, ordinary members of the D.A.F. were not required to

¹⁰¹NAC, RG 13, C1, vol. 964. General file. Supt. Mead to RCMP Commissioner, *Re: Canadian Society for German Culture, Inc.*, 29 May 1935.

¹⁰²NAC, RG 13, C1, vol. 964. *Re: Canadian Society for German Culture Inc.*, 29 August 1935.

¹⁰³NAC, RG 25, G-1, vol. 1964, file 855-E, Part I. Conversation between Hyndman and Barnes, 31 August 1940.

give a loyalty oath to Hitler but one was necessary to take a leadership role. Instead of a loyalty oath, the application stated:

I herewith wish to apply for membership in the Deutsche Arbeitsfront. I know the Deutsche Arbeitsfront is an organization which was founded by the Fuehrer Adolf Hitler in order to educate all fellow countrymen, active in the economic life, in the national socialist principles of the community of the people.
I bind myself to strive in all my thoughts and actions for the national socialist principle: Common interest before self-interest.¹⁰⁴

D.A.F. headquarters were in Montreal, with *Ortsgruppen* and *Stutzpunkte* (points of support) in other cities and many rural areas. At D.A.F. meetings members studied literature, held dances, showed German films and secretly practised target shooting and drilling. In addition to the social benefits of joining the D.A.F. there were also financial benefits of reduced fares to Germany and inexpensive insurance. The tasks of the D.A.F. were to keep the social faith of their members, to coordinate members' leisure time so to cultivate social relations, and to disseminate information on the political, social, economic and cultural events in Germany. By 1939, the Montreal Ortsgruppe had 181 members, including 28 women, while Toronto had 95, Kitchener 36, Winnipeg 47, Regina 35, Edmonton 20, Vancouver 82, and Vernon 13. There were also Ortsgruppen in Kelowna and Waterloo. In total there were roughly 500 members in the D.A.F.¹⁰⁵

In the spring 1939 the swing in public opinion against Hitler and hence, the

¹⁰⁴CSIS, 87-A-130. *The Nazi Party in Canada*, 12.

¹⁰⁵CSIS, 87-A-130. *The Nazi Party in Canada*, 12. Also in *Law and Order*, 162.

D.A.F., caused the D.A.F. to issue the following circular:

All district managers are herewith instructed to cease all functions such as school evenings, training for public speaking, public — and private meetings and so forth until counter orders are received from the administration...

Recruiting lists, membership lists, account cards and membership books together with all important documents must be securely packed and forwarded to the German Consulate in Winnipeg...

Education material must be hidden before being seized. When this is not possible it must be burned...

Heil Hitler.¹⁰⁶

Thus the D.A.F. was forced to go underground, with many of its leaders fleeing to Germany or the U.S.A. Those who could not leave Canada attempted to get added to the pay-roll of the German embassy to gain diplomatic immunity. By the war's outbreak only 60 known D.A.F. leaders remained in Canada.¹⁰⁷

There were many reasons for Germans and German-Canadians to join the forementioned clubs and associations. Most of these organizations offered a form of relief, insurance of subsidized travel to Germany in addition to the common bonds of language and culture. Many of the groups also offered free entertainment including movies, speeches and beer. In addition to these benefits, the organizations also offered a 'solution' to Canada's economic problems.¹⁰⁸

Several papers fostered Nazism in Canada. For instance, the *Deutsche Zeitung*

¹⁰⁶CSIS, 87-A-130. *The Nazi Party in Canada*, 14-15.

¹⁰⁷RCMP, *Law and Order*, 162.

¹⁰⁸John Offenbeck, "The Nazi Movement and German Canadians 1933-1939," MA Thesis, University of Western Ontario, 1970, 4.

fur Canada, published in Winnipeg, was extremely pro-Nazi. Founded in 1935, the *Deutsche Zeitung* was born out of the frustration felt by Bott and Winnipeg Consul Seelheim who wanted an independent, pro-German paper. They felt *Der Courier* was not sufficiently pro-Nazi, occasionally taking an independent line. Seelheim provided most of the financing for the paper, and was its largest stockholder.¹⁰⁹ Another pro-Nazi paper was the *Deutsche Zeitung* with a circulation of 3,500 by mid-1938 rising to roughly 5,000 by 1939.¹¹⁰ The *Deutsche Zeitung* was used to further German propaganda and many of its advertisements were for anti-Semitic literature from Hamburg and around the world.¹¹¹ While officially the organ of the Bund, the *Deutsche Zeitung* also covered activities of the D.A.F., and political events in Germany. Organized as a joint stock company, the majority of shares were held by members of the German Consulate, with Seelheim owing 300 and others holding smaller amounts.¹¹² The paper was forced to close in the spring of 1939 when its assets were seized after losing a civil suit brought by the Toronto General Trust and

¹⁰⁹CSIS, 87-A-130, *The Nazi Party in Canada*, 21.

¹¹⁰CSIS, 87-A-130. *The Nazi Party in Canada*, 21 and 37.

¹¹¹CSIS, vol. 7. *The Fascist Net-Work in Canada*, 1 June 1939, 1.

¹¹²Alsvoid, "German Subversive Societies in Canada," *RCMP Gazette*, 4, 5 (4 February 1942), Part II, 865. Rodde gave someone \$50 worth to purchase shares in their name which he effectively controlled while editor Bernard Bott also held several shares, giving overall control to the German Consul.

the Winnipeg Electric Company.¹¹³

Four other papers on the Prairies exhibited support for Germany, *Der Northwestern* (Winnipeg) with a circulation of 13,000, the *Mennonite Rundschau* (Winnipeg) with a circulation of 4,000, *Der Bote* (Rosthern, Saskatchewan), and the *Steinbach Post* (Steinbach, Manitoba). *Der Northwestern* was a family-run paper with a mostly Mennonite readership and was quite positive towards Hitler. It had strong links to the Protestant Church. The *Mennonite Rundschau* favoured a return to a stricter adherence of the Mennonite religion and was outspokenly anti-Communist, anti-Semitic and pro-Nazi. *Der Bote* was another Mennonite paper that had an anti-Semitic, anti-Communist and pro-Nazi editorial line. A socially conservative, farmer-oriented paper, the *Steinbach Post* was community-focused, and showed understanding for Hitler's anti-Communist stance. Each paper demonstrated a differing degree of acceptance for the new Germany, but all accepted Nazi propaganda from Germany and pro-Hitler letters. Hitler was portrayed in these papers as being a serious, down-to-earth, religious, intelligent man who had solve Germany's labour problems, eliminated the Communists, and rebuilt Germany. Essentially the papers engaged in a deification of Hitler.

Not all the German-Canadian papers supported Hitler's regime. There were two main Prairie papers opposed to the New Germany: *Der Courier* (Regina) and the *St. Peters Bote* (Muenster, Saskatchewan). With a circulation of 7,000 *Der Courier*

¹¹³CSIS, 87-A-130. *The Nazi Party in Canada*, 37.

was a family paper with Catholic and Liberal leanings that was more interested in Canadian than German politics. This concentration on Canadian politics annoyed Bott, its editor. Bott wanted *Der Courier* to focus more on the preservation of language and cultural ties than the economic and political sphere. Bott was eventually fired from *Der Courier* for his increasingly pro-German stance. The Catholic *St. Peter's Bote* served a community of German-Canadians who had recently immigrated not from Europe but from the American mid-West. Serving the German Catholic farming community, the *St. Peter's Bote* was outspokenly anti-Nazi. With five out of seven Prairie papers favourable to Hitler, some 70,000 German-Canadians were reading pro-Nazi papers.¹¹⁴

In 1936 the German government invited Canadian youth to participate in a Youth camp along with twenty-nine other nations. The Canadian contingent was selected on the basis of willingness to go and an ability to pay for the trip. Unlike several countries, especially Italy, the Canadian contingent was quite unprepared for the militaristic nature of the camp. The Camp was used to show off Germany's new strength during the 1936 German Olympics. Throughout the existence of the camp young Canadians were subjected to extensive German propaganda.¹¹⁵

The *Deutsche Arbeitsgemeinschaften*, or German United League, was

¹¹⁴Wagner, *Brothers*, 114.

¹¹⁵A.B. Hodgetts, "Hitler Youth Camps," *Maclean's*, 1 December 1936, 23, 43-44.

established to unify the various German clubs and societies under a common leadership. While the first one was established in Saskatchewan by Bernhard Bott in early 1934 by the end of the year there were *Arbeitsgemeinschaften* organizations in Alberta, Quebec, and Ontario. The initial impetus behind the *Arbeitsgemeinschaften* came from Bott who wanted to provide a uniform standard of education and activity and to help organize annual German days. For example, the *Deutsche Arbeitsgemeinschaft Ontario* (DAGO) attempted to develop *volkish* unity through the common bonds of language, culture and blood. DAGO was very concerned with preventing the assimilation of German-Canadians into Canadian society.¹¹⁶ The Nazis attempted to gain control of the *Arbeitsgemeinschaften* to disseminate propaganda. In addition, Nazis used cultural events such as German Days and the Tage to entice new members. While German Days were designed as festivals with free flowing beer, they were also used by the Nazis to spread propaganda to members of the German community and others. Prominent members of the community, including Liberal Member of Parliament Tom Euler, were asked to address German Days, which was seen as the Canadian government's tacit approval of the German community. Another event was the Tage, a summer fair designed to remind Germans and German-Canadians of their roots. Held over two days, the Tage show-cased German arts and crafts, songs and music, and included a banquet, dancing and a German church service. After 1933 the events became increasingly pro-Nazi, coming

¹¹⁶Wagner, *Brothers*, 89.

under the influence of the N.S.D.A.P. and Bund. Consular Officials were on hand for the fairs, giving speeches on the merits of the national Socialism and Hitler's new Germany.¹¹⁷

In late 1937 the German government considered buying Anticosti Island in the mouth of the St. Lawrence Seaway, supposedly for lumber and minerals. Anticosti Island was owned by the Consolidated Paper Corporation which had hoped to harvest the virgin pulpwood, but with the depression worsening it was forced to turn the island into a playground for the rich. While the island was technically part of the province of Quebec, it was governed by paternalistic Consolidated Paper.¹¹⁸ In May 1938 Opposition leader R.B. Bennett brought the House of Commons' attention not only to the potential sale of a strategic island to a foreign country but also to German-Canadian Fascist organizations. Bennett linked German-Canadian Nazism and the sale of Anticosti Island to an international Nazi conspiracy.¹¹⁹ Bennett's interest kept the Nazi and Fascist cause before the House of Commons from mid-1938 until the war's outbreak in 1939. Other politicians and the English-language press took up Bennett's call, condemning German-Canadian fascism. Many citizen groups including the Daughters of England, and the Canadian Corps Association protested to Minister of Justice Ernest Lapointe about the subversive nature of the Nazi groups.

¹¹⁷Wagner, *Brothers*, 95.

¹¹⁸Richard Finnie, "Anticosti," *Maclean's*, 1 May 1936, 15, 17.

¹¹⁹*Debates, House of Commons*, Vol. III, 1938, 3269.

From mid-1938 onwards there was an increasingly hostile environment for pro-Nazis in Canada.

The early opponents of Nazism in Canada were Jews and Communists. They were helped in Parliament by Samuel W. Jacobs (Liberal, Cartier). From 1933 until his death in 1937 Jacobs was outspoken against the Friends of Nazi Germany, the Bund and domestic Nazi movements. In February 1934 Jacobs asked Prime Minister Bennett what he was going to do about the distribution of pro-Nazi propaganda by the German Consulate in Montreal. Minister of Justice Hugh Guthrie assured Jacobs that such activities did not constitute interference.¹²⁰ Bringing up the issue again in April 1936, Jacobs questioned Prime Minister King over the propriety of the Nazi cruiser Emden docking in Montreal harbour, to which King answered that the visit had no political significance.¹²¹

Another opponent of Nazism was the German-Canadian League, formed in 1934 to bring together anti-Nazi German-Canadians across Canada. Largely ignored until 1938, when a public furore erupted over pro-Nazis, the German-Canadian League seized the opportunity to launch a large-scale anti-Nazi propaganda campaign. The German-Canadian League had a membership of 1,800, roughly the same as the Bund. The German-Canadian League wanted to show the Canadian public that not all German-Canadians were Nazi supporters. With the increasing protests against them,

¹²⁰*Debates, House of Commons*, Vol. I, 1934, 1028-1029.

¹²¹*Debates, House of Commons*, Vol. III, 1936, 2285.

many members of the Bund became more cautious or severed their Nazi connections. A few, like Bernhard Bott, became increasingly pro-Nazi while others, like the Loon River Nazis, returned to Germany.¹²² Bott remained a dedicated Nazi despite being interned from September 1939 to June 1945. Bott's naturalization was revoked in 1942 on the grounds of disaffection and disloyalty to His Majesty.

Further opposition to the German-Canadian Nazi organizations was mounted by the German-Canadian Left, including labour organizations such as the German Workers and Farmers Association (GWFA). The GWFA had roughly the same membership size as the Bund and the German-Canadian League, with less than 2,000 members. The majority of the Germany community was inactive politically in either extreme. The German-Canadian Left was worried at what they saw as the coddling of the German-Canadian Right by the Canadian authorities. The Left was not surprised at this coddling given what they saw as the federal and provincial governments increasing turn towards labour repression. The German-Canadian Left was particularly suspicious of Prime Minister R.B. Bennett whom they saw as manifesting signs of 'Hitlerism'.¹²³

The Germans were not the only ones interested in Nazism, many Ukrainians

¹²²For information on the Loon River Nazis see Wagner, "Heim ins Reich: The Story of Loon River's Nazis," *Saskatchewan History*, 29 (1976), 41-50.

¹²³A. Grenke, "From Dreams of the Worker State to Fighting Hitler: the German-Canadian Left From the Depression to the End of World War II," *Labour/Le Travail*, 25 (Spring 1995), 101-102.

were also flirting with it. However, interest in Germany often stemmed from Hitler's promise to help the Ukraine obtain an independent homeland. Ukrainian communities in Canada were divided into two main groups, those supporting the Communist Party such as the Ukrainian Labour Farmer Temple Association and those supporting right-wing associations such as the conservative Ukrainian National Federation (U.N.O.) and the United Hetman Organization (U.H.O.). While the Communist Party of Canada attempted to convince the public and the police that the U.N.O. was both anti-Semitic and Fascist, the U.N.O. never accepted the Fascist label and had no connections with local Fascist groups such as the Canadian Nationalist Party.¹²⁴ The U.N.O. was extremely anti-Communist but more conservative than Fascist. The Canadian government investigated the U.N.O. at the behest of the Polish Consular Officials who were unhappy with the frequent visits of Ukrainian nationalists to Canada. In essence the Canadian government told the Polish Consulate that the Canadian government:

never tolerate[d] the abuse by subversive elements of the asylum it has offered to immigrants from every country in Europe ... that the position of the Canadian government vis-a-vis Canadian nationals of Ukrainian racial origin has been complicated and rendered more difficult by the denunciation by the Government of Poland of the so-called Minorities Treaty of 1919, upon which the more moderate and responsible elements in our numerous Ukrainian community had relied for the maintenance of the religious, civil, and linguistic rights

¹²⁴Thomas M. Prymak, *Maple Leaf and Trident: The Ukrainian Canadians during the Second World War* (Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1988), 21.

guaranteed to the kinsmen in Poland.¹²⁵

The U.H.O. was much smaller than the U.N.O. and supported a monarchy under Hetman Pavlo Skoropadsky for the Ukraine and the British monarchy for Canada. Anti-Communists, the U.H.O. adopted uniforms and a military style discipline common to Fascist organizations, but the U.H.O. continually denied that they were a Fascist organization. In 1937-1938 Danylo Skoropadsky, son of Hetman, toured Canada, and furthered the organization's Fascist image by listening to Adrien Arcand speak out against the Bolshevik occupation of the Ukraine. However, Skoropadsky lived in England and praised American and British democracy. He also met with the Mayor of Toronto and Governor General Lord Tweedsmuir on his visit to Canada.

The U.N.O. and U.H.O.'s claims that they were not Fascists were not helped by the fact that the public viewed Ukrainian nationalists in Europe as allies of Hitler. A prominent University of Saskatchewan historian, George Simpson, addressed the issue of Ukrainian Fascism on the CBC arguing that the Ukrainian nationalist movement in Europe moved in concert with Hitler only because Germany's expansionist aims made Hitler appear to be the best bet to gain an independent Ukraine. Then, he claimed, Ukrainians would throw off German influence. With the outbreak of war, the U.N.O., the U.H.O., and the Communist Ukrainian Press all maintained their loyalty to Canada, with several organizations offering to form

¹²⁵Prymak, *Maple Leaf and Trident*, 21-22. NAC, RG25, G1, vol. 1896, file 165, part I. Memorandum of the British Consulate in Chicago to the Canadian Legation in Washington, 2 August 1940.

Ukrainian Legions or units to fight side-by-side with the British troops.

Within two weeks of the war's outbreak the RCMP were investigating the histories, strengths and opinions of the various Ukrainian-Canadian organizations, from left to right.¹²⁶ The RCMP seemed to be more worried about the Communist-affiliated groups, such as the U.L.F.T.A., than they were about the U.N.O. which they noted as having considerable influence over a large section of the Ukrainian community. Indeed, when the Canadian government acted against Ukrainian organizations, it was the Communist Party of Canada, the U.L.F.T.A., the women's section of the U.L.F.T.A. and the Ukrainian Canadian Youth Federation that were banned. Communists such as Ivan Navizivsky were arrested and interned, but there were no known internments from the nationalist U.N.O. or U.H.O. organizations.

In addition to ethnic Fascist groups, there were also many "domestic" Fascist groups among both the French and English-Canadian communities. While Quebec had the dominant Fascist organization, the National Social Christian Party (N.S.C.P.), many other parts of Canada had smaller organizations. In the Maritimes, Fascism was the choice of only a select few including the Blueshirts Daniel O'Keefe in New Brunswick and William Crane in Nova Scotia, both of whom only had a handful of supporters.¹²⁷ Western Canadians did not appear keen to accept Fascism either,

¹²⁶NAC, National Ethnic Archives, Ukrainian Collection. *Ukrainians in Canada*, 1 October 1939, 16, 21, 23-29. Cited in Prymak, *Maple Leaf and Trident*, 40.

¹²⁷Jones, *Both Sides of the Wire*, 346.

outside of support for it in several German communities. Specifically, Fascism in B.C. involved only a few supporters, mainly in the Young Citizens League headed by C.S. Thomas.¹²⁸ Alberta and Saskatchewan were also relatively free of domestic Fascism, with Manitoba being the one exception in the Prairies. Manitoba had several Fascist organizations, including the Canadian Nationalist Party (C.N.P.) and the Canadian Union of Fascists (C.U.F.).

Established in Winnipeg in September 1933 by William Whittaker, the C.N.P. was a well-organized attempt to fight Communism and end the depression. Whittaker, an Englishman, claimed to be fervently patriotic to the Crown and Canada. He created the C.N.P. to further the abolition of the provincial legislatures to centralize Canada under a corporate state. As an ex-employee of the C.P.R. Police and an ex-Sergeant-Major of the British Army, Whittaker's disciplined military background apparently led him to support Fascism. Membership in the C.N.P. was made up mainly of veterans and it had a distinctly paramilitary character, with its members listed according to their fighting skills.¹²⁹ The C.N.P. regularly battled it out in the streets and in meeting halls with local anti-Fascists, mainly Communists and trade unionists. Anti-Communism made the C.N.P. attractive to right-wing

¹²⁸While not involved in overt fascism, B.C. had its share of racist organizations with its multitude of anti-Oriental groups. There was one quasi-fascist group based in Vancouver, the Home Guard which was affiliated with the C.N.P. CSIS, vol. 7. *The Fascist Net-Work in Canada*, 1 June 1939, 7.

¹²⁹Betcherman, *The Swastika and the Maple Leaf*, 67.

elements among many ethnic groups, including Germans, Italians, and Ukrainians as well as to 'new world' Mennonites. Many Mennonites, abandoning the traditional mennonite policy of pacifism, joined the C.N.P. Under Whittaker the C.N.P. was both pro-German and pro-Italian. Whittaker considered Germany to have demonstrated the 'true path' to the C.N.P.¹³⁰

Whittaker blamed Jews for the Depression and his speeches reflected this by stressing the need to boycott all Jewish firms. A constant theme of Whittaker's was that social unrest and the depression were caused by Jewish financiers who controlled the international money markets. Whittaker's publication, *The Canadian Nationalist*, was a virulently anti-Semitic newspaper regularly containing excerpts from articles by Goebbels. Its purpose was "to disclose to the Canadian people a view of the world as it really is, and the hitherto unseen powers who are guiding its people towards social and economic destruction."¹³¹ After an incident where a C.N.P. member was severely beaten up while selling the *Canadian Nationalist*, Whittaker decided that every distributor would be joined by two members of the uniformed "protective squad".¹³²

Interestingly, there were always several policemen in attendance at C.N.P.

¹³⁰CSIS, 117-91-22. *RCMP Report re: Nationalist Party of Canada - Winnipeg*, 15 January 1934.

¹³¹*The Canadian Nationalist*, October 1935, vol. 1, 1.

¹³²CSIS, 117-91-22. *RCMP Report re Nationalist Party of Canada - (Fascist) - Winnipeg*, 15 February 1934, 1.

meetings, cheering on Whittaker and giving the impression of an alliance between the two. C.N.P. meetings attracted large crowds, with 600 on 15 January 1934, and 750 on 13 February 1934. At the end of January 1934 the RCMP estimated that the C.N.P. had 3,000 active members.¹³³

Whittaker differed from other Fascist leaders in his allegiance to Canada as an independent country. The C.N.P. wanted the people of Canada to see themselves as Canadians, not British subjects, and criticized the use of the term "British subjects". The C.N.P. believed Canada needed a national identity and all its symbols, such as a Canadian flag. They did want Canada, however, to participate in the British Commonwealth on an equal footing with Britain.

The C.N.P. divided the world into four races: the white race (Aryan), the black race, the yellow race and the Semitic race. While claiming that other races were not inferior, the C.N.P. aimed to protect the future of the white race. Interestingly, the C.N.P. believed that native Indians belonged in Canada, held sacred rights and were deserving of Canadian citizenship. The C.N.P. did not see that they were depriving Jews and Blacks of any rights as they would be allowed to maintain their British citizenship, just not obtain the new Canadian citizenship. The C.N.P. wanted Christianity to be taught in all levels of school, with the end result being the

¹³³CSIS, 117-91-22, *"Report re Nationalist Party of Canada - (Fascist) - Winnipeg,"* 15 February 1934.

forming of men of discipline, character, and self-respect.¹³⁴

The C.N.P. received police attention after bloodshed erupted at the Market Square Riot, on 5 June 1934, described as the worse civil disturbance since the Winnipeg General Strike. This riot was the culmination of a series of open clashes between the C.N.P. and their opponents. In an attempt to prevent more violence the Police and Provincial Attorney General opted to cancel all future C.N.P. public meetings. The issue of C.N.P. meetings had already received attention in the Manitoba Legislative House from John Queen, I.L.P. MPP, when he questioned the Attorney General as to why there was no prosecution of the C.N.P. following a Police raid upon their premises.¹³⁵

Whittaker's group was fairly successful in the beginning but by its first anniversary the C.N.P. did not have enough money to print its next issue of the *Canadian Nationalist*. Whittaker blamed the lack of finances on the upcoming court case and members being unable to meet dues. In October 1934, a permanent injunction was sought against Whittaker to try to prevent the *Canadian Nationalist* from publishing further libels against the Jewish people. Whittaker and the publisher of the *Canadian Nationalist* were sued for libels against the Jewish race by William

¹³⁴CSIS, vol. 7. *Program and Regulations, the Canadian Nationalist Party*, 26-27.

¹³⁵CSIS, 117-91-22. Letter from T. Cann, A/Commissioner, to Commissioner, 16 February 1934, 3.

V. Tobias.¹³⁶ The Manitoba Legislature also amended the Libel Act to include penalties for group defamation. Despite these restrictions, Whittaker was publishing more anti-Semitic articles within a year. The organization faltered as Whittaker fell ill and without him at the helm, the C.N.P. foundered. By 1938 the C.N.P. was virtually inactive as many members had dropped out, leaving a core of mainly Germans supporting the Nazi movement.¹³⁷

The RCMP's personal file on William Whittaker shows that the RCMP was aware of his activities as early as 20 September 1933, when they filed a report on him under the heading 'Hitlerite Movement'. By 28 October 1933 they were aware of the creation of the C.N.P.¹³⁸ There were regular RCMP reports for the first six months of C.N.P. meetings in 1934 indicating attendance at meetings but by 1935 reports were dwindling to a few a year. The RCMP did not consider the creation of Fascist organizations like the C.N.P. important enough to mention in their Security Bulletins.¹³⁹

¹³⁶NAC, MG 30, E163, vol. 12. J.H. MacBrien to O.D. Skelton, 19 June 1936.

¹³⁷CSIS, 117-91-22. *Re: Nationalist Party of Canada, Winnipeg*, 30 April 1936. By 1938 it is reported that many of these Germans had now transferred their membership to the German Nazi group and away from the C.N.P. *Report re The Canadian Nationalist Party - Winnipeg*, 24 June 1938.

¹³⁸CSIS, 117-91-22. *Cross Reference Sheet, W. Whittaker*, 20 September 1933 and 28 October 1933.

¹³⁹CSIS, 117-91-22, 29 September 1934. *Report re Nationalist Party of Canada, Winnipeg, Manitoba*. The report makes it clear that the RCMP regularly had someone attending meetings of the C.N.P. The *RCMP Security Bulletins* are a

Ontario had many small Fascist groups. Among the first Fascist groups to emerge, in 1933, were the Toronto Swastika Clubs, formed to keep Jews off 'Gentile' beaches. The Swastika Clubs took advantage of existing racism that had already manifested itself in signs such as "Gentiles Only" found on a private beach outside Toronto and "No Jews or Dogs Allowed" posted at summer resorts. Gangs of youths, mostly middle class males, wearing swastika badges, took to harassing Jews on public beaches and in parks.¹⁴⁰ These local beach associations formed into one organization, the Swastika Association of Canada (or Brownshirt party), led by Otto Becker. The Brownshirts faded after losing public opinion with the bloody Willowvale riot, which occurred in 16 August 1933. The riot occurred when the Christie Pits gang began waving a swastika flag, screaming Heil Hitler and "Kill the Jews" and jeering a Jewish softball team. Both sides were soon swinging sledge hammers, lead pipes and baseball bats.¹⁴¹ The subsequent bad publicity, combined

collection of the Intelligence Bulletins published within the Intelligence Section of the RCMP and circulated to the Prime Minister's office and to senior levels of federal departments. Gregory S. Kealey and Reg Whitaker, eds., *R.C.M.P. Security Bulletins: The War Series, 1939-41* (St. John's: Canadian Committee on Labour History, 1989), 12.

¹⁴⁰Betcherman, *The Swastika and the Maple Leaf*, 54.

¹⁴¹Interestingly the Jews were aided by a carload of Italians and a handful of Ukrainians who helped fend off the fascists. The relationship between the Jewish and Italian communities was generally cordial and supportive with a sense of solidarity. The two communities both suffered prejudice and discrimination at the hands of the British majority. Cyril Levitt and William Shaffir, *The Riot at Christie Pits* (Toronto: Lester & Orpen Dennys, 1987), 184-189.

with the self-requested deportation of leader Otto Becker, led to the end of the Swastika Club. With the failing of the Swastika Club, one of its prominent members, Joseph Farr, went on to form the National Christian Party of Canada (or Blueshirts). A weak leader, Farr put together an organization of unemployed youths that did not grow much, despite his claims of a membership of 12,000 by March 1938. Farr also claimed to have the support of Toronto Chief of Police General Draper.¹⁴² According to speculation by the Italian Consul in Ottawa, the Blueshirts were financed by the Conservative Party.¹⁴³

In Toronto, in the mid-1930s, John Ross Taylor and Charles Brandel-Crate founded the Canadian Union of Fascists (C.U.F.), its main policies being anti-Semitism and corporatism. The C.U.F. established branches in Montreal, Toronto, Woodstock, Regina, Transcona, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Victoria and Vancouver, but their numbers remained extremely small. The C.U.F. was outspoken in its praise of Hitler, and called the Munich Conference a 'Fascist Victory'. The C.U.F. published *The Thunderbolt*, which expressed a strong admiration for Mussolini and blamed all of society's problems on the Jews. *The Thunderbolt* reported that "The Great Leaders of Germany and Italy have increased in world prestige and have earned

¹⁴²Rose, *Fascism over Canada*, 22.

¹⁴³Roberto Perin, "Making Good Fascists and Good Canadians: Consular Propaganda and the Italian Community in Montreal in the 1930's," in Gerald Gold, ed., *Minorities and Mother Country Imagery* (St. John's: Institute of Social and Economic Research, 1984), 151.

the admiration of all mankind."¹⁴⁴

The largest Fascist organization in Canada was Quebec's N.S.C.P. Quebec was a society undergoing transition from the predominantly rural economy of 1900 to a much more labour intensive small-scale industry of clothes, shoes, furniture and textiles and the primary resource industry of forestry, pulp and paper and mining of the 1920s. This industrial growth was fuelled by an influx of American investments and a taxation system favourable to foreign investors. Despite this growth Quebec's unemployment remained high and management remained in the hands of English-Canadians. Politically, Quebec had a long liberal tradition, which leaned more towards the right by the mid-1930s, especially after Duplessis' election as premier.¹⁴⁵ French-Canadian workers were largely poorly trained and illiterate. The Depression only worsened these conditions as investments dried up, grain shipments and demand for finished products decreased. By 1933 Montreal had a 30 per cent unemployment rate. Between the rapid industrialization and the rapid urbanization there were huge social consequences as people were forced into the culturally different society. Cities became the centre of occupational instability, fostering a growing sense of alienation. The combination of different ethnic groups

¹⁴⁴*The Thunderbolt*, November 1938. Reprinted in *NOW: Hitler over Canada*, 23.

¹⁴⁵Real Caux, "Le Parti National Social Chrétien: Adrien Arcand, ses idées, son oeuvre et son influence," MA, Université Laval, 1958, 4.

occupying the same neighbourhoods only added to the tension.¹⁴⁶

These factors combined to make alternative political groups flourish. The development of Fascism in Quebec predated Hitler's rise to power in Germany, but it was based on the common principle of anti-Semitism. Quebec had a population of 60,000 Jews in 1930 out of a total of 156,000 Jews in Canada. Anti-Semitism only worsened as economic competition added pressure to an already strained relationship.¹⁴⁷ Disgruntled French-Canadian shopkeepers and small businessmen blamed Jewish entrepreneurs for their problems, setting up an aggressive *Achat chez nous* campaign, to boycott Jewish businesses.¹⁴⁸ One author argues that anti-Semitism was pervasive in many segments of Quebec society, including within the mainstream media and in the thought of one of Quebec's nationalist heroes, Lionel Groulx.¹⁴⁹

It was in this climate that Adrien Arcand turned towards National Socialism forming the National Social Christian Party (N.S.C.P.). Arcand discovered National

¹⁴⁶Caux, "Le Parti National Social Chrétien," 8-9.

¹⁴⁷Betcherman, *The Swastika and the Maple Leaf*, 5.

¹⁴⁸Michael D. Behiels, Review of Michael Oliver, *The Passionate Debate: The Social and Political Ideas of Quebec Nationalism, 1920-1945, Labour/Le Travail*, 33 (Spring 1994), 310-313. Real Caux argues that *L'achat chez nous* campaign was manifested out of anger and defence against Anglo-Saxons but taken out against Jews because of their relative position. Caux, "Le Parti National Social Chrétien," 12.

¹⁴⁹Esther Delisle, *The Traitor and the Jew* (Montreal: Robert Davies Publishing, 1993).

Socialism in the late 1920s, believing that liberal democracy was invented by Jews and Masons to undermine Christianity. Arcand saw Fascism as the sole political formula capable of stopping the slide into Communism.¹⁵⁰ He stated: "Le Fascisme, en réalité, c'est la réaction inévitable de l'idée chrétienne de l'autorité et du pouvoir ... C'est la glorification naturelle, du droit, de propriété du à l'initiation personnelle, de l'affirmation de la famille comme base de la société."¹⁵¹ The three tenets of Arcand's ideology were nationalism, Fascism and anti-Semitism.

Arcand's first organization, founded 29 November 1929, was *L'Ordre Patriotique des Goglus*. Arcand started *L'Ordre Patriotique des Goglus* after the success of his newspaper *Le Goglu* which first published on 8 August 1929.¹⁵² *Le Goglu* focused on the issues of French-Canadian national heritage, patriotism and pride, viewing language and race as inseparable. Seeing newspapers as a key medium for expressing his views, Arcand was involved in several newspapers and pamphlets at once. At the same time as he printed *Le Goglu*, Arcand was also publishing *Le*

¹⁵⁰Martin Robin, *Shades of Right: Nativist and Fascist Politics in Canada, 1920-1940* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992), 145.

¹⁵¹*Le Patriote*, 19 juillet 1934, 2. Rollande Montsion, "Les Grandes themes du mouvement national social chrétien et d'Adrien Arcand vus par les principaux journaux fascistes au Canada français, 1929-1938," MA, Université d'Ottawa, 1975, 92.

¹⁵²Translated into English, *Le Goglu* means the Bobolink which is a type of bird described as "a merry songster, beloved for both practical and sentimental reasons." Robin, *Shades of Right*, 87, quoting P.A. Taverner, *Birds of Eastern Canada* (Ottawa: Department of Mines, 1930), 157.

Miroir. Both papers were replaced in May 1933 by the Montreal and Ottawa editions of *Le Patriote*, which itself lasted three years.¹⁵³ *Le Goglu* examined issues from a satirical view point, while *Le Miroir* focused more on the serious problems facing Quebec. Another paper, *Le Chameau*, made use of venomous humour to get its point across.¹⁵⁴ *L'Ordre Patriotique des Goglus*' appeal was its military style and hierarchical structure with discipline, uniforms and secret passwords. Arcand advertised *L'Ordre Patriotique des Goglus* as a non-partisan organization for those who wished to defend their race, culture, traditions and language, and described *Le Goglu* as "plus qu'une homine, plus qu'un journal, plus qu'un organization: c'est une idée, un principe, une conviction établie dans le peuple, une force qui domine tout, un mouvement que rien, qu'aucune puissance, qu'aucune fortune ne peuvent arrêter."¹⁵⁵ *Le Goglu* went bankrupt in 1933, after Arcand and his publishing partner, Joseph Menard were sued for libel. The lawsuit followed a series of fires which combined to exhaust Arcand's finances. Soon afterwards the N.S.C.P. was registered in Montreal in 1933 by Menard who declared that the N.S.C.P. was designed to give the Canadian population political, national and economical advice.¹⁵⁶ Arcand replaced *L'Ordre Patriotique des Goglus* with the N.S.C.P. in

¹⁵³Montsion, "Les Grandes themes," 2-3.

¹⁵⁴Caux, "Le Parti National Social Chrétien," 58-59.

¹⁵⁵*Le Goglu*, 3 janvier 1934, 2.

¹⁵⁶CSIS, vol. 7. *Preliminary Report*, Re: Adrien Arcand, 2.

1933 because *L'Ordre Patriotique des Goglus* was never a political organization, rather it was more of a propaganda vehicle for the preservation and rights of the white race.¹⁵⁷ Arcand claimed the N.S.C.P. was formed to fight the 'anti-Christians,' Jews and Communists.

Arcand and his family lived with his mother-in-law, Mrs. Giguère, also a strong supporter of the N.S.C.P. As a youth Arcand read the works of Lionel Groulx but was not impressed by his separatism. Arcand turned to journalism after a bout with the Spanish influenza forced him to drop out of school. He worked as a journalist for over twenty years, and became editor of *L'Illustration Nouvelle* in May 1937. Fired in 1929 from an early job at *La Presse*, for attempting to unionize, Arcand found himself blackballed from mainstream newspapers.

Arcand initially supported Bennett, whom he thought exhibited Fascist tendencies. In the 12 June 1931 edition of *Le Goglu* Arcand described Bennett as "une homme énergique, courageux, puissant ... un Chrétien à foi robuste et à principes inébranlables." After experiencing difficulty in collecting pay for work done for the federal Conservative Party, Arcand and Menard wrote to Bennett:

During and at the end of the last Federal campaign, Mr. Jos. - H. Rainville, in the name of the Conservative Party, promised to Adrien Arcand and Joseph Menard, publisher of the three above mentioned newspapers, a financial guarantee of \$25,000.00 and further necessary support for the up-keep of those newspapers, under the condition that the Goglus could help the Party gain more than twelve seats in the province of Quebec, which guarantee and support were to

¹⁵⁷Caux, "Le Parti National Social Chrétien," 41-43.

be given immediately after the election.

Mr. Rainville was asked verbally to keep his promise. He always refused to fulfil it, under the reason that it was impossible for him to do so ...

Might we tell you, Sir, that we were the first in the field, and that we think we should be permitted to say in the fighting ranks; and might we add, Sir, that we consider you the supreme judge, and whatever will be decided by you will be law for us.¹⁵⁸

Arcand and Menard estimated they spent \$65,000 on campaign expenditures, including 80,000 copies of their papers of the candidates, a counter-attack edition of *Le Miroir* to answer *La Presse's* conscription issue, \$3,000 in law suit costs and 1000 election circulars.¹⁵⁹

In another letter, January 1932, Arcand and Menard again wrote to Bennett, this time offering their support:

As you know, 1931 has been for us but a year of poisoning, knocks and blows which we have registered to this date, as well as the effects of the general depression suffered by everybody. We are on the verge of bankruptcy ...

However, we will be glad and proud in our own misfortune to have loyally served our ideal, our country, the doctrine of our Party and the God-sent man who leads our country so wisely in this hour of great distress, and who has all our admiration and confidence.

The only regret we will have is that we will not be able to do the same thing next year as we have done last year, and that our failure will have been the only actual reward from our Party for our toils and devotion. We can say that we have been brutally treated like dirty dogs. Facts are facts. Whenever Houde has asked for money, for one campaign or another, he has received it from men in the Party, and

¹⁵⁸NAC, MG 26K, vol. 653, P. 402,075. Cited in David Rome, *Clouds in the Thirties: On Antisemitism in Canada, 1929-1939*, Section 1 (Montreal, 1977). Arcand's letter was dated 14 January 1931.

¹⁵⁹NAC, MG 26K, vol. 653, P. 402,076. Rome, *Clouds in the Thirties*, 115.

when we have asked for what we were entitled to, the answer was that they could not see a way to find it ...

If God permits that, by one way or the other, we survive for one week or one year, you may rest assured that we will be during that time, as we have been since our first interview, your loyal and faithful soldiers.¹⁶⁰

In June 1932 Arcand again pleaded with Bennett for help, stating:

We are in such a position as to be forced to discontinue our publications in a very short while if we have no immediate help.

We have stood to the very end, and all our means, of any sort, are exhausted. Our friend Dr. Lalanne has done enormously for us and can do nothing more.

After the 1930 federal election, we have unceasingly suffered materially and morally. Now that all clouds have cleared away, why should we continue to suffer?

Whether we continue to serve or we disappear is now a question depending upon your prompt intervention. I would be most relieved to know from you the one issue upon which you decide. May I expect an answer? Or, preferably, could you grant me an interview?¹⁶¹

Arcand worked for R.B. Bennett's Quebec campaign in the 1930 federal election, receiving \$18,000 for his services.¹⁶² He was re-employed as publicity director in the 1935 re-election campaign. Arcand also ran as a candidate for the Conservative Party in Montreal, believing that Bennett was a Fascist at heart.

In general, Arcand and his message received an appreciative hearing from Quebec federal Conservatives. For example, Leslie Bell (Conservative, St. Antoine)

¹⁶⁰NAC, MG 26K, vol. 653, 402, 106-8. Rome, *Clouds in the Thirties*, 116-117.

¹⁶¹NAC, MG 26K, vol. 653, P. 402, 121. Rome, *Clouds in the Thirties*, 117.

¹⁶²NAC, Bennett Papers, vol. 653. Reid to Bennett, 14 January 1931. Cited in Betcherman, *The Swastika and the Maple Leaf*, 10.

wrote to Prime Minister Bennett supporting Arcand:

The *Goglu*, a weekly newspaper printed in Quebec, as you are aware, rendered us efficient and valuable service during the last Federal campaign...

They were opposed ... to the Houde interests in the last Provincial and Municipal elections. Results of both these elections were rather disastrous as far as the House organization was concerned and, although it is hard to estimate what proportion was due to the press, certainly it is safe to assume that ridicule such as the *Goglu* emphasized, played an important part in Houde's defeat.

I am also quite thoroughly convinced that the proprietors of the *Goglu* are Conservative in their politics and are prepared to back the Federal interests with all their strength.

Dr. Lalanne and Major Arcand are leaving for Ottawa ... with the desire of interviewing you respecting the activities of the *goglu* in the forthcoming by-election in Maisonneuve, and also the future of their journal in the interest of the Conservative Party.

They are anxious to see you personally and have asked me to speak of their service to the Party in the past as a preliminary gesture to their securing an interview with you. In accordance with their request I am taking the liberty of writing you in the matter and recommending them to your special consideration.¹⁶³

In addition to Bell, Arcand was supported by influential Quebec nationalist

Armand Lavergne, Deputy speaker of the House of Commons. Lavergne recommended *Le Miroir* and Arcand "with pleasure, as I am acquainted with him and his work. I cannot tell you in a letter all that should be done in Quebec, but I will say that Arcand and his paper are together important."¹⁶⁴

Speaker of the Senate, P.E. Blondin, also wrote to A.W. Merriam of the Prime Minister's Office on 8 August 1932 asking for guidance on the

¹⁶³NAC, MG 26K, vol. 653, P. 402, 123. Rome, *Clouds in the Thirties*, 118.

¹⁶⁴NAC, MG 26K, vol. 653, P. 402, 131. Rome, *Clouds in the Thirties*, 118-119.

Arcand situation:

Could you give me some guidance as to what I could do to definitely have the 'question' concerning Adrien Arcand and his papers investigated and decided in the affirmative or the negative.

Scant help as is given from time to time, just prevents starvation, and drags him and his friends to despair.

'Our' Ministers have not made and will never make up their minds to take a definite step. A few thousand dollars, given piecemeal, are to be money lost, and are not to bring the necessary relief, if relief is to be given.

And no definite action will ever be taken unless it is ordered by the authority of none other than the Prime Minister...¹⁶⁵

The Speaker of the Senate also wrote directly to Bennett, on letterhead of the

Speaker's Chambers:

I wish to draw your attention to the situation created in Quebec by Adrien Arcand ... At about this date, last year, I had a short interview with you in the early morning, ... following which I advised Arcand and Menard that their enterprise and their papers had better be brought to an end, and that they should turn a new sheet.

Consequently, their three papers, their printing establishment and their debts were liquidated -- without a complaint on their part, without an attack -- all to the contrary, because the last issue of their papers was full of appreciation for you and your work.

Although not a partisan, Arcand is essentially and intensely Conservative, and I have under my hand a letter in which he writes: 'Whatever Mr. Bennett does, it is our duty to support him because, above all, his fight is against the C.C.F.'

... Finally, by means of public lectures and intensive publicity, he has launched a movement which, under the name of 'The Christian National Party,' aims simply at the debunking of all the rot in the old parties; which party, when the end comes, will be found to be a regenerated conservative party in Quebec, which, I think, we need.

I conclude with a question. With no paper in Quebec worth mentioning and with no man of the size, and power, and moral character of Arcand, do not you think that, at least, he should not be

¹⁶⁵NAC, MG 26K, vol. 653, P. 402,131. Rome, *Clouds in the Thirties*, 119-120.

completely ignored?¹⁶⁶

Federal Conservatives were not the only ones sympathetic to Arcand, he also received some support from Maurice Duplessis and the Union Nationale (U.N.). Arcand worked for Duplessis in the 1935 Provincial election. Duplessis even hired Arcand to edit *L'Illustration Nouvelle*, the U.N.'s semi-official organ. Arcand was warned by Duplessis, however, not to be overtly Fascist or anti-Semitic in his editorialship.¹⁶⁷ The N.S.C.P. claimed prior knowledge of the Duplessis' Padlock Law, discussing its merits in a meeting two days prior to the announcement of its creation. It was also rumoured that both the *Key to the Mystery* pamphlet and *Le Fascist Canadian* were printed at *L'Illustration Nouvelles* printing plant.¹⁶⁸

Arcand was also affiliated with Montreal Mayor Camilien Houde. When Arcand began formulating his plans to create a Fascist Party, he asked Houde for advice and cooperation. Arcand worked for Houde in the 1930 March election but the two men disagreed over Houde's refusal to be explicitly anti-Semitic. Houde was an opportunist who combined ethnically based nationalism with populist demands for economic and social reforms, hence taking a firm stand on anti-Semitism would not

¹⁶⁶NAC, MG36K, Bennett Papers, 299, 279-80. Undated. Rome, *Clouds in the Thirties*, 120-21.

¹⁶⁷CSIS, vol. 7. *Confidential Report Re: French Fascism*. Made by the investigator of *Life* (New York) who interviewed Arcand and other N.S.C.P. members from 17-20 March 1938, 1 June 1939, 1.

¹⁶⁸CSIS, vol. 7. *The Fascist Net-Work In Canada*, 7.

have allowed him to play both sides. However, while Houde publicly declared that no "ism" would be allowed to use Montreal public halls, Arcand secured both the Maisonneuve and Montcalm public halls on 5-6 February 1939.¹⁶⁹ Arcand's influence in Quebec society was further indicated by the fact he received an invitation to be an honoured guest of the King and Queen at a banquet at the Windsor Hotel.¹⁷⁰ Not all political parties in Quebec supported Arcand, Liberal leader of the opposition T.D. Bouchard demanded an investigation into the N.S.C.P. and its activities, claiming it was a menace equal to Communism.

Arcand claimed to have the support of the Catholic Church, both from the clergy and church dignitaries. His claim was not unbelievable given the church's support of corporatism and its hatred of Communism, both tenets of Fascism. The hierarchical and disciplined structure of the N.S.C.P., combined with the emphasis on physical exercise, may have also initially appealed to the Church. Arcand's affiliation with the Catholic Church was strengthened when the Bishop of Montreal enlisted Arcand's aid in the Jewish school question. According to David Rome: "By deliberate decision by one of the most authoritative leaders of the people of Quebec, *Le Miroir* and *Le Goglu* became the voice of the established."¹⁷¹ By May 1938, however, the Church was speaking out against Arcand and the Fascist movement.

¹⁶⁹CSIS, vo. 7. *Re: National Unity Party - Montreal*, 14 February 1939.

¹⁷⁰CSIS, 87-A-130. *Re: National Unity Party*, 12 May 1939.

¹⁷¹Rome, *Clouds in the Thirties*, 70.

Montreal Archbishop Gauthier sent out a memorandum against the two enemies of the church, Communism and Fascism. Gauthier attacked Hitler's persecution of Catholics and worried that Arcand, given the opportunity, might follow in Hitler's path. One of Gauthier's main concerns was over Fascist influence over Quebec's youth. Gauthier claimed to understand the attraction the young felt to Arcand's party, however, he asked the clergy not to encourage the Fascist movement and to dissuade the young from joining party ranks. Gauthier was not as opposed to Fascism as he was to Communism, giving a warning rather than a formal condemnation of the N.S.C.P.

Je prie qu'on le remarque: je ne fais pas en ce moment l'apologie du Parti National Social Chrétien, ni de son journal de propagande: *Le Fasciste Canadien*, qui fait peur à tant de monde en notre pays. Il y a dans le programme du parti des doctrines très mêlées auxquelles un catholique doit regarder de près avant d'y souscrire. C'est du nazisme allemand, avec ses erreurs et ses tendances, et dont on a pris soin d'adoucir les arêtes les plus vives afin de la rendre acceptable aux catholiques de chez nous. Sans qu'il soit nécessaire d'y insister, comment pourrions-nous oublier la façon dont l'Allemagne hitlérienne traite nos frères dans la foi? Il y a-t-il pas, d'autre part, dans tous les fascismes, un besoin de domination qui n'est guère favorable à la liberté de conscience et qui remouvelle sans cesse un conflit vieux comme le monde: celui du césarisme et du pouvoir spirituel.¹⁷²

In addition to Gauthier's memorandum, Father Raymond Dunn also sent out a communiqué, stating that the Church had an obligation to warn its chaplains that the N.S.C.P. did not have the approval of diocesan authorities. Theological authorities

¹⁷²Caux, "Le Parti National Social Chrétien," 67-68.

had examined the N.S.C.P. program to determine its compatibility with Church beliefs and found the two were incompatible. Even after the Gauthier's warning, Arcand was still able to use Church properties for his meetings.¹⁷³

While initially Arcand attacked several different groups as enemies of Quebec, ultimately he concluded that it was 'the Jewish problem' that was behind Quebec's (and the world's) woes. An avowed anti-Semite, Arcand wanted to strip Jews of their citizenship and ship them off to Palestine or to a colony on Hudson Bay. Arcand's attack on the Jewish race was brought to the forefront with the announcement that a separate Jewish school board was being considered. The controversy erupted after Athanase David, provincial secretary for Premier Alexander Taschereau, tabled a bill allowing for the creation of a separate Jewish school commission. With the passage of the David bill on 4 April 1930, giving Jewish school boards equal rights to Protestant and Catholic school boards, Arcand's anti-Semitism increased incrementally. To combat the David bill, Arcand began reading anti-Jewish propaganda from around the world, turning his superficial anti-Semitism into a deep conviction. Arcand seized upon the school issue as a cause around which to unite discontented French-Canadians.

By 1937, the N.S.C.P. had 700 members and was becoming increasingly

paramilitary.¹⁷⁴ Arcand viewed the N.S.C.P.'s paramilitary wing as the embryo of the police corps of the future state. The paramilitary wing's avowed function was to protect the party and to build strength and discipline.¹⁷⁵ With J. Maurice Scott as Commander-in-Chief of the N.S.C.P., the paramilitary wing spread across Canada. Arcand even offered to bring his Legionnaires to Ottawa to drill for the Minister of Justice.¹⁷⁶ Scott, a Canadian Olympic gymnast in 1908 and 1912, had worked for twenty years as a cadet instructor and prior to that for several years as an officer for the Quebec Liquor Police. During World War I, Scott served as a recruiting officer and physical training instructor in the Canadian Army.¹⁷⁷ He also acted as Arcand's personal bodyguard.

By 1938 the N.S.C.P. was in full bloom with money pouring in to the treasury and large increases in membership. In June of that year, the N.S.C.P. held a national convention, at which it decided to merge with the C.N.P. and C.U.F. to form the National Unity Party. Modelled on Sir Oswald Mosley's British Union of Fascists, the N.U.P. was headed by Arcand with Farr as national organizer. Containing the usual Fascist references to corporatism, the N.U.P. programme also included defense

¹⁷⁴Betcherman, *The Swastika and the Maple Leaf*, 88-89.

¹⁷⁵Robin, *Shades of Right*, 167.

¹⁷⁶Martin, "Adrien Arcand," *The Nation*, 26 February 1938, 241.

¹⁷⁷CSIS, vol. 7. *Confidential Report re: French Fascism*. Made by investigator of Life, 1 June 1939, 4.

of Christianity and loyalty to King and country. The N.U.P. was organized along semi-military lines, with the Legion corresponding to the German S.A. and the Iron Guard corresponding to the German S.S. The Iron Guard were Arcand's personal bodyguards. While the Legion and the Iron Guard were taught the theories of guerilla warfare, first aid, engineering principles, how to drill, and read maps, in reality these skills were never used. The N.U.P. boasted of 2500 uniformed 'shock troops' with ranks corresponding to those in the Canadian Army. The N.U.P. was divided into two branches: the Political and the Legion. The Political branch dealt with public meetings, general organization, and propaganda, while the Legion dealt with drilling, ju jitsu and marching. Interestingly, men from the Casa d'Italia often watched the N.U.P. drilling making approving remarks.¹⁷⁸ There were also Germans supporting the N.U.P., including members of the German Bund. One German member of both the Bund and the N.U.P. recommended that his N.U.P. comrades to try and solicit funds for the N.U.P from the Bund.¹⁷⁹

The Legionnaires were used to keep order at meetings, often ejecting unruly spectators and battling Communist protestors. According to an interviewer from New York's *Life* magazine who watched the Legionnaires drilling, they were well-trained and disciplined, obeying orders with promptness, tension and discipline. Each legion consisted of 200 men, and in Montreal there were 18 legions, with 3,600 trained

¹⁷⁸CSIS, vol. 7. *Re: National Unity Party - Montreal*, 22 May 1939, 1.

¹⁷⁹CSIS, vol. 7. *Re: National Unity Party - Montreal*, 4.

men. 1,800 of those Legionnaires had uniforms and, according to Scott, were ready for action. Scott stated that across Canada the Legionnaires formed 8 divisions, equal to 32 brigades, equal to 129 Legions. As each Legion was made up of 200 men Scott thus claimed that the Legionnaires consisted of 25,560.¹⁸⁰ Only 45 active members, out of a legion of 230, however, turned out for drilling practises in preparation for His Majesty's visit.¹⁸¹ The N.U.P saw the Legionnaires as the future Army of Canada when the N.U.P achieved power.

In the foreword to the N.U.P. program, Arcand compared the N.U.P program to its counterparts in Europe. The program hastened to add that while it shared corporatist values with other countries the N.U.P. program was essentially Canadian, drafted to deal with domestic problems. The N.U.P. Program was divided into seven chapters: the principles of National citizenship, the principles of Imperial policy, the principles of religion and education, the principles of social policy, the principles of economic policy, the principles of financial policy, and the principal reforms. In joining the N.U.P. each organization agreed that:

These organizations are a National political Party for the purpose of attaining political power in the Dominion of Canada by regular and lawful means of legal electoral designation by the people of Canada, and pledged to oppose and refuse to acknowledge in any circumstance, any political power usurped by force or violence, against the consent of

¹⁸⁰CSIS, vol. 7, *Confidential Report re: French Fascism*. Made by investigator of Life, 1 June 1939, 6.

¹⁸¹CSIS, vol. 7. *Re: National Unity Party - Montreal. Visit of their Majesties*, 3 July 1939, 185.

the people or without the approval of an electoral majority.¹⁵²

The aims of the N.U.P. were to establish a Corporate State, to use Christian values and morals in everyday dealings, to eradicate public atheism, immoral behaviour, and Judaeo-Communism, to grant Canadian citizenship only to Aryan people, to eliminate international controls over Canadian currency, business and labour, to eliminate class struggles through the creation of empowered employers' and employees' associations, to eliminate means of making money without earning it, to make the right to vote an obligation, to give the Corporate State a strong authority to govern, and to bring in the economic, social and financial reforms stated in the N.U.P. program.

The merger of the N.S.C.P. into the N.U.P. did not please all N.S.C.P. members. J.G. Lambert, for one, strongly opposed the union, arguing that the party should focus on Quebec. As one of Arcand's top lieutenants, Lambert's defection from the N.S.C.P. in May 1938 was a serious blow. Lambert accused Arcand of failing to listen to the Grand Council, accepting funds from uncontrolled sources, and of being too influenced by his parents.¹⁵³ Another defector was Edmond Bourassa who told his story to *La Nation* in March 1937.

Arcand claimed that there were approximately 80,000 members in Quebec but in reality the numbers were much smaller. In the period from July 1938 to

¹⁵²CSIS, vol. 7. *National Unity Party Manifesto*, 1 March 1938, 1.

¹⁵³Caux, "Le Parti national Social Chrétien," 52-53.

September 1939 the N.U.P. paying membership reached the 10,000 mark.¹⁸⁴ There were 225 members of the N.U.P. in Saskatchewan, of whom the majority were Roman Catholic German Canadians. Of those 180 were from the Sencla, Middle Lake and St. Walburg districts.¹⁸⁵ Farr claimed that there were 12,000 members of the N.U.P. in Ontario, 8,000 in Toronto alone and that most of these were young professionals, doctors, lawyers and businessmen.¹⁸⁶ Of those Farr stated that 300 were members of the Militia, 240 of them in Toronto where they were attempting to exert influence. Colonel O.S. Hollinrake, K.C. who was the Commandant of the Royal Canadian Artillery stated that "I see no reason why a militia man should not be a member of this Party [N.U.P.] in private life." His view was supported by Brigadier W.H.P. Elkins, O.C., of Military District 2 who stated that "If the men are in plain clothes, they may take part in the meeting [N.U.P.]."¹⁸⁷ Farr also reported that "the Nationalist Party has members in the Toronto Scottish and the Queen's Own Rifles as well as in the Royal Canadian Artillery."¹⁸⁸ One member of the N.U.P.

¹⁸⁴CSIS, vol. 7. *Preliminary Report, Re: Adrien Arcand*, 5. This figure comes from seized N.U.P. documents.

¹⁸⁵CSIS, vol. 7. *Re: National Unity Party, Saskatchewan - General*, 10 January 1939, 1661.

¹⁸⁶*Toronto Telegram*, 9 March 1938. Report in *NOW: Hitler over Canada*, vol. 1, no. 1, 8.

¹⁸⁷Hollinrakes and Elkins quotes were reported in *NOW: Hitler over Canada*, vol. 1, no. 1, 8. Elkins quote was made to the *Toronto Star*.

¹⁸⁸*NOW: Hitler over Canada*, vol. 1, no. 1, 9.

showed up to work, at the Canadian Armory, with his N.U.P. blue shirt replete with Party insignias over top of his khaki uniform. The soldier was not disciplined, because, as he explained, "How can they object, when they know full well that many of the chief officers in the arms belong to the Movement."¹⁸⁹ At one public meeting six members of the Royal Canadian Artillery were in attendance, sitting in the front row in full uniform.¹⁹⁰ Interestingly, another member of the N.U.P. was also a member of the RCMP and was personally questioned by H. Royal Gagnon of the RCMP as to what his connections were to the N.U.P. When asked if he drilled N.U.P. members, he responded that he taught discipline, not drilling. Gagnon declared it was a good thing to teach discipline but members of the police had no business belonging to political groups. The RCMP member was suspended for three days.¹⁹¹

Arcand planned a large assembly in the St. Pierre Hall, Quebec City on 19 June 1939 which he hoped would show Quebecers' sympathies towards Fascism. While the meeting drew only 800 supporters, over 1000 protesters demonstrated outside. The protesters included members of a local labour club (Club Loyal

¹⁸⁹CSIS, vol. 7. *Re: National Unity Party - Montreal*, 21 June 1930, 1.

¹⁹⁰*NOW: Hitler over Canada*, vol. 1, no. 1, 8. The military's tendency to attract right wing recruits continues to this day as the Somalia and other recent incidents have proven.

¹⁹¹CSIS, vol. 7. *Re: National Unity Party - Montreal*, 14 November 1939, 284. Name deleted by CSIS.

Ouvrier) and Communists. The demonstrators attempted to break up the meeting and a battle ensued with the Legionnaires taking the brunt of the crowd's frustration. Arcand and his cohorts were forced to lock themselves inside the hall to avoid trouble. Despite help from 30 officers from the City Police who dispersed the crowd, several Legionnaires were beaten and car windows were broken and tires slashed.¹⁹² Disappointed by both the turn-out to the meeting and the strength of the protesters, the N.U.P. decided to accept help offered by the Italian Fascio and 50-60 members of the Canadian Militia to help preserve order at future meetings. According to Arcand, several members of the Church guard, La Garde St. Pierre de Montreal, even offered to help.¹⁹³ An RCMP report stated that "a marked increase in the association between members of the N.U.P. and the Fascio, which is further borne out by the fact that -- is one of the leaders of an Italian group called the 'Squadra d'Azione' which is composed of selected members of the Fascio who are prepared to commit violent acts, and who has offered the services of his group."¹⁹⁴ An N.S.C.P. member who was also a sergeant of the non-permanent Militia, Quebec City's 85th Regiment, offered to recruit among his Army friends to help guard meetings.

¹⁹²CSIS, vol. 7. *Re: National Unity Party - Quebec City*, 22 June 1939.

¹⁹³CSIS, vol. 7. *Re: National Unity Party - Montreal*, 22 June 1939, 2.

¹⁹⁴CSIS, vol. 7. *Re: National Unity Party - Montreal*, 23 June 1939, 1. Name deleted by CSIS.

Both the N.S.C.P. and the N.U.P. claimed to have active Intelligence Sections. The N.S.C.P.'s was headed up by Secretary Cartier, a former investigator of the Attorney General's Office. The Intelligence Section claimed to have spies throughout Canada, and targeted prominent businessmen, Communists, and members of political parties. It claimed to use house maids to infiltrate the homes of politicians and other important people and report back to the Party.¹⁹⁵ These claims appeared corroborated after the RCMP seized an eight-page pamphlet entitled "Details of Organization of Secret Service." This pamphlet detailed the establishment of the N.U.P.'s Secret Service which was designed for the purpose of counter-espionage and to fight Jews, Communists and foreigners.¹⁹⁶ The Secret Service itemized the use of taxi drivers, waiters, railway men and others, including housemaids. The N.S.C.P. transport officer claimed that several members of the N.S.C.P. had infiltrated themselves into the ranks of the Federal Conservative Party. With an upcoming election, the N.S.C.P. members were able to get work on the Federal Elections List. The transport officer stated that "[t]he Government pays our expenses without knowing we are Nationalists. We are working for the Conservative Party, but we already have 21 names in our favour. They have taken us for good

¹⁹⁵CSIS, vol. 7. *Confidential Report re: French Fascism*, made by investigator of *Life*, 1 June 1939, 6.

¹⁹⁶CSIS, vol. 7. Notes re: National Unity Party, 2.

Conservatives.¹⁹⁷

In a strange twist, one RCMP report mentioned a connection between Arcand and Stanley Ryerson of the Communist Party of Canada. A reliable source reported that the day before May Day Arcand was met at the Queen's hotel by Stanley Ryerson, Evariste Dubé and Bill Kashtan, the main leaders of the Communist Party in Quebec. Arcand entered the meeting carrying a parcel of literature. On a second occasion Stanley Ryerson was seen driving with Major Scott, leaving Arcand's driveway. The RCMP had no idea why the leaders of two such diametrically opposed parties would be meeting but one might speculate that discussions revolved around the relationship of Hitler and Stalin, which in August 1939 culminated in the Nazi-Soviet pact.¹⁹⁸

Opposition to Arcand came from groups such as the All-Canadian Jewish Congress, which revived itself in 1934 and attempted to use public education, public relations, and anti-defamation laws to counter anti-Semitism. Individuals such as Quebec MP Samuel W. Jacobs (Mont-Cartier) and Quebec MLA's such as Peter Bercovitch (St. Louis) and Joseph Cohen (St. Lawrence) were also important in fighting Arcand in Parliament. Henri Bourassa also took up the fight against Arcand as he hated the N.S.C.P.'s anti-semitism. Bourassa appealed to the young to

¹⁹⁷CSIS, vol. 7. *Re: National Unity Party - Montreal*, 9 June 1939, 1.

¹⁹⁸CSIS, vol. 7. *Re: Adrien Arcand, National Unity Party, Stanley Ryerson, Communist Party of Canada*, 27 June 1939, 1.

remember Christian charity.¹⁹⁹

The N.U.P. attempted to become the first national Fascist organization in Canada, but it was neither united nor national. With the death of Whittaker, the C.N.P. was in a state of flux, the leaders in the Maritimes had no support, and Ontario was racked by infighting. A key problem with Arcand's N.U.P. was it was not really national, nor did Arcand seem willing to make it so. "Farr et Whittaker ne comprenaient pas, ... parce qu'ils n'étaient pas catholiques."²⁰⁰ Language, religion and geography divided the main French section of the N.U.P. from its counter-parts in the rest of Canada. Hindered by the increased media and political attention brought on by the German *Anschluss*, the N.U.P. faded into quiet oblivion in late 1938 when Arcand decided to focus his attentions on Quebec. The official organ of the N.U.P., *Le Combat National* was published in French only, underscoring Arcand's lack of concern with English-Canadian Fascist groups. By January 1940, N.U.P. membership was concentrated in Montreal with 5,942 members and the rest of Quebec with 982 members. Ontario had only 101 members, New Brunswick 45 members, Alberta 8 member, Saskatchewan 2, and Manitoba 3 members. Total N.U.P. membership was 7,083.²⁰¹

Arcand's was not the only Fascist movement to establish itself in Quebec.

¹⁹⁹Caus, "Le Parti National Social Chrétien," 72-73.

²⁰⁰Caus, "Le Parti National Social Chrétien," 79.

²⁰¹RCMP, *Law and Order*, 165.

Earlier in 1933, members of the *Federation des Clubs Ouvriers* (F.C.O.), a workers' social organization, donned brown shirts and also began espousing Fascism. The F.C.O. ran candidates in municipal elections on an anti-trust, nationalistic, anti-Semitic platform. They also demanded immigration restrictions and vowed to fight Jews on behalf of Montreal merchants. The F.C.O. was fought from its advent by Arcand who viewed it as a tool of big business, and competition for his own N.S.C.P. Arcand believed that the F.C.O.'s backers were using it to head off a genuine Fascist movement in Quebec. By 1934, however, the Federation had petered out.²⁰² Arcand also disliked the Autonomist Party and its weekly newspaper *La Nation*, led by former Rhodes Scholar, Paul Bouchard. Loosely based on the ideas of Lionel Groulx, the Autonomist Party was openly Fascist and anti-Semitic. Bouchard was enamoured of European Fascism, especially that of Mussolini, but he condemned what he saw as Arcand's role as agent provocateur for Mosley's brand of Imperial Fascism. Bouchard combined his Fascism with intense Quebec nationalism, and unlike Arcand favoured Quebec's separation. Bouchard believed Arcand's governmental links would prevent a proper inquiry into the N.S.C.P. stating:

D'Autre part, nous doutons des resultats de l'enquête. Adrien Arcand, rédacteur en chef de *l'Illustration Nouvelle* ne sourient - il pas six jours par semaine l'Union Nationale. Cela devrait lui valoir la protection de la police tres embarrassée de prouver que les distributions de tracts communistes peuvent être parfois une fumisterie, même lorsque c'est

²⁰²The Federation was riddled with factions and desertions to the breadlines, to Houde's municipal camp and even some to the Communist party. A weak leadership was one reason for the failure. Robin, *Shades of Right*, 181.

un 'scheme' du redac - chef d'un organe di gouvernement québécois et du parti conservateur federal.²⁰³

Other Quebec nationalist groups such as *L'Action National* and *Les Jeunes Canada*, also displayed extreme right-wing sentiments. Established by militant students, *Les Jeunes Canada* formed an action group to display their distaste for the political system. *Les Jeunes Canada* protested the appointment of English-speaking and Jewish civil servants, and received the support of *Le Devoir* and several radio stations.

With Fascism taking on several different faces in the Italian, French, German and English Canadian communities across Canada the question arises if there was much co-operation between the groups. While the evidence does not indicate a partnership between any of the groups, there was friendly co-operation between several of them. One example was the Italian summer camps being run in Quebec, such as the Chiriotto Farm Inn in St. Adele, Quebec which catered to Italian and German people. On several occasions Chiriotto Farms hosted the German Consul of Montreal and other members of the Bund and Italian Fascists. On one occasion "one of the founders of the Fascio of Montreal spoke over two hours with the German consul and his friends."²⁰⁴ The Laurentian Mountains also housed the Roma Camp in Shawbridge, Quebec. The Roma Camp was patronized by both Italian and French-

²⁰³Bouchard, "La Comedie Nationale et Internationale D'Ernest Lapointe a Staline en passant par Hitler et la Pontifesse Arcand," *La Nation*, 28 mai 1939, 4.

²⁰⁴CSIS, vol. 7. *RE; Chiriotto Farm Inn - St. Adele, P.Que.*, 16 August 1939.

Canadian Fascists. Another summer resort, "La Petite Normandie" was located at Rougemont, Quebec. La Petite Normandie was owned and operated by the owner and director of Montreal newspaper, *L'Italia Nuova*. The owner stated that the resort was to serve as a meeting place for French-Canadian and Italo-Canadian Fascists, to help them get better acquainted socially and politically.²⁰⁵ Essentially the leaders of the German, Italian and French-Canadian groups were cordial but kept their relationship to a minimum in public to avoid criticism.

German Bundists and N.S.D.A.P. members remained isolated from other Canadian Fascist organizations, with a few exceptions. There were several reasons for this. The first reason was that the German-Canadian organizations were concerned with things German, not things Canadian. Native Fascist groups like the N.S.C.P, the C.U.F., and the C.N.P. were concerned with correcting or reforming Canadian society. For this reason, the German-Canadian organizations opted not to become involved with the 1938 formation of the National Unity Party (N.U.P.). The second reason was that the German government also recommended non-involvement with domestic groups because it might draw police attention, something the German-Canadian groups worked hard to avoid. The third reason for the separation between the groups was the language barrier. In addition, getting involved with domestic Fascist groups would have seemed like the first step towards assimilation for the German-Canadian groups which they struggled against. There was some co-

²⁰⁵CSIS, vol. 7. *Re: La Petite Normandie - Rougemont, P.Q.*, 16 August 1939.

operation, however, between the Fascist and Nazi groups, mainly in the disseminating of anti-Communist and anti-Jewish literature.

In 1938 the RCMP became worried about the Italian Fascist Party's attempt to extend its scope to Quebec's French Canadian population. The Fascio established a Latin league of Canada in 1937 for the purpose of building friendship between the Latin nations of the world. The RCMP also worried about links between Italian Fascists and Montreal ex-Mayor Camilien Houde. Houde, for example, paid to have an article printed in *L'Italia Nuova* which stated that:

If tomorrow a conflict will break out between Italy and England, what will we people of the Province of Quebec do, we, who feel ourselves united to Italy by ties of race, of culture, of religions and of blood. Can we march against Italy to which all our sympathy is turned? the answer is certainly, No.²⁰⁶

The RCMP was worried as they believed that Houde was leaning towards Fascism.

The Italian Consul General in Ottawa was opposed to co-operating with domestic Fascist groups or his German consular counterpart, and hesitated to hand over a membership list of the Fascio to the German Consul. He even cautioned Rome against getting involved with local groups.²⁰⁷ The RCMP, however, were still worried about Fascio-Bund co-operation, especially with the outbreak of war with Germany and the increasing potential of war with Italy. RCMP fears appeared legitimate after a meeting between members of the Fascio and the Bund. The two

²⁰⁶CSIS, vol. 7. *Re: Fascism - Italian - in Canada "L'Italia,"* 20 January 1938.

²⁰⁷Harney, "Toronto's Little Italies," 58.

groups came together to decide on an invitation by the N.U.P. to place either the Fascio or the Bund as organizer of the N.U.P. legion to be formed in the near future. Both the Fascio and the Bund decided not to accept the position but wished it to go to someone they could influence. The Bund also made it clear at the meeting that they had been having many conversations with the N.U.P. in Victoria.²⁰⁸ At another such meeting the RCMP agent reported that "For instance, I learned that the Fascio and the Deutscher Bund are closely co-ordinated ... and other definitely Fascist movements are directly in contact with ARCAND's Fascists in Eastern Canada, and are even now attempting to stir up interest in the West, as never has been done before."²⁰⁹ In Montreal members of the Italian Fascio often attended meetings of the N.S.C.P. S.T. Wood claimed that "There appears to be little doubt but that as time progresses the Italian element in Montreal will lend increasing weight and assistance to the Canadian organization."²¹⁰

In Salle Dante, the Italian quarter of Montreal, many of the N.U.P. members gathered at the local Casa d'Italia. N.U.P. members mostly sat together drinking beer, rarely joined by members of the Italian Fascio. N.U.P. members were encouraged to get Casa d'Italia memberships, at 50 cents, as it entitled them to extra

²⁰⁸CSIS, vol. 7. *Re: Fascist Party - Italian - In Canada*, 2 February 1939.

²⁰⁹CSIS, vol. 7. *Re: Fascist Party - Italian - in Canada*, 27 June 1939.

²¹⁰CSIS, vol. 7. *Letter to Mr. Lapointe from S.T. Wood re: N.S.C.P.*, 1 April 1938, 1.

privileges. Despite a previous policy of the *Deutsche Zeitung für Kanada* to refuse advertisements or publications from the Canadian Fascist Movements, in its 17 May 1939 edition there was a short resumé of an N.U.P. meeting in Toronto. In June 1940 the RCMP seized a German Deutscher Bund membership list during a raid on members of the National Unity Party. This list also indicated who the point man was between the two groups. There were some instances where Italian and Germans applied individually to join the N.U.P. In one case two German men applied to join the Montreal N.U.P. In another case a German applicant attempted to join the N.U.P. stating on his membership card that he was a member of the Propaganda Section of the Deutscher Bund.²¹¹

One connection between the Italian Fascist community and the N.U.P. was Mario Duliani, one of the leading men in Montreal's Latin Movement, and later author of *La Ville Sans Femme*. A frequent visitor to Casa d'Italia, Duliani made a point of befriending Quebec intellectuals, especially French-Canadians and was the foreign editor of *L'Illustration Nouvelle*, which was edited by Arcand.²¹² However, while there were connections between the groups, they did not progress beyond that.

In summary, Fascism amongst non-immigrant Canadians was divided into two groups, French-Canadian Roman Catholics in the N.S.C.P. and English-Canadian Protestants in the C.N.P. and C.U.F. Despite the joining of these two groups into

²¹¹CSIS, vol. 7. *Re: N.U.P. - Montreal*, 13 June 1939, 3.

²¹²Rose, "Fascism over Canada," 15.

the N.U.P. in 1938, their differences were never overcome. Quebec appeared to be longing for a saviour in the 1930s, a national leader who would rebuild French-Canada. In their search, many turned to Arcand. Arcand's supporters initially included men of influence, both in the Catholic Church and the business community who saw Arcand as useful in their battle against anti-Semitism. Arcand was motivated by historical circumstances and influenced by European Fascism.

German-Canadians were used by Hitler to try and spread pro-German propaganda, hoping for sympathetic press coverage in Canada. Organizations such as the *Deutsche Zeitung* and the Bund were also used to spread German propaganda. Despite all their efforts between the Bund, N.S.D.A.P. and the D.A.F. there were only 3000 members.

It was the economic conditions of the Depression which enabled alternative political groups such as Fascists to flourish. By examining Arcand's and the other political movements, their ideas and reactions to them we can get a better understanding of Canada in the 1930s. Fascism was excused by many in the RCMP and government as only over-zealous anti-Communism. Only with the outbreak of the war did the RCMP and the government begin to take the Fascist threat more seriously.

Chapter 2: The RCMP: Ideology and Organization

This chapter examines the RCMP during the 1930s in an attempt to understand the force's actions, particularly its obsession with Communism. The word obsession is perhaps too strong as it implies that the RCMP investigated Communists while ignoring other groups such as Fascists. From 1934 onwards the RCMP was investigating Fascist movements in Canada, but it did not view such movements as a serious threat. It continued to investigate the Fascists despite not seeing them as a threat, as is evidenced by the thousands of RCMP files, held by CSIS, on Fascism. However, these investigations were often cursory. While these files indicate that Fascists were being investigated, the absence of any mention of them in the *Security Bulletins* is indicative of the RCMP relative lack of concern about the Fascist threat in comparison to the Communist threat. Several scholars have taken the obsession with Communism to mean that other groups were ignored. This point has been made by Reg Whitaker, Daniel Robinson and John Stanton. Rather than being indicative of a lack of investigation into fascism, however, this lack of information on Fascism in the *Security Bulletin* indicates that the RCMP viewed Communism as the greater threat, not the only threat. The RCMP believed that Communism was the biggest threat to Canadian democracy, and they wanted to insure that readers of the *Bulletins* would share their view of the Communist danger. While the RCMP did investigate Fascists, their investigations largely involved attending meetings and reading literature. This

changed in the Italian communities in the late 1930s, when the RCMP employed secret agents and informants to learn what was going on in the community. There is no evidence, however, that this was ever done in the English or French-Canadian Fascist communities. It was only with the changing international situation that the RCMP viewed Fascism as menacing. The local groups had not changed; it was the government's perception of them that changed. Despite years of not viewing Fascists as a significant problem, by 1939 the government began to see Fascists as a more serious threat. They still, however, did not view them as a threat equal to Communism.

To understand the actions of the RCMP it is necessary to discern the make-up of the force and its ideology or at least the ideas of its leadership, especially on democracy, loyalty and subversion. The RCMP provided definitions of these in 1949: "Thus in a democracy the rights of an individual are considered to be sacred, and government is on a mutual basis - it exists to help and to protect the citizen, who in turn owes it certain duties. To have government, man makes laws which will govern his conduct with others and will take into account as far as possible his inalienable rights as an individual."¹ The RCMP maintained that the "Law gives effect to, preserves and guarantees these essential rights of man, though, ... it is sometimes in the interests of the greater individual liberties to curtail or circumscribe

¹RCMP, *Law and Order in Canadian Democracy: Crime and Police Work in Canada* (Ottawa: Edmond Cloutier, 1949, revised edition, 1952), 2-3.

other freedoms. It must be noted, however, that any limitations [are], in effect, imposed by the good citizen upon himself."² The RCMP believed that "Man should be free to examine any issue, to criticize and to oppose any group, government or nation as long as he does so within the framework of rules he and his fellow citizens have made, that is, without subverting the peace, order and good government of the nation."³ With regard to the German, Italian and homegrown Fascist groups, the RCMP stated: "Loyalty to one's country is very necessary; it is well, too, to honour and pay tribute to other countries, but when one's love for another country supersedes that for his own and infringes in a material way upon his fellow citizens' loyalty, then there is disloyalty which, if serious enough, is a crime punishable with severity."⁴

The history of security and intelligence in the RCMP dates back to the World War I when the Royal North West Mounted Police (RNWMP) used its security and intelligence capabilities against 'enemy aliens' and labour activists, often equating dissent with the foreign born. The RCMP Security Service (S.S.) was born out of the turmoil of 1919, especially the Winnipeg General Strike and what it represented. Canada's security intelligence capabilities changed dramatically during the course of World War I, growing from intermittent use to a much more centralized and

²RCMP, *Law and Order*, 3.

³RCMP, *Law and Order*, 13.

⁴RCMP, *Law and Order*, 50.

coordinated body in the early 1920s.⁵ Until 1918 policing was divided between the Dominion Police (DP) in Eastern Canada and the RNWMP in Western Canada. With the rapid increase in labour militancy from 1917-1919, the federal government amalgamated the two police forces into the new RCMP in February 1920.⁶ The amalgamation was hastened by the rising spectre of Bolshevism, which caused panic amongst government officials and the Canadian bourgeoisie. Official RCMP Historian S.W. Horrall writes that fear of Bolshevism led "to a complete reorganization of the entire system of internal security."⁷ Both the RNWMP and its successor the RCMP used secret agents to track organizations it considered subversive. The RNWMP started recruiting secret agents early in World War I and by December 1918 it had eight secret agents and six detectives.⁸ The secret agents were to be guided by:

the premise that 'the pernicious doctrines of Bolshevism' were spreading rapidly throughout the world and in Canada, ... particularly

⁵Larry Hannant, *The Infernal Machine: Investigating the Loyalty of Canada's Citizens* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), 133.

⁶Greg Kealey, "The Early Years of State Surveillance of Labour and the Left in Canada: The Institutional Framework of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police Security and Intelligence Apparatus, 1918-1926," *Intelligence and National Security* 8, 3 (July 1993), 130.

⁷S.W. Horrall, "Canada's Security Service: A Brief History," *RCMP Quarterly* 50, 3 (Summer 1985), 43.

⁸Hannant, *The Infernal Machine*, 6. Kealey and Reg Whitaker, eds., *RCMP Security Bulletins, The Early Years, 1919-1929* (St. John's: Canadian Committee on Labour History, 1994), 13.

to Winnipeg, Edmonton, and Vancouver, and to the foreign settlements scattered through the Prairies, which ... were especially 'susceptible to Bolshevik teaching and propaganda' ... Therefore, 'our duty is to prevent the efforts of misguided persons to subvert and undermine the settled Government of Canada ... To do so they should 'take steps to select some good, trustworthy men ... as secret agents and submit their names, records, and qualification for my approval' [RNWMP Commissioner Perry]. He also urged them to survey all radical pamphlets and publications and, if appropriate, to prosecute under Section 174 of the Criminal Code. Similarly, they were to record all questionable public speeches if they expected any seditious or treasonable content and particularly to watch street meetings. All this, of course, was to be done in such a way as 'not to arouse suspicion or cause antagonism.' In conclusion, ... 'The Government relies upon the RNWMP to keep it early advised of any development toward social unrest. It is extremely important that such unrest should not be permitted to develop into a menace to good order and public safety.'⁹

Perry also issued a memorandum outlining the job expectations of secret agents and undercover detectives. The memo stressed the need for agents to become fully acquainted with labour organizations to determine which ones had Bolshevik tendencies. Perry wanted "a complete history of these men [labour leaders] and their doings to date."¹⁰ Perry argued that a strong security and intelligence branch was necessary to keep a close watch on labour agitators, and stated "It must be borne in mind that the only information which is of any value in connection with Bolshevism is the valuable and first hand information of what is going to happen before it occurs, in

⁹Kealey, *RCMP Security Bulletins, 1919-1929*, 13-14. Citing NAC, RG 18, vol. 599, file 1328, Perry to OC's, 6 January 1919, Circular Memo 807, RG 13, vol. 231, file 113/1919, Perry to DMJ, 14 January 1919.

¹⁰Kealey, *RCMP Security Bulletins, 1919-1929*, 14. Citing NAC, RG 18, vol. 599, file 1328.

sufficient time to permit arrangements being made to offset any intended disturbance."¹¹

From the outset the RCMP (and its predecessor the RNWMP) primarily targeted labour and the left as their main focus. Although supposedly non-partisan, the RCMP was definitely ideologically on the right, especially in the 1930s and 1940s.¹² This attitude was shared by many leading politicians and public officials who associated subversion with the left (Communism) despite by 1939 being at war against the right (Fascism).¹³ Neither government fully supported the efforts of the League of Nations and the idea of collective security. Both the Bennett and King governments were relatively indifferent, rather than hostile, to German Fascism.¹⁴ Prior to the 1935 federal election, a memorandum on Italian Fascist activities in Canada was presented to Hugh Guthrie, the Minister of Justice, who did nothing with it, preferring to concentrate on Communists.¹⁵ In addition, King was impressed by

¹¹S.W. Horrall, "The Royal North West Mounted Police and Labour Unrest in Western Canada, 1919," *Canadian Historical Review*, 61, 2 (June 1980), 172.

¹²Paul Axelrod, "Spying on the Young in Depression and War: Students, Youth Groups and the RCMP, 1935-1942," *Labour/Le Travail*, 35 (Spring 1995), 45.

¹³Reg Whitaker, "Official Repression of Communism During World War II," *Labour/Le Travail*, 17 (Spring 1986), 137.

¹⁴Some of King's diary entries from the 1930s showed revulsion for the less democratic aspects of Hitler's policies however nothing was done publicly to show King's displeasure.

¹⁵Fred Rose, *Fascism Over Canada: An Expose* (Toronto: New Era Publishing, 1938), 33.

Hitler's ability to bring order and prosperity to Germany. After his visit to Germany 1937, Mackenzie King described Hitler as "a calm, passive man, deeply and thoughtfully in earnest," and as "a simple sort of peasant, not very intelligent and no serious danger to anyone."¹⁶ King was convinced that Hitler was no threat to Europe. Since the federal government had a tolerant attitude towards Germany, they had no problems signing an expanded trade agreement with Hitler in 1936. With no anti-Nazi commitment by the federal government, opposition to Fascism was led by the Jewish Congress and the Communist Party. The government's attitude only changed with the Anticosti affair. It has been argued that because the N.S.D.A.P. did not have to contend with an overly hostile government in Ottawa, at least prior to late 1938, the N.S.D.A.P. was allowed to play a leading role in the German-Canadian community.¹⁷

The RCMP's anti-Communist attitude has been summarized well by Whitaker: "Communism was officially seen as an illegitimate participant in Canadian public life, to be at worst watchfully tolerated, and at best repressed when the opportunity arose."¹⁸ Ernest Lapointe, Minister of Justice and the second most powerful man in

¹⁶Blair Neatby, *William Lyon Mackenzie King: The Prism of Unity, 1932-1939* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976), 223. Bruce Hutchison, *The Incredible Canadian: A Candid Portrait of Mackenzie King: his works, his times, and his nation* (Toronto: Longmans, Green and Company, 1952), 7, 226.

¹⁷Wagner, *Brothers*, 58.

¹⁸Whitaker, "Left-wing Dissent and the State: Canada in the Cold War," in C.E.S. Franks, ed., *Dissent and the State* (Toronto, 1989), 195.

Canada, shared the RCMP's views on Communism. Others in the government, like Norman Robertson of External Affairs and J.F. MacNeill of Justice, were not as obsessed with the Communist threat. Perhaps the RCMP believed that by circulating the anti-Communist *Security Bulletins* they might win around liberals like Robertson and MacNeill. In all likelihood the main reason the RCMP concentrated on Communists in the *Bulletins*, however, is because they did indeed view Communism as the greater threat. This RCMP obsession is backed up by RCMP Superintendent E.W. Bavin's statement that "The Communists are of far more importance than either the Italians or Germans, in the event of war."¹⁹ In addition, Norman Robertson's statement "I told Fred Rose that I would be glad to receive any information he could furnish me about Fascist and Nazi activities, and passed on to Bavin, who was then in charge of R.C.M.P. Intelligence, information of this kind which was unlikely to reach the R.C.M.P. direct"²⁰ is further evidence of the relative lack of RCMP interest in Fascism. Not all government officials supported the RCMP in its communist witch hunt. Jack Pickersgill opposed the RCMP's concentration on Communists as the state's main enemy, criticizing the *RCMP Intelligence Bulletin* for its 'anti-Red'

¹⁹NAC, MG 30, Robertson Papers, vol. 12, file 137, Rivett-Carnac to Robertson, 24 January 1939. Cited in J.L. Granatstein, *A Man of Influence: Norman A. Robertson and Canadian Statecraft, 1929-68* (Montreal: Deneau Publishers, 1981).

²⁰NAC, MG 30, Lester Pearson Papers, N1, vol. 13, Robertson to Pearson, 29 October 1946. Granatstein, *A Man of Influence*, 85.

complex and lack of information on Nazis or Fascists.²¹

Despite the RCMP fascination with Communism, they began opening files on right-wing groups in 1933.²² One of the first known manifestations of Fascism in Canada was expressed in Montreal in 1922, just after Mussolini's March on Rome. Many Italians attended a banquet praising Mussolini and lauding the Blackshirt victory as the start of a new regime that could restore pride and order to Italy. The RCMP became aware of Italian inspired Fascism in 1923, although the first Fascio was not formally constituted until 1925.²³ In 1927 the Italian Consul General for Canada, Commendatore Margotti defended the formation of Fascist organizations among Italo-

²¹NAC, MG 26, J4, vol. 372, file 3913, Pickersgill Letter, 27 November 1939.

²²Fascists in Canada, an organization out of B.C., opened on 10 May 1933; the Italian Fascist Party out of Ottawa, opened on 19 July 1933; the Swastika Club of Toronto opened on 12 August 1933; the Hitlerite Movement opened on 17 August 1933; and two Ku Klux Klan files, one from Fairview, Nova Scotia, the other from Marwayne, Alberta. There were also files opened on the Blue Shirts of Canada based in Windsor, Ontario on 18 September 1933; and the American Silver Shirts on 26 December 1933. In addition to these a personal history file was opened on fascist Paul De Lisle of Montreal. There were many more files opened from 1934-1939 including the Canadian Union of Fascists (C.U.F.) in Manitoba, opened on 23 August 1934; the Nazi Club of Kitchener opened on 30 October 1934; the Nazi Club in Ottawa, 31 July 1934; Nazi Clubs 27 March 1935; the National State Party 1 February 1935; the Auslands Organizations - NSA (international) 10 August 1935; the Italian Fascist Party 12 December 1935; the British Union of Fascists (B.U.F.) 3 January 1936; the C.U.F. (Ontario) 6 April 1938; the National Unity Party (N.U.P.) in Ontario 6 December 1938; the Quebec N.U.P. 8 November 1938; the Blue Shirts in Lanyesha, British Columbia 29 June 1939; the White Canada Crusade in British Columbia, 3 September 1939; and the N.U.P. in British Columbia 6 March 1939.

²³NAC, MG 30, E163, vol. 12, dossier 124. *Re - Activities of Fascist and Nazi Agencies in Canada*. Letter from G.L. Jennings, Assistant Commissioner, to O.D. Skelton, Under Secretary of State for External Affairs. 23 March 1936.

Canadians in a number of speeches. Also in 1927, the RCMP monitored the failed Fascist attempt to change the name of the Order of the Sons of Italy, a major Italian fraternal organization, to the Sons of the Fascisti. By 1928 the RCMP was in possession of the Duce's new statute which stated: "The Fasci Abroad are organizations of [Italian resident[s]] out of Italy who have undertaken to make obedience to the Duce and to the laws of Fascism the governing principle of their private and civil lives ..."²⁴ The RCMP also possessed a membership card which listed the duties of a Fasci Abroad: to respect the law of the country in which you reside; to not create difficulties in the community; to be an example of public and private honesty; to respect the authorities duly constituted; to maintain and spread Italian culture; to assist needy people of the colony; to love work and family; to conform yourself to the Fascist spirit; and to show discipline.²⁵ An upswing in Fascist propaganda in Eastern Canada was noted in 1933, along with an increase in Fascist membership. One Commander Sabastiene, an Italian living in Quebec, was reported to have visited Ottawa, making several speeches on Fascism. Later on in 1933, Sabastiene initiated 100 Italians into the Fascist Party, 60 from Ottawa and 40

²⁴NAC, MG 30, E163, vol. 12, dossier 124. *Memorandum: Fascism (Italian) in Canada*. 9 March 1936, 1. And *The Organization and Activities of the Italian Fascist Party in Canada*. 30 November 1937. 5.

²⁵CSIS, vol. 7. *Re: Fascism - Italian - In Canada*. 10 September 1937.

from Montreal.²⁶ By 1934 the RCMP received complaints from Italian members of the Canadian Legion that they were being pressured by the Italian Consul to join the *Associazione Nazionale Combattenti*, (the National Association of War Veterans). In Ottawa ex-members of the Italian Army told the RCMP that the Italian Consul had told them that they must become Fascists before they could obtain their war decorations. With the 1935 arrival of a new Consul, the Italo-Canadian Fascist movement united, founding the United Moral Front and building Casa d'Italia. In addition, the RCMP monitored speeches by the Royal Italian Consul General, who in February 1935 stated that "I can safely say to the Canadian citizen of Italian origin that to them is reserved the great task of explaining to their fellow citizens the real meaning of the Fascism of Mussolini so that it will be much easier for the Canadian people to adopt themselves gradually to the new economic and political system which is hardly unavoidable."²⁷ After Petrucci's statements were brought to the attention of the House of Commons, the RCMP investigated him.²⁸ In April 1935 the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (CCF) charged that Fascism was being taught to Italian students in Toronto. The RCMP also reported that Communist and

²⁶NAC, MG 30, E 163, vol. 12, dossier 124. *Memorandum: Fascism (Italian) in Canada*, 4.

²⁷ NAC, MG 30, E 163, vol. 12, dossier 124. Speech, Royal Italian Consul General in Canada, Luigi Petrucci to Sons of Italy banquet, 24 February 1935. *Memorandum: Fascism (Italian) in Canada*, 9 March 1936, 4-5.

²⁸CSIS, vol. 7. *The Organization and Activities of the Italian Fascist Party in Canada*, 9.

other anti-Fascist organizations had attempted to counteract the Fascist propaganda among the Italian community but to little avail.

From 1936 onwards, the RCMP ran an extensive network to gain information on Italian Fascists. By April 1936 the RCMP and External Affairs were co-operating, sharing a United States Committee Report by the House of Representatives investigating Nazi and other propaganda.²⁹ In May 1936, O.D. Skelton wrote to J.H. MacBrien, RCMP Commissioner referring to "earlier correspondence regarding Nazi and Fascist propaganda in Canada."³⁰ Skelton forwarded a copy of the newspaper *Canadian Nationalist* from Manitoba, and stated that "I have not taken any notice of earlier issues of this paper which brought to my attention, assuming apparently incorrectly, from its cheap and flimsy make-up and fantastic contents that it was a fly-by night sheet which would quickly disappear from lack of support."³¹ Skelton reported this was the eighth issue of the *Canadian Nationalist* and that it had quite large hand-to-hand circulation in the Prairie provinces. He asked the RCMP to make enquiries into the newspaper, checking on its financial contributors. Skelton also requested any further information the RCMP could give him on the paper's

²⁹NAC, MG 30, E163, vol. 12, MG1 - Robertson, 1933-1936. MacBrien, Commissioner to O.D. Skelton, Under Secretary of State for External Affairs. *Re: Communist - Nazi - Fascist Propaganda*, 3 April 1936.

³⁰NAC, MG 30, E163, vol. 12. O.D. Skelton to J.H. MacBrien, 18 May 1936.

³¹NAC, MG 30, E163, vol. 12. O.D. Skelton to J.H. MacBrien, 18 May 1936.

circulation.³² When the RCMP investigated the *Canadian Nationalist* they discovered that it was the organ of the Canadian Nationalist Party, founded in 1933 by William Whittaker.

The Consuls and Italian Fascist groups managed to convince many Canadian authorities that they spoke for the Italian community. They did this by dominating many of the Italian communities by intimidation, threats and coercion.³³ Italo-Canadian communities drew the attention of the Canadian Government in 1936 when they openly and enthusiastically supported Italy's invasion of Abyssinia, despite the Canadian government's support for League of Nations sanctions against Italy. Not only did many Italo-Canadians not endorse the sanctions, they also sent wedding bands and other gold jewellery to help further the cause. Other Italo-Canadians tried to enlist in the Italian Army, but only a few were accepted.³⁴ While the Italian invasion brought together the Italo-Canadian community it caused more harm than good for Fascism. It served to focus the attention of the Canadian authorities on Italo-Canadian Fascists.

The RCMP was also monitoring German-Canadian Nazis from early on. The first report on Nazism came in February 1934 when the Department of State in

³²NAC, MG 30, E163, vol. 12. O.D. Skelton to J.H. MacBrien, 18 May 1936.

³³Angelo Principe, "The Years Leading to Internment from the Ethiopian War to June 1940." Speech at *The Internment of Italo-Canadian During the Second World War: A Conference* (York: Columbus Centre), 13 October 1995.

³⁴RCMP, *Law and Order*, 159.

Ottawa received a petition to incorporate the Deutsche Bund Kanada (German League in Canada). By November 1934 RCMP attention was centred on Professor Karl Gerhard who was touring Canada giving pro-Nazi speeches to the Bund. Gerhard wanted to acquaint Canadian Germans with the philosophy of the Third Reich. By late 1934 the Bund had over 40 branches in Canada. The RCMP was also aware of other German-Canadian societies, including the Winnipeg-based "German Folk Society," the Regina-based "Hitler Bund," Ottawa's "Club Harmonia," the "Schwabisch Deutscher Verein" and others, some of which had ties to Gerhard's Bund. The RCMP suspected that recent anti-Semitic propaganda found in Montreal, Winnipeg and Kitchener was either directly or indirectly inspired by these Nazi sources. The RCMP was also aware that Karl Gerhard, whom they cited as the principal leader of the German Nazi element in Canada, was on close terms with the German Consul in Montreal. The RCMP report indicated it was investigating Gerhard's background in Germany and Canada. By 1934 there were *Ortsgruppen* (locals) of the *Auslands Organisation der N.S.D.A.P.* in Montreal, Kitchener, Toronto, Winnipeg, and Regina. There were roughly 100 members total in these groups.³⁵ It is interesting that as early as March 1936, that the RCMP saw the need to inform O.D. Skelton, Under Secretary of State for External Affairs of their

³⁵RCMP, *Law and Order*, 160.

monitoring of the Fascist and Nazi situation.³⁶

In addition, RCMP investigations of Fascism turn up in the scattered Bulletins from 1933-1934. Bulletin 673, 22 September 1933, stated that "Simultaneously there has appeared in Windsor, Ontario, a rather curious society calling themselves the 'Blue Shirts of Canada'. It professes to be anti-communist."³⁷ As Greg Kealey notes "Fascist groups such as Windsor's Blue Shirts received some limited attention, but on at least one occasion they were roundly applauded for their vitriolic opposition to the left."³⁸ The next Bulletin, 674 also contained information on Fascism, this time on the Canadian Nationalist Party (C.N.P.) in Winnipeg which the Bulletin speculated may have ties to the "Friends of the New Germany" organization. The Bulletin listed quite detailed information about the Party, that its chief organizer was Arthur F. Hart Parker and its president was William Whittaker, that it had links to both German and Italian organizations, and that membership hovered around 500. The RCMP even published a copy of its National Platform, including the goal of provincial abolition to form one central government and suppression of Communism

³⁶NAC, MG30, E 163, vol. 12, dossier 124. G.L. Jennings, Asst. Commissioner to Skelton, 23 March 1936.

³⁷Kealey and Whitaker, *RCMP Bulletins: The Depression Years, Part I, 1933-1934* (St. John's: Canadian Committee on Labour History, 1993), 19.

³⁸Kealey and Whitaker, *RCMP Bulletins: The Depression Years, Part I, 1933-1934*, 8. Kealey also notes that this is contrary to what he terms 'RCMP apologists' like Cliff Harvison, *The Horsemen* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1967), 86-87, and Carl Betke and Stan Horrall, *Canada's Security Service: An Historical Outline* (Ottawa: RCMP Historical Section, 1978) have to say.

within Canada. Given that at the time the RCMP reproduced this information the organization was less than six months old, I would hypothesize that the RCMP was indeed monitoring Fascist organizations. The following Bulletin, 675 contained more information on the C.N.P., including information on a recent meeting where the *Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion* were sold. Bulletin 677 was unique as it was the only one in 1933 not to carry information on Fascist organizations but it still dealt with how Communists were dealing with Fascist propaganda. Bulletin 679 reported correspondence between the C.N.P. and the "White Shirts" of Toronto and detailed the increasingly anti-Semitic tone of the C.N.P.³⁹ Bulletin 686 contained what Kealey described as the RCMP applauding of Fascism: "A Communist in Winnipeg behaved in a disrespectful manner during the singing of 'God Save the King', after a meeting of the Canadian Nationalist Party. He was given a much needed lesson in manners."⁴⁰ Unfortunately, several of the 1934 Bulletins are missing and what remains seems to indicate a preoccupation with strikes, relief and plans for a hunger march.⁴¹ It is interesting to hypothesize why this is so. Is it as Kealey and Whitaker

³⁹Kealey and Whitaker, *RCMP Security Bulletins, The Depression Years, Part One, 1933-1934*, 58.

⁴⁰Kealey and Whitaker, *RCMP Security Bulletins, The Depression Years, Part One, 1933-1934*, 62.

⁴¹There are no Bulletins from January to March 9, 1934 and then nothing for the rest of March, April, May and part of June. When the Bulletins pick up there is no more mention of the fascists, and whether or not there is mention of fascists in the missing Bulletins is anyone's guess. So far, CSIS has been 'unable' to locate any of the missing bulletins.

would argue that the RCMP decided that Communism was their main foe? Or was it rather that they realized that they did not have that much to fear from Fascism seeing them more as allies than enemies? Or a combination of the two?

The issue of who the RCMP were investigating and compiling histories on arose in the House of Commons several times, including on 5 April 1935 when MP Mr. Pouliot questioned the Minister of Justice, Hugh Guthrie. Pouliot asked if the RCMP were doing anything to secure information on, or check propaganda by Communists in Canada. Guthrie responded that there was no special effort underway for Communists, and stated instead that the RCMP "take general cognizance of what is going on throughout Canada, and if anything unusual happens they report it ...". Pouliot questioned Guthrie as to whether or not there was an RCMP translator responsible for reviewing foreign language Communist publications. Guthrie again answered in the negative, stating that RCMP translators were responsible for reviewing all foreign newspapers, especially those suspected of publishing matter detrimental to Canada. Pouliot responded by charging that the RCMP were simply securing information on Communists to safeguard the old order, and were, in fact, a bulwark of the old order.⁴²

In March 1938 Lapointe told the House of Commons there would be a federal enquiry into Fascist activities in Canada. Lapointe was responding in part to a letter from the Saskatchewan Attorney General who asked to have the Criminal Code

⁴²House of Commons, *Debates*, 5 April 1935, 2449.

amended to adequately control groups such as the virulently anti-Semitic C.N.P.⁴³

Major-General J.H. MacBrien became commissioner of the RCMP in 1931 and almost immediately launched a campaign against Communism. MacBrien was appointed by Prime Minister Bennett who was impressed by MacBrien's military background and fervent anti-Communism. Bennett also liked the emphasis MacBrien placed on political security because he wanted the RCMP strengthened to enable it to continue to meet the challenges of labour unrest and the Depression. In 1932 Bennett stated that it was the alleged "threat to the social order" which necessitated increasing the RCMP.⁴⁴ MacBrien modernized the RCMP, combining military tradition with new technology to build up the security and intelligence section. MacBrien's anti-Communism prompted his founding of the *RCMP Quarterly* in which he attempted to warn both members of the RCMP and the Canadian public of the threat posed by Communism.⁴⁵ Assistant Commissioner S.T. Wood's anti-Communism was as virulent as MacBrien's. In 1941 Commissioner Wood stated that:

Many may be surprised to hear that it is not the Nazi nor the Fascist but the radical who constitutes our most troublesome problem. Whereas the enemy alien is usually recognizable and easily rendered innocuous by clear-cut laws applicable to his case, your "Red" has the protection of citizenship, his foreign master is not officially an enemy

⁴³NAC, MG 27, III, B10, vol. 22, dossier 71. *Re: Canadian Nationalist Party*, 29 March 1938.

⁴⁴House of Commons, *Debates*, 23 March 1932, 1412. Cited in Brown, *An Unauthorized History*, 58.

⁴⁵Hannant, *The Infernal Machine*, 41.

and, unless he blunders into the open and provides proof of his guilt, he is much more difficult to suppress. Since communism was outlawed, most of his work is carried on under cover of other organizations and associations pretending to be, or in reality, loyal to the Constitution. It is important to remember this for the reason that this type of fifth column activity is least understood by our Canadian people, and yet is doing most harm at the present time.⁴⁶

Articles in the *RCMP Quarterly* showed the right-wing orientation of the RCMP. In the 1930s a large number of articles dealt with the RCMP's obsession with Communism. Superintendent E.J. Mead wrote that no one "escapes the Party policy of subversion - even women and children are brought within its influence."⁴⁷ In 1937 the *RCMP Quarterly* ran a pro-Fascist article by Colonel C. E. Edgett, a former chief of the Vancouver police force and an ex-penitentiary warden. Edgett believed that Communism was the greatest threat to world peace, stating:

Communists are out to destroy nationhood and patriotism by ruthless violence - Fascists, or Nationalists, are out to preserve nationhood and patriotism by ruthless violence. There would have been no Fascism had there not first come Communism. And if Fascism had not arisen and conquered in Italy, and subsequently had not Nationalism arisen and conquered in Germany, then today those two great countries would have been obliterated from the map in a flood-tide of Bolshevism. The typical Fascist is not perfect by any means nor very admirable from the standpoint of the normal Democrat. But at least he has applied his violence and ferocity to the enemies of traditional family life - to the enemies of religion - and the Fascist states, as now established, are

⁴⁶S.T. Wood, "Tools for Treachery," *RCMP Quarterly*, (April 1941) and *Canadian Spokesman*, 1, 2 (February 1941), 3. Cited in Edward Mann and John A. Lee, *RCMP vs the People* (Toronto: Don Mills, 1979), 118.

⁴⁷*RCMP Quarterly*, July 1935. Cited in Brown, *An Unauthorized History*, 80.

ruled neither by mere businessmen nor yet by fanatical revolutionaries.⁴⁸

That the RCMP chose to reprint this pro-Fascist article is indicative of how right-wing in orientation the RCMP was in the 1930s.

TABLE I
Size of RCMP, 1930-1941

Years	1930	1931	1932	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938	1939	1940	1941
Officers	56	59	91	88	91	90	92	91	95	94	99
Non-comm. Officers, Constables	1067	1154	1911	2072	2148	2274	2130	2154	2164	2331	2832
Special Constables	0	138	346	137	115	136	131	123	126	127	128
Marine Section	0	#	#	207	219	217	220	230	218	#	#
Special Constable Guards	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1215	1240
Total	1245	1351	2348	2504	2573	2717	2563	2518	2603	3767	4299

Included in special constables.

Source: RCMP, *Annual Reports*, 1930-1941.

In the 1930s the strength of the RCMP remained fairly constant, excepting the leap in numbers in 1932 when the RCMP became the provincial police for all but

⁴⁸Colonel C.E. Edgett, speech before Synod of the Presbyterian Church in Session, Vancouver, 15 October 1936. *RCMP Quarterly*, (January 1937). Cited in Brown, *An Unauthorized History*, 81-82.

Quebec, Ontario and B.C. With the outbreak of war the Force's numbers increased, but most of the increase was in Special Constable Guards who were largely composed of returned veterans and were used to guard vulnerable points such as bridges, factories, and borders.⁴⁹ It is interesting to note that without the Special Constable Guards, the RCMP strength remained at pre-war levels with 2,552 members, despite a huge increase in the work load, which now encompassed Civil Security and the registration and internment of Enemy Aliens.⁵⁰

In the 1930s a scientific revolution enveloped the RCMP with the opening of a modus operandi section, the enlargement of the fingerprint data section, and new pathology and ballistics laboratories.⁵¹ To further co-operation with other RCMP detachments, other police forces, and the chief investigative departments of the C.P.R. and the C.N.R. in Western Canada, the *RCMP Gazette* began publishing in March 1934. The *Gazette* covered issues such as missing persons, stolen and recovered property, important convictions, movements of travelling criminals, and recent crimes. Publication of the *Gazette* was expanded to cover all of Canada, with a circulation of 995 by 1939. During the war the *Gazette* was used to disseminate information from Headquarters, including new memoranda, amendments to the

⁴⁹RCMP, *Annual Report, 1939-1940*, 15.

⁵⁰RCMP, *Annual Report, 1939-1940*, 21.

⁵¹RCMP, *Annual Report, 1936-1937*, 17.

Defence of Canada Regulations, and instructions on Enemy Aliens.⁵² The war also brought an open if cryptic mention of the RCMP's other secret Bulletins, dealing with Civil Security and Secret Intelligence which the RCMP described as "assist[ing] in the prevention of alien enemy activity, sabotage and espionage, and in that sense may be considered an aid in the detection and apprehension of criminals, but it is not in the public interest to enlarge further on this matter in this report."⁵³

Applicants to the Force in the 1930s underwent rigorous testing before being hired, testing which included a higher educational standard, and an enlarged application form with questions such as ability to drive a car or motorcycle, ability to speak French, ability to use a typewriter, and shorthand qualifications, to name just a few of the questions on the two page application form.⁵⁴

Initial training for RCMP recruits lasted six months, and consisted of two parts. Part one included courses in Foot and Arms Drills, Rules and Regulations, History of the Force, the RCMP Act, Musketry and Revolver practice, and Ju Jitsu, among others.⁵⁵ Part two consisted of the Criminal Code, Federal Statutes, Typewriting, Practical Instruction to improve Powers of Observation and Portrait Parle, Scientific Aids to Investigation, Fingerprinting, Use of Gas, Public Speaking, and Essay

⁵²RCMP, *Annual Report, 1940-1941*, 38.

⁵³RCMP, *Annual Report, 1940-1941*, 39.

⁵⁴RCMP, *Annual Report, 1934-1935*, 41. Appendix A.

⁵⁵RCMP, *Annual Report, 1936-1937*, 135.

Writing, among others. Mounted recruits also learned Equitation and Stable Management, and Care of Horses.⁵⁶ Most detachments also underwent annual retraining on subjects learned as recruits, as well as new technologies. For instance, in 1935-36 retraining courses included how to take fingerprints and how to develop and photograph latent prints at crime scenes.⁵⁷

To co-ordinate information on security and intelligence the RCMP founded the Criminal Investigations Branch (CIB) in February 1920. The CIB became the depository for both the Fingerprint and Intelligence Sections. Security and intelligence files, which were separate from the other files of the Registry, were also kept within the CIB. The RCMP began instituting a system of security screening, including fingerprinting, of naturalization applications in the 1920s. By the late 1930s fingerprinting had spread to include testing the loyalty of new civil servants and RCMP recruits. By 1938 all new civil servants underwent a fingerprint check, record checks of RCMP criminal and subversive files, and personal background checks. It was a combination of an overwhelming fear of communism and technological advances that helped the RCMP to establish its state security screening operations.⁵⁸

In 1937 Assistant Commissioner and Director of the Criminal Investigation Branch (CIB) S.T. Wood wrote of his hope for a special course for CIB detectives because

⁵⁶RCMP, *Annual Report, 1936-1937*, 135.

⁵⁷RCMP, *Annual Report, 1935-1936*, 30.

⁵⁸Hannant, *The Infernal Machine*, 242.

they currently only underwent standard RCMP training.⁵⁹ Wood's became Commissioner in 1938, but there is no indication that anyone in the CIB was ever given special training. The CIB duties were separated into several sections: the Preventative section; the Finger Print section; the Ticket of Leave section; the Firearms Registration section; and the Intelligence section.⁶⁰

The Intelligence Section was officially formed in 1936 with 6 members, including Inspector Rivett-Carnac, Sergeant Leopold, an officer in charge of the Registry, an officer in charge of handling agents, a stenographer and a translator. In 1938-1939 the RCMP *Annual Reports* mentioned the Secret Service for the first time, and stated that "Other important activities of a Secret nature for the information of the Government have also required much care and preparation."⁶¹ The Secret Service was under the jurisdiction of the CIB, as were sections dealing with Intelligence and Civil Security, which the Report mentioned were enlarged due to the increasing pressures of the new duties. The 1938-1939 report also contained the first mention of the Public Security section, which was responsible for preventing sabotage and for the protection of public utilities and vulnerable points in connection with transportation and lines of communication. In 1939-1940 the Public Security Branch was expanded to include the investigation of a large number of Enemy Aliens. To meet the new

⁵⁹RCMP, *Annual Report, 1936-1937*, 42. Appendix A.

⁶⁰RCMP, *Annual Report, 1937-1938*, 49.

⁶¹RCMP, *Annual Report, 1938-1939*, 13.

challenges, the RCMP Headquarters was reorganized into three main departments: "A" Department responsible for Administration and Organization and headed up by Assistant Commissioner C.H. King; "C" Department responsible for Criminal Investigation headed up by Assistant Commissioner R.R. Tait; and "S" Department, responsible for Supplies, Quartering and Equipment and headed up by Assistant Commissioner J.M. Tupper.

The RCMP also set up a new, separate filing system in 1938-1939 to deal with the main individuals involved in subversive organizations. Prior to 1938 subversive files were kept in the central registry, and were difficult to locate among the criminal and other files. The Security Service used personal history files to keep track of suspected subversives, including Fascists. These personal history files included names, descriptions and photographs whenever possible, date of arrival in Canada, date of naturalization, marital and family status, occupation, group and club affiliations and their standing therewithin, and intelligence and education.⁶² (See appendix one). In 1938-1939 the RCMP also established Special Intelligence Sections in various divisions within the Force. Rivett-Carnac wanted recruits to the Intelligence Section to have undergone a year's experience before performing anything but routine duties. Also, Rivett-Carnac wanted to select recruits of a certain education and common sense to undergo intelligence training to enable them to carry

⁶²NAC, RG 18, vol. 599, file 1323, vol. 2320. Circular Memo CIB, 10A, Routledge to OC's, 14 March 1919

out their duties without any repercussions.⁶³

The year 1938-1939 also saw the first complete report from the Intelligence and Liaison Service in the RCMP *Annual Report*. Prior to 1938, the Intelligence and Liaison Service's section primarily dealt with strikes, Communists and labour strife. Reports had not been previously released due to the secrecy of the work and because weekly summaries of the progress of subversive movements had been submitted to Government officials.⁶⁴ This changed in 1938-1939 with the broadening scope of the Intelligence Service, which was now comprised of: Communist activities; Italian Fascist activities; German activities; Canadian Fascist activities; Activities of various foreign language organizations operating in Canada; Espionage activities; and Civil Security and protection of vulnerable points. Weekly summaries were discontinued on 31 December 1938, replaced by the *Review of Intelligence Matters*. Rivett-Carnac explained the RCMP SS activities to Wood in April 1939:

Extensive information in regard to the activities of members of the Italian Fasci in Canada is in our possession ... As you know, the Dominion Government was supplied with a detailed summary of the work of the foreign branch of the Italian Fascist Party in Canada some time ago. It has been intended to implement the information forwarded, but to-date pressure of duties in other directions has not permitted this.

Our facilities in connection with German activities are parallel to those of Italian activities, and a comprehensive memorandum was compiled for the information of the Dominion Government at approximately the same time as the Italian Summary referred to above.

⁶³CSIS, vol. 7. Rivett-Carnac to Wood, *Re: Annual Report*, 6.

⁶⁴CSIS, vol. 7. Rivett-Carnac to Wood, *Re: Annual Report -Intelligence and Liaison Section*, 22 April 1939, 9.

Full information is in our possession regarding the identity of prominent members of the National Unity Party ...

Generally speaking, the work in connection with the various ideologies mentioned above has increased tremendously in the past year, as these matters have come more and more to public attention. The volume of correspondence from outside sources coming to the attention of this office is now undoubtedly several hundred per cent greater than it was three years ago.⁶⁵

The fact that the RCMP viewed Communism as the greatest threat to democracy is demonstrated by Rivett-Carnac's response to a memorandum from a concerned citizen, Mr. A.L. Lawes. Lawes, of the Montreal Shipping Company Ltd., wrote to Robertson worried that Quebec's Padlock Law would prevent him from receiving his subscription to *Pravda*. Lawes received *Pravda* and several Fascist newspapers as his company did business with the U.S.S.R., Italy, Germany and Japan. In addition to writing to Robertson, Lawes also wrote to A.D.P. Heeney, the Principal Secretary of the Prime Minister's Office. Lawes wanted to offer his services to Canada to uncover subversive propaganda and to appraise the government of the more blatant activities of the enemies of democracy, Nazism, Fascism, and Communism.⁶⁶ Lawes stated that "there will be little disagreement with the suggestion that these three enemies [to Democracy] are Nazi, Fascist and Communist, in the order named, and their importance depends upon the extent that they advocate the violent overthrow of our

⁶⁵CSIS, vol. 7. Rivett-Carnac to Wood, 22 April 1939, 8.

⁶⁶NAC, MG 30, E163, vol. 12, file 137. Lawes to Heeney, 25 November 1938.

form of Government."⁶⁷ Rivett-Carnac disagreed with Lawes hypothesis stating that:

It would seem as well therefore to very briefly analyse the ideologies referred to and the purpose they have in view:-

(A) NAZI - There is probably too great a tendency on the part of the layman to consider that every German in Canada is a follower of Herr Hitler. This of course is not the case, and, quite apart from the many loyal Canadians of German origin who are in Canada, there are also a certain number of Germans who have Communist sympathies and who are very much opposed to the present regime in Germany. That efforts are being made by the functionaries of the National Socialist German Labour Party in Canada to bring as many Germans as possible "within the fold of Germanism" is of course evident, and these efforts have been described in detail in a Note which has already been compiled on the subject. Anyone who has access to the full facts will realize that although German propaganda is most objectionable its main objective at present is the retaining of the allegiance of Germans living abroad to the Third Reich, and, at the present juncture at all events, there is no question of the overthrow of the present economic order - and its administrative machinery both parliamentary and otherwise - in Canada coming within the scope of the Nazi program. While the main objective of German propaganda abroad is undoubtedly - as previously stated - the retaining of Germans within the fold of Germanism, there is no doubt but that certain Germans are active in Canadian Fascist organizations although their significance to the present date is not great. The main point which I wish to make in this connection is that while the Communist program embodies the destruction of the state apparatus of the Government and the setting up of a new economic order, the Nazi program which has been brought into being in Germany has retained the principles of the old system to the extent that a modified form of capitalism now exists in that country. My opinion is that Mr. Lawes is not commencing from a proper premise when he suggests that Nazi propaganda is the most dangerous influence which exists insofar as our Democracy is concerned. To understand the present situation in regard to Nazism and its place in world affairs it is necessary to make a detailed study of the after-effects of the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 and the very great part played in world affairs behind the scenes by the Comintern since the Great War.

(B) FASCIST - Much the same situation as that referred to above exists insofar as Italian Fascist activities are concerned. The extension in foreign countries of the Italian Fascist Party has as its main objective the retention of the

⁶⁷NAC, MG 30, E163, vol. 12, file 127. *Memorandum regarding information received from Mr. A.L. Lawes, 1.*

"Italianita" of the nationals of that country living abroad. The Italians are even more militant in this respect than the Germans and attempt to gain control not only of the nationals of their own country but also of naturalized British subjects of Italian origin living in Canada. The propaganda disseminated is - in common with German propaganda - highly objectionable, but its main object is undoubtedly the control of Italians in countries abroad by the government at Rome. While both the Germans and Italians would be glad to see any deviation in our present system of government towards the Fascist or Nazi form this would not appear to be of major importance at present as compared with the retention of allegiance to Signor Mussolini of Italians abroad. Both the German and Italian organizations possess potentialities for sabotage however and the present ideological machines could undoubtedly be converted at a time of war or crisis to instruments capable of causing considerable havoc and destruction.

(C) COMMUNIST - The Communist Party of Canada has proved to be a revolutionary organization having as its program the overthrow of the Government by force and violence. The Comintern, as you are aware, for the last twenty years has had its sections operating in every country of the world. Since the Seventh Congress of the Communist International held at Moscow in 1935 there has been a deviation in tactics but the revolutionary program remains unchanged. The present membership of the Party in Canada is in the neighbourhood of 15,000 individuals, which, on a percentage basis per ratio of population, approximates the membership of the Party in Russia at the time of the Revolution. The influence controlled insofar as the foreign mass organizations are concerned is great, and the main danger of course is not so much the turning of Canadians towards a Communist viewpoint - although progress is being slowly made in this direction - but the effect of the propaganda disseminated by functionaries of the Party upon the populace and the gradual "turning to the left" of numbers of Canadian citizens so that the People's Front (or Popular Front) government may be brought into being as a transition stage - or "stepping-stone" - towards the Revolution. Possibly the reason that Nazi and Fascist propaganda are regarded as the most dangerous by well-intentioned individuals such as Mr. Lawes is because: (1) The Communist Party works underground to a major degree and controls various organizations via the medium of its "fractions", and the Party therefore does not make its appearance in the public view, and (2) Due to the energetic anti-Nazi and anti-Italian propaganda which is disseminated through a well-organized Communist-controlled foreign language press in Canada. This propaganda also enters the English-speaking newspaper field through the medium of such organs as "The Daily Clarion" and other Left-wing periodicals initiated for the purpose of advancing the revolutionary feelings of the masses, viz: the fight against Fascism in order to uphold Democracy!! The last war and

it's aftermath may also have some bearing in regard to the psychological inspiration of feelings of hatred and distrust towards Germany, and there is no doubt but that the persecution of individuals in the country referred to - more especially the Jews - has added to this, but nevertheless there is no doubt in my mind but that the whole situation in regard to the present state of world affairs has been very largely brought about by the tremendously energetic activities of the Third International over a twenty-year period. Past history and present events in the Continental field must inevitably bear this out if the situation is viewed carefully, objectively, and analytically. If the Communists were ever to come into power in Canada it would mean the physical destruction of any member of the bourgeoisie who did not fall in line with their principles. It is certainly not a question of reform by constitutional means and as the program of the Communists jeopardizes the safety and well-being of all persons who desire to retain our present Democratic form of government I am naturally strongly opposed to the pseudo-pacific program of the organization referred to. I also consider the activities of the Germans and Italians in Canada highly objectionable but there is no comparison to be drawn insofar as danger is concerned. If Fascism gains any foothold in Canada it will be as a corollary to the growth of Communism. It may be aided and abetted to some degree by the Germans and Italians but the main reason for its arrival will be the natural process of evolution by which it has been brought into being in certain countries in Europe. The growth of Fascism is simply a development of the "class struggle" which has been initiated as the main pillar of the whole Communist ideological structure since the days of Karl Marx. Fascism is the reaction of the middle classes to the Communist danger and, as perhaps you are aware, the Communists describe it as "the last refuge of Capitalism". Two essentials are necessary however to its development, one being a large middle class in any given country, and the other a strong sense of national tradition.

I have gone into the above at some length with a view to clarifying the incorrectness of Mr. Lawes assertion regarding the respective dangers of Nazism, Fascism, and Communism, as contained in his letter. One cannot form an estimate of the danger of such ideologies or the degree of their penetration by merely surface observations. It requires a detailed study of the general situation and access to secret information which naturally cannot be available to every individual. May I say that we are fully aware of what is going on and that we are by no means dormant insofar as our investigations are concerned, not only in the ideological or political field but also from the standpoint of keeping surveillance of espionage activities - a largely different matter.

There would appear to be no point in my going into the subject matter

of the remainder of Mr. Lawes' memorandum in detail in view of the fact that, as previously stated, we are already aware to a great extent of the general trend of German and Italian activities - not to mention Canadian Fascist activities - in Canada, and there is little information in his memorandum which we do not already know of. I am, however, making a copy of it as it may be useful for purposes of future reference.⁶⁸

In effect, Rivett-Carnac was saying that the threat to capitalism was more serious than the threat to liberal democracy! The RCMP response to the Lawes memorandum was also supported by Minister of Justice Ernest Lapointe who stated that "regardless of what military pacts were signed" Communism was equally abhorrent as Fascism!⁶⁹

With conflict imminent in Europe, RCMP officers were appointed to several committees including the Committee for Defence Co-ordination, the Committee for the Treatment of Aliens and Alien property, the Committee for Emergency Legislation, and the Committee re: the Official Secrets Act.⁷⁰ The RCMP also made arrangements with the Canadian Legion of the British Empire Service League to provide any necessary assistance at the outbreak of war. The Legion had already conducted surveys on available man power within Canada which was of great help to the Force's survey of vulnerable points. The Defence of Canada Regulations (DOCR) and their enforcement was the RCMP's main new duty upon the outbreak of war.

⁶⁸NAC, MG 30, E163, file 127. Rivett-Carnac received the Lawes letter from Robertson, and that is who this memo is directed back to, 24 January 1939, 1-6.

⁶⁹NAC, MG 30, Lapointe Papers, vol. 50, file 50. Lapointe to Wood, 25 August 1939.

⁷⁰CSIS, vol. 7. Rivett-Carnac to S.T. Wood, *Re: Annual Report - Intelligence and Liaison Section*, 22 April 1939, 7.

The RCMP investigated thousands of complaints from public-minded citizens concerned with suspected saboteurs, spies and disloyal people. The general war work of the Intelligence section included corresponding with the various other Government intelligence departments and censors, as well as developing information sharing with foreign countries. In co-operating with other departments and provincial police the RCMP was able to create a centralized record system, which made it easier to secure full data on any individual or group involved in subversive activity.⁷¹ In a summary of the work performed by the Intelligence section in Toronto, there were 1,096 investigation of the War Measures Act, 2,544 Enemy Aliens registered, 80 Enemy Aliens interned and 2,244 investigations of suspected subversive activities.⁷² From 1940 to 1941 the strength of the Intelligence Section of the CIB doubled in strength, going from 1 Officer and 28 other ranks including 8 stenographers to 3 Officers and 56 other ranks including 23 stenographers by 31 March 1941.⁷³ Their numbers increased as the work load trebled, much of it due to the capitulation of France, Germany's invasion of the Low Countries, and Italy's entry into the war. To make it easier the Division was divided into 13 main groups, each with an inter-departmental committee to communicate with other departments. Of the thirteen groups, there was a separate one each for Fascism, Communism and Nazism and their sympathizers,

⁷¹RCMP, *Annual Report, 1939-1940*, 96.

⁷²RCMP, *Annual Report, 1939-1940*, 185.

⁷³RCMP, *Annual Report, 1940-1941*, 56.

and for suspected "Fifth Column" activities.

There was also a separate section for Alien Enemy Registration, under the command of Inspector D. Saul. The Force set up 625 local registry offices and arranged for 2866 Postmasters who would render monthly reports on the persons reporting to them. 140,000 persons of German or Italian racial origin, and of Nationals of countries dominated by Germany and Italy were initially registered, however, this number dropped to 80,000 when the DOCR excluded certain nationalities. Of the 80,000 approximately 30,000 were of German origin, 31,000 of Italian origin and 21,500 of Czechoslovakian or Austrian origin. Of those, 21,175 were exempted after proven loyal to Canada.⁷⁴ The RCMP *Annual Report* for 1939-1940 hypothesized that "Perhaps one of the factors which contributed to the absence of sabotage, or evidence of 'Fifth Column' activities, so far, is due to the fact that promptly upon the outbreak of war all known Nazi agents were immediately arrested by this force and placed in internment camps."⁷⁵ There were 307 Germans or those of German origin arrested and placed in internment camps immediately following the outbreak of war, with 64 men of German origin interned in B.C. alone. After German successes in Europe, many German-Canadians became more emboldened in their support of Germany. By 31 March 1941 there were 375 Germans and other Nazi sympathizers, 558 Italians, 96 Communists and 29 members

⁷⁴RCMP, *Annual Report, 1940-1941*, 57.

⁷⁵RCMP, *Annual Report, 1939-1940*, 10.

of the National Unity Party interned under DOCR 21 and 25(8).⁷⁶

A formal Security Service for the whole of Canada was formed on 14 July 1942, authorized under the Commissioner of the RCMP. The scope of the Security Service was curtailed from its original expectations due to war requirements, and now paid special attention to coastal areas. As the RCMP did not have the needed personnel for this Security Service it was authorized to hire suitable civilian personnel to back them up. Eighteen non-RCMP personnel were hired for the Security Service in 1943. The Security Service personnel wore different uniforms than the regular RCMP members, dressed in battle clothes, with berets and shoulder patches indicating they belonged to the Security Service.⁷⁷

According to information gathered on the RCMP's surveillance of Communists during the 1930s, the RCMP used three main methods to gather information.⁷⁸ The first method involved the use of plain-clothes officers to attend public meetings, parades and demonstrations. The second method involved using undercover RCMP agents, such as the infamous Sergeants Leopold and Zaneth.⁷⁹ These agents were

⁷⁶RCMP, *Annual Report*, 1940-1941, 13.

⁷⁷RCMP, *Annual Report*, 1942-1943, 8.

⁷⁸A. Grenke, "From Dreams of the Worker State to Fighting Hitler: the German-Canadian Left from the Depression to the end of World War II," *Labour/Le Travail*, 35 (Spring 1995), 66-105. Michael Lonardo, "Under a Watchful Eye: A Case Study of Police Surveillance During the 1930's," *Labour/Le Travail*, 35 (Spring 1995), 11-42.

⁷⁹Dubro and Rowland, *Undercover*, 12.

used to infiltrate organizations and report on their activities. The third method practised by the RCMP was the use of outside, civilian informants.⁸⁰ These tactics applied to the surveillance of both Communists and Fascists by the late 1930s. The RCMP primarily used public meetings, newspaper reports and informants to keep informed on Fascist organizations, but, they also used informants and undercover agents. While there is evidence of the use of secret agents and informants in the Italian communities, there is no indication that they were used in the German, French or English-Canadian communities.

Two known RCMP secret agents were Mr. Bersani and Mr. Camille Vetere, both prominent members of the Montreal Italian community. It is interesting to examine the case of Bersani to explore how the RCMP went about recruiting and using their secret agents. With pronounced anti-Fascist views and a position of trust as a clergyman, the RCMP thought that Bersani would make an ideal secret agent.⁸¹ Born in Bologna, Italy in April 1897, Bersani was an Italian war veteran who came to Canada in 1928. Once in Canada, Bersani taught languages to boys at the United Church Boarding School and to girls at Pointe-aux-Trembles. During the summer of 1929, Bersani was appointed Minister of the United Church of the Redeemer. When Bersani began an active anti-Fascist campaign in 1935 he came to the attention of

⁸⁰Lonardo, "Under a Watchful Eye," 9.

⁸¹NAC, MG 30, E163, vol. 14, file 168, 2. Memorandum for the Minister of Justice, 28 April 1941.

RCMP Sergeant Lamothe who approached him for information which Bersani declined to give. At a later date Bersani was again approached by the RCMP, this time by Assistant Commissioner Meade who was looking for a reliable agent to help the police. Bersani attempted to pass the RCMP onto a youth who might help them. Again the RCMP returned to Bersani, this time in 1937, when he was asked to meet with Commissioner MacBrien to discuss Fascism. It was at this meeting that Bersani finally agreed to become an RCMP Secret Agent, being paid \$60 a month for his services. With his increasing duties as a Secret Agent, Bersani hired another Minister to help out in the Church. The new minister turned out to be an Italian agent, working to usurp Bersani's congregation.

When Bersani gave information to the RCMP about three church elders, Vincenzo Monaco, G. Raco, and N. Di Girolomo, and the new Minister's (Scalera) Fascist activities, he ran into trouble with the Examining Chief of Internment cases, Justice Hyndman. After the four men appealed their internments, Hyndman concluded that Bersani had used his position of influence with the RCMP to vent his personal grievances over losing his church. Hyndman claimed that "Had the authorities who are responsible for the employment of this man been aware of his character, I am sure he would not have taken into their services as a S.A..."⁴² After the Judge's statements the Minister of Justice re-investigated Bersani, finding Hyndman's charges

⁴²NAC, MG 30, E163, vol. 14, file 169. Memorandum for the Minister of Justice, 28 April 1941, 1.

to be completely false. This pleased Robertson, who had been having "... very worrying doubts about the reliability of the evidence upon which decisions had to be reached. Some of these doubts have been removed by Mr. Varcoe's report."⁸³

With the outbreak of war, Bersani's reports were also put before another RCMP secret agent, Camille Vetere for verification. Vetere "... was connected with every Italian activity, was one man in Canada who knew everything and everybody."⁸⁴ Vetere was given the number S.A. 17, which leads to the assumption that S.A. 203, the other S.A. employed in the Montreal Italian Community must have been Bersani. In addition to Bersani and Vetere the RCMP were also gathering information from Dr. Laura D'Anna, a prominent member of the Fascio Femile.

Vetere and Bersani knew each other prior to their work for the RCMP, having been acquaintances in Sydney, Nova Scotia. When Vetere was facing financial difficulties he approached Bersani for money, getting several small advances. As the editor of *L'Italia Nuova*, a delegate of the Fascio Abroad, President of the Italian War Veterans and a member of O.V.R.A., it seems unusual that Vetere would remain friends with Bersani, an anti-Fascist. Bersani was also on good terms with another Fascist, a school teacher in Montreal. Bersani stated that Vetere believed Bersani was a secret agent of Rome, hence their friendship. Bersani apparently cultivated this to

⁸³NAC, MG 30, vol. 14, file 168. Robertson to Mr. Bernier, Private Secretary to Minister of Justice, 20 May 1941.

⁸⁴NAC, MG 30, E163, vol. 14, file 168. Memorandum for the Minister of Justice, 28 April 1941, 3.

enable him to gain information from Vetere. Vetere became an RCMP Secret Agent just prior to the war's outbreak with Italy, while Dr. Laura D'Anna became a secret agent only after the war's outbreak to gain freedom for her interned husband. Vetere was instrumental in helping the RCMP compile the list of names of members of the Fascio, consisting of several hundred people.⁴⁵

Thus, despite claims that the RCMP was incapable of investigating Fascist organizations due to language barriers and a lack of manpower it can be seen that they were indeed investigating Fascism and even recruiting undercover agents. These recruitments were mainly in the time frame immediately before and during World War II, as the Bersani case indicates. However, the RCMP consistently maintained that the Fascists were not the state's main enemy, a distinction which fell to the Communists. Hence, many of their investigations were cursory in nature. With domestic Fascist groups it appears that the RCMP only collected readily available information such as attending public meetings and reading party literature.

⁴⁵NAC, MG 30, E163, vol. 14, file 168. Interim Report on Complaints Arising out of Internment of Italians, 28 April 1941, 10.

Chapter 3: The Politics of Internment

This chapter examines internment in Canada in World War II, looking at the precedents both in the United States, Australia, Britain and Canada during World War I and in Britain during World War II. Next this chapter looks at the procedural aspects of Canada's Inter-Departmental Committee on Internment (IDC): who sat on it, who controlled it, and the decisions it made. Then the chapter will examine who was interned and why. The chapter concludes with an examination of current academic views of internment, including a brief examination of the demand for compensation.

Once war appeared imminent, public pressure encouraged the government to act against 'enemy aliens.' Public pressure manifested itself in several ways, including attacks on individuals and against collectivities. These attacks often occurred in the independent press, including newspapers and radios. The media often sold the idea of the 'enemy alien' as spy. This was demonstrated during World War I when a German steel manufacturer, Krupp, was suspected of giving details on Newfoundland to Germany who supposedly wanted to seize the island.¹ This rumour ignited much of the population against all enemy aliens. The outbreak of war only worsened the situation with many people seeing 'enemy aliens' everywhere. As the country suffered set-backs on the military battlefield, enemy aliens suffered intensified

¹Gerhard Bassler, "The Enemy Alien Experience in Newfoundland, 1914-1918," *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, 20 (1988), 45-46.

scrutiny at home as fear bred more repressive governmental tactics.²

Public hostility towards 'enemy aliens' often arose out of a combination of four things: racial animosity, economic animosity, spy-fever, and political hostility. When any of these four factors combined, life became increasingly difficult for those deemed 'enemy aliens.' Enemy aliens were not all classified as dangerous, some were considered friendly, others neutral and the rest unfriendly. For example, Jewish refugees fleeing Hitler were classified as 'enemy aliens' because of their German citizenship but were not classified as dangerous. In many instances the actions of the group determined how the group was classified; any group that did not conform to the norm would be classified as unfriendly. This was precisely what happened with the Ukrainians in Canada during World War I.³

In general, the Canadian government used the two World Wars as a way to extend state control and state intervention into society. Because both wars were total wars wherein the majority of the populace participated in some form, the government managed to take responsibility for many sectors it had previously ignored. The government amassed large armies, switched industry over to war production, regulated staples, controlled public opinion through propaganda, censorship, and

²Panikos Panayi, ed., *Minorities in Wartime: National and Racial Groupings in Europe, North America and Australia during the Two World Wars* (Oxford: Berg Publishers Ltd., 1993), 14.

³Panayi, *Minorities in Wartime*, 15.

granted itself the power to control dissent.⁴ Both World War I and II served as an excuse for the government to enlarge its security services, for example. The events of World War I and the 'Bolshevik menace' served to foster the development of a Canadian national police force while World War II further entrenched and expanded the RCMP's use as a security and intelligence force. The increased bureaucratization which occurred during war was especially dangerous when combined with public insecurity and the push for national unity. The home-front often attempted to fight the war by suppressing 'enemy aliens.' Governments had several options in dealing with the problem of enemy aliens, from internment and deportation to registration, resettlement and careful monitoring, to doing nothing at all.⁵

Needless to say, the position of ethnic minorities, especially enemy aliens, generally worsened during war. During war primitive, often nationalistic, instincts prevailed with xenophobia surfacing in many forms. Essentially people allowed their base instincts to dominate. In the Canadian case as the possibility of war increased, the public became increasingly suspicious of Nazi and Fascist activities. By June 1938, rumours abounded including one that Fascists had managed to smuggle arms into Canada with which 75,000 Fascists were drilling.⁶ In another case residents of

⁴Panayi, *Minorities in Wartime*, 18.

⁵Panayi, *Minorities in Wartime*, 11.

⁶Betke, Carl and Stan Horrall, *Canada's Security Service: An Historical Outline, 1864-1966* (Ottawa: RCMP Historical Section, 1978), 463. Taken from *Debates, House of Commons*, 29 June 1939.

Saskatoon petitioned the government to suppress suspected Nazis at Loon Lake whom they believed ready to take up arms against the Canadian government once war was declared.⁷ These fears seemed legitimate when it was learned that several German businessmen were attempting to purchase Anticosti Island in the Gulf of the St. Lawrence allegedly for logging. Minister of Justice Ernest Lapointe attempted to reassure the public with a speech in the House of Commons stating that "The Secret Service of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police have the situation well in hand."⁸

Canada was not alone in its use of internment during both World Wars, the United States, Australia and Britain also imprisoned enemy aliens. In fact, both Canada's and Australia's internment operations were based on the British model. The British first began internment operations during the Boer War and continued them in both World Wars. Internment of enemy aliens was defined as the concentration of an ethnic group without trial.⁹ In World War I all three countries interned men of military age of enemy citizenship. The British House of Commons passed the 'Alien Restriction Act' on 5 August 1914 allowing the government to control the activities of its enemy aliens, including where they lived, if they needed to register and if they

⁷Jonathan Wagner, "Heim ins Reich: The Story of Loon River's Nazis," *Saskatchewan History*, 29 (1976).

⁸*Debates, House of Commons*, 29 June 1938.

⁹Panayi, *Minorities in Wartime*, 7.

could work.¹⁰ In 1918 the British government also introduced the 'Nationality and Status Aliens Act' which limited the possession of British citizenship to those deemed loyal to the Empire.¹¹

In times of war, loyalty became the prime psychological touchstone for national cohesiveness. For example, America used World War I to streamline the diversity of opinions into one monolithic block. Ethnic heritage was seen as a threat to national allegiance. During total war the enemy is depicted as the embodiment of evil.¹² The war with Germany became a test of loyalty for German-Americans and German-Canadians, who were torn between loyalty to Germany and loyalty to their adopted country. As the American public began to panic over a potential Fifth Column, President Wilson issued twelve regulations defining the legal framework for placing restrictions on the 250,000 German-born, non-citizen males over the age of 14. These restrictions included being forbidden to carry firearms, to access wireless radios and aeroplanes, and to live in restricted areas. Within the first six months of the American's entry into war 895 enemy aliens were arrested.¹³ By November 1917, President Wilson had added eight additional enemy alien regulations including

¹⁰Panayi, *Minorities in Wartime*, 6.

¹¹Panayi, *Minorities in Wartime*, 7.

¹²Jorg Nagler, "Victims of the Home Front: Enemy Aliens in the United States during the First World War"; Panayi, *Minorities in Wartime*, 191.

¹³Nagler, "Victims of the Home Front," 198.

the registration of all male enemy aliens. In total, 260,000 male enemy aliens were registered.

Women were not long ignored by the registration process. A month later, President Wilson asked Congress to expand his regulations to include women. The Department of Justice wanted to be able to intern German-born women whose activities were considered disloyal to the State. Congress agreed, adding that this included American women married to enemy aliens, because such women proved they were not loyal and had to forfeit their American citizenship when they married an enemy alien. Thus, 220,000 German and American women were also forced to register. Interestingly, the man behind the surveillance and internment of female enemy aliens was J. Edgar Hoover, later to become known for his leadership of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.¹⁴

In the United States the numbers of enemy aliens precluded wholesale internment, so instead the government turned to increased surveillance. This precipitated a rapid growth in the government's intelligence apparatus. The American government set up four camps to intern its enemy aliens, 6300 men and a few women, mainly of German origin. Four thousand of those were crew from German ships while the remaining 2300 were considered 'dangerous enemy aliens.' Of the 2300, roughly 10 per cent were from the cultural elite of the German communities, including the conductor of the Boston Symphony, industrialists, financiers, ministers

¹⁴Nagler, "Victims of the Home Front," 200.

and teachers.¹⁵ Some of the remainder were labour activists, radicals, and members of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW).¹⁶ The last group of those interned was made up of mentally disturbed, eccentric and poor enemy aliens who had aroused suspicion in their communities.

During World War I, Australian citizens refused to work alongside Germans and wrote letters denouncing their German-Australian neighbours. The public was joined in this by the press and authors of spy novels who campaigned against enemy aliens. There were anti-German riots in Sydney and Melbourne after the sinking of the *Lusitania* in May 1915. With the horrific losses at Gallipoli riots spread throughout Australia. While the government did not openly participate, they did little to stop the anti-enemy alien hysteria. The Australian government interned those enemy aliens it deemed dangerous, surveilled some and forced all others to register. The government even called on its citizens to help search for spies and saboteurs and to turn them into the State.¹⁷ Enemy aliens were defined as any Australian-born citizens whose father or grandfather had been a subject of a country that Australia was now at war with. This meant that all German citizens, all naturalized Australian-

¹⁵Nagler, "Victims of the Home Front," 211.

¹⁶Nagler, "Victims of the Home Front," 212. The American government incorrectly viewed the IWW as an auxiliary of the German espionage system.

¹⁷Fischer, Gerhard. "Fighting the War at Home: the Campaign against Enemy Aliens in Australia during the First World War," in Panikos Panayi, *Minorities in Wartime*, 268-270.

German citizens, and all second and third generation Australian-Germans could now be considered enemy aliens. By October 1916 this was broadened to include all foreigners, enemy aliens or not.¹⁸ The government did not ignore Australians or other British citizens who spoke out against its policies, using the war to suppress political opposition. The Australians learned little from their World War I internment operations, making the same mistakes in World War II.¹⁹

World War II was not the first time Canada used internment as a means of controlling people within its borders. The first Canadian internment operation was undertaken during World War I. The War Measures Act, enacted in August 1914, gave the federal government the power to arrest, detain, exclude and deport individuals on the grounds that they were 'enemy aliens.'²⁰ The Canadian Government ordered all enemy aliens to register with their local magistrates. Eventually 88,000 registered, of whom 8,579 were arrested as being potentially dangerous to the State. Of those 8,579, 7,762 were residents of Canada while the remaining 817 were crew from German ships. This is in contrast to the United States

¹⁸Fischer, "Fighting the War at Home," 275.

¹⁹Kay Saunders, "Inspired By Patriotic Hysteria? Internment Policy towards Enemy Aliens in Australia during the Second World War," in Panayi, *Minorities in Wartime*, 287.

²⁰John Herd Thompson, *Ethnic Minorities During Two World Wars* (Ottawa: Canada's Ethnic Groups, Canadian Historical Association, 1991), 7. Lubomyr Luciuk, *A Time for Atonement: Canada's First National Internment Operations and the Ukrainian Canadians, 1914-1920* (Kingston: The Limestone Press, 1988), 7.

which interned only 895 enemy aliens. Among the 'enemy aliens' interned in Canada were 1,192 of German origin, 5,954 of Austro-Hungarian descent, primarily Ukrainians, with the others listed as ethnic background undetermined, among them women and children.²¹ Approximately 4000 of the total internees were listed as indigent, three-quarters of whom were Austrians (mainly Ukrainians). Those forced to register had to report regularly to local police and carry their identity cards on them at all times.²² Civilian registrars registered enemy aliens according to age, nationality, residence, occupation, prior military service, and location of family abroad. Those who failed to register, were found with restricted items (guns or wirelasses), tried to cross the border without proper papers, or were considered dangerous or indigent faced possible internment. Many Ukrainian Canadians were interned for nothing more than: "being shiftless, unreliable, undesirable, acting in a

²¹Thompson, *Ethnic Minorities*, 7. The numbers on exactly how many of these were Ukrainians is approximate as many of the government files relating to the World War I internment were misplaced or destroyed during the 1950's. Strangely, it was the files relating to mistreatment and detailing escapes that were destroyed. Andy Blicq, "The Other Shame: Do the more than 8,000 so-called enemy aliens interned during the First World War deserve an apology?" *The Winnipeg Free Press*, 21 December 1984. Article reprinted in Lubomyr Luciuk, ed., *Righting An Injustice* (Toronto: Justinian Press, 1994), 2. Also cited in Melnycky, "The Internment of Ukrainians in Canada," 3.

²²"Ukrainian Canadians Seeking Redress," *The Globe and Mail*, 15 January 1988. Article reprinted in Luciuk, *Righting An Injustice*, 13-14.

suspicious manner" and for writing or receiving letters from family in Austria.²³

Just prior to the outbreak of World War II, Britain established the Committee of Imperial Defence which reported that in the event of war there would be no automatic internment of male enemy aliens. The subcommittee, however, did view some degree of detention at an early date as inevitable. The government then proceeded to reserve accommodation for 18,000 potential internees.²⁴ Government attention mainly centred around German and Austrian nationals living in Britain. The Home Secretary announced that there would be an immediate review of all Germans and Austrians in Britain using 100 tribunals to investigate them. These tribunals separated enemy aliens into three categories: A. internment; B. restriction on their actions; C. exempt from either restrictions or internment. Internment began 2 September 1939 with the War Office working in conjunction with MI5 and local police forces. By January 1940, 528 enemy aliens had been interned with a further 8,356 placed under restrictions. This number was drastically increased when the tide of war went against the British. The Government announced a protected area along the eastern and southern coasts of Britain wherein all German and Austrian males from 16 to 60 were interned. By the middle of May 1940 the government also

²³Peter Melnycky, "The Internment of Ukrainians in Canada," in Frances Swyripa and John Herd Thompson, eds., *Loyalties in Conflict: Ukrainians in Canada During the Great War* (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1983), 6.

²⁴Colin Holmes, "British Justice at Work: Internment in the Second World War," in Panayi, *Minorities in Wartime*, 150 and Stent, *The Bespattered Page*, 25.

ordered all individuals in Category B interned. By the end of June all those in Category C were also ordered reviewed. Italians in Britain found themselves interned alongside Germans and Austrians after Italy entered the war on 10 June 1940. Interestingly, communists, socialists and trade unionists were almost all placed in category A or B. The British shipped many of their interned away from Britain, including 2250 who were sent to Canada. By July 1940 the British government realized that some of the people it had interned were no threat and slowly began releasing internees. In addition to interning enemy aliens the British also interned British subjects considered disloyal. This included members of the I.R.A., Fascists and Fascist sympathizers. Sir Oswald Mosley and 750 other Blackshirts were interned in May 1940 under Defence Regulation 18B, which gave the government the power to detain people without trial during wartime.²⁵

Thousands of Canadians were interned during World War II because of their ethnic or political affiliations, including Communists and Fascists. Canada interned 2423 people in World War II, 623 more than Britain whose population was four times that of Canada's and who was also fighting far nearer to the front lines of the war. In addition to the 2423 interned, thousands more Canadians of Japanese descent were removed from their coastal homes and relocated. The 2423 internees break down into 847 pro-Nazis, 782 pro-Japanese, 632 pro-Italians, 133 Communists, 27 N.U.P.

²⁵Holmes, "British Justice at Work," 151-152.

members, and 2 unclassified.²⁶ This figure far exceeded the pre-war plans which only called for 814 people to be interned.²⁷

Canada's justification for internment was the War Measures Act, passed in August 1914 which, according to John Stanton, gave the government the authority to:

- (1) In general - if war, invasion or insurrection occurs or is apprehended, the Government of Canada may ... authorize ... such orders and regulations as are deemed "necessary or advisable for the security, defence, peace, order and welfare of Canada."
- (2) More specifically, the federal government is authorized to control: all publications, including censorship of same; all means of communication; all arrests, detentions and deportations of persons; all ports, harbours and territorial waters and ships therein; all transportation by land, air and water; all trading, including exports and imports; all production and manufacturing; and, all disposition of property and its use.
- (3) To get around the Bill of Rights, a subsection was added: "6(5) Any act or thing done or authorized or any order or regulation made under the authority of this Act, shall be deemed not to be an abrogation, abridgement or infringement of any right or freedom recognized by the *Canadian Bill of Rights*."
- (4) The Act also provides that a formal proclamation by the government that war, invasion, or insurrection (real or apprehended) exists is all that is necessary to establish the existence of the situation described in the proclamation and, thereby, the lawfulness of all actions

²⁶Whitaker, "Official Repression of Communism During World War II," *Labour/Le Travail*, 17 (Spring 1986), 145-146. In compiling my own figures I can account for 1518 of the internees, 677 of the Germans, 626 of the Italians, 68 of the Communists and 27 of the NUP. These figures include 288 from Ontario, 276 from Quebec, 103 from BC, 55 from Manitoba, 80 from Saskatchewan, 39 from Alberta, 1 from P.E.I., 34 from Nova Scotia, and 1 from New Brunswick. 1776 were interned under Regulation 21, 46 under Regulation 24 and 601 under Regulation 601, for a total 2423. 474 were naturalized while 394 were foreign nationals. These figures are all incomplete. See Appendix three for data sheets on the internees.

²⁷NAC, RG 76, vol. 446, file 675985, part I. Report, 31 August 1939.

of the government, including violations of the Bill of Rights.²⁸

To implement the War Measures Act the Canadian government established the Defence of Canada Regulations (D.O.C.R.) on 3 September 1939. The D.O.C.R. was the legal justification for internment. In total, the D.O.C.R. was comprised of 64 regulations whose shape resulted from a struggle between conservative civil servants in the Department of National Defence and the RCMP and more liberal civil servants such as Norman Robertson, J.F. MacNeill and others. There were five main regulations affecting Fascists: regulations 21 and 22 which focussed on arbitrary detention and regulations 24, 25 and 26 which focused on alien internment.²⁹ People were generally interned under two different Defence of Canada Regulations, 21 and 25(8). Regulation 21 stated that:

WHEREAS regulation 21 of the Defence of Canada Regulations ... provides:

"(1) The Minister of Justice, if satisfied that with a view to preventing any particular person, from acting in any manner prejudicial to the public safety or the safety of the State, it is necessary so to do, may, notwithstanding anything in these Regulations, make an order:-
(c) directing that he be detained in such place, and under such conditions, as the Minister of Justice may from time to time determine; and any person shall, while detained by virtue of any order made under

²⁸John Stanton, "Government Internment Policy, 1939-1945," *Labour/Le Travail*, 31 (Spring 1993), 209.

²⁹Daniel Robinson, "'Planning for the most serious contingency': Alien Internment, Arbitrary Detention, and the Canadian State, 1938-1939," *Journal of Canadian Studies*, 28, 2 (Summer 1993), 6.

this paragraph, be deemed to be in legal custody".³⁰

The D.O.C.R. gave the Minister of Justice a large discretion over who was to be interned. Regulation 21 dealt with prevention of crime, not necessarily the commissions of crime, interning those considered capable of acting in a fashion prejudicial to the public safety of the State. According to the Examiner, "In other words, the doubt in such cases is almost inevitably interpreted against the suspected person."³¹ While no doubt the Minister of Justice wanted reliable information, there was "no restriction or qualification as to the degree or quality of evidence or information he needs to exercise that discretion."³² Regulation 22 of the D.O.C.R. established the rights for internees to object to their internment in front of a committee which was in turn to make its recommendation to the Minister of Justice. The first step involved the RCMP submitting a recommendation for internment to the Minister, detailing personal data, available evidence and a jail where the subject could be temporarily detained. Next the Minister submitted his recommendation to the Inter-Departmental Committee (IDC). If the IDC agreed with the Minister's decision

³⁰NAC, MG 30, E163, vol. 14, file 174. *Re: Interned Italians - General and Confidential Report of the Examining Officer - Montreal. Gerald Fauteux, K.C., 5 September 1940, 9-10.*

³¹NAC, MG 30, E163, vol. 14, file 174. *Re: Interned Italians - General and Confidential Report of the Examining Officer - Montreal. Gerald Fauteux, K.C., 5 September 1940, 10.*

³²NAC, MG 30, E163, vol. 14, file 174. *Re: Interned Italians - General and Confidential Report of the Examining Officer - Montreal. Gerald Fauteux, K.C., 5 September 1940, 10.*

then an arrest order was prepared. The third step outlined the arrest procedure, including that each internee be given an objection form that could be sent to the Minister. After that, the Minister sent the objection form on to the Advisory Committee which questioned the police as to the evidence. The Advisory Committee then held a confidential hearing with the internee, without witnesses or secret agents, and following the hearing the Advisory Committee submitted its recommendation to the Minister. If the order was for continued detention, the internee was transferred to one of the internment camps. If release was ordered, the RCMP was given 15 days to submit further evidence.³³

Regulations 24 and 25 were specifically designed to deal with foreigners in Canada. Regulation 24 stated that:

All enemy aliens legally admitted to Canada ..., so long as they peacefully pursue their ordinary avocations, shall be allowed to continue to enjoy the protection of the law ... and they shall not be arrested, detained or interfered with, provided they comply with the requirements in respect of registration ..., unless the Minister of Justice is satisfied that they have acted, or may act, in any manner prejudicial to the public safety or the safety of the State.³⁴

Regulation 25, subsection (8) stated that:

... Any enemy alien who in the judgment of the Registrar cannot consistently with the public safety be allowed at large shall be interned as a prisoner of war and any enemy alien who has been allowed at large by a Registrar may, upon the order of the Minister of Justice if in

³³CSIS, 87-A-130. *The Nazi Party in Canada*, February 1947, 61.

³⁴Canada, *Defence of Canada Regulations, Consolidation*, 1941 (Ottawa: Edmond Cloutier, 1941), 30.

his judgment such alien cannot consistently with the public safety be allowed at large, be interned as a prisoner of war.³⁵

In addition to Regulations 21 and 25(8), Regulation 39 was used to control the population, stating that:

No person shall:

- (a) act in any manner, spread reports, or make statements or utterances intended or likely to cause disaffection to His Majesty or to interfere with the success of His Majesty's forces or of the forces of any allied or associated powers to prejudice His Majesty's relations with foreign powers;
- (b) act in any manner, spread reports, or make statements or utterances intended or likely to prejudice the recruiting, training, discipline, or administration of any of His Majesty's forces; or
- (c) act in any manner, spread reports, or make statements or utterances intended or likely to be prejudicial to the safety of the State or the efficient prosecution of the war.

Subsection 39(a) of the D.O.C.R. concerned the printing and publishing of materials which might cause disaffection. Subsection 39(c) of the D.O.C.R. made the following organizations illegal: the N.S.D.A.P.; the D.A.F.; the Bund; the N.U.P.; the Communist Party of Canada; the Young Communist League of Canada; the Ukrainian Labour Farmer Temple Association; the Finnish Organisation of Canada; the Russian Workers and Farmers Club; the Canadian Ukrainian Youth Federation; the Italian Fascio Abroad; O.V.R.A., the DopoLavoro, the Italian War Veterans Association; O.G.I.E., the Italian United Morale Front; Technocracy Inc.; the Jehovah Witnesses; and others. Subsection (c) further stated that:

Every person who is an Officer or member of an illegal organization,

³⁵Canada, *The Defence of Canada Regulations, Consolidation*, 1941, 34.

or professes to be such, or who advocates or defends the acts, principles or policies of such illegal organizations shall be guilty of an offence against this Regulation.³⁶

It was considered that:

In any prosecution under this Regulation. ... if it be proved that the person charged (a) attended meetings of an illegal organization; (b) spoken publicly in advocacy of an illegal organization; or (c) distributed literature of an illegal organisation by circulation through the Post Office mails of Canada, or otherwise. It shall be presumed, in the absence of proof to the contrary, that he is a member of such illegal organization.³⁷

In addition, any person interned under the D.O.C.R. was considered an 'enemy alien' and thus their property was vested in the Custodian of Enemy Property.

S.T. Wood, Commissioner of the RCMP, sent a memorandum to Ernest Lapointe, Minister of Justice, detailing how he thought subversive organizations should be dealt with in case of war. Wood wanted the government to outlaw the following: The N.S.D.A.P., the D.A.F., the Bund, the Hitler Jugend, the Italian Fascio, the O.V.R.A., the DopoLavoro, the Italian War Veteran's Association, the O.G.I.E. and the Italian United Moral Front.³⁸ Wood believed that any German or Italian organization that had directly or indirectly identified with Nazi or Fascist

³⁶Canada, *The Defence of Canada Regulations, Consolidation*, 1941, 53.

³⁷Canada, *The Defence of Canada Regulations, Consolidation*, 1941, 53.

³⁸NAC, RG 25, vol. 1964, 855-E-39. Part I, *Letter from Wood to Lapointe*, 26 August 1939, 1.

propaganda in Canada should be outlawed.³⁹ Wood also recommended that the following papers be suppressed: *Il Bollettino*, *L'Echo Italo-Canadese*, *L'Italia Nuova* and *Deutscher Zeitung Fur Kanada*. In addition, Wood recommended that the Sydney, Montreal, Toronto, Hamilton and Windsor Casa d'Italia's be closed. The RCMP wanted these recommendations to be put into immediate effect once war was declared with Germany and Italy, and the records and assets of the above-mentioned organizations to be seized. Included in this were the assets of the Ukrainian Farmer-Labourer organization, whose property was valued at over a million dollars.⁴⁰ Wood also recommended, 'as a further precautionary measure', that the Communist Party of Canada and other left-wing organizations be suppressed. The RCMP also wanted to suppress all foreign language and political newspapers affiliated with the above organizations, including the *Clarion* and the *People's Advocate*.⁴¹ In total there were 17 newspapers on Wood's list to be suppressed. He also wanted the records of all the aforementioned organizations to be seized, including those which might be kept at the Consular Offices, allowing that searches of the Consular Offices

³⁹NAC, MG 26, J4, vol. 230, C155898. *Memorandum for Dr. Skelton*, 28 August 1939.

⁴⁰NAC, MG 26, J4, vol. 230, C155898. *Memorandum for Dr. Skelton*, 28 August 1939.

⁴¹NAC, RG 25, vol. 1964, 855-E-39. Part I, *Letter from Wood to Lapointe*, 26 August 1939, 3.

would first require the concurrence of the Department of External Affairs.⁴² When these recommendations were given to Norman Robertson, Under-Secretary of State for the Department of External Affairs, and J.F. MacNeill, from the Department of Justice, they opposed the RCMP's ideas, both for the ethnic resentment it would cause and the prospect of labour troubles it could bring, not to mention the potential for the government needlessly to alienate large segments of the population. Robertson advised the RCMP to concentrate on the arrest of those suspected of treasonable activity. Robertson was also opposed to taking any precipitate action against the Communist Party, wanting to wait and see how it adapted to the new international alignments. MacNeill agreed with Robertson, suggesting that the Departments of Justice and External Affairs work together to deal with questions of policy regarding the handling of subversive activities in wartime.⁴³ In turn, O.D. Skelton wrote to Prime Minister King stating that:

I entirely agree with Robertson that these proposals are extraordinary. I am surprised that the present Commissioner of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police would put them forward.

In the event of war, I think it would be essential to take every necessary action against sabotage and treasonable actions on the part of individuals, but such blanket proposals as are suggested here do not appear to be called for by the circumstances to be warranted by the

⁴²NAC, MG 26, J4, vol. 230, C155898. *Memorandum for Dr. Skelton*, 28 August 1939.

⁴³NAC, RG 25, vol. 1964, 855-E-39. Part I, *Memorandum for Dr. Skelton*, 28 August 1939, 2-3.

experience of other democratic countries.⁴⁴

Despite this, the D.O.C.R. eventually contained nearly all Wood's recommendations.

In a report authored by Inspector Batch of "O" division, the RCMP worried that there were several problems with Regulation 21. The RCMP recommended that complete information, including income, skills, family and financial position in the community, religious and political connections, be gathered on Germans and German sympathizers, much as was done with Italian sympathizers. The RCMP believed this would ensure easier decision making for the IDC. The memorandum also stated that the term 'loyalty' or 'disloyalty' be used in place of 'anti/pro-British' as recent immigrants from continental Europe who were loyal to Canada have no personal attachment to the British Empire. These people would not be pro-British but also not a danger to Canadian public security. Another concern was how to cope with unattached persons of enemy origin with no known enemy sympathies. The RCMP worried that as many of these people lost their jobs with the war's advent and were ineligible for relief, they became increasingly susceptible to being turned against Canada. The RCMP recommended that such people should be enrolled in labour camps or other useful work under military discipline.⁴⁵

Regulation 21 was very useful to the IDC as it stated that anyone could be

⁴⁴NAC, MG 26, vol. 230, 2218. C4289. C155896. *Memorandum for the Prime Minister*, 28 August 1939.

⁴⁵NAC, MG 30, E163, vol. 13, *Inter-Departmental Committee on Internment Cases*, 147, 2 August 1940.

interned "to prevent them from acting in any manner prejudicial to the public safety or the safety of the State." This allowed them to intern people on whom there was not enough evidence. A good example of this is the case of four miners from New Waterford, Nova Scotia. The RCMP recommended that four miners be interned, only one of whom was a known member of the Fascio. Robertson concluded that with the volatile nature of the labour situation in the Nova Scotia coal mines it would be safer to recommend all four men for internment, despite there being a lack of evidence against three of them. Perhaps to ease his conscience, Robertson then asked if the wording "for the duration of the war" could be exempted from the internment recommendation.⁴⁶

It is easier to understand how internment came to be used once we know the attitudes held by the government in relation to Fascists. Prime Minister Mackenzie King had shown a marked sympathy for Germany's desire to change the Versailles Treaty. King's constituency was that of Kitchener (known as Berlin prior to World War I), Ontario and contained one of the highest concentrations of German Canadians.⁴⁷ After a visit to Germany in 1937 King was convinced that Hitler was a man of peace, concerned with the well-being of his people and a spiritual personality

⁴⁶RG 18, vol. 3563. C-11-19-2-3, Vol. 1. *Letter from Robertson to Superintendent Bavin*, 19 June 1940.

⁴⁷Keyserlingk, "Allies or Subversives?" 241.

much like King himself.⁴⁸ The Canadian government was not alone in its neutral attitude towards Germany. The British Government itself differentiated between Hitler and the Nazis ('barbarous Huns') and 'good Germans' who were encouraged to rebel against the Nazis.⁴⁹ In Canada, Robertson favoured appealing to the "good Germans." Robertson stated that while not all Germans were bad there were criminal elements who would follow Hitler here in Canada:

Once released from the restraints of law, these local gangster types would act towards their national minorities in the same way as had the nazis. You would see a pack of yellow curs creeping out in Montreal and Toronto, just as they did in Vienna after the German occupation, to kick the Jews when they were down and to yell and sneer at them and make them scrub the pavements. We have that kind here.⁵⁰

Robertson, however, was more sympathetic to the plight of the internees than were the other members of the IDC. Robertson stated that many of the internees appeals were based on three issues: that they had joined these organizations in good faith with the understanding that they had the blessing of government officials; that it was never made clear to them that membership in a Fascist organization was incompatible with loyalty to Canada; and that as the government issued charters to these organizations, allowed their mail to come via Canada Post and government

⁴⁸R.H. Keyserlingk, "Mackenzie King's Spiritualism and his View of Hitler in 1939," *Journal of Canadian Studies*, 20, 4 (1985-6), 26-44.

⁴⁹Keyserlingk, "Allies or Subversives?" 243.

⁵⁰Departmental Archives, Department of External Affairs, (DDEA), 5568-40C, memorandum on Free Germans, 15 July 1941. Cited in Keyserlingk, "Allies or Subversives?" 245.

officials to give speeches at their events that they had tacit government approval.

Robertson worried that:

...we have been, in part at least, responsible for allowing this confusion to continue in the minds of what are, for the most part, simple and not very well educated people.

It seems to me that it is high time that steps were taken to correct such misapprehensions in the minds of other immigrant groups in Canada, particularly the Italians. Consideration might well be given to issuing a public statement drawing a few morals from the predicament in which a good many Canadian citizens of German origin have placed themselves ... A warning word at this stage need not name names, but might greatly facilitate the work of the R.C.M.P. in segregating sheep from goats ...⁵¹

Robertson's interest in Fascism dated back to 1936 when O.D. Skelton appointed him as the Departmental representative at an RCMP meeting 'to discuss a number of questions arising out of the activities of Fascist and Nazi agencies in Canada.'⁵² This meeting was proposed by the RCMP's Criminal Investigation Branch (CIB), most likely called to discuss the Italian communities' support for Mussolini in the Ethiopian campaign despite Canada's supporting the League of Nations' sanctions against Italy. Also at that meeting were Under-Secretary of State E.H. Coleman, Deputy Minister of Immigration and Colonization T. Magladery, and

⁵¹CSIS, vol. 7. *Memorandum to Dr. Skelton from Norman Robertson*, 17 April 1940, 1-2.

⁵²J.L. Granatstein, *A Man of Influence: Norman A. Robertson and Canadian Statecraft, 1929-1968* (Montreal: Deneau Publishers, 1981), 81.

RCMP Commissioner Major-General J.H. MacBrien.⁵³ Even prior to the meeting, Robertson had begun gathering information on propaganda imported from Germany and Italy and on domestic Fascist organizations. Entitled 'Communist-Nazi-Fascist Propaganda' Robertson's brief was started in 1933 and covered the C.N.P. and Italian Fascio among other groups.⁵⁴ Also included in Robertson's files was information sent him by J.S. Woodsworth. Robertson often brought documents and information to the attention of the RCMP, fighting to get the RCMP to focus undercover efforts on Fascists in the German and Italo-Canadian communities.⁵⁵ In addition, on 22 May 1936 Robertson wrote to the Canadian legation in Washington requesting them to gather information on Nazi-Fascist propaganda in the United States. Robertson also maintained clippings on Fascism around the world, including Australia.

While the Canadian government was not predisposed to take any action against Fascism, either foreign or domestic, it was forced in spring 1939 to make a belated attempt to grapple with propaganda distributed by the German and Italian consulates. This was an issue which first arose in the House of Commons in February 1934 and 1935 and again in March 1936. On 28 February 1934, the Minister of Justice Hugh Guthrie responded to Cartier MP Samuel Jacobs who charged that the German Consul

⁵³NAC, MG 30, E163, vol. 12, file 124. Letter from O.D. Skelton to G.L. Jennings, Assistant Commissioner, RCMP, 21 March 1936.

⁵⁴NAC, MG 30, E163, vol. 12, file 124. *Communist-Nazi-Fascist Propaganda, 1933-1936*.

⁵⁵Whitaker, "Official Repression of Communism," 137.

General in Canada, Dr. L. Kempff, had been issuing highly anti-Semitic tracts from his office. Mr. Jacobs asked the Government to suppress and confiscate the pro-Nazi, anti-Semitic material and to expel Kempff and others responsible for such actions. After discussing the issue with Kempff, Guthrie stated no further copies of the offending document would be released and that while a diplomatic representative should not interfere in the internal affairs of Canada, this was a case where the lines of demarcation were blurred. Guthrie continued, stating that:

I do not think any occasion has arisen for suggesting the withdrawal from Canada of Doctor Kempff, or other officers of the consulate. The consul general is a man of long experience in the dominion and of proved friendliness to this country. I am sure he had no intention of intervening in Canadian affairs, and that no further circulation may be anticipated of documents and which, while intended to support the attitude of his government, contained material object unable to large sections of Canadian opinion.⁵⁶

The next protest over consulate actions occurred on 28 February 1935 and involved the Italian Consul General, Commendatore Luigi Petrucci. Hamilton East MP Humphrey Mitchell asked the government if a diplomatic representative had the right to advocate the substitution of a dictatorship for Canada's democracy. Mitchell was concerned with Petrucci's statement that:

I can safely say to the Canadian citizens of Italian origin that to them is reserved the great task of explaining to their fellow citizens the real meaning of the Fascism of Mussolini so that it will be much easier for the Canadian people to adapt themselves gradually to the new economic

⁵⁶House of Commons, *Debates*, 28 February 1934, 1029.

and political system which is hardly unavoidable.⁵⁷

In responding to Mitchell, Sir George Perley stated that when Petrucci was questioned, he apologized for the misunderstanding, stating that "Nothing was further from my mind than to suggest that Italian citizens of Canada should urge the abandonment of Canada's democratic form of government."⁵⁸ Perley accepted Petrucci's statement, stating:

I am satisfied upon inquiry that the Consul General had no intention of interfering in Canadian affairs. It is only fair that allowance should be made for the difficulty which besets new comers in dealing with the finer points of English speech. I can assure the member for East Hamilton the government of Canada would not countenance any intervention by a representative of a foreign government in Canada affairs, or any support from outside to movements for social and economic change in this country ...⁵⁹

On 2 March 1936, MP J.S. Woodsworth returned to the issue of statements made by Italian Consul General Luigi Petrucci, this time at a Montreal Italian Chamber of Commerce meeting. According to the *Montreal Gazette* Petrucci stated that he was sad that Canada was applying sanctions against Italy which could lead to another world war and disrupt Canadian-Italian trade. Woodsworth also recounted meeting an Italo-Canadian delegation in Ottawa in 1935 who charged Petrucci with:

... connivance in building up a secret fascist organization called the nationalist organization for the repression of anti-fascism [O.V.R.A.].

⁵⁷House of Commons, *Debates*, 28 February 1935, 1276.

⁵⁸House of Commons, *Debates*, 4 March 1935, 1367.

⁵⁹House of Commons, *Debates*, 4 March 1935, 1367.

They charged that the officials of this organization were paid by the Italian Government notwithstanding that they were British subjects by naturalization. They charged that the consul exercises a great deal of intimidation over Canadian citizens; that naturally, Canadian citizens had to go to the Consul for a good many things relating to their homeland ...; that when they did so the accommodation was refused them unless they joined the fascist organization, and further that threats were made, not merely of bodily harm to Canadian citizens here but also to relatives of Canadian citizens who were still in Italy.⁶⁰

Woodsworth turned the information over to Robertson, including a copy of the Fascist oath. Woodsworth heard nothing back from External Affairs.

Woodsworth also protested over statements by the German Consul General who called for all Germans in Canada to report to either the vice consuls in Montreal or Winnipeg to register for conscription. King stated that he was satisfied with the German Consul General's statement that conscription only applied to Germans in Canada who were not naturalized. King stated that:

I might say that the calling to the colours of nationals of a foreign state by its consular agents, and the actions of such consular agents in facilitating the transportation of such national, are in accordance with ordinary international usage ... I might add that the whole question of the practises of foreign governments in recruiting, enlisting or calling to colour their nationals is receiving consideration by the government.⁶¹

Robertson urged the government to block out any seditious or disloyal propaganda coming in via the consulates and to use the full extent of the law against the consulates. Robertson also warned the government to stop its own indirect support of

⁶⁰House of Commons, *Debates*, 2 March 1936, 674.

⁶¹House of Commons, *Debates*, 13 March 1936, 1052-1053.

Fascism by ending advertisements in Fascist papers, by not hiring known Fascists, and by giving no official acknowledgement or recognition to suspect organizations, such as when the Governor General sent a telegram to Adrien Arcand in 1938.⁶²

Robertson saw several tools at hand to deal with Fascism, including tax audits, refusal of immigration visas, RCMP investigations, and potentially even revoking naturalization certificates. While Robertson saw membership in Fascist organizations as being incompatible with a loyal fulfilment of the oath of allegiance sworn at naturalization, he also believed that the government had not done enough to help immigrants understand their role as Canadians. Robertson believed that integrating immigrants into mainstream Canadian society through social work, English classes and adult education, legal aid and the use of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation and the National Film Board would prevent them from being attracted to subversive organizations.⁶³

Prior to the war's outbreak, the RCMP wanted the power to arrest and detain non-alien. As naturalized British subjects were not eligible for internment, Wood wanted measures in place to deal with the 'spectre of sabotage'. Assistant-Commissioner R.R. Tait stated that "in addition to enemy aliens there were certain persons in Canada, British subjects by naturalization or otherwise, who there was reason to believe might engage in activities contrary to the public interest in time

⁶²Granatstein, *A Man of Influence*, 82.

⁶³Granatstein, *A Man of Influence*, 83.

of war."⁶⁴ Wood wrote to Lapointe for support stating: "In view of the Force in regard to subversive organizations over a considerable number of years, we are in a more favourable position to determine the essentials of the situation referred to than certain members of a committee [Committee on Emergency Legislation] whose scope of activity is entirely removed from the type of work mentioned and to whom the proposed legislations might appear repugnant due to lack of understanding of the subject."⁶⁵

Attempting to clarify any confusion over internment and to deflect criticism away from themselves, the RCMP subsequently stated that:

There has been some misunderstanding as to the procedure followed in regard to internment of enemy aliens and persons known to have engaged in subversive or anti-British activities. Due to this lack of understanding, it was thought in some quarters that interments were the sole responsibility of the police, particularly the Royal Canadian Mounted Police. This is quite incorrect. The duty of the R.C.M.P. with regard to internments begins and ends largely with the investigation of the activities of the persons falling within the categories referred to above. No person other than an enemy alien may be interned except on the order of the Minister of Justice and, in the case of enemy aliens, on the order of the Registrar-General of Enemy Aliens.

The procedure followed is simply that when any individual is suspected of having engaged in subversive or other activities prejudicial to the welfare or safety of the State, he is subjected to a thorough police investigation. All evidence of the disloyal actions of the

⁶⁴NAC, MG 30, E148, vol. 6, file 45. John E. Read papers. Meeting of the Committee of Defence Co-ordination.

⁶⁵NAC, Department of Justice. A90-00214. Wood to Lapointe, 16 May 1939. Daniel Robinson, "'Planning for the Most Serious Contingency': Alien Internment, Arbitrary Detention, and the Canadian State, 1938-1939," *Journal of Canadian Studies*, 28 (Summer 1993), 14.

suspected person is obtained and, providing such evidence warrants it, it is submitted to the Minister of Justice in the form of a recommendation for detention. This recommendation is in turn given consideration by a committee appointed to advise the Minister accordingly, when an Order authorizing detention is issued, pursuant to the provisions of Regulation 21, of the Defence of Canada Regulations.

... I trust the above explanation will remove some of the erroneous ideas which have been published with regard to the internment of enemy aliens and persons known to have been engaged in subversive or anti-British activities.⁶⁶

The RCMP explanation of internment left out one detail, namely that the IDC was made up of three members, including RCMP Superintendent Bavin. By having Bavin sit on the IDC the RCMP had more control over who was interned than the above rationale would indicate. During the 1930s the RCMP was primarily concerned with Communism, as is amply demonstrated by the attitudes of its members. Commissioner S.T. Wood was a dedicated anti-Communist which coloured the attitudes and actions of the Intelligence Section, of which Superintendent Bavin was a security officer. Bavin's duties included spying on trade unions.⁶⁷ Also in attendance at the first meeting of the IDC was Staff Sgt. J. Leopold of the RCMP, who had attained notoriety by his lengthy undercover operation in the Communist Party of Canada in the 1920s. Leopold too was quite anti-Communist.

On 10 July 1939 representatives of the Department of External Affairs, the Department of State, the Department of Justice and the RCMP met to discuss

⁶⁶RCMP, *Annual Report, 1940-1941*, 15-16.

⁶⁷Stanton, "Government Internment Policy, 1939-1945," 213.

Nazi-Fascist Activities and the Naturalization Act. At the meeting were J.E. Read, Robertson and M.H. Wershof of External Affairs, W.P.J. O'Meara of the Department of State, MacNeill of Justice, and Superintendent Bavin and Inspector Rivett-Carnac of the RCMP. The meeting discussed revoking the naturalization of Nazi and Fascist propagandists held to be disloyal or disaffected. While no decisions arose from the meeting, consensus emerged that taking the Fascio oath would be proof of disloyalty for Italians. O.D. Skelton stated that:

My present view is that, of all the facts ..., the essential one is membership in the Fascio. If in a particular case, it is possible to prove such membership and if, in addition, it can be proved that swearing the Fascist oath is a prerequisite of membership, I think a prima facie case of disloyalty would be the result...⁶⁸

For Germans disloyalty was harder to distinguish, as it was difficult to separate anti-British propaganda from devotion to Hitler. Wood and Skelton established a committee to look into the issue of revoking the citizenship of members of the N.S.D.A.P. and the Bund where it was decided that outspoken allegiance to Hitler would constitute disloyalty.⁶⁹

The IDC was responsible for reviewing the records and recommending arrests and internment. In its first official meeting, 2 September 1939, the IDC discussed the

⁶⁸CSIS, vol. 7. Letter from Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, OD Skelton to Commissioner S.T. Wood, 22 July 1939, 1.

⁶⁹NAC, RG 25, vol. 1964, 855-E-39. Part I, *Nazi-Fascist Activities and the Naturalization Act*, 10 July 1939, 3. And CSIS, vol. 7. Letter from OD Skelton to S.T. Wood, 22 July 1939, 1.

issue of detaining enemy aliens and certain naturalized Canadians in the event of war. The Committee was made up of an official of the Under Secretary State for External Affairs, Norman Robertson; an official from the Department of Justice, J.F. MacNeill; and an RCMP intelligence officer, E.W. Bavin. These men were chosen for specific reasons. Robertson was the prime minister's principal adviser on foreign affairs, MacNeill was a high-ranking official in the Justice Department, while Bavin was an RCMP expert in anti-Communism.⁷⁰ The Committee made regular recommendations to the Minister of Justice after reviewing evidence. Prior to the war's outbreak the IDC dealt with naturalized Canadians and enemy aliens, but once war broke out the Registrar General of Enemy Aliens dealt with all those not naturalized as was laid out in Section 25 of the D.O.C.R..⁷¹ The IDC considered each case on the basis of the available evidence and recommended either internment or dismissal or requested more information. The Minister of Justice, however, was the only one with the power to authorize internment and thus all recommendations went through him. In essence, the Justice Department decided whose activities impeded Canada while at war, the RCMP arrested them, and the Internment Operations interned them. All three of these levels worked together, particularly the RCMP and the Justice Department.⁷² At their first meeting MacNeill, Robertson,

⁷⁰Stanton, "Government Internment Policy, 1939-1945," 212.

⁷¹CSIS, 87-A-130. *The Nazi Party in Canada*, February 1947, 60.

⁷²Jones, *Behind the Wire*, vol. 2, 328.

Bavin and RCMP Sgt. Leopold reviewed Wood's recommendations to the Minister, detailed above. MacNeill stated that it was the view of the Department of Justice that a list of dangerous persons should be established, and it was those individuals and not broad groups who should be interned at the outbreak of war. MacNeill also asked that RCMP lists be divided into German and Italian categories and those divided further into aliens and naturalized Canadians. As time was crucial, it was decided not to investigate individual dossiers of every enemy alien already listed as dangerous. They all agreed that certain German nationals belonging to the N.S.D.A.P. and the D.A.F. should be interned immediately on the outbreak of war.

The Committee set up four categories to classify Germans and those of German origin. German nationals known to be members of the N.S.D.A.P. fell into the first category and were to be immediately interned. The second category contained male members of the D.A.F., also made up of German nationals, many of military age. This group was also recommended for immediate internment. The third category also contained German nationals whose political, business, industrial and social ties and opportunity for espionage made them 'dangerous persons.' They too were to be interned. The fourth, naturalized Canadians of German birth or origin who held leadership roles in organizations such as the Bund, were also recommended for internment. The IDC hastened to add that this was only a minimum list that would potentially increase as investigations now in progress were concluded. The total on the lists to be interned was 325, of whom 265 were German nationals and 60

naturalized Canadians.⁷³

The case of Italians was also brought up in the first meeting. It was deemed, however, to be more sensitive, and the RCMP was instructed not to take any precipitate action against Italians which might affect Italy's neutrality. It was decided to divide Italians into similar categories as the Germans, to be dealt with at the next sitting of the IDC. Five Roman Catholic priests, four Italian nationals, and one naturalized Canadian listed on the original RCMP dangerous persons list were removed. While three of the five had undoubtedly been active in propagating Fascism and would normally be eligible for internment, it was decided that they would be allowed to depart for Italy or be transferred from their parishes to a retreat.⁷⁴

The Minutes of the first Committee meeting show that Bavin, speaking for the Commissioner, was still quite concerned with the Communist Party stating:

I would like to inform you gentlemen that the Commissioner - and I myself - feel that the Communists are of far more importance than either the Italians or Germans, in the event of war. This has been clearly shown by the actions and their attitude as set forth in their Press and at their meetings... From a study to the files and the information going through our Intelligence Branch it is quite well established that they are, and would be, the most dangerous of the three.⁷⁵

⁷³NAC, RG 25, vol. 1964, 855-E-39. Part I, *Memorandum for the Rt. Hon. Ernest Lapointe*, 3 September 1939, 1.

⁷⁴NAC, RG 25, vol. 1964, 855-E-39. Part I, *Plans for the Detention of enemy aliens and certain Naturalized Canadians in the event of War*, 2 September 1939, 1-2.

⁷⁵NAC, RG 25, vol. 1964, 855-E-39. Part I, *Minutes of Committee Meeting*, 31 August 1939.

MacNeill replied that "the Minister feels that you should be the guiding light in that respect, since you are closer to the facts than we are."⁷⁶ The Committee then moved on to discuss the potential of enemy aliens fleeing to the USA and the necessity to inform Border and Customs officials to prevent this from happening. Robertson and MacNeill tried to mitigate the severity of the RCMP views, with Robertson stating:

I am confident that, in the Italian communities, if we could get the leaders then the rest could go on their way, performing their ordinary work. I think you will find - especially among the Italian societies - that many have hooked up with these organizations as a social obligation; with an eye on business; to be in with the crowd, as far as persons of their own nationality are concerned; or for some such reason...⁷⁷

MacNeill agreed and stated:

That under the Act we can fingerprint them. They must all register, and those that are believed to be dangerous could be detained, while those who are not considered dangerous could be released upon signing an undertaking. The "sheep" would be allowed to go out and perform their useful tasks and supporting themselves. They would, however, be kept track of.⁷⁸

In the 10 September 1939 meeting, the Committee divided the names on its Italians list into three separate Appendices, with the individuals on Appendices I and

⁷⁶NAC, RG 25, vol. 1964, 855-E-39. Part I, *Minutes of Committee Meeting*, 31 August 1939.

⁷⁷NAC, RG 25, vol. 1964, 855-E-39. Part I, *Minutes of Committee Meeting*, 31 August 1939.

⁷⁸NAC, RG 25, vol. 1964, 855-E-39. Part I, *Minutes of Committee Meeting*, 31 August 1939.

II thought capable of acting in a manner prejudicial to the public safety. Appendix III contained the names and addresses of a number of naturalized Canadians and others thought to belong to the Fascio who were not considered an immediate threat. Those on Appendix I and II were all of Italian birth and members of the Fascio, with Appendix I being for Italian nationals while those on Appendix II were naturalized Canadians. The IDC believed that members of the Italian Fascio were 'clearly dangerous persons' who should be arrested immediately on the outbreak of war. The IDC were less clear on what to do about naturalized Canadian members of the Fascio, believing that they were not at heart disloyal to Canada. It was decided that they should not be arrested unless there was *prima facie* evidence of their disloyalty. There were 92 names on Appendix I and a further 49 recommended for immediate arrest. All others listed on Appendix II were asked to report to the RCMP for examination and registration.⁷⁹ At both meetings it was decided that if enquiry led to internment, internees should lose their naturalization and be deported at the end of hostilities. The IDC report was approved under Regulation 21 of the D.O.C.R. by the Minister of Justice and the Attorney General of Canada.

The RCMP and the IDC attempted to draw the line between the leaders of Fascism and the rank-and-file members. Essentially, in the Italian communities, the Canadian government interned those who the Italian community told them to arrest.

⁷⁹NAC, RG 18, vol. 3563, C11-19-2-2. *Memorandum for the Rt. Hon. Ernst Lapointe*, 29 May 1940, 2.

Some of the informants were secret agents, others vindictive neighbours, while others simply were trying to be good citizens. The RCMP originally only had 100 people of Italian origin on their intended internee list, yet, just prior to the outbreak of the war the list jumped to 500 people.⁸⁰ The reason for the increase from 100 to 500 was that an O.V.R.A. member and RCMP informant, Secret Agent 17, provided the names of 500 Fascist leaders.⁸¹ As this occurred at the end of May 1940, just two weeks prior to the outbreak of war with Italy, the RCMP arrested all 500 appeasing Robertson and MacNeill by agreeing to allow the internees the basic right of judicial review.⁸²

The IDC records do not indicate any discussion on interning members of Adrien Arcand's National Unity Party (N.U.P.). The N.U.P. was the largest domestic Fascist group and included a corps of Legionnaires. While there were only 27 members of the N.U.P. interned, its membership was double that of both the Italian and German Fascist organizations combined. The IDC claimed it managed to isolate only the leaders of the N.U.P. for internment, a goal they claimed for all

⁸⁰Luigi Pennacchio, "Internment Revisited: The Politics of Redress," Speech, *The Internment of Italo-Canadians During the Second World War: A Conference* (York: Columbus Centre), 14 October 1995.

⁸¹Preliminary evidence indicates that Secret Agent 17 was Camille Vetere, prominent fascist and editor of *L'Italia Nuova*. In exchange for his testimony, Vetere was never interned. For more discussion on secret agents see chapter 3.

⁸²Luigi Pennacchio, "The Internment of Toronto's Italians" Speech, *The Internment of Italo-Canadians During the Second World War: A Conference* (York: Columbus Centre), 14 October 1995.

internments but which did not occur in either the Italian or German cases. The reasons why this occurred are twofold: first, the use of informers or secret agents amongst the French or English Fascist Canadian communities appears to have been rare (as opposed to the use of informers in the Italo-Canadian communities); second, the IDC viewed the N.U.P. members as less of a threat than their Italian, German and Japanese counterparts due to their ethnic origins. The overwhelming majority of N.U.P. members were born in Canada of either British or French stock hence having no direct loyalty to an outside power or government. In essence, the IDC was racist, creating a hierarchy of enemy aliens with the Italians viewed as the most benign, the Germans somewhat dangerous, and the Japanese as very dangerous. All this despite the fact a large number of the internees were either born in Canada or naturalized Canadians.

The first to be interned were Germans and German-Canadians. Round-ups were started the day Britain declared war on Germany, five days before Canada followed suit. There were 44 members of the N.S.D.A.P. , 276 members of the D.A.F. , 9 German nationals considered 'dangerous' and 56 naturalized members of the Bund arrested, for a total of 385.⁸³ Almost immediately, two were released, with a further 46 released by 1 April 1940. Some of these were paroled, others

⁸³CSIS, 87-A-130. *The Nazi Party in Canada*, February 1947, 58. NAC, RG 25, G-1, vol. 1964, file 855-E, Part I, Memorandum from Robertson, 2 September 1939. The Robertson memo lists 325 Germans arrested, 265 German nationals and 60 naturalized Canadians.

unconditionally released. By the war's end there were 847 German and German-Canadians arrested in all, including several women.⁶⁴ With German-Canadians the government appeared to be of two minds, on the one hand German-Canadians were largely anti-Nazi and deeply loyal to Canada but on the other hand the government bowed to public pressure and interned many German-Canadian's.⁶⁵ The Germans were interned in two segments, the first during the early days of September 1939, and the second during mid-1940's Fifth Column scare.⁶⁶ Originally all the internees were placed together in two camps, Petawawa, Ontario or Kananaskis, Alberta. This led to a bizarre mix of pro-Nazis and anti-Nazis, communists, labour agitators and suspected saboteurs. By mid-1940, however, the camps were separated with naturalized German-Canadians and Communists kept at Petawawa while German nationals were at Kananaskis. While most were interned for expressing anti-British or pro-Nazi sentiments, there were also a few suspected spies and potential saboteurs arrested.

There were a handful of cases involving suspected spies. For example, Lothar Pfau was accused of being a spy. Born in Germany in 1894 Pfau came to Canada in the 1920's but was never naturalized. One of Hitler's earliest followers in Canada,

⁶⁴Whitaker, "Official Repression of Communism," and Wagner, *Brothers*, 134.

⁶⁵Robert H. Keyserlingk, "Allies or Subversives? The Canadian Government's Ambivalent Attitude towards German-Canadians in the Second World War," in Panayi, *Minorities in Wartime*, 239.

⁶⁶Keyserlingk, "Allies or Subversives?" 247.

he joined the N.S.D.A.P. on 1 January 1931. Pfau was prominent in 1934 in organizing the Deutscher Bund, even serving as the Dominion President for a while. Later Pfau went on to become active in the D.A.F., becoming an Ortraungsman (confidential agent). Pfau was an accountant for Consolidated Dye Stuffs, Ltd. of Montreal, which was controlled by German chemical combine I.G. Farbenindustrie from where he engaged in espionage activities. Pfau was interned in September 1939 and not released until January 1943 when he needed medical treatment.⁸⁷

Another suspected spy was Paul Mulack who was born in Germany in 1890. Mulack came to Canada in 1920 and was naturalized in 1937. A member of the Deutscher Bund, in 1939 Mulack lost his job with Atlas Steel of Welland, Ontario for spreading Nazi propaganda. Mulack then returned to Germany where he stayed until April 1940 when he returned surreptitiously to Canada. Mulack sent a map of Windsor with important industries and other strategic points marked to Germany. When Mulack was shown the evidence he confessed and was interned. It was decided not to try him for treason, but his naturalization was revoked.⁸⁸ At the end of the war it was learned from captured German Secret Service personnel that Mulack had been sent back to Canada on a mission. Apparently, while Mulack was in Germany he attended an espionage school, being taught wireless telegraphy, code ciphers, microfilming and secret writing.

⁸⁷CSIS, 87-A-130. *The Nazi Party in Canada*, February 1947, 54.

⁸⁸CSIS, 87-A-130. *The Nazi Party in Canada*, February 1947, 53-54.

A third suspected spy was Frederick Reichert, born in Germany in 1892 who served with the German Army for six years. Arriving in Canada in 1937 via England, Reichert settled in Quebec City. Reichert pretended to be of Danish and British origin, giving himself away by his constant contact with the German Consuls in Canada and his receipt of large amounts of mail from Berlin. When Reichert was arrested in September 1939 he was in possession of \$8,300 cash as well as a handwritten report to German Foreign Minister Von Ribbentrop detailing the political situation in Canada.⁸⁹ Reichert also had a chart detailing the organization of the N.S.D.A.P. in the most minute detail, indicating he was a high-ranking official of the N.S.D.A.P. Reichert remained interned until May 1945.

In another case, Emil Zaech of Switzerland came to Canada in 1927. A metal worker in several aircraft factories, Zaech developed several inventions which he offered to American, French, Russian and German agents. In 1936 the Germans approached Zaech, after which he went to Montreal to work in the aircraft industry. While in Montreal Zaech sent regular reports to Germany. Zaech was interned in October 1939 and not released until July 1945. While interned, Zaech gave information that helped break up a spy ring in the U.S.A.⁹⁰

After the fall of France in June 1940 public hysteria against 'enemy aliens' increased. In May and June 1940 mass meetings were held across Canada demanding

⁸⁹CSIS, 87-A-130. *The Nazi Party in Canada*, February 1947, 55.

⁹⁰CSIS, 87-A-130. *The Nazi Party in Canada*, February 1947, 57.

the internment of Germans, national registration and a more active prosecution of the war. Both the Federal government and the RCMP tried to dissuade the public from denouncing their neighbours as enemy aliens or fifth columnists. Minister of Justice Lapointe worried about the potential of a sixth column developing to deal with the fifth column, asked the public to leave anti-subversive work to the RCMP.

Prior to the outbreak of war with Italy the RCMP wanted a system in place to deal with Italian Consular Offices and Officials. They wanted legal provisions enacted to allow them to search the premises of those they suspected were involved in activities against the State. The RCMP also wanted the names of all employees of the Italian consuls so as to avoid the problems that occurred in the German situation wherein the German Consuls made several last minute additions to their employee lists to protect those disseminating Nazi propaganda in Canada.⁹¹

The Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs wrote to the Secretary of State for External Affairs outlining how to deal with Italians in the event of war. It was decided that members of the Fascio should be interned, notwithstanding British citizenship either by birth or naturalization. Italian males from ages 16 to 70 would be eligible for internment if they had been residents of Canada for less than 20 years. It was also decided that members of the *DopoLavoro* or any other women's auxiliary would not be interned unless they also belonged to the Fascio Femile or the Fascist

⁹¹CSIS, vol. 7. Letter from Wood to Skelton. *Re: Italian Consular Officers*, 28 May 1940, 1.

committee.⁹² In an RCMP memorandum of 15 May 1940, the RCMP stated that they knew 95 per cent of all the Fascist secret agents mentioned by informants, and had complete files on many of them. They believed that there was enough evidence to arrest them immediately upon the outbreak of war with Italy. For those with incomplete or no files the RCMP promised to speed up investigations on these persons.⁹³

The first Italian round-ups were not entirely successful, with several internees being released almost immediately. Moreover, the RCMP information was not accepted without reservation by the Judges. Most examinations lasted two and a half hours as the internee was asked questions from a Department of Justice questionnaire. Internees were not allowed counsel. There were two questionnaires, one for those of Italian origin and one for everyone else. The questionnaires began the same, asking for name, address, aliases, educational background, trade or professional training and occupation. (See appendix 2) The Italian internees questionnaire focused its queries directly on the Italian communities of Canada, asking what allegiance was owed Mussolini or the Italian state, or if any pressure had been brought to bear to force membership in any Italian organization. The questionnaire then focused on the Fascist Party, including what oath was taken, what obligations membership entailed,

⁹²CSIS, vol. 7, *Telegram, from Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs to Secretary of State for External Affairs, Canada*, 6 June 1940.

⁹³CSIS, vol. 7. *Re: Agents of the Italian Fascisti*, 15 May 1940, 11.

if those obligations had ever been repudiated, and what work was done for the Fascist Party. The questionnaire then asked a three-part question on the willingness of the Internee to bear arms for Canada, against Italy, and for the defence of the ideals for which the democratic state stands for. The Italian internees' questionnaire ended with a speech for those Naturalized Canadians of Italian origin:

As you are an Italian national who has applied for and been granted naturalization as a citizen of Canada, the present state of war between Canada and the Italian state makes it imperative that you decide once and for all whether or not you desire to retain your Canadian citizenship.

While it may be that you are a loyal citizen of Canada, your own unguarded conduct in joining the Fascist Party has put you in a position of probation, and gives your fellow citizens grounds for doubting your loyalty to Canada. It is essential, therefore, that you make an election as to whether or not you will publicly renounce all allegiance to the Italian state, the Fascist Party, and Mussolini, or renounce your Canadian citizenship...⁴⁴

A similar statement ended the non-Italian questionnaire.

These questionnaires were used by the Examining Officer in Montreal in July and August 1940 to give the internees an opportunity to explain their conduct. In questioning the internees the Examining Officer used: information from Secret Agents; excerpts from Italian language newspapers, including photographs of the Fascio members and the Fronte Unico Morale Members; forms signed by the internees; direct information from members of the RCMP; information from other interned men; and the questionnaires. The questionnaires were not always taken at

⁴⁴NAC, MG 30, E163, vol. 12, file 143. *Italian Internees*, 15-18.

face value as the bad faith of many internees was evident. The Examiner was highly reluctant to accept the information supplied by Secret Agents, but he found that "Instances were often found where information furnished by secret agents was not only confirmed by the prisoners, but amplified by them. Concluding on this point, I submit that the R.C.M.P Officers and myself have been satisfied as to his reliability."⁹⁵ The Examiner found that out of 150,000 members of the Italian communities in Canada, roughly 3500 were members of the Fascio and of those 600 were interned.⁹⁶ Of those interned, 60 per cent were from Quebec, 30 per cent from Ontario, mostly middle and upper class men.⁹⁷ In the Montreal district there were 30,000 Italians of whom 800 were members of the Fascio and 2000 were members of the *DopoLavoro*. Of the 2800, 198 were interned, 53 questioned by the Examiner, and six released.

On 31 August 1940, Justice J.D. Hyndman, in charge of reviewing internments, questioned RCMP Sgt. Barnes, Intelligence Department, as to the nature of subversive groups in Canada. Hyndman questioned Barnes as to what the Fascist objective was, to which Barnes answered that the Italians hoped to weld together the

⁹⁵NAC, MG 30, E163, vol. 14, file 174. *General and Confidential Report of the Examining Officer - Montreal, 2.*

⁹⁶NAC, MG 30, E163, vol. 14, file 174. *General and Confidential Report of the Examining Officer - Montreal, 2.*

⁹⁷Liberati, "Surveillance of Radicals and Fascist Activity in the Italian Communities in Canada."

Italian communities by disseminating propaganda to prepare Canadians to accept the Fascist Regime which they expected would be established throughout the world. Barnes stated that he considered this propaganda dissemination as Fifth Column activity. Hyndman also questioned Barnes as to the night school system set up by the Italians and asked what danger Fascists posed to Canada. Barnes answered that:

I would answer that question in three distinct ways. First: These people, by their open adherence to Nazism or Fascist doctrines are dangerous because they are furthering our enemies aims in every way possible. Secondly: Our civilian population are good and loyal here, but if these people are allowed their freedom and are not curbed and prevented from carrying out their subversive activities, the population would soon lose faith in the Government of the country by believing that the Government has the power to protect them... Thirdly: We have always believed that any attempt in this country to help our enemies will be by sabotage and this can only be carried out by well organized groups...⁹⁸

With the outbreak of war the leader of the N.U.P., Adrien Arcand was warned by Captain Ennis of the Montreal Police that he was not to hold any more meetings of the N.U.P. Arcand assured him this would not be a problem. Arcand and many of his most trusted lieutenants retreated to the Laurentian Mountains, awaiting government action. While they were in hiding, Yvonne Arcand continued on with secret meetings in private homes. During this time many of the N.U.P. members began to frequent the local Casa d'Italia, spending long hours in discussion with

⁹⁸RG25, vol. 1964, 855-E-39, Part I, 31 August 1940. *His Lordship Mr. Justice J.D. Hyndman and Sgt. Barnes, Intelligence Dep't., RCMP, 1.*

members of the Italian Fascio.⁹⁹ Once Arcand realized that he would not be immediately arrested, he returned home and resumed his activities. For instance, on 2 January 1940 Arcand held a meeting with several of his officers where he told them that their movement would be in power soon.¹⁰⁰ N.U.P. records, including membership lists, were removed from the vault in N.U.P. Headquarters while several letters, documents and files were burnt to prevent their being used by the police.¹⁰¹ Throughout the war the N.U.P. continued to collect membership fees, occasionally under the guise of relief funds for the families of interned men.¹⁰² The N.U.P. was believed responsible for a 'whispering campaign' spreading anti-conscription, anti-war and anti-British propaganda. Members of the N.U.P. were also thought responsible for the plastering of sections of Montreal with virulent anti-Semitic propaganda for which N.U.P. member Alfred LeBrun served seven months in jail.¹⁰³

Raids were made against the N.U.P. in the late evening of 23 May 1940 by the Montreal RCMP and the City Police. Raids continued until 27 May with the homes of Party leaders and Party Headquarters searched. While no one was arrested,

⁹⁹CSIS, vol. 7. *Re: National Unity Party - Montreal*, 13 August 1939.

¹⁰⁰CSIS, vol. 7. *Preliminary Report, Re: Adrien Arcand*, 5.

¹⁰¹CSIS, vol. 7. *Re: National Unity Party - Montreal*, 21 December 1939.

¹⁰²CSIS, vol. 7. *Re: National Unity Party - Montreal*, 20 November 1939.

¹⁰³NAC, MG 30, E163, vol. 13. *Memo to IDC, Re: National Unity Party*, 18 July 1940.

the raids netted six truckloads of evidence, including membership lists of the Iron Guard, the female and male branches of the N.U.P. Maps of Quebec, flags, party banners, uniforms and several weapons were also seized.¹⁰⁴ It was only after Britain arrested Sir Oswald Mosley that the Canadian Government issued an internment order for Arcand, enacted on 29 May 1940. Prior to that the IDC did not even appear to discuss the possibility of interning N.U.P. members. Soon afterwards 26 additional members of the N.U.P. were arrested and interned under regulations 39 and 39a of the D.O.C.R.

According to seized N.U.P. records the membership across Canada was between 10,000-12,000, divided as follows: Ottawa 600, Toronto 1300, Vancouver and Winnipeg had ceased functioning, Alberta was inactive, and the remainder of the members came from Quebec, the majority from Montreal. The RCMP report noted that these numbers were very low. The membership lists showed, however, that there were 72 new applicants from 16-23 May 1940, in Montreal alone. There were also applications from the Maritimes and Ontario. Half of the applications were from female applicants, including the wife of suspected N.U.P. - Nazi liaison officer Ferdinand Hauelsen.¹⁰⁵

L.E.R. Defayette, RCMP officer for the Montreal district, reported that the N.U.P and its predecessor in Quebec, the N.S.C.P. and its organizers committed the

¹⁰⁴CSIS, vol. 7. Letter from Wood to Lapointe, 24 May 1940.

¹⁰⁵CSIS, vol. 7. *Notes re: N.U.P.*

following offences:

FIRST.

- (a) spread reports or make statements intended or likely to cause disaffection to His Majesty's forces or of the forces of any allied or associated powers or to prejudice His Majesty's relations with foreign powers;
- (b) spread reports or make statements intended or likely to prejudice the recruiting, training, discipline, or administration of any of His Majesty's forces; or
- (c) spread reports or make statements intended or likely to be prejudicial to the safety of the State or the efficient prosecution of the war.

SECOND.

print, make, publish, issue, circulate or distribute any book, newspaper, periodical, pamphlet, picture, paper, circular, card, letter, writing, print, publication or document of any kind containing any material, report or statement.

- (a) intended or likely to cause disaffection to His Majesty or to interfere with the success of His Majesty's forces or of the forces of any allied or associated power, or to prejudice His Majesty's relations with foreign powers;
- (b) intended or likely to prejudice the recruiting, training, discipline or administration of any of His Majesty's forces; or
- (c) intended or likely to be prejudicial to the safety of the State or the efficient prosecution of the war.

VIOLATING THEREBY the provisions of Sections 39 and 39-a of the Defence of Canada Regulations...¹⁰⁶

Despite the internment of its leaders, the N.U.P. began actively pursuing its pro-Fascist, pro-Hitler campaign reaching a peak in May 1941. As only the initial leaders, including Arcand, were interned, the RCMP wanted to intern the new batch of leaders and any subsequent leaders.¹⁰⁷ Unlike the cases of German and Italo-

¹⁰⁶CSIS, vol. 7. *Peace Office. The information and Complaint of: L.E.R. Defayette.*

¹⁰⁷CSIS, vol. 7. Letter from S.T. Wood to E. Lapointe, 17 May 1941.

Canadian internees where there were several people wrongly interned, there was only one N.U.P. member released prior to the end of the war. There were 27 N.U.P. members interned, 25 were released at the end of the war. The exceptions were Scott, who died while interned, and John Schio, N.U.P. leader in Saskatchewan, who was released on 1 August 1940.¹⁰⁸ While interned, the N.U.P. members kept apart from the other internees, preferring to conduct drills in front of Arcand for whom they erected a throne.¹⁰⁹

The RCMP discussed the possibility of prosecuting Adrien Arcand for treason, which led them to gather the following evidence:

... That the N.U.P. was in correspondence and close contact for several years prior to the war, with the National Socialist Party of Germany and with other Nazi and Fascist groups throughout the world.

That Adrien Arcand has claimed the appointment by Hitler as the Fuehrer of North America.

That until the early part of 1938, the N.U.P. used as its emblem the swastika...

That the Party's pro-Nazi ... attitude was actively propagandized until the outbreak of war when, on the advice of the Chief, Adrien Arcand, activities were subdued ... but during this period Party leaders, by means of lectures and letters to Party members, advised that the Party was remaining quiet only until such time as they could take over the reins of Government.

That at about the beginning of 1940, the Party's policy again changed and they began active recruiting campaigns and enlisting hundreds of new members, and organized new sections in several sections of the Province of Quebec. During this period Adrien Arcand and other Party leaders advised members that the N.U.P. would take

¹⁰⁸Schio information from NAC, MG 27, III, B10, vol. 22, file 71a. Scott information from Jones, *Both Sides of the Wire*, 671.

¹⁰⁹Jones, *Both Sides of the Wire*, 343.

over power in Canada during 1940.¹¹⁰

In the end the RCMP decided not to charge Arcand with treason. The reasons the RCMP opted not to charge Arcand were as follows; Arcand would take advantage:

of his right to conduct his own defence and thereby turn the entire proceedings into a 'showtrial' ... If an attempt were made to curb Arcand's oratory the accused would immediately plead that he was not being given a fair trial, and the publicity that would undoubtedly be given the trial might possibly lead to that idea being implanted in the minds of many persons.

Arcand would undoubtedly plead that his organization was entirely loyal to Canada and that its sole aim was to rid Canada of the Jewish Control alleged by his Party... It is undeniable, however, that there is a strong anti-Semitic feeling in this Province and Arcand, who is of course aware of this, would undoubtedly aim at enlisting sympathy for himself while at the same time, stirring up anti-Semitism.

There might also be the danger that anti-Jewish statements by Arcand, or if they were disallowed the plea that he was not being afforded a fair trial, would lend to at least one of the Jury according him a certain amount of sympathy...

Unless there are stronger reasons than that of adding to the discomfort of Arcand and his associates, I feel that the risks involved in such a proceeding, would far outweigh any benefit to be derived therefrom.¹¹¹

Once released, Arcand attempted to restart the N.U.P. and ran as a candidate in the 1949 and 1953 federal elections, losing each time. In 1953 Arcand began publishing *L'Unité National*.

Canada's decision not to try many high ranking officials of the N.S.D.A.P.,

¹¹⁰CSIS, vol. 7. *Re: National Unity Party*, 2-4, and *Notes re: N.U.P.*

¹¹¹CSIS, vol. 7. *Re: Adrien Arcand*. Letter from Gagnon to Wood, 28 October 1940.

Fascio, and N.U.P. differed from what occurred in the United States. According to the RCMP, the Criminal Code lacked adequate sections on treason and sedition to deal with problems before the war began. During the war the D.O.C.R. and Treachery Acts were in effect but they were not used retroactively. By refusing to try high ranking officials for treason, some internees managed to deceive the Advisory Committees and gain early release. Such was the case of Otto Thierbach, born in Germany in 1897. Arriving in Canada in 1928, Thierbach helped found the Bund in 1934 and became the leader of the Montreal local. By 1936 Thierbach was the Dominion leader of the Bund, a position he retained until the war. Thierbach never became a Canadian, retaining his German citizenship, which was strange as the Bund was for naturalized subjects. Once interned, Thierbach's wife began corresponding with him, writing in invisible ink. Thierbach was a model internee, refusing to associate with the fanatics or be drawn into any political discussions. However, in an interesting twist, Thierbach was reported as meeting regularly with Adrien Arcand. In May 1944 Thierbach appeared before an Advisory Committee where he down-played his role in the Bund, appealed for the chance to get Canadian citizenship, and start a family. Thierbach was released in October 1944 on the condition that he work on a farm and report monthly to the police. As Thierbach left the internment camp his suitcases were searched and five pounds of documents were found on him, including a list of German and Italian internees with names, numbers, camps and transfers outlined, as well as release dates and family addresses. There

were two copies of these lists, one earmarked for Camillien Houde, the other for mailing to Germany. Theirbach also carried two letters in which he signed his name over the salutation 'Heil Hitler.' In addition, Theirbach carried a letter apparently for Arcand speaking of hopes for collaboration. An essay was also found on Theirbach which condemned Germans in Canada for not acting at the outbreak of war and for only committing a few acts of sabotage.¹¹² Theirbach was also found to be in possession of a tribute to Hitler. Despite finding all these documents, Theirbach was still released!

Internees were kept in 26 camps across Canada including at Petawawa, Fredericton, Hull, and Kananaskis.¹¹³ Several jails were also used to house special internees, including female internees (Kingston Penitentiary) and anti-Fascists (Citadel). Internees and prisoners of war were initially housed together but by 1942 they were separated into different camps. Riots occasionally broke out between the

¹¹²CSIS, 87-A-130. *The Nazi Party in Canada*, February 1947, 63-65.

¹¹³The remaining 22 camps were Camp L: Cove Fields, Quebec. Camp R: Red Rock, Ontario. Camp T: Trois Rivières, Quebec. Camp V: Valcartier, Quebec. Camp 10: Chatham, Ontario. Camp C/20: Gravenhurst, Ontario. Camp E/21: Espanola, Ontario. Camp M/22: Mimico, Ontario. Camp Q/23: Monteith, Ontario. Camp 30: Bowmanville, Ontario. Camp F/31: Kingston, Ontario. Camp H/32: Hull, Quebec. Camp A/40 Farnham, Quebec. Camp I/41: Ile aux Noix, Quebec. Camp N/42: Sherbrooke, Quebec. Camp S/32 Montreal (Ile Ste. Helene), Quebec. Camp 44: Grande Ligne, Quebec. Camp 45: Sorel, Quebec. Camp W/100: Neys, Ontario. Camp X/101: Angler, Ontario. Camp 132: Medicine Hat, Alberta. Camp 133: Ozada, Alberta. Camp 135: Wainwright, Alberta. There were 12 camps in Ontario, 9 in Quebec, 4 in Alberta and one in New Brunswick. Jones, *Both Sides of the Wire...*, 383.

internees, in Fredericton there was a riot between staunch Nazi supporters and others in the camp, which the Nazis won. Even in the camp the Nazis maintained their N.S.D.A.P. hierarchy. Petawawa was kept for internees of Italian and, later, Japanese origin while Fredericton was kept for German internees.¹¹⁴ German and Italian internees were separated after several Italian Army losses caused the Germans to ridicule and denounce their Italian counter-parts. Later Nazis were separated from anti-Nazis and Fascists separated from anti-Fascists. Initially internees were allowed visits from immediate family, a practise which was quickly halted when it was determined that the wife of one internee smuggled out a diagram of the Kananaskis internment camp. It was not until 1941 that internees regained visitation rights and even then the visits were only for 15 minute periods.

While internees were denied their freedom, the internment camps provided some creature comforts. The Ripples Internment Camp outside of Fredericton, New Brunswick was a 58 acre site which contained a 15 acre barbed wire enclosure. Inside the camp life was quite routine, with military style discipline. There were sports offered year round, including baseball, soccer and bocce ball. In addition there was an outdoor boxing ring and bowling alley, as well as a weight lifting set. The internees were also offered a chance to work in the grounds as gardeners, cooks, waiters, carpenters, doctors, and dentists or outside the camps as wood cutters and

¹¹⁴NAC, C5368, reel HQS 7236. Letter from Secretary of State, Norman McLarty to Col. J. Ralston, Minister of National Defence, 17 April 1942.

road builders. With new camps and camps under renovations the internees lived in primitive conditions, no electricity or running water, however, once the camps were established these problems were solved. All of the camps had canteens offering everything from face soap, scribblers and pens to cigarettes. Some of the camps even sold beer, which always ran out quickly. Internees also managed to get things smuggled into camp by the guards, mostly cigarettes, but sometimes things like shoes or boots.

In an average day the internees started their day at 6 am with roll call than had breakfast, mainly porridge, and work detail until lunch. Work detail was optional but most internees preferred to work to combat boredom. After lunch internees returned to work until 5 pm when they had dinner. Everyday after six, Sundays and Saturday afternoon were free times for the internees when they could play poker, chess, checkers, make crafts, wander around the compound, fish, play sports or get ready for upcoming cultural events such as concerts or plays. Internees also taught classes in everything from languages to cattle raising to help pass the time. In addition, internees were allowed to read censored newspapers from Montreal and Toronto and weekly magazines including *Life*, *Time*, *Newsweek* and *Look*.¹¹⁵ Several German internees even had pets ranging from birds to a goat.

Internees ranged from the rich to the poor, Fascist to anti-Fascist or Communist. The one thing they shared was a concern for their families outside the

¹¹⁵Jones, *Both Sides of the Wire*, 400-414.

camps. One well-known internee was James Franceschini, an Italian-born millionaire who presided over Dufferin Construction and Shipbuilding. Despite the fact that Franceschini's company was awarded several government war contracts and he had donated \$10,000 to the 1940 Liberal campaign, he was interned.¹¹⁶ His company was placed under the control of the Custodians Office where it languished. Other well known internees included Montreal mayor Camillien Houde. Houde was interned after declaring he was "peremptorily against national registration. It is unequivocally a measure of conscription."¹¹⁷ When Houde refused to retract his statement he was interned. This was not Houde's first battle with the Federal government who was unhappy with Houde's publicly declaring in February 1939 that if was broke out between Italy and England that the sympathy of French-Canadians would be for Italy. Houde spent the first few months of his internment as Montreal mayor but lost his re-election campaign of December 1940.

In addition to internment, there was another way to control naturalized members of Fascist organizations. This avenue was via the Naturalization Act. If naturalized citizens were proven to have been disaffected or disloyal, they could be deported under Section 41 of the Criminal Code.¹¹⁸ Naturalized citizens could be

¹¹⁶Whitaker, *The Government Party*, 125-126. Jones, *Both Sides of the Wire*, 393.

¹¹⁷Jones, *Both Sides of the Wire*, 333.

¹¹⁸Barbara Roberts, *Whence They Came: Deportation from Canada 1900-1935* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa, 1988), 22.

deported for one of three reasons, for something they had done before entering Canada, for something improper in their manner of entry or for something they did after entering Canada.¹¹⁹ While it was not technically government policy to deport immigrants for being unemployed, once immigrants were arrested for vagrancy or other public charges, including immorality, medical or mental deficiency, they could be deported.¹²⁰ In cases where applicants with Fascist backgrounds were applying for Canadian citizenship, it was possible to either refuse them citizenship papers or at least to delay the process for a year to re-investigate.¹²¹ The procedure for alien applications included an RCMP investigation of each applicant and a report to the Secretary of State in advance of the hearing before the judge. The judge's decision was then returned to the Secretary of State who had the ultimate discretion whether or not to issue naturalization papers.

One RCMP memorandum discussed how the Naturalization Act could be used against Germans in Canada who deliberately retained their German Nationality and against those applying for citizenship. Germans who stated that they had not applied for the permission of the German authorities to keep their German citizenship while they actually had, would have obtained their Canadian citizenship under false

¹¹⁹Roberts, *Whence They Came*, 35.

¹²⁰Roberts, *Whence They Came*, 96, 118.

¹²¹CSIS, vol. 7. *Memorandum*, 20 March 1939, 1182. *Memorandum*, 21 March 1939. *Memorandum*, 13 March 1939.

pretences. If such was the case the citizenship could be revoked under United Kingdom procedure.¹²² The memo also recommended that the RCMP look for Fascist and Nazi sympathizers when investigating applicants, much as they already did for Communists. The memo further detailed the possibility of impressing upon all applicants the inconsistency of maintaining loyalty to Hitler or Mussolini. This could be done in three ways: amending the Act to expand the oath of allegiance; telling applicants more of their duties to Canada; or having applicants renounce previous allegiances, not nationality. This procedure was already in place for Chinese, Japanese, Swiss and Greek applicants who had to obtain a formal release from their previous citizenship. If a naturalized person "has shown himself by act or speech to be disaffected or disloyal to His Majesty" the Secretary of State could revoke his naturalization.¹²³ Once a certificate was revoked, the person was considered an alien and a subject of the state he belonged to prior to taking Canadian citizenship. Robertson recommended that any person that could be prosecuted under the D.O.C.R. should have their citizenship revoked, especially those found in possession of weapons. Robertson also encouraged the RCMP to cooperate with the Income Tax Branch and the Custodian's Office with any indication of fraud being used for

¹²²NAC, MG 30, E163, vol. 12, file 132. Despatch 7, file 296-35, part II, 12 January 1938, 8.

¹²³NAC, MG 30, E163, vol. 12, file 132, 9.

prosecution and possible revocation proceedings.¹²⁴

Repatriation was another aspect for the Canadian Government to consider. In June 1942 six women internees and four other women were returned to Germany in exchange for Canadian women. In addition there were 191 German applications for repatriation from internees at Fredericton Internment Camp. Of those applicants, 125 were single with no dependents, 29 were married with German-born dependents, and 37 were married with Canadian and German-born dependents.¹²⁵ Many of the applications were from N.S.D.A.P. members. These applications were generally rejected by the Government on the grounds that the former internees might be used to fight against Canada in the war. Out of the 191 applications, 111 were allowed, for a total of 135 people. The breakdown was as follows: 100 internees with no dependents, 3 mental cases and 8 internees with their families.¹²⁶ The Canadian-born children requesting repatriation to Germany were stripped of their Canadian citizenship status as British subjects. Following the war, four Nazis, including Bernhard Bott were ordered repatriated to Germany.¹²⁷ A German Canadian, naturalized in 1929, Bott founded the *Deutscher Zeitung* and was very

¹²⁴NAC, MG 30, E163, vol. 13, file 148. Letter from Robertson to Bavin, 20 July 1940.

¹²⁵CSIS, 87-A-130. *The Nazi Party in Canada*. "Repatriation," 70.

¹²⁶CSIS, 87-A-130. *The Nazi Party in Canada*. "Repatriation," 71.

¹²⁷CSIS, 87-A-130. *The Nazi Party in Canada*. "Repatriation," 71.

active in the Bund from its inception. Bott even received a plaque from the German Institute for Foreign Relations in 1938 for his service to Germany.¹²⁸ Bott was among the first to be interned, arrested on the second or third day of the war. His family was forced to register as enemy aliens and to report regularly to the RCMP. The Bott family was given limited financial assistance from the federal government but not enough to subsist on.¹²⁹ Bott eventually had his citizenship cancelled, on 1 April 1942 on the grounds of disloyalty. Part of the reason Bott's citizenship was revoked was because he made continuous demands on the federal government, including demanding compensation for interned German-Canadians.

In addition to its own internees, the Canadian authorities agreed to intern the up to 9,000 British internees of mainly Austrian and German origin and the prisoners of war who were currently interned in the United Kingdom. A committee consisting of Wood, General Panet, the director of Internment Operations, MacNeill, and Robertson was struck to decide whether or not to accept the internees.¹³⁰ The Committee decided to accept the internees as there would be no military danger to Canada in having the internees in Canada. Logistically it was physically possible to provide accommodations for the internees, with summer accommodations available

¹²⁸NAC, RG 13, C1, vol. 966. *Bott, Bernhard: Objection Heard to Internment*, March 4, 1940.

¹²⁹Jones, *Both Sides of the Wire*, 343.

¹³⁰NAC, MG 26, J4, vol. 359, file 3843 H1535, C248580, 6 June 1940. Wood, Panet, MacNeill and Robertson letter.

immediately. Also, returned veterans were available to guard the internees. The Committee stated that they would prefer, for political reasons, to handle male internees but were willing to accept whatever classes the United Kingdom deemed necessary. The Committee decided to use Grosse Isle, Quebec, capable of handling 3,000, as a clearing station. Camp Petawawa was also capable of handling 500 more above their current internees. Fort Henry and the Citadel, used as temporary quarters for interning German Nazis, could also be converted. More permanent quarters were to be built away from the Coast and the international border, preferably near a small town with sewer and light facilities.

Canada did not receive the pro-Nazi internees it expected from Britain, instead it was a motley collection of mainly refugees from Nazi Germany that arrived. Of the 2250 internees from Britain, 1790 were Jewish and 460 were of other ethnic backgrounds. There were also 280 school boys, 190 professional men, 105 with relatives serving in the British forces, 373 who held British labour certificates, and 20 clergy including Jewish rabbis, Catholic priests and Protestant ministers. The Committee was unhappy with the civilian internees and agreed that strictly speaking the British authorities ought to take them back but given the wartime conditions it was recognized that this was not possible.¹³¹

¹³¹NAC, MG 26, J4, vol. 359, file 3843, H1535, C248514. *Internees from the United Kingdom*, 12 September 1940.

Chapter 4: The Curious Case of Female Internees

During World War II, Canada interned 21 women for violating the D.O.C.R. In addition, many more women were convicted in court of D.O.C.R. offences and spent time in jails across Canada. Allegedly, these women were interned for political reasons, the majority for supporting Fascism or Nazism. Both the history of Fascism and the history of female internment have remained particularly neglected areas of study. This is not surprising as only recently has the international literature on fascism expanded to include the role played by women.¹ Indeed, it is largely within the last decade that work on women in Canada has flourished. Internment history,

¹For instance see Kathleen Blee, "Women in the 1920's Ku Klux Klan Movement," *Feminist Studies*, 17, 1 (Spring 1991), 57-77; Blee, *Women of the Klan: Racism and Gender in the 1920's* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991); Nancy MacLean, "White Women and Klan Violence in the 1920's: Agency, Complicity and the Politics of Women's History," *Gender and History*, 3, 3 (Autumn 1991), 285-303; Victoria De Grazia, *How Fascism Ruled Women: Italy, 1922-1940* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992); Claudia Koonz, *Mothers in the Fatherland: Women, the Family and Nazi Politics* (New York: St. Martins Press, 1987); Atina Grossman, "Feminist Debates about Women and National Socialism," *Gender and History*, 3, 3 (Autumn 1991), 350-358; Lesley Caldwell, "Reproducers of the Nation: Women and the Family in Fascist Policy," in David Forgacs, ed., *Rethinking Italian Fascism: Capitalism, Populism and Culture* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1986); Jill Stephenson, *The Nazi Organisation of Women* (New Jersey: Barnes and Noble Books, 1981); and, Stephenson, *Women in Nazi Society* (London: Croom Helm Ltd., 1975), and the following articles from Tony Kushner, ed., *The Politics of Marginality: Race, the Radical Right and Minorities in Twentieth Century Britain* (London: Frank Cass, 1990): Martin Durham's "Women and the British Union of Fascists, 1932-1940," Julie Wheelwright's "Colonel Barker: A Case Study in the Contradictions of Fascism," and David Mayall's "Rescued from the Shadows of Exile: Nellie Driver, Autobiography and the British Union of Fascists."

however, has largely concentrated on how internment affected men or how it affected a community. There has been no analysis on how internment affected women, either in their roles as wives of internees or as the internees themselves.

In general, the cases of female internments are curious as no clear patterns were followed on who was interned and why. There are several discrepancies between the treatment that different women received, and discrepancies between stated policy and practice. For example, women were interned ostensibly for poor political choices (like men) but in fact several were interned for reasons seemingly far removed from politics. At least one woman was interned not for her political views but rather for a medical, and perhaps moral, reason as she had a venereal disease (V.D.). In addition, researching the cases of female internees yielded several other surprises. For instance, I expected to find active female Fascists interned 'for the duration' but instead found committed Fascists released soon after internment while others who could have been expected to pose less of a political threat were interned much longer.

Another discrepancy lies in investigating the ethnicity of the women internees. Quebec had the largest Fascist organization in Canada, the National Social Christian Party (N.S.C.P.), which also boasted several of the most active female Fascists. Despite this, there were no women interned from that organization. Nor were there Fascist women interned from any of the other domestic Canadian Fascist organizations. Because of the supposed political motivation of the internments, this

chapter examines women Fascists, looking at variables such as marital status, birth place and citizenship as well as what organizations women joined and what role they played. What follows is a partial case studies of the 21 female internees to show that the IDC interned women haphazardly, for moral, political and ethnic reasons, rather than those women who actually posed a political danger to the state.

RCMP files and Inter-Departmental Committee on Internment (IDC) reports show that women played a significant role in Fascist organizations. While Fascist organisations were largely male-dominated and patriarchal, stressing the value of the woman in the home, there was nevertheless an established role for women. This role should not, however, be overstated. Women were not on the front lines or in positions of authority in Fascist groups. Women continued on in familiar roles when they joined Fascist organizations, becoming teachers, social workers, and help-mates to their husbands. Women's work helped maintain the ethnic, culture and gender roles in their respective communities. Essentially women practiced their private work in the public sphere. It was the 'traditional' female qualities that dictated women's roles, that of mother figure, social worker and teacher. These roles, however, were not entrenched as an examination of female members of the N.S.C.P. shows. Women members were taught Ju Jitsu and drilling, just like their male counterparts, but they were only to be used in an emergency after which they were to return to their more traditional roles. Fascist women in the German and Italian communities were largely used to foster feelings of warmth for their home country. For instance,

women in the Italian Fascio Femile were responsible for teaching and promoting the Italian language and Fascist ideology. In all Fascist organizations women were responsible for fund-raising, selling party literature, manufacturing party uniforms, taking collections and administering to the young, poor, elderly and the infirm.

The RCMP was quite interested in the role women played in Fascist organizations. S.T. Wood, Assistant Commissioner of the RCMP, sent out a memorandum in October 1937 requesting information on the various Italian women's Fascist organizations, asking for membership and executive lists, what strength they had, and what percentage of the Italian community was in these organisations. Wood was especially concerned about the *Fascio Femile*.² In Montreal there were six branches of the Women's Fascio, the same number as the Men's Fascio. There were also Fascio Femile branches in North Bay and Hamilton, Ontario, with the Hamilton lodge, the *Loggia Roma* boasting a membership of 120 women.³ Women in the Fascio Femile were responsible for social work roles, teaching and promoting fascism and collecting funds for the Ethiopian crisis. In addition to the Fascio Femile, Italian women could also join the feminine lodges of the Order of the Sons of Italy and the *DopoLavoro*. Their role was to defend the traditions of Italian womanhood, to keep the faith alive in the minds of the young, and to preserve

²CSIS, 87-A-130. vol. 7. Memo to The O.C. from S.T. Wood, 25 October 1937.

³CSIS, vol. 7. *Re: Fascism - Italian - in Canada*, August 1938, 1.

devotion to the House of Savoy and to Italy.⁴ In Toronto there was a considerable increased interest in the *DopoLavoro* feminine which had a membership of over 200 women who assisted expectant mothers, helped out in schools and raised money for the Casa d'Italia.⁵

The German *Deutscher Bund* also founded "women-groups ... to work hand in hand with the groups of the men, in order to cultivate the good German family spirit in our midsts and in order to do their part in the fulfilment of our national duties."⁶ Women members were largely responsible for collecting goods for the needy, and teaching and promoting the German language and culture. In his rough membership breakdown on the Bund, Jonathan Wagner detailed the occupations and socio-economic status of members. None of those Wagner investigated were women. This may be because Wagner's information comes from the internment camp records and women internees, not as numerous as male internees, were not kept in internment camps. Wagner does not appear to entertain the possibility of women members,

⁴CSIS, vol. 7. Letter translated by the RCMP, 9 August 1940 from the Queen Elena Lodge to the Office of the Grand Venerable of Her Majesty Queen Elena of Italy, 9 January 1935, and *Re: Fascism - Italian - in Canada*, August 1938, 3.

⁵CSIS, vol. 7. *Re: Fascism - Italian - in Canada*, 28 October 1938.

⁶CSIS, vol. 7, *What is the German Bund, Canada, and what are its Intentions: Directions and Regulations*. Translated into English by M.H. at RCMP HQ., 25 November 1942, 3.

stating that "most of the Bundists were apparently young men under the age of 45."⁷ It is telling that Wagner named his book, *Brothers Beyond the Sea*. Wagner stated that "Fascist solidarity is based not on material interests so much as on the social community - the uniforms, the camaraderie, the power structure involved in fascist political organizations. These things have been described as 'the male fighting band'. "⁸ Hence it becomes even more interesting to discover how women fit into these groups.

Not all of the parties were capable of supporting female branches as is evidenced by the Canadian Nationalist Party (C.N.P.). Despite leader William Whittaker's calls for applicants to a new women's branch the C.N.P. only received 3 applications. Whittaker even appealed, to no avail, to male members to let their wives and daughters join.⁹

Canada's largest Fascist organization was Quebec's National Social Christian Party (N.S.C.P.) which boasted several very active female Fascists. One of the feminine branches of the N.S.C.P. was made up of 11 women and 2 officers, including leader Adrien Arcand's wife, Yvonne. Arcand's sister and his mother-in-

⁷Jonathan Wagner, "The Deutscher Bund of Canada, 1934-1939," *Canadian Historical Review*, 183.

⁸L.A. Rosenthal, "The Invention of Fascism," PhD thesis, University of California at Berkeley, 1983.

⁹CSIS, 117-91-22. *RCMP re: Nationalist Party of Canada - Winnipeg*, 26 June 1934.

law, Mrs. Paul Giguere, were also active in the N.S.C.P. His sister headed up the Montreal Women's League for Anti-Communism which issued several of Arcand's pamphlets while his mother-in-law, Mrs. Paul Giguere was a regular speaker at Party meetings, pleading for the women present to join their ranks for social work.¹⁰ Another prominent woman in the N.S.C.P. was Miss Laura Cadieux, who often spoke at N.S.C.P. meetings. At one meeting, Miss Cadieux stated that the role of women in the N.S.C.P. was "merely to help the menfolk do their work ... [and that] After the success of the Party, the women will retire to the home, where they belong."¹¹ Most of the women were middle class and were between 30 and 40. While most of the women were wives of Party members, such was not always the case. In one instance, a single woman Mlle. Burnet joined the Party on her own. She was described as following orders with a religious fanaticism and was one of what the Party termed its 'servant spies'.

The N.S.C.P. claimed to have between 60 and 80 house maids working for its Intelligence Section spying in the homes of prominent politicians and other important people.¹² The feminine branches were also used for spreading propaganda, decorating halls, visiting homes, delivering circulars by hand and mail and giving money, clothing, bedding and medicine to the poor. N.S.C.P. women were also

¹⁰CSIS, vol. 7. *Re: National Unity Party - Montreal*, 25 April 1939, 1.

¹¹CSIS, vol. 7. *Re: National Unity Party - Montreal*, 17 April 1939.

¹²CSIS, vol. 7. *Confidential Report Re: French Fascism*, 1 June 1939, 6.

asked to boycott Jewish shops. Women members were also involved in manufacturing Party uniforms and the selling of Party contribution coupons. In May 1938 they managed to sell 500 Party coupons of varying amounts from .25 cents on up. Women were also responsible for selling such pamphlets as *The Key to the Mystery* and *The Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion*.

The female branches were presided over by Yvonne Arcand and Major J.M. Scott led the women in drilling. On one occasion Scott led 25-30 women in training that included standing upright, turning around, the fascist greeting, and marching in rows. The women's training also included first aid. Scott claimed at this time there were roughly 150 women in the Montreal Feminine branches, but, as it was near Easter, the majority were at Church for Confession.¹³ According to Scott, the women were being trained to help in future demonstrations. There were enough members of the Section Feminine to warrant the need for two buses to transport the women to important out-of-town meetings.¹⁴ After the internment of Adrien Arcand, his wife began keeping in regular contact with the Officers of the National Unity Party (the N.S.C.P.'s successor) stating that by April 1941 there would be peace. With peace she expected Prime Minister King to invite her husband to Ottawa to form the government.¹⁵ The RCMP considered interning Yvonne Arcand, but

¹³CSIS, vol. 7. *Confidential Report Re: French Fascism*, 1 June 1939, 2.

¹⁴CSIS, vol. 7. *Re: National Unity Party - Montreal*, 4.

¹⁵CSIS, vol. 7. *Re: National Unity Party - Montreal, Que.*, 15 March 1941.

decided against it as she was only doing what they felt was natural, supporting her husband.¹⁶

Canada had a precedent for interning women during World War II, having already interned small numbers of women during World War I. For example, Mary Manko Haskett remains the sole survivor of the Ukrainian internment operation during World War I, having been interned at age six with the rest of her family. The Manko family was interned in the Spirit Lake Camp, near the town of LaFerme, Quebec.¹⁷

There is some discrepancy about how many women and children were interned during World War I, the most frequently cited number is 186 women and 39 children.¹⁸ Apparently, destitute women "voluntarily" joined their menfolk in two internment camps where they were provided with quarters and food. Once there, families were often split up. Thus far there is little evidence of what happened to the wives (and children) who did not join their husbands in the camps. It is known that the Canadian government issued monthly cheques to 40 women and 81 children whose husbands were interned. In one documented case Catherine Boychuk, whose husband

¹⁶CSIS, vol. 7. Letter from S.T. Wood to E. Lapointe, 17 May 1941, 2.

¹⁷Lubomyr Luciuk, *Righting An Injustice*, (Toronto: The Justinian Press, 1994), vi-vii.

¹⁸Luciuk, *Righting An Injustice*, 60. Orest Martynowych cites 81 women and 156 children interned, "Re: internment of Ukrainian Canadians," *The Ukrainian Weekly*, 9 April 1988 reprinted in Luciuk, *Righting An Injustice*, 65.

was interned, was convicted of minor theft and sentenced to one month imprisonment. Her daughter was sent to an orphanage for the duration of the war where she died within eight days of 'natural causes.'¹⁹

During World War II, Britain interned 3,960 women including refugees, German and Austrian citizens, British-born women who married German citizens, and British women considered disloyal.²⁰ On 18 May 1940, the Home Secretary reported to Cabinet that while the danger from women refugees was debatable, he was prepared to intern all female Category 'B' enemy aliens. Category 'B' aliens were those whose loyalty was under question but who were exempted from the first round of internment and had to report regularly to the police. By the end of May 1940 all Category 'B' women between 16 and 60 were to be interned, with the aid of Women's Voluntary Services. The only exceptions were women in the late stages of pregnancy, women who were infirm, and women with very ill children. Some of the interned women were allowed to take their children while others were initially refused that right.²¹ Of the almost 4000 women interned, 300 were expectant mothers. The majority of interned women ended up on the Isle of Man, many after a several week

¹⁹Melnicky, "The Internment of Ukrainians in Canada," 5. Frances Swyripa and John Herd Thompson, eds., *Loyalties in Conflict: Ukrainians in Canada during the Great War* (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1983).

²⁰Ronald Stent, *The Bespattered Page? The Internment of His Majesty's 'most loyal enemy aliens'* (London: Andre Deutsch Ltd., 1980), 186-7.

²¹Stent, *The Bespattered Page?*, 61-62.

stay in a local prison, including North London's Holloway Prison where they were in cells next to criminals. Female internees were allowed to wear their own clothing, buy extra comforts, exercise regularly, and work in either the kitchen, garden or library if they so chose. Many of those interned were German domestic servants working in Britain, including a large number of Jewish middle class refugees. Others were British-born women who lost their British status upon marriage to German men.²²

One way to view the RCMP attitude towards Fascist women is to examine the numbers of women interned and the stated reasons for the internment. The RCMP reported in 1939 that they would not be interning women members of the Order of the Sons of Italy, or other such organizations, unless they also belonged to the Fascio Feminile. The Canadian government agreed and decided to intern only those women who were leaders of the Fascio Feminile.²³ The issue of interning women was first raised at the first IDC meeting when RCMP Supt. Bavin stated that "All members of these organizations should be picked up." MacNeill questioned Bavin, "All of them? Even nurses, married women, and such persons?" Bavin replied "Yes, and if they are not important enough they could be given an undertaking to sign and then [be] released; but if it is suspected that they are the type that would make trouble we

²²Stent, *The Bespattered Page?*, 187-188.

²³CSIS, vol. 7, *Telegram from Secretary of State form Dominion Affairs to the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Canada*, 6 June 1940.

would keep them - otherwise we would not want them."²⁴ Robertson questioned what would happen to the wives and children of the men interned and it was originally stated that they could accompany the men to the camps. There was no provision made, however, for single women who might be interned. While D.O.C.R. Section 25 allowed for wives and children of interned enemy aliens to accompany them, the Department of National Defence refused to grant women and children entrance to any camp. Hence interned women were kept in Kingston Penitentiary. Once there the women were segregated in a special corridor set aside for internees. The internees were an ethnic mix of Germans, Italians, Belgians, Austrians and even one British subject. Other women arrested and charged under D.O.C.R. violations were also kept in the prison population, but they served their time as convicts, not internees. One such woman was interned upon her release from the convict population.²⁵

Originally, Kingston Penitentiary was reluctant to take on the female internees for more than a limited time because their female convict population was higher than normal. Hence they would not be able to keep the convicts and the internees properly

²⁴NAC, RG 25, vol. 1964, 855-E-39, Part I, *Minutes of Committee Meeting*, 31 August 1939.

²⁵CSIS, 87-A-130. *The Nazi Party in Canada*, February 1947, 58.

segregated.²⁶ The Director of Internment Operations set out to find a new home for the internees, investigating the possibility of separating the internees by religion with the Roman Catholic internees being sent to a Catholic institution and the Protestant internees to a Protestant institution.

There were several options for the internment of Catholic women, including the Good Shepard Sisters in Ottawa, but there were few readily available places for the Protestant women.²⁷ Other suggested places for housing the internees included the Maritime Home for Girls in Truro, Nova Scotia, the Inter-provincial Home for Women in Cloverdale, New Brunswick, the Civilian Welfare Institute in Winnipeg, Manitoba, and the Fort Saskatchewan jail.²⁸ In the end it was decided to keep the female internees at Kingston Penitentiary as the convict numbers were no longer rapidly increasing.²⁹ The Warden agreed to keep the internees at Kingston

²⁶NAC, RG 24, C5408, HQ57236-84-2. Warden Allan to Lt. Col. E.H. Minns, Acting Commission of Internment Operations, DND. *Re: Administration, Prison for Women*, 17 November 1941.

²⁷NAC, RG 24, C5408, HQ57236-84-2. Letter from Lt. Col. E.H. Minns to Warden Allan, 10 November 1941.

²⁸NAC, RG 24, C5408, HQ57236-84-2. Information is compiled from the following letters: Lt. Col. Minns to Allan, 10 November 1941; the Canadian Welfare Council to Col. H. Stethem, Director of Internment Operations, 18 July 1941; Robertson (NAR) to the Consul General of Switzerland, *Re: Internment of Germans*.

²⁹Immediately after the outbreak of war, several jails reported increased numbers of convicts due to the large numbers of vagrant women with venereal diseases picked up after mobilization. NAC, RG 24, C5408 HQ57236-84-2. District Officer Commanding Military District 13 Brig. Conolly to Stethem, 28 May 1940.

Penitentiary unless the numbers dramatically increased in which case an internment camp was to be built for them. Internment Operations paid \$1.50 per day for the care of the internees, which was to cover lodging, laundry, food and basic medical care. They were also responsible for paying Vera Cherry, who was the Matron for the internees. It was estimated that the overhead alone per month of having a separate facility for women internees would be \$275, with \$1 per day per female internee added on top of that.³⁰

During their internment the women were treated much better than their male counterparts. Many of the men were interned in unfinished camps with primitive conditions. The women were given extra privileges such as having a radio in the common area between their cells. During the Christmas season female internees were allotted an additional 45 cents each per day to go for extra rations and entertainment.³¹ While correspondence between internees at different internment camps was usually disallowed, an exception was made in the cases of the women interned at Kingston Penitentiary, who were allowed to correspond with their relatives. By 1942, the Director of Internment Operations and the Warden agreed to allow the female internees to receive one outing per week, to rotate weekly between the remaining three internees. The women were allowed to go into Kingston on a one

³⁰NAC, RG 24, C5408, HQ57236-84-2. Panet to Under Secretary of State, 15 August 1940.

³¹NAC, RG 24, C5408, HQ57236-84-2. Letter from Warden Allan to Lt. Col. Minns, Acting Commander, Internment Operations, DND, 11 December 1941.

on one basis with Matron Cherry. Each woman received a trip into town every three weeks, as long as her behaviour had been good. During the outings the internees were allowed to purchase small items such as clothing as long as the Matron carried their money and communicated with the storekeepers. The Warden of Kingston Penitentiary viewed these outings as potentially dangerous, especially in view of one internee's history of escape attempts. Warden Allan warned the internees that any escape attempt would end the outings for all.³² Privileges would also end if the women internees attempted to mail letters, use the telephone, or send wires. Unlike their male counter-parts, the female internees were allowed to have visitors as long as permission was granted in advance by the Department of Internment Operations. Visitation privileges were generally restricted to immediate family, with a maximum of two visitors for 15 minutes. Visits were supervised and had to be conducted in English or in the presence of a translator from Fort Henry. When translators were needed for these visits the costs was borne by the visitors.³³

Women internees needing medical attention were to be taken care of by the Penitentiary physician. In cases requiring surgery or hospitalization, the internees

³²NAC, RG 24, C5408, HQ57236-84-2. Warden R.M. Allan to Lt. Col. Straight. *Re: Internees, Re: Ameliorations*, 29 September 1942. Katherine Haidinger attempted to escape custody while in Toronto's Union Station, creating quite a scene before being recaptured.

³³NAC, RG 24, C5408, HQ57236-84-2. Assistant Director of Internment Operations Stethem to Warden Allan. *Re: Visits for Female Internees*, 7 November 1940.

were to be sent to a local civilian or military hospital. The women were to be left nude, in lieu of having guards placed upon them at the hospital. This rule was excepted for the one internee with a history of escape attempts. She was to be placed under guard at all times as it was believed she would attempt to escape even in the nude.³⁴

The women were allowed to send outgoing mail in special folders or cards supplied to them by the Director of Internment Operations. Each letter was censored before being mailed, unless its destination was the Internment Operations Branch. All incoming mail for internees at Kingston was first examined by the Internment Operations Branch before being given to the internees. Female internees were also allowed to write their letters on plain paper, but they then had to supply postage costs as opposed to the free cards supplied by the Director of Internment Operations. This extra was not allowed in the male internment camps.³⁵

Initially neither the internees nor their Protective Powers were pleased with their internment in a jail. Mr. Preiswerk of the Swiss Legation, in charge of safeguarding German interests, protested the use of Kingston Penitentiary:

Whilst there is no reason to complain about the general treatment, food and so forth, the one stumbling block is the fact that these women are housed in a penitentiary and that contact with criminals cannot on

³⁴NAC, RG 73, acc. 80-81/253, box 73, part I, file 23-1, part 1. Letter from Lt. Col. H. Stethem, Assistant Director of Internment Operations to Warden Allan, 28 September 1940.

³⁵NAC, RG 24, C5408, HQ57236-84-2.

certain occasions be avoided. This is very much resented by the women in question and I feel I ought to let you know about it, the more so as when German women were interned in Holloway and other prisons in this country the German Government protested strongly and even threatened reprisals.

I would not wish to pass the report on this women's camp on to Berne without at the same time being in a position to advise my Government that I had mentioned the matter to you. I understand that our Consul-General is, for his part, taking the matter up with the Canadian Authorities, but if you could also let them know the above from your end, it might help in getting these women accommodated in quarters which would not have the stigma of a prison.³⁶

The high cost of building an internment camp for such a small number of internees, however, overrode such concerns. As the federal government pointed out, women internees faced far better conditions in the jail than they would have in an internment camp. Internees were kept segregated from the prisoners in a separate wing with a separate matron (Vera Cherry), separate church services, and different feeding times than the inmates. For a short time the inmates and convicts were allowed to interact in the courtyard for an hour on Sundays, but complaints by the Protective Powers put a stop to that. The women internees did not mind spending time with the convicts, asking to be allowed to work with them and even putting in a request to have a convict moved into their wing. The convict was a woman of German origin sentenced under D.O.C.R. violations, but this request was refused.³⁷ The Protective

³⁶NAC, RG 24, vol. 11245. Letter from W. Preiswerk to C. Ritchie, Canada House, 15 November 1940.

³⁷NAC, HQ650-C-1308, HQS 57236-84-2, 7 September 1943. Letter to Director of Civil Personnel, DND from Warden Allan, Kingston Penitentiary.

Powers were also unhappy that the women were interned without charges against them. When they requested information on the charges against the internees and the motives behind the internments, the Canadian authorities responded that:

The right of the Swiss Legation to request this information is questioned. It is understood that a large number of Canadian and British women have been interned by German authorities, and, before any summary of each individual indictment is furnished, it is considered that there should be some assurance that we will receive similar information in the case of Canadian women now interned in occupied France or in Germany.²⁸

The Director of Internment Operations, Colonel Stethem believed that two of the female internees protested their internment at Kingston Penitentiary not because of the stigma of being in jail but because:

It is thought that the real cause for the protests of one or two of the women was not that they objected to the imaginary stigma attached to their Quarters, but two of them had conducted themselves in such a manner as to warrant internment, expecting that they would be interned with their husbands at Kananskis Internment Camp, and they resented the fact that this was not done. In no circumstances will any females be interned in male internment camps.²⁹

There were 21 women interned in all, twelve of German origin, one of Austrian origin, three Belgians, four of Italian origin, and one Canadian. Of those, three were born in Canada, four more were naturalized, nine were foreign nationals, and five more were of undetermined citizenship, most likely foreign nationals.

²⁸NAC, RG 24, vol. 11245. Letter from Col. H. Stethem to DEA, 30 January 1941.

²⁹NAC, RG 24, vol. 11245. Col. Stethem to O.D. Skelton, 7 January 1941.

Among the Italians, one was Canadian born, two were long term residents of Canada but foreign nationals and the fourth was of undetermined citizenship. Among the Germans internees, three were naturalized, one Canadian born, five were foreign nationals and the rest were of undisclosed citizenship. Naturalized women were interned for thirteen months while foreign nationals' average internment was fourteen months. With the inclusion of the five women of undetermined citizenship, thought to be foreign nationals, that figure rises to 16.3 months. The average length of internment was fifteen months, while for Italians the average length of internment was eight months, for Germans it was eighteen months, and for Belgians it was thirteen months, a figure that would have been prolonged except for their repatriation to the Belgian Congo. The German figures were also skewed by the inclusion of two German women, Ruth and Elizabeth Bronny who were interned for one and two months respectively before being repatriated. Without the Bronny's, the average German internment figure rises to 21 months. Several other German women were also repatriated, unlike their Italian counter-parts of whom none were repatriated. Two of the Italians women were married, the other two single. Eight of the German women were married, two were single and two were of unknown marital status. All three Belgian women were single. Three of the Italian women were actively involved in the Fascio Femile, the fourth only moderately involved in fascism. The average age of internees was 37, while for Italians it was 45 years, for Germans 27.5 years, and for Belgians 34.5 years old. Eleven of the women were interned under D.O.C.R.

25(8) while the remaining ten women were interned under D.O.C.R. 21. The provincial break down found five women from British Columbia, one from Manitoba, four from Saskatchewan, six from Ontario, and three from Halifax. The three from Halifax were not residents of Halifax at the times of their internment, they were seized off their ship while it was in port.⁴⁰

With the outbreak of war against Germany, 400 Germans were interned including members of the N.S.D.A.P., the D.A.F., the Bund and would-be saboteurs. There were 807 of German origin interned in all, including eleven women.⁴¹ In addition to the women interned, many more women were questioned. It is interesting to examine who was questioned and released in comparison to those interned. Doing this shows a troubling lack of consistency by the IDC between those it interned and those it released with a warning. While several German women were monitored for their pro-Nazi ideology, they were not interned. One such woman was Irene Carter, *nee* Fischer of Winnipeg, Manitoba. She arrived in Canada in 1927 from Germany with her parents. Unlike most others, Carter's Canadian-born musician husband had no part in her suspected Nazi activities. She associated with several Germans known to be sympathetic to the Nazi Party and had returned to Germany on three separate occasions, planning another trip for January 1939. Mrs. Carter had shown great

⁴⁰Statistics compiled from data bank, see Appendix 4.

⁴¹RCMP, *Law and Order*, 164. According to the RCMP there were 13 German women interned but my records indicate there were only 11 German women interned and 1 Austrian.

admiration for Hitler, expressing a desire that Canada obtain the same sort of government. However, since the outbreak of war the RCMP had not observed any anti-British statements or activities, deciding that her actions did not warrant internment for a number of reasons. First, at this point in the war, they had very few accommodations for female prisoners of war. Second, she apparently ceased her activities on the war's outbreak and third, Government policy was that only in extremely flagrant cases were females to be interned.⁴² While many protested Mrs. Carter's remaining at liberty, including the President of the Canadian Legion in Calgary, the RCMP reported that there was not enough evidence at this point to intern her.⁴³

Another prominent German woman who was monitored but not interned was Mrs. Paula Massig of Regina, Saskatchewan. While professing to be loyal to Canada, Paula Massig was one of the more active Nazi propagandists in Western Canada. In her role as President of the Women's Auxiliary of the Bund in Regina, she specialized in spreading Nazi propaganda to other German-Canadian organizations. Massig also hosted several prominent Germans who visited Canada, including Dr. Kloster, Mr. Goetz and two German reporters, Mr. Ammerlahn and

⁴²NAC, MG 30, E163, vol. 12, dossier 143. *Memorandum: Re: CARTER, Mrs. Irene, nee FISCHER, Winnipeg, Man.* RG 24, vol. 2483, file 59. RCMP, *Memorandum*, 15 July 1940, 2.

⁴³NAC, RG 24, vol. 2483, file 59. *RCMP - Information on various individuals*, 18 July 1940.

Mr. Asendorf. After their visits she kept in regular correspondence with the four men. In her 1934 visit to Germany, she even had an interview with the head of the Foreign Division of the N.S.D.A.P., Mr. William Bohle.⁴⁴ Paula Massig had two children, daughter Lottie and son Dr. Eric Massig, both of whom were also Nazi supporters. As she was 'excessively interested in all things German', the RCMP kept her under surveillance from 1938 to 1942.⁴⁵ As in that period she had never engaged in anything illegal, simply encouraging her countrymen, she was not recommended for internment. Seen more as a nuisance than a threat, Paula Massig was allowed to continue running the Regina Office of the Aid Society for the Dependents of Interned Enemy Aliens. In her work with the Aid Society, Massig contacted dependents of the internees advising them to apply for support while the head of their families was interned.⁴⁶

Mrs. Petrea (Luther) Sharpe of Bashaw, Alberta was also recommended for internment by the IDC. While Petrea Sharpe was a naturalized British subject of Danish descent she was quite pro-German. She had made statements cheering British losses on air, sea and land and had stated that if Canada had a dictator like Hitler, it

⁴⁴CSIS, 87-A-130. *The Nazi Party in Canada*, 15 February 1938, 25.

⁴⁵NAC, RG 24, vol. 11249. Letter from E.H. Perlson, Inspector, Assistant Intelligence Operator, RCMP to Commissioner of Internment Operations, 15 October 1942.

⁴⁶NAC, RG 24, vol. 11249. Letter from Lt. Col. H.N. Streight to Commissioner Wood, 9 October 1942.

would be much better off. Mrs. Sharpe went before a Magistrate under the D.O.C.R. for her comments but her case was dismissed. The townspeople became angry at the decision and for her own safety the IDC recommended her internment.⁴⁷ Despite this she was never interned.

In the instances of Italian Canadian Fascists, ten women were detained for questioning by the RCMP as considered capable of committing treasonous or subversive acts. The RCMP was told by the IDC to detain, interrogate, warn and release these women. The women were warned that any further activity with the Feminine Fascio would result in internment. Included on this lists were many of the leaders of the Feminine Fascio, Mrs. Francesca Olivieri (Hamilton), Mrs. Etelvina Frediani, Mrs. Filomena Riccio and Mrs. Maria Spaziani (all of Toronto), Mrs. Rosa Spinelli (Lachine), and Mrs. Laura D'Anna, Mrs. Giuseppe Di Ioia, Mrs. Carmella Frascarelli, Mrs. Fosca Giubilei and Mrs. Antonietta Mancuso (all of Montreal).⁴⁸ The IDC felt a warning would be adequate enough to deter these particular leaders of the Feminine Fascio.

A brief examination of these women is necessary to compare those women interned with those left at liberty. In the first case, Mrs. Giuseppina Di Ioia, of Montreal, Quebec, was of Italian birth but acquired Canadian citizenship through the

⁴⁷NAC, MG 30, E163, vol. 14. *Report of the Inter-Departmental Committee*, by NAR, 24 August 1940, 7.

⁴⁸NAC, RG 18, vol. 3563, C11-19-2-3. NAR to Lapointe, 4 October 1940.

naturalization of her husband. Her husband was interned at the outbreak of the war. She had two sons, seventeen and twelve, both of whom were living at home. Mrs. Di Ioia was the Fiduciary of the Montcalm section of the Feminine Fascio for several years, and remained quite active despite the outbreak of the war. The RCMP and the IDC both strongly recommend Mrs. Di Ioia's internment.⁴⁹ Mrs. Di Ioia was never interned, however, because the section she was detained under, Regulation 22, was amended, cancelling the orders of internment for Mrs. Di Ioia, two other women Mrs. Spinelli and Mrs. Mancuso and 35 men all listed in Appendix 3.⁵⁰ Mrs. Antonietta Mancuso of Montreal, Quebec was also recommended for internment. She became a Canadian citizen in 1932 with her husband's naturalization. Her husband, Lieutenant Salvator Mancuso was interned. Mancuso was a teacher at the Montcalm Italian School in 1934 and *L'Italia Nuova* reported her present at Feminine Fascio meetings. Secret Agent 203 considered Mrs. Mancuso as one of the most important

⁴⁹NAC, RG 18, vol. 3563, C11-19-2-2, vol. 1. *Memorandum To: The Inter-Departmental Committee. Re: Mrs. Giuseppina DI IOIA, (Female), Montreal, P.Q.*

⁵⁰NAC, RG 18, vol. 3563, C11-19-2-3, vol. 14, supp. A. Wood to Lapointe, 12 July 1941. The names of several of these women were included on the original IDC appendix III of naturalized Canadian members of the Fascio who while not an immediate threat, should be watched. When that list was changed to an internment list, the names of about 40 people, including several women were stuck off it as the regulation covering them, Regulation 22, was cancelled.

and active members of the Feminine Fascio.⁵¹ Rosa Spinelli of Lachine, Quebec also faced internment for her activities in the Fascio Feminile. Mrs. Spinelli was Italian and there was no record of her husband's naturalization. She was the Fiduciary of the Lachine Feminine Fascio for years and has been very active in the dissemination of Fascist propaganda. Secret Agent 17 reported Mrs. Spinelli was an intelligent woman with influence and great organizational skills. Secret Agent 203 reported her activities had not diminished since the outbreak of war. Thus, it was recommended that she be interned.⁵² As with the others, the changes to Regulation 22 cancelled the orders for her internment.

In another case, Mrs. Carmela Frascarelli, a naturalized Canadian citizen of Italian descent, was also extremely active in furthering the cause of Fascism. She held prominent positions in the Feminine Fascio, the Sons of Italy, and was the Venerable of "Anita Garibaldi" lodge of Order of Sons of Italy. Mrs. Frascarelli was the Fiduciary of the Feminine Fascio from 1936 onward. The mother of three received the silver medal of the Sons of Italy. Both Secret agents 203 and 17 reported that Mrs. Frascarelli was zealously anti-British and, despite the onset of war, she continued supporting Fascism. Despite being strongly recommend for internment,

⁵¹NAC, RG 18, vol. 3563. C11-19-2-3, vol. 1. *Memorandum To: The Inter-Departmental Committee. Re: Mrs. Antonietta MANCUSO, Montreal, P.Q.*, 27 August 1940.

⁵²NAC, RG 18, vol. 3563. C11-19-2-3, vol. 1. *Memorandum To: The Inter-Departmental Committee. Re: Mrs. Rosa SPINELLI (Female), Lachine, P.Q.*, 24 September 1940.

she remained at liberty for the duration of the war.⁵³

Mrs. Fosca Giubilei of Montreal, Quebec, became a Canadian citizen with her husband's naturalization in 1924. She was very active in the Feminine Fascio and became the Fiduciary branch of the Feminine Fascio for Ville-Emard. Giubilei was also active in the Italian Moral Front. Both Secret Agents 203 and 17 reported that her activities had continued since war's outbreak. The RCMP recommended that she be interned, but the IDC never acted on this recommendation, allowing Mrs. Giubilei to remain at liberty.⁵⁴

Mrs. Etelvina Frediani of Toronto, wife of the interned Francesco Frediani, acquired naturalization along with her husband in 1929. Fiduciary of the Feminine Fascio from 1935 to 1937, she resigned when she lost one job and was in danger of losing a second because of her affiliations. Mrs. Frediani remained active in Fascist circles, including collecting funds for the opening of the Mimico Fascist School. Secret Agent 203 considered her to be one of the most active members of the Fascio Feminine and her internment was recommended but never carried out.⁵⁵

⁵³NAC, RG 18, vol. 3563. C11-19-2-3, vol. 1. *Memorandum To: The Inter-Departmental Committee. Re: Mrs. Carmela FRASCARELLI, (Female) Montreal, P.Q., 23 September 1940.*

⁵⁴NAC, RG 18, vol. 3563. C11-19-2-3, vol. 1. *Memorandum To: The Inter-Departmental Committee. Re: Mrs. Fosca GIUBILEI, (Female), Montreal, P.Q., 23 September 1940.*

⁵⁵NAC, RG 18, vol. 3563. C11-19-2-3, vol. 1. *Memorandum To: The Inter-Departmental Committee. Re: Mrs. Etelvina Frediani, Toronto, Ont., 26 August 1940.*

Mrs. Filomena Riccio of Toronto was married to Giulio Riccio, an internee. She had acquired Canadian citizenship through her husband's naturalization in 1926. Mrs. Riccio was a member of the Feminine Fascio and had served as its Director, President and Social Co-ordinator. "O" division of the RCMP recommended internment Mrs. Riccio so long as such action did not interfere with the established policy in relation to females.⁵⁶ The IDC decided only to intern the most flagrant of the women Fascists, and Mrs. Riccio was never interned.

In another case, Mrs. Maria Spaziani of Toronto was of Italian birth, arriving in Canada in 1913. She acquired citizenship through her husband's naturalization. Mrs. Spaziani was an active member of the Fascio Feminine Committee, serving as Directorate. She was also appointed Officer of the Feminine Fascio Social Committee. As she was one of the most active members of the Fascio Feminine, her internment was recommended but never carried out.⁵⁷

In the last case, Mrs. Francesca Olivieri of Hamilton, Ontario, was also recommended for internment. Her husband Donato Olivieri was interned at the

⁵⁶NAC, RG 18, vol. 3563. C11-19-2-3, vol. 1. *Memorandum To: The Inter-Departmental Committee. Re: Mrs. Filomena RICCIO, Toronto, Ont, 26 August 1940.*

⁵⁷NAC, RG 18, vol. 3563, vol. 1. C11-19-2-3. *Memorandum To: The Inter-Departmental Committee. Re: Mrs. Maria SPAZIANI, Toronto, Ont, 27 August 1940.*

outbreak of war. Both acquired Canadian citizenship in 1913 through naturalization.⁵⁸ Extremely active in the Feminine Fascio, even serving on its directorate, Francesca Olivieri was recommended for internment, and was indeed, jailed for one day.⁵⁹

There were ten Italian women questioned as to their political allegiances, nine of whom were naturalized Canadians. All of the women were married, and eight of the ten were either the Fiduciary or served on the Directorate of the Fascio Feminile. While these women were not interned, several other Italian women were interned, many of them not in positions of authority in their Fascist organizations. Several of those interned met the same criteria as those allowed to remain at liberty, being married and naturalized Canadians, hence it becomes difficult to pin-point any real differences between those interned and those simply warned.

In addition to discrepancies between those interned and those warned, there were also discrepancies between the length and reason for internments. First let us examine two cases where the internments appeared 'justified' by the women's membership in the Fascio Feminine, then, we will turn to three cases where outside factors, not membership in Fascist organization, influenced internments. This chapter

⁵⁸NAC, RG 18, vol. 3563, vol. 1. C11-19-2-3, *Memorandum To: The Inter-Departmental Committee. Re: Mrs. Francesca OLIVIERI, Hamilton, Ont.*, 26 August 1940.

⁵⁹This information comes from Enrico Cumbo, "A Shadow in Every Corner: the Social Repercussions of Internment in Hamilton 1940-1943," at *The Internment of Italo-Canadians During the Second World War: A Conference* (York: Columbus Centre, 14 October 1995).

will then examine the remainder of the internment cases.

The first case involved the internment of Maria Eglida Fontanella, a resident of Toronto. Fontanella was born in Italy and applied for Canadian citizenship via naturalization in 1939. Due to her Fascist affiliations her request was not granted. A single woman, Fontanella regularly attended Fascio meetings, and by 1 January 1937, was a member of the Feminine Fascio Committee. Financially independent and well-respected by the Toronto Italian community, by April 1937, Fontanella became Fiduciary of the Feminine Fascio.⁶⁰ Maria was not the only one in her family drawn to Fascism, her brother, Dr. Pasquale Fontanella, was also heavily involved in the Fascio. He fled to the USA immediately prior to the outbreak of war, anticipating his internment.⁶¹ Despite Maria Fontanella's deep commitment to the Fascist movement she was only interned for five months. Maria Fontanella was interned on 12 September 1940 under Regulation 25 (8) of the Defence of Canada Regulations, as an "enemy alien," and given the designation F.12. Fontanella's internment was ordered "due to the fact that the subject was a member of the Feminine Fascio, who could not consistently with public safety be allowed to remain at large."⁶² After an appeal,

⁶⁰NAC, MG 30, volume 1. file 151. *Report on Inter-Departmental Committee on Internment Cases, Re: Fontanella, Pasquale, Dr.*, 20 April 1940.

⁶¹NAC, RG 18, volume 3563, C11-19-2-3, volume 1. *Memorandum to: The Inter-Departmental Committee. Re: Maria Sgilda FONTANELLA, Toronto, Ont.*

⁶²NAC, RG 73, acc. 80-81/253, box 74, 23-1-12. *Re: Female Internee Maria Eglida Fontanella*, 4 December 1940.

she was released on parole in 18 February 1941. Upon her release the 55 year old, Fontanella returned to Toronto where she re-registered with the RCMP. Despite her being a dedicated Fascist with a brother living in the USA, Maria Fontanella was released after only five months, despite not showing any change in her beliefs.

In a similar case, Verna Lo Bosco, Canadian born of Italian origin faced interment for her role in the Fascio Feminine. A 29 year old single woman, Verna Lo Bosco was very active in the Fascio Feminile. She started out as a teacher at the Italian school in Welland, Ontario, in 1935, working until the school closure in 1938 when she was employed as a bookkeeper. Her duties including speaking at events such as the commemoration of the Founding of Fascism ceremony in April 1937. Lo Bosco became the Secretary of Feminine Lodge, *Figli d'Italia* in 1937. Also heavily involved with youth groups, including heading up a group of students going to Italian summer camps in 1939, Verna Lo Bosco became a vice-inspector of O.G.I.E. Lo Bosco was also a Grand Delegate of the "Italo Balbo" lodge.⁶³ She was interned on 14 September 1940 under Section 21 of the D.O.C.R. and designated F.13. After an appeal to Justice J.D. Hyndman Lo Bosco was ordered released on 14 June 1941, however, her release did not take place until 8 July 1941⁶⁴ Despite being labelled as

⁶³NAC, RG 18, vol. 3563, C11-19-2-3, vol. 1. *Memorandum to: The Inter-Departmental Committee. Re: Verna Lo Bosco, Welland, Ont.* It is interesting to note that the RCMP gathered most of their information from back issues of Italian fascist newspapers, *Il Bollettino Italo-Canadese* and *Il Progresso Italo Americano*.

⁶⁴NAC, RG 18. vol. 3563, C11-19-2-3, vol. 14. Letter from Lapointe to Wood. *Re: Miss Verna Lo Bosco.* Ottawa, 14 June 1941.

one of the most active female Fascists in Canada Verna Lo Bosco only faced ten months internment.

Two other instances of internment were not so clear cut. The first case involved Mrs. Geraldine Ulrey, *nee* Laird, of Regina Saskatchewan. Geraldine Ulrey was born in Canada of German origin, however, her anti-British sentiments brought her to the attention of the RCMP. Mrs. Ulrey was heard to wish that Canada would come under Hitler's control and that in that event, Canada would be much better off. Her husband, Donald had already been recommended for internment for his own anti-British statements. The RCMP concluded that Mrs. Ulrey herself did not constitute a great danger to the State, but, in view of her expressed pro-Nazi statements and the public wrath, she was recommended for internment for the war's duration. When Geraldine Ulrey's case went before the IDC, it asked the RCMP to gather more information before it reached a decision. Despite a request for leniency by the local RCMP, Superintendent E.W. Bavin stated "in view of the seriousness of present conditions humanitarianism cannot be allowed to interfere with the course of action adopted and as this woman is suffering from a communicable disease, her incarceration in Kingston Penitentiary will probably have beneficial effects."⁶⁵ In effect Bavin overrode the local detachment's recommendation for clemency on 'humanitarian grounds'. Despite being Canadian born and not belonging to any

⁶⁵NAC, MG30, E163, vol. 2, dossier 145a. *Re: Ulrey, Mrs. Donald, Regina, Sask.*, 22 July 1940.

Fascist organizations Geraldine Ulrey was interned for having VD.⁶⁶ She was interned under Defence of Canada Regulation 21 and designated F.6. Geraldine Ulrey was later released from internment on the condition that she subscribed to certain undertakings, including refraining from openly expressing anti-British sentiments.⁶⁷

Another internee was Gertrude (Gustave) Kulesa, born in Germany and roughly 50 years old in 1939. Her three children were also born in Germany. The Kulesa family arrived in Canada in 1923, with Gertrude Kulesa gaining naturalization in 1924 when her husband became a Canadian citizen. The IDC recommended Mrs. Kulesa for internment as she was a continued source of trouble for her New Waterford, Cape Breton, Nova Scotia community. A bootlegger and an avowed Nazi supporter, Kulesa opened her home to other Germans for meetings since the outbreak of the war and had both received and sent pro-Nazi mail to Germany through intermediaries. However, the key reason she was interned was that she raised the ire of her local community by evicting tenants from her farm. Mrs. Kulesa's farm was placed under the Control of the Custodian's Office after her husband and son were interned. Her decision to evict her tenants angered local

⁶⁶NAC, RG24, vol. 6568, 5-1-1, vol. 3. A. Drysdale, Inspector RCMP to Col. H. Stethem, Director of Internment Operations, 27 December 1940.

⁶⁷NAC, RG 24, vol. 6568, 5-1-1, vol. 3. Letter from A. Drysdale, Assistant Intelligence Officer, RCMP to Col. Stethem, Director Internment Operations, 27 December 1940.

miners who had already proved a volatile groups, at one mine threatening to strike if men were interned, while at another mine refusing to work with any 'enemy aliens'.⁶⁸ The IDC stated that "[a]s the local miners have gotten into the issue behind the Custodian's Office, we recommend interning Mrs. Kulesa for her safety."⁶⁹ Kulesa had been previously charged with violating the D.O.C.R. and was paroled. This time the IDC was not willing to be so lenient. For her own 'safety' Gertrude Kulesa was interned from 1 January 1942 to 2 August 1943, one of the two last female internees to be released.⁷⁰

A third set of unusual internment circumstances involved Bertha Hower (Haver) who was interned after jealous competitors circulated a petition demanding her arrest. Austrian by birth, Mrs. Hower and her husband Louis resided in Canada for over a decade before her internment. After buying her own restaurant in Harrison Lake, B.C., which flourished, Bertha Hower managed to lend money to several others in the restaurant business. When war broke out two of Hower's debtors refused to repay Hower as she was of foreign birth. When she sued them they began

⁶⁸NAC, RG18, vol. 3563, C11-19-2-3, vol. 1. Letter from Robertson to Bavin, 19 June 1940.

⁶⁹NAC, MG30, vol. 1, file 169, *Re: Mrs. Gertrude Kulesa*.

⁷⁰NAC, RG 18, vol. 3569. Wallet G. Department of Justice, *Record of Internment Hearings, 1939-1945*, 16-508. Kulesa, Mrs. Gustave. RG 18, vol. 3568 "C" *List of Internees*, RCMP, Central Registry Classification Sheet, and RG 24, C5408, HQ 650-C-1308, HQS7236-84-2, Letter from Warden Allan to Col. Straight, Director of Internment Operations, DND, 10 August 1943.

circulating a petition to have her interned. Once the petition was circulated, rumours about Hower's pro-Hitler stance abounded. Once interned all Hower was told was that "I have been directed by the Minister of Justice ... to say that this woman ... was extremely pro-Hitler in her sympathies. In giving expression to her anti-British sentiments she had so aroused the animosity of the populace that, according to reports, serious breaches of the peace were likely to ensue if she were not interned."⁷¹ Despite Hower's having nineteen character references, all of them from British subjects, Hower's appeal was dismissed. Essentially, Hower was interned for being a stubborn, successful restaurateur of foreign birth! Hower was interned in Kingston Penitentiary on 27 August 1940 under D.O.C.R. 25(8) and given the designation F.8. Hower remained interned until 5 May 1942 when she was released. While interned Hower repeatedly tried to classify herself as an Austrian, not a German. Hower also kept herself isolated from the German internees. When Hower was released it was conditional upon her not returning to British Columbia.⁷²

There were eleven women of German origin interned and one Austrian. It was these women who faced the longest internments, with internments ranging from one instance of three months to several cases of over 20 months and one case of 43 months. Most of the German women were married, with ages ranging from 16 to 38

⁷¹NAC, MG 30, C149, John Stanton, *Brief, Re: Bertha Hower*, 2.

⁷²NAC, RG 24, vol. 6586, 5-1-1, vol. 3. Lt. Col. H.N. Streight to Allan. *Re: P/W F.8 Hower, Mrs. Bertha*, 29 April 1942.

with an average of 28 years, as compared to an overall average age of 37 years old, making the Germans the youngest internees. The average length of German internments was 18 months, a figure slightly skewed by the short-term internment of two women, Ruth and Elizabeth Bronny who were only interned for one and two months respectively while they awaited repatriation. Without their inclusion the average length of internment rises to 21 months, as compared to the average length of 15 months.

Muriel Maria Burzle of Winnipeg, Manitoba was a naturalized Canadian of German origin. A respected housewife, Muriel Burzle was not the only one of her family arrested, her husband, Professor John Anto Burzle was also interned.⁷³ The Director of Internment Operations believed that Mrs. Burzle conducted herself in such a way as to get herself interned, in the hopes that she would be interned with her husband at Kananaskis. She was interned on 26 August 1940 and released on 7 November 1940, given the designation F.7. When she was interned at Kingston Penitentiary, Muriel Burzle "... raised the strongest protest, and, possibly, owing to her position in civil life, had more reason in doing so ..."⁷⁴ Protesting paid off as Muriel Burzle was interned for less than three months. Muriel Burzle only had to

⁷³NAC, RG 18, vol. 3568. "A" *List of Internees*. RCMP Central Registry Classification Sheet.

⁷⁴NAC, RG. 24, vol. 11245. Letter from Col. Stethem to O.D. Skelton, 7 January 1941.

re-register upon release, facing none of the restrictions of some of the other internees.⁷⁵

In another case, Katherine Margaret Haidinger, a single woman of German nationality was interned under D.O.C.R. 25(8) on 29 December 1939 and given the designation of F.1. An avowed pro-Nazi, Haidinger was not released until 9 August 1943. Haidinger claimed to have a heart condition which was aggravated by her 'ill-treatment' in Kingston Penitentiary, including an argument with Matron Cherry which Haidinger claimed left her short of breath, trembling and having a heart attack. Haidinger was told that she would not be released until the end of the war when she would be repatriated back to Germany.⁷⁶

Maria Augusta Klassen (Mrs. Siebon) was interned on 24 July 1940 and was released on 1 June 1942.⁷⁷ Of German origin, Maria Klassen was from Frenchman's Butte, Saskatchewan and interned under Regulation 25(8). A Protestant housewife, the 38 year old Klassen was repatriated to Germany on 6 June 1942.

Mrs. Mariel (Johan Hans) Hilmer, a British subject through naturalization, was interned on 7 July 1940 having been interned under D.O.C.R. 25(8) and given the designation F.3. Despite her British citizenship Mariel Hilmer attempted to have

⁷⁵NAC, RG 24, vol. 6586, 5-1-1, vol. 3. Lt. Col. H. Stethem to N.C.O. in charge, RCMP, Kingston, Ont. *Re: Release of Female Internee, F10, Mrs. Muriel Maria Burze*, 6 November 1940.

⁷⁶NAC, RG 24, CS408, HQ57236-84-2. Straight to Allan. *Re: Internees' Correspondence, F1, Haidinger, K.M.; F18, Kulesa, G.*

⁷⁷NAC, RG 18, vol. 3568. "C" *List of Internees*. RCMP Central Registry Classification Sheet.

herself classified as German, asking the Swiss Consul-General to visit her at Kingston Penitentiary.⁷⁸ A Roman Catholic from Claybank, Saskatchewan, Hilmer was interned for being outspokenly pro-Nazi. With Hilmer and her husband's internments, their four children were sent to an orphanage. Hilmer was interned for attempting to send correspondence to enemy territory supporting the Nazi cause and insulting the British Armed Forces.⁷⁹ Hilmer was not released until 27 March 1943.

Mrs. Lydia (Rudolph) Anwander of German nationality was interned under D.O.C.R. 25(8) on 23 August 1940 and designated F.9. While interned Lydia Anwander protested to the Matron, Warden and Swiss Consul General over the behaviour of fellow internee Haidinger. According to Anwander, Haidinger was constantly reporting the internees to the Swiss Consul General for some violation. Anwander claimed that Haidinger attempted to take a portion of all packages that came for the internees, whether or not they were addressed to her.⁸⁰ Complaints to the Swiss Consul General ranged from objections over the food and package distribution to not being allowed newspapers.⁸¹ Anwander was a housewife from

⁷⁸NAC, RG 24, vol. 11245. Letter to the Swiss Consul-General, Montreal from Interned German Women, 18 September 1940.

⁷⁹NAC, RG73, acc. 80-81/253, box 73, 21-1-3. *Particulars: Detentu -- Mrs. Johan Hans (Mary) Hilmer - Claybank, Saskatchewan*, 17 November 1941.

⁸⁰NAC, RG 24, vol. 11245. Complaint from Lydia Anwander to Swiss Consul General. *Re: K. Haidinger*, 14 January 1942.

⁸¹NAC, RG 24, vol. 11245. Letter from Allan to Director of Internment Operations. *Re: Female Internees Generally*, 9 May 1942.

Port Alberni, BC before her internment and was repatriated to Germany on 6 June 1942.

Other female internees included Elizabeth Bronny who, along with her sixteen year old daughter Ruth, was repatriated to Germany after a short stay in Kingston Penitentiary. After serving a year in jail for violations of the D.O.C.R., Elizabeth Bronny was transferred to Kingston Penitentiary. Since her husband was also interned, their daughter was sent to the Girls Industrial Prison in Vancouver.⁴² Once it was decided to repatriate Bronny, the government arranged for her and her daughter to be interned at Kingston Penitentiary until that time, for one and two months respectively.

There is little known about some of the other internees, such as Centa Haertle of German nationality who was interned under D.O.C.R. 25(8) and designated F.5. From Vancouver, the Roman Catholic Haertle was interned for 21 months before being repatriated back to Germany. Charlotte Wonneberg was another internee about which little is known other than her German nationality, her status as the first female internee, and her early release date, 14 October 1939.⁴³ Another internee on whom little is known was Elsie Elizabeth Reider, a German foreign national was interned on 14 September 1940 under section 25(8) of the D.O.C.R. and given the designation

⁴²NAC, RG73, acc 80-81/253, box 73, 23-1, part II, 23-1-19.

⁴³NAC, RG 24, C5408, HQ57236-84-2. Letter from Panet to Brig. B.N. Browne, 14 October 1939.

F.10. A domestic prior to the war, Reider remained interned until 5 June 1942.⁴⁴ However, the 45 year old Reider was repatriated soon afterwards.

Of the 21 women interned, the case against the Italian internees appears to be the strongest, yet these women were interned for the shortest amount of time, from five to twelve months. There were four internees of Italian origin, Maria Augusta Fontanella, Luisa Guagneli, Verna Lo Bosco and Maria Pressello. Of the four women, one was Canadian born, two were long-term residents of Canada without naturalization, and the fourth was of undetermined citizenship. Two of the women were married, while the other two were single. Three of the four were very involved in the Feminine Fascio while the remainder was only moderately, if at all, involved in the Fascist Movement. The average age of the women was 45 years old, and all four had family members who were also interned. The Italian women were interned for an average of 8 months, as compared to 15.5 months overall for internees.

In the case of one internee, Maria Pressello, she believed that a neighbour had gone to the Police with information against her which led to her internment. There was no evidence that Pressello was a leader in the Fascist movement, or even made pro-Fascist statements, despite this she was interned. While interned, Maria Pressello

⁴⁴NAC, RG 73, acc. 80-81/253, box 73, file 23-1, part 1. Register of Enemy Aliens at Prison for Women, Kingston, Ont. and in RG 24, vol. 11245. Letter from NAR to Col. Stethem, 12 February 1941.

asked to be kept isolated from the other internees, including the other Italians.⁸⁵ A 53 year old housewife from Windsor, Ontario, Pressello was interned on 14 June 1940 under D.O.C.R. 21 and designated F.8. Pressello was released from internment on 14 June 1941 after an objection to her case was heard by Justice J.D. Hyndman.⁸⁶

The case of another internee, Luisa Guagneli is interesting because she was interned for being an active member of the Feminine Fascio who also taught Fascist subjects in the Italian schools. Interned under Regulation 21 and designated F.11, the naturalized Guagneli was held in a Toronto jail for six weeks before being sent to Kingston Penitentiary.⁸⁷ While interned Guagneli was accused of conducting unauthorized correspondence, a charge which she vehemently denied. In investigating the charge, Warden Allen found Guagneli uncooperative for which he declared she refused "to adhere to the truth in questioning, and with this in mind we will give her case our special attention here. ... all communications to or from Guagneli should be very carefully examined, and every possible guard must be kept to prevent her from resuming the activities which she appeared to have practiced during her incarceration

⁸⁵NAC, RG73, acc. 80-81/253, box 73, 23-1-2. *Re: Female Internee Pressello, Maria*, 29 March, 1941.

⁸⁶NAC, RG 24, C5408, HQ57236-84-2. E. Lapointe to Wood. *Re: Mrs. Maria Pressello*, 14 June 1941.

⁸⁷NAC, RG73, acc.80-81/253, box 73, file 23-1, part I. Allan to Governor of the Jail, Toronto, Ont. *Re: Female Internee Louisa Guagneli*, 18 December 1940.

in Toronto.⁸⁸ Despite the Warden's warning and Guagneli's membership in the Feminine Fascio she was only interned for a period of 5 months. Upon her release on 24 February 1941, the 42 year old Luisa Guagneli returned to Niagara Falls where she re-registered with the RCMP.⁸⁹ Guagneli's early release is surprising as Guagneli was the perfect Fascist, yet she only received a five month internment.

Also interned were three Belgians seized off the *S.S. Leopold* in Halifax, Angele van Caster, Mathilde van der Maesen and Antonia Peeters, all of whom were unmarried foreign nationals who strongly supported Hitler's regime. Complaints by passengers that Mathilde van der Maesen had threatened to report any passenger not supportive of Hitler to the German Consul General with reprisals to follow against the passengers families in Germany led to the three women being refused allowance to continue on with the ship. All three women were subsequently interned under D.O.C.R. 21. and interned for a period of 13 months at the conclusion of which they were repatriated to the Belgian Congo. On 8 January 1942 Peeters, van Caster and van der Maesen were released from Kingston Penitentiary and escorted to Montreal

⁸⁸NAC, RG73, acc. 80-81/253, box 73, 23-1 part I. *Re: Female Internee Guagneli (F-11)*, 27 December 1940. Guagneli was suspected of having smuggled out letters while incarcerated at either Kingston Penitentiary or the Toronto jail. R.M Allan to Col. H. Stethem, Director of Internment Operations. *Re: Female Internee Guagnelli (F-11)*, 27 December 1940.

⁸⁹NAC, RG 18, vol. 3563. C11-19-2-3, vol. 3. Letter from Minister of Justice Ernest Lapointe to RCMP Commissioner S.T. Wood, 17 February 1941. *Re: Mrs. Luisa Guagneli*. And RG 18, vol. 3568. "B" *List of Internees*. RCMP Central Registry Classification Sheet. and NAC, RG 24, vol. 6586, file 5-1-1. *Release of F.11, Guagneli, Luisa*, 22 February 1941.

wherein they were handed over to the Belgian Consul awaiting repatriation to the Belgian Congo.⁹⁰ All three women had to sign undertakings under section 24, stating that they would not bear arms against Canada or give information on Canadian or allied war preparations.⁹¹

One woman avoided internment and arranged for her husband's release from internment by acting as an RCMP informant against her Italian community in Montreal. The IDC initially recommended interning Dr. Laura D'Anna, stating she was "... a striking beauty, an intellectual and ... a graduate medical doctor. Possessing a charming personality, coupled with other talents, she has worked untiringly for Fascism and the successful organization and activities of the Feminine Fascio in Montreal are largely attributable to her efforts."⁹² During the 1930s, Dr. Laura D'Anna collaborated with the Italian Consul in administering the Fascio. She was Italian born, and was naturalized on 20 November 1937 after seven years in Canada. D'Anna organized the Feminine Fascio in 1934 and was fiduciary of four sections of the Fascio. She was also very active in the Sons of Italy and the Dopo Lavoro and was also a member of the United Moral Front. Her husband, Dr. Antonio

⁹⁰NAC, RG 24, vol. 6585, 5-1-1, vol. 3. Allan to Streight. *Re: F.14 van der Maesen, Mathilde; F.15 van Caster, Angele; F.16 Peeters, Antonia*, 9 January 1942. Streight to Allan. *Release of F.16 - Peeters, Antonia*, 6 January 1942.

⁹¹NAC, RG 24, vol. 6586, 5-1-1, vol. 3. *Undertaking*, 8 January 1942.

⁹²NAC, RG 18, vol. 3563, C11-19-2-3, *Memorandum to: the Inter-Departmental Committee Re: Mrs. Laura D'Anna (female)*, 24 September 1940.

D'Anna was interned in June 1940 for being a member of the Fascio. Despite her husband's internment Dr. D'Anna remained active in the Fascist movement, which led to her internment being strongly recommended. From December 1940 to May 1941 however, Dr. D'Anna gave the RCMP information to help get her husband released. Dr. D'Anna's husband was released from internment after only six months, his freedom bought at the cost of many other Italians being interned.

Fascists were not the only ones to recognize the role women could play in political organizations, many leftist groups also utilized women members. According to a recent article by Franca Iacovetta and Rob Ventresca, while the majority of anti-Fascists were men, there were a number of women also engaged in this activity. Many of these women's activities took place as part of their family life, but some women were active in their own right.⁹³ There are two known cases of left-wing women being arrested, interrogated and threatened with internment, that of Annie Buller and Gladys MacDonald. A prominent Communist Party of Canada leader, Mrs. Annie Buller (Guralnick) sat on the national executive of the Communist Party, was a union organizer, became an alderman for Toronto Ward 5, and managed the *Mid-West Clarion*. Buller's speeches to strikers repeatedly got her into trouble with the RCMP, and she was arrested several times for agitation, including after the Estevan Strike. Buller was jailed again in 1940 after an article she printed in the

⁹³Franca Iacovetta and Rob Ventresca, "Italian Radicals in Canada: A Note on Sources in Italy," *Labour/Le Travail*, 37 (Spring 1996), 205.

Mid-West Clarion came to the attention of the RCMP.⁹⁴ Charged under a violation of the D.O.C.R., Buller received a two year sentence in the Women's Jail at Portage La Prairie outside Winnipeg, along with fellow Communists Margaret Mills, Ida Corley and Ella Gehl.⁹⁵ Upon her release on 19 October 1942, Buller was questioned and threatened with internment.⁹⁶

Another Communist sympathizer, Gladys MacDonald, was sentenced to jail after being convicted of violating the D.O.C.R. when she was caught secretly mimeographing the Saskatchewan *Factory and Furrow* which she co-edited.⁹⁷ Before her arrest, MacDonald had been a local organizer of the Communist Party, Secretary to the Provincial branch, and was responsible for recruiting new members, public speaking, and organizing new units. After serving a year sentence of hard labour in the Battleford Womens' Gaol, MacDonald was transferred to Kingston Penitentiary as an internee. MacDonald was the only English-Canadian internee and the only female Communist interned. It is unclear why MacDonald was interned upon completion of her sentence when more active Communist leaders such as Annie Buller were released, and other active Communists such as Becky Buhay escaped jail or

⁹⁴Sangster, *Dreams of Equality*, 167.

⁹⁵Louise Watson, *She Never Was Afraid: The Biography of Annie Buller* (Toronto: Progress Books, 1976), 65.

⁹⁶NAC, RG 18, vol. 3569, Wallet G, *Record of Internment Hearings, 1939-1945*, 11-236. Buller, Mrs. Annie (Guralnick).

⁹⁷Sangster, *Dreams of Equality*, 167.

internment entirely. Gladys MacDonald arrived at Kingston Penitentiary on 25 September 1941 and was given the designation of F.17. She arrived sick and anaemic and according to both the Wardens of Battleford and Kingston was a model prisoner. Warden Millard of Battleford recommended her release as her views had changed considerably and she now desired to aid Canada in its war effort.⁹⁸ MacDonald was interned for one year, during which time she refused to associate with the other internees and volunteered to work in the prison kitchen. She appeared before the Advisory Board in August 1942, stating that she was a loyal Canadian citizen of Scottish descent who wanted to fight against Fascism and Nazism.⁹⁹ MacDonald was released on 9 September 1942, on the condition that she "[n]ot participate in any way in propagandist or other activities in the Communist Party of Canada or of any organization over which the Communist Party exercises control or of any other association, society, group or organization declared to be illegal under Regulation 39C of the Defence of Canada Regulations."¹⁰⁰

Government policy in regard to women internees was influenced to some extent by the fact that a number of Canadian women had been interned in Germany

⁹⁸NAC, RG73, acc. 80-81/253, box 73, 23-1, Part II, file 23-1-17. L.H. Millard to Director of Internment Operations, Streight, *Re: Female Internee MacDonald, Gladys*, 28 February 1942.

⁹⁹NAC, RG 14, vol. 2482. *Petitions re: Gladys MacDonald, file 48.*

¹⁰⁰NAC, RG73, acc. 80-81/213, box 74, file 23-1-17. *Undertaking*, 18 September 1942.

and an understanding was reached whereby women internees in the two countries were repatriated or released as early as possible.¹⁰¹ While six women were immediately repatriated, the others were released at an early date.

There were no women interned from the National Unity Party, an umbrella organization made up of several domestic Fascist organizations, including Quebec's N.S.C.P., Winnipeg's C.N.P., and Toronto's Canadian Union of Fascists (C.U.F.). This was despite the fact that the State was supposedly fighting Fascism. There were several women extremely active in the N.U.P., including Yvonne Arcand, wife of N.U.P. leader Adrien Arcand. The IDC opted not to intern Yvonne Arcand, despite the fact that she continued to hold N.U.P. meetings after her husband was interned. Perhaps the reasoning behind this, other than a wife supporting her husband, was that the N.U.P. members were of Canadian stock, therefore not as likely, according to the IDC, to commit treasonous activities. For Germans and Italians it was a case of divided loyalty between their country of origin and their adopted country but there was no such pull for French and English-Canadian Fascists.

The IDC drew distinctions between its 'enemy aliens', the most notable one being between European enemy aliens, Germans and Italians, and Japanese enemy aliens. While German and Italian internees were reviewed on a case-by-case basis the same cannot be said for Japanese enemy aliens who faced relocation or internment *en masse*. The IDC viewed German and Italian internees quite benignly, seeing Germans

¹⁰¹CSIS, 87-A-130. *The Nazi Party in Canada*, February 1947, 59.

as politically indifferent farmers attracted to Nazism by cultural or nostalgic motivations rather than political or ideological fanatics.¹⁰²

The IDC's benign view was furthered by the fact that only 10 per cent of the German population in Canada was born in Germany, of those (60,000) only 16,000 were not naturalized. Most German-Canadians had no first hand knowledge of Hitler's regime, a fact that also held true for the majority of their Italian counterparts.

A brief examination of the female internment records shows that the IDC's criteria for interning women was quite haphazard, with high-ranking members of the Italian Feminine Fascio remaining free while others were interned for non-political reasons. Many German women were interned for expressing pro-German statements despite not belonging to any political organizations or posing any threat to the State. This is in keeping with Robertson's opinion that Italo-Canadian members of the Fascio more often than not joined these organizations for social reasons. I suspect this reasoning caused the IDC to go easier on members of the Feminine Fascio than on other women. Another reason for the short internment times of Italian Fascist women could be the lack of outcry at them as 'enemy aliens'. Italian Canadians were often centred in cities, and within these cities in Italian communities. Thus, the public outcry of one's neighbours against 'enemy aliens' was muted. This is not to say that Italian Canadians did not turn their neighbours in for personal reasons; one of

¹⁰²Robinson, "Planning for the 'Most Serious Contingency,'" 9.

the Italian women suspected she was interned over a case of petty jealousy by her neighbour. The case of Laura D'Anna shows that Italians were just as ready as other Canadians to benefit from having their enemies interned. In addition there is no explanation for why some Italian women were recommended for internment while others were interned despite having almost identical stories. The only explanation appears to be that Italian women were either interned or released at the whim of the IDC.

In summary, there seems to be no rational system to explain why some women were interned and others were left at large. While the IDC claimed it was only interning women in flagrant violation of the D.O.C.R.'s and a danger to the state, this was obviously not the case unless one takes a very broad definition of what a danger to the State means. According to their justification a danger to the State included having a Venereal Disease or running a successful restaurant. In addition, there were a few women interned for their own 'safety' a category not covered by the D.O.C.R. It would appear that the women internees were interned for a variety of reasons, but very few of them solely for political reasons. Strangely, those women most actively involved in Fascist organizations often faced the shortest internment. The haphazardness of the state's action on female internees was due to the fact that the IDC did not view the women as a serious threat to a state. Since the RCMP/IDC viewed right-wing movements less seriously than left-wing ones, then right-wing activists were presumably doubly ignored.

Chapter 5 - Conclusion

The Depression spawned the growth of several extremist organizations in Canada, including the N.S.D.A.P., Bund, N.U.P. and Fascio as well as the less extreme Union Nationale and Social Credit Party. This situation was not unique to Canada, the malaise of Fascism effected much of the world, due in large part to the economic uncertainty of the Depression. In Canada it was the 1930s socio-economic conditions and a fear of Communism which fostered Fascism. In Germany Hitlerism arose as a reaction to liberal bourgeois democracy in the form of Weimar, not just the Communist Party. It was the residual affects of World War I wherein many ex-soldiers remained ultra-nationalist, militarist and disciplined, and ready to obey a leader without question. In addition, the increasing power of the Left, particularly in organizing the working classes post-World War I, scared many people into supporting anyone willing to stand up to them. Historian Eric Hobsbawm argues that: "The rise of the radical Right... was undoubtedly a response to the danger of socialist revolution and working-class power in general, to the October Revolution and Leninism in particular."¹ Many of the tenets of Fascism, anti-Semitism, ultra-nationalism and militarism existed prior to the 1930s, but it was a unique set of circumstances that

¹Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Extremes: A History of the World, 1914-1991* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1994), 124-125. Hobsbawm is quick to point out that while Fascism was a response to the Left, it was a combination of circumstances which allowed it to flourish.

enabled Fascists to seize power. It was World War I and the collapse of the ruling apparatus in several regimes which led to a disenchanted citizenship's willingness to turn to extremes to achieve stability. Indeed, as economic conditions worsened, many turned to Fascism to help to deal with Communism and their government's apparent inability to help them. While Fascism in Canada was never accepted by mainstream society, whose value system it flouted, it did affect certain portions of Canadian society. In essence, Fascism was not a serious threat to the Canadian state. Fascism, however, did affect the populations of several ethnic groups, including portions of the Italian and German communities as well as some French and English-Canadians. This chapter considers the nature of the Fascist threat in Canada, the reaction by the government both prior to and during World War II and whether or not these actions were justified given the nature of the threat.

While the RCMP investigated Fascism, it never viewed it as a serious threat, preferring to focus the majority of its attention on Communism. Its investigations into Fascism largely involved attending meetings, collecting literature and reading newspaper accounts of Fascist events. In some cases the RCMP used secret agents to get information on Fascists, but predominantly in the late stages of the 1930s and early 1940s and only then in the German and Italian Fascist citizenry's.

Three of the organizations pledged loyalty to foreign Fascist governments, while the other three had strong ties with Fascist groups in England, South Africa and Germany. There were several other organizations with indirect ties to Fascism,

including the Order of the Sons of Italy, the DopoLavoro, and the Bund. All claimed to be cultural or sporting organizations, but the leadership of all these groups was definitely pro-Fascist. These groups also pledged allegiance to and cultivated ties to foreign Fascist regimes. The Fascio and the N.S.D.A.P. even set up schools to indoctrinate young children in Fascism.

As the different Fascist organizations never became unified under one leader, a comparison between domestic and foreign Fascist groups and between the German and Italian Fascist communities is needed to gauge the nature of the Fascist threat. While none of these Fascist groups had widespread support, an analysis of what influence they did have is necessary. Of the domestic groups, I would argue that Arcand's N.S.C.P. was the most pervasive and influential. Arcand's organization had the support of many influential people in the media, government and clergy. It also had more numerical support than its counterparts in Ontario and the West. In comparing the German-Canadian and the Italo-Canadian communities, it is the German-Canadian community which became more influential, with a larger membership base. Nevertheless, the German-Canadian Bund membership was less than 1 per cent of the German-Canadian community. RCMP figures estimated that the N.S.C.P. membership numbered 5,200 in 1938, the C.N.P. in Winnipeg had 50 members many of whom were no longer actively involved, the C.U.F. 150 members in Ontario of whom 50 were Fascists, the C.N.P. in Ontario had 2,500, 150 of them uniformed, and the Bund 2,000. There have been no estimates on Italo-Canadian

membership.

Comparing the domestic and foreign groups is more difficult. I would argue that Arcand's Fascist group was more influential than the German, partially because Arcand had the support of a large section of the Quebec community, with supporters in the Union Nationale and amongst Federal Tories. I believe that none of the Fascist groups was capable of overthrowing the state. Of the foreign-inspired groups there was never an intention of spreading their values outside of their ethnic community. The language problem alone would have presented an almost insurmountable obstacle. They largely wanted to foster favourable relations between their home country and Canada. While there was also a language barrier for Adrien Arcand, it was easier to overcome as he was fluent in both French and English. Nevertheless, when Arcand tried to expand his brand of Fascism outside of Quebec, he failed dismally.

Fascism among the Italo-Canadian communities was not a self-generated phenomenon from within the Italian community. Rather, it was exported by Italy's Fascist government. The Italo-Canadians joined for primarily social reasons. Most Italo-Canadians saw Fascism not as a political ideology and form of government but as more synonymous with a renewed pride in Italy. Nor were the German-Canadians much different. I would argue that both the German and Italo-Canadian communities were essentially fascinated by the glories of Hitler and Mussolini and tried to find pride in a sometimes dormant ethnic identity. Many were simply happy to have someone paying attention to them. Others, however, were dedicated Fascists.

Fascism amongst French and English-Canadians managed to grow and in some areas flourish because Fascist organizations tapped into an existing strain of latent anti-Semitism. They did not create anti-Semitism, they only used it to further their goals. Anti-Semitism in Canada was intensified by the mounting pressure to allow Jewish refugees fleeing Hitler into Canada. While the Canadian Government did not accept the political refugees, believing that in times of unemployment immigration should be halted, the debate brought increasing anti-Semitism to light.² Throughout the 1930s Fascists were allowed, in the name of freedom of speech, to spread their doctrine to large segments of the Canadian populace.

Between 1936 and 1940 many members of the Italian and German-Canadian communities felt a conflicting loyalty between their homeland and their adopted country. Added to this was the confusion with which Canadian authorities tackled the issues of nationality, citizenship and loyalty. During the mid-1930s the Canadian government did not appear to have a problem accepting the interference of both the German and Italian Consular Officials in Canadian affairs. Both Italian and German-Canadians were under the impression that the organizations they joined were approved of by the Canadian government. And, during the 1930s their impression was understandable as Prime Minister King, certainly up to the mid-1930s at least, appeared to approve of both Hitler and Mussolini. Even when the Canadian government realized the extent of the threat they still did little until circumstances,

²Abella and Troper, *None is Too Many*, 139.

namely the war, forced them to. Once war broke out immigrants were punished for belonging to organizations the Canadian government had earlier given tacit approval to.

I would argue that the RCMP and the Canadian government were partially responsible for the growth of Fascism in Canada amongst its immigrant communities. By allowing agents of the German and Italian governments (through the Consuls) to influence the immigrant communities, the Canadian government failed to protect its own population from foreign interference. By interning German-Canadians and Italo-Canadians for joining clubs it had no prior objection to, the government failed in its responsibilities to both communities. After 1936 the Canadian government was increasingly aware that the Italian Consuls were spreading pro-Fascist propaganda within Canada and yet did nothing to halt this spread. Local governments continued to issue charters and incorporations to Fascist clubs such as the Fascio, DopoLavoro and Order of the Sons of Italy and various government officials including Toronto's Chief of Police and mayor were guest speakers at cultural events sponsored by the Fascio. In addition, the consequences of joining organizations stressing loyalty to the homeland over loyalty to Canada were never made clear to new immigrants. If the government had informed people during the naturalization process, it is possible many would not have joined direct Fascist organizations.

Prior to the war's outbreak the government predominantly ignored Fascist groups in Canada. This could have been partially due to the RCMP's continued

emphasis on Communism as the enduring threat to the State. At least one government official, however, kept a watching brief on Fascism from 1933 onwards. As Norman Robertson was the highest ranking civil servant, his continued attention to Fascism should have prompted an increased government reaction to Fascism prior to the war. I believe the reason that Robertson had very little luck in convincing the government to focus on Fascism was the anti-left wing ideology of many in positions of power, including Minister of Justice Ernest Lapointe, the leadership structure of the RCMP, and even Prime Minister Mackenzie King. All of these people appeared to share an intense anti-Communism with the Fascist organizations, perhaps preferring to allow the Communists and Fascists to battle it out. The RCMP were aware of the threat posed by the far right yet did little to act on it prior to the advent of war. Perhaps this was due to a common perception of the perceived enemy, Communism. A tentative conclusion would be that the RCMP were less afraid of Fascists than Communists because in the end Communists were out to overthrow capitalism while Fascists were out only to modify capitalism into corporatism. Simply put, to the RCMP any opponents of Communism could not be all bad.

The IDC drew distinctions between its 'enemy aliens', the most notable one being between European enemy aliens, Germans and Italians, and Japanese enemy aliens. While German and Italian internees were reviewed on a case by case basis, Japanese enemy aliens faced relocation or internment *en masse*. The IDC viewed German and Italian internees quite benignly, seeing Germans as politically indifferent

farmers attracted to Nazism by cultural or nostalgic motivations rather than political or ideological fanatics. This also held true for the majority of their Italian counterparts with reference to Mussolini. It was blatant racism that caused the internment and relocation of Japanese at rates so far higher than Fascists amongst the German and Canadian communities. And this despite the fact that very few Japanese Canadians interned or relocated had any contact with Fascist organizations. The Japanese were a visible minority in a country whose record toward Asians was abysmal. Anti-Asian feeling was particularly high in the West Coast where the majority of the relocations occurred. Overall, it was a combination of economic competition, neighbourhood jealousies and racism which led to the internment of not only the Japanese internees but also of German and Italian internees. This proved true of female internees as well. While the IDC claimed it was only interning women in flagrant violation of the D.O.C.R.s and a danger to the state, this was obviously not the case unless one takes an extremely definition of what a danger to the State means. According to their justification, a danger to the State apparently included having VD. In addition, there were a few women interned for their own 'safety' a category not covered by the D.O.C.R.. It would appear that the women internees were interned for a variety of reasons, but very few of them solely for their political allegiances. Strangely, those women most actively involved in Fascist organizations often faced the shortest internment.

Fascists were not about to take over the Canadian government, however, there

were several reasons for the Canadian government's actions. The first reason was that the RCMP had assembled evidence to the German and Italian governments influence on the local communities and there was the potential for undermining the war effort, including sabotage, if left unchecked. The second reason was the public disaffection which might have resulted if Hitler and Mussolini supporters were left at large. In addition, leaving Hitler and Mussolini supporters at large would have been quite a blow to anti-Fascist elements within local communities.

Domestic Fascists were only interned after a combination of outside influences and internal nervousness erupted. With the end of the phony war and the collapse of the Low Countries, public hysteria over fifth column activities erupted with worries abounding of Canadian 'Quislings'. Public outcry was strong against members of the N.U.P. whom they viewed as potential saboteurs due to their support for Nazis and their distribution of Nazi propaganda. In addition the British government's decision to intern Mosley and his followers prompted the Canadian government to intern Adrien Arcand and other leaders of the N.U.P.

In conclusion, Fascism in Canada in the 1930s was not a wide-spread movement. Despite their small numbers, several of the groups made considerable impact on society spreading their racist and Fascist ideologies. The government remained indifferent to Fascist groups until at least 1938. The RCMP consistently chose to concentrate on the Communists as their main enemy. This thesis has demonstrated that there was, if not collusion, then at least a large degree of

indifference and in some cases even informal cooperation between the RCMP and Fascist organizations.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Secondary Sources: Books and Articles

- Abella, Irving and Harold Troper. *None Is Too Many*. New York: Random House, 1982.
- Adachi, Ken. *The Enemy that Never Was: A History of Japanese Canadians*. Toronto: Lester & Orpen Dennys, 1976.
- Axelrod, Paul. "Spying on the Young in Depression and War: Students, Youth Groups and the RCMP, 1935-1942." *Labour/Le Travail*, 35 (Spring 1995). pp. 43-64.
- Bagnell, Kenneth. *Canadese: A Portrait of Italian Canadians*. Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1989.
- Bassler, Gerhard. "The Enemy Alien Experience in Newfoundland, 1914-1918." *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, 20 (1988).
- Barrett, Stanley. *Is God a Racist*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987.
- Bayley, Charles. "The Social Structure of Italian and Ukrainian Immigrant Communities in Montreal in the 1930's." MA Thesis, McGill University, 1939.
- Betchermen, Lita-Rose. *The Swastika and the Maple Leaf*. Toronto: Fitzhenry & Whiteside, 1975.
- Betke, Carl and S.W. Horrall. *Canada's Secret Service: An Historical Outline, 1864-1966*. Ottawa: RCMP Historical Section, 1978.
- Blee, Kathleen. "Women in the 1920's Ku Klux Klan Movement." *Feminist Studies* 17, 1 (Spring 1991) pp. 57-77.
- Blee, *Women of the Klan: Racism and Gender in the 1920's*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991.
- Broadfoot, Barry. *Ten Lost Years, 1929-1939: Memories of Canadians Who Survived the Depression*. Toronto: Doubleday Canada Ltd., 1973.

- Brown, Lorne and Caroline. *An Unauthorized History of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police*. Toronto: James Lorimer & Co., 1973.
- Caldwell, Leslie. "Reproducers of the Nation: Women and the Family in Fascist Policy." *Rethinking Italian Fascism: Capitalism, Populism and Culture*. Ed. David Forgacs. London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1986.
- Caux, Real. "Le Parti National Social Chretien: Adrien Arcand: ses idees, son oeuvre et son influence." MA Thesis, Universite de Laval, 1958.
- Ciccocelli, J.A., "The Innocuous Enemy Alien: Italians in Canada during World War II." MA Thesis, University of Western Ontario, 1977.
- Cote, Jean. *Adrien Arcand: Une Grande Figure de Notre Temps*. Montreal: Les Editions Pan-American, Collection: Histoire et Traditions, 1994.
- De Grazia, Victoria. *How Fascism Ruled Women: Italy, 1922-1940*. Berkeley, University of California Press, 1992.
- Delisle, Esther. *The Traitor and the Jew*. Montreal: Robert Davies Publishing, 1993
- Dion, Robert. *Crimes of the Secret Police*. Montreal: Black Rose, 1982.
- Dubro, James and Robin Rowland, *Undercover: Cases of the RCMP's Most Secret Operative*. Markham: Octopus Publishing Group, 1991.
- Fischer, Gerhard. "Fighting the War at Home: The Campaign against Enemy Aliens in Australia during the First World War." *Minorities in Wartime...* Ed. Panikos Panayi. Oxford: Berg Publishers Inc., 1993.
- Frye, Alton. *Nazi Germany and the American Hemisphere, 1933-1941*. London: Yale University Press, 1967.
- George, John and Laird Wilcox. *Nazis, Communists, Klansmen and Others on the Fringe*. Buffalo: Prometheus Books, 1992.
- Granatstein, J.L. *A Man of Influence: Norman A. Robertson and Canadian Statecraft, 1929-68*. Montreal: Deneau Publishers, 1981.
- Grenke, A. "From Dreams of the Worker State to Fighting Hitler: the German-Canadian Left from the Depression to the end of World War II." *Labour/Le*

Travail, 35 (Spring 1995), pp. 66-105.

Grossman, Atina. "Feminist Debates about Women and National Socialism." *Gender and History* 3,3 (Autumn 1991), pp. 350-358.

Hannant, Larry. *The Infernal Machine: Investigating the Loyalty of Canada's Citizens*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995.

Harney, Robert F and J. Vincenza Scarpaci. *Little Italies in North America*. Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1981.

Harney, Robert. *Italians in North America*. Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1979.

Harvison, C.W., *The Horsemen*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1967.

Hiley, Nicholas. "Fs and Bs." *London Review of Books*, 9 (March 1995).

Hilmer, Norman, Bohda Kordan and Lubomyr Luciuk, eds. *On Guard for Thee: War, Ethnicity and the Canadian State, 1939-1945*. Ottawa: Department of Supply and Services, 1988.

Holmes, Colin. "British Justice at Work: Internment in the Second World War." *Minorities in Wartime...* Ed. Panayi.

Hope, John G. "Fascism, the Security Service and the Curious Careers of Maxwell Knight and James McGuirk Hughes." *Lobster*, 22 (1991), pp. 1-5.

Hope, John G. "Surveillance or Collusion? Maxwell Knight, MI5 and the British Fascisti." *Intelligence and National Security*, 9, 4 (October 1994), pp. 651-675.

Horrall, S.W. "Canada's Security Service: A Brief History." *RCMP Quarterly*. 50, 3 (Summer 1985).

Horrall, S.W. "The Royal North West Mounted Police and Labour Unrest in Western Canada, 1919." *Canadian Historical Review*, 61, 2 (June 1980).

Hutchison, Bruce. *The Incredible Canadian: A Candid Portrait of Mackenzie King: his works, his times, and his nation*. Toronto: Longmans, Green and Company, 1952.

Iacovetta, Franca and Paula Draper, eds. *Sojourners, Settlers and Strangers: Issues in Immigration History*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996.

Iacovetta, Franca and Rob Ventresca. "Italian Radicals in Canada: A Note on Sources in Italy." *Labour/Le Travail*, 37 (Spring 1996), pp. 205-220.

Jones, Ted. *Both Sides of the Wire: The Fredericton Internment Camp*, vol. 2. Fredericton: New Aberdeen Press, 1989.

Kaplan, William. *State and Salvation: the Jehovah Witnesses and their fight for Civil Rights*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989.

Kealey, Greg. "The Surveillance State: the Origins of Domestic Intelligence and Counter-Subversion in Canada, 1914-1921." *Intelligence and National Security*, 7, 3, (July 1992).

Kealey, *Workers and Canadian History*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995.

Kealey, "The Early Years of State Surveillance of Labour and the Left in Canada: the Institutional Framework of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police Security and Intelligence Apparatus, 1918-1926." *Intelligence and National Security*, 8, 3 (July 1993).

Kealey, Gregory S. and Reg Whitaker, *R.C.M.P. Bulletins: The Early Years, 1919-1929*. St. John's: Canadian Committee on Labour History, 1994.

Kealey and Whitaker, *R.C.M.P. Bulletins: The Depression Years, Part I, 1933-1934*. St. John's: Canadian Committee on Labour History, 1993.

Kealey and Whitaker, *R.C.M.P. Bulletins: The Depression Years, Part II, 1935*. St. John's: Canadian Committee on Labour History, 1995.

Kealey and Whitaker, *R.C.M.P. Security Bulletins: The War Series, 1939-41*. St. John's: Committee on Canadian Labour History, 1989.

Kealey and Whitaker. *R.C.M.P. Security Bulletins, 1936-1939*. St. John's: Committee on Canadian Labour History, forthcoming.

Kemp, Vernon. *Without Fear, Favour, or Affection; Thirty-five years with the Royal Canadian Mounted Police*. Toronto: Longmans, Green and Company, 1958.

- Keyserlingk, Robert H., "'Agents within the Gates': The Search for Nazi Subversives in Canada during World War II." *Canadian Historical Review*, 66, 2 (1985). pp. 211-239.
- Keyserlingk, Robert H., "Allies or Subversives? The Canadian Government's Ambivalent Attitude towards German-Canadians in the Second World War." *Minorities in Wartime...* Ed. Panayi, pp. 239-260.
- Keyserlingk, Robert H., "Breaking the Nazi Plot: Canadian Government Attitudes towards German-Canadians, 1939-1945." *On Guard for Thee: War, Ethnicity, and the Canadian State, 1939-1945*. Ed. Hilmer, pp. 53-69.
- Keyserlingk, Robert H., "Mackenzie King's Spiritualism and his View of Hitler in 1939." *Journal of Canadian Studies*. 20, 4 (1985-6), pp. 26-44.
- Keyserlingk, Robert H., "Which Fatherland in War? The Canadian Government's View of German Canadian Loyalties in World War Two." *Central and Eastern European Ethnicity in Canada: Adaptation and Preservation*. Ed. T. Yedlin. Edmonton: Central and Eastern European Studies Society of Alberta. 1985. pp. 133-171.
- Kinsman, Gary. "'Character Weakness' and 'Fruit Machines'," *Labour/Le Travail*, 35 (Spring 1995), pp. 133-162.
- Koonz, Claudia. *Mothers in the Fatherland: Women, the Family and Nazi Politics*. New York: St. Martins Press, 1987.
- Kushner, Tony, ed., *The Politics of Marginality: Race, the Radical Right and Minorities in Twentieth Century Britain*. London: Frank Cass, 1990. Includes Martin Durham's "Women and the British Union of Fascists, 1932-1940," Julie Wheelwright's "'Colonel Barker: A Case Study in the Contradictions of Fascism,'" and David Mayall's "Rescued from the Shadows of Exile: Nellie Driver, Autobiography and the British Union of Fascists."
- Kinsella, Warren. *Web of Hate: Inside Canada's Far Right Network*. Toronto: Harper Collins Ltd., 1994.
- Kyba, John Patrick. "The Saskatchewan General Election of 1929." MA Thesis, University of Saskatchewan, 1964.
- Lehman, Heinz. *The German Canadians 1750-1937*. translated and edited by Gerhard

- P. Bassler. St. John's: Jespersen Press, 1986.
- Levitt, Cyril H. and William Shaffir, *The Riot at Christie Pits*. Toronto: Lester & Orpen Dennys, 1987.
- Liberati, Luigi. "Surveillance of Radicals and Fascist Activity in the Italian Communities in Canada." *The Internment of Italo-Canadians During the Second World War: A Conference*. York: Columbus Centre, 14 October 1995.
- Liberati, Luigi. "Il Canada, l'Italia e il fascismo 1919-1945," Rome: Bonacci Editore, 1984.
- Lonardo, Michael. "Under a Watchful Eye: A Case Study of Police Surveillance During the 1930's." *Labour/Le Travail*, 35 (Spring 1995), pp. 11-42.
- Luciuk, Lubomyr. *Righting An Injustice: The Debate Over Redress for Canada's First National Internment Operations*. Toronto: The Justinian Press, 1994.
- MacLean, Nancy. "White Women and Klan Violence in the 1920's: Agency, Complicity and the Politics of Women's History." *Gender and History* 3, 3 (Autumn 1991), pp. 285-303.
- Mann, Edward and John A. Lee. *The RCMP vs the People*. Toronto, 1979.
- Mazza, Antonio. "Memory and the Italo-Canadians During the Depression and the War." *The Internment of Italo-Canadians During the Second World War: A Conference*. York: Columbus Centre, 14 October 1995.
- Melnicky, Peter. "The Internment of Ukrainians in Canada," *Loyalties in Conflict: Ukrainians in Canada During the Great War*. Ed. Frances Swyripa and John Herd Thompson. Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1983, pp. 1-24.
- Montsion, Rollande. "Les Grandes themes du mouvement national social chretien et d'Adrien Arcand vus par les principaux journaux fascistes au Canada francais, 1929-1938," MA Thesis, Universite d'Ottawa, 1975.
- Mount, Graeme. *Canada's Enemies: Spies and Spying in the Peaceable Kingdom*. Toronto: Dundurn, 1993.
- Nagler, Jorg. "Victims of the Home Front: Enemy Aliens in the United States during

- the First World War." *Minorities in Wartime*. Ed. Panayi.
- Neatby, Blair. *William Lyon Mackenzie King: The Prism of Unity, 1932-1939*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976.
- Offenbeck, John. "The Nazi Movement and German Canadians 1933-1939." MA Thesis, University of Western Ontario, 1970.
- Panayi, Panikos. ed. *Minorities in Wartime: National and Racial Groupings in Europe, North America and Australia during the Two World Wars*. Oxford: Berg Publishers Ltd., 1993.
- Parti de l'unité Nationale du Canada. *Adrien Arcand: Devant le Tribunal de l'histoire*. Montreal: Parti de l'unité Nationale du Canada, 1983.
- Pennacchio, Luigi. "Citizens of Fascist Italy: Exporting Fascism to Toronto's Italians, 1929-1940." *Sojourners, Settlers and Strangers: Issues in Immigration History*. Ed. Franca Iacovetta and Paula Draper. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, forthcoming.
- Pennacchio, Luigi. "The Torrid Trinity: Toronto's Fascists, Italian Priests and Archbishops during the Fascist Era, 1929-1940." *Catholics at the Gathering Place: Historical Essays on the Archdiocese of Toronto 1841-1991*. Ed. Mark McGowan and Brian Clarke. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993.
- Pennacchio, "Internment Revisited: The Politics of Redress." *The Internment of Italo-Canadians During the Second World War: A Conference*. York: Columbus Centre, 14 October 1995.
- Pennacchio, "The Internment of Toronto's Italians." *The Internment of Italo-Canadians During the Second World War: A Conference*. York: Columbus Centre, 14 October 1995.
- Perin, Roberto. "Making Good Fascists and Good Canadians: Consular Propaganda and the Italian Community in Montreal in the 1930's." *Minorities and Mother Country Imagery*. ed. Gerald Gold, St. John's: Institute for Social and Economic Research, 1984. pp. 136-158.
- Principe, Angelo. "The Concept of Italy in Canada and in Italian Canadian Writings from the Eve of Confederation to the Second World War." PhD Thesis, University of Toronto, 1989.

- Principe, Angelo. "The Years Leading to Internment from the Ethiopian War to June 1940." Speech at the *The Internment of Italo-Canadian During the Second World War: A Conference*. York: Columbus Centre, 13 October 1995.
- Prymak, Thomas M. *Maple Leaf and Trident: The Ukrainian Canadians during the Second World War*. Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1988.
- Ramirez, Bruno. "The Unbearable Lightness of the State: Reflections on the Policy of Italo-Canadian Internment." *The Internment of Italo-Canadians During the Second World War: A Conference*. York: Columbus Conference Centre, 14 October 1995.
- Ramirez, "Ethnicity on Trial: the Italians of Montreal and the Second World War." *On Guard for Thee...* Ed. Hilmer.
- Roberts, Barbara. "Shovelling Out the 'Mutinous': Political Deportation From Canada Before 1936." *Labour/Le Travail*, 18 (Fall 1986), pp. 77-110.
- Roberts, Barbara. *Whence they Came: Deportations from Canada, 1900-1935*. Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1988.
- Robin, Martin. *Shades of Right*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992.
- Robinson, Daniel. "Planning for the 'most serious contingency': Alien Internment, Arbitrary Detention, and the Canadian State, 1938-1939." *Journal of Canadian Studies*, 28, 2 (Summer 93), pp. 5-20.
- Rome, David. *Clouds in the Thirties: On Anti-Semitism in Canada, 1929-39* vol. 1. Montreal: Canadian Jewish Congress, 1977.
- Rose, Fred. *Fascism over Canada: An Expose*. Toronto: New Era Publishing, Ltd., 1938.
- Sallot, Jeff. *Nobody Said No: The Real Story of How the Mounties Always Got their Man*. Toronto: James Lorimer, 1979.
- Sangster, Joan. *Dreams of Equality: Women on the Canadian Left, 1920-1950*. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart Inc., 1989.
- Saunders, Kay. "'Inspired By Patriotic Hysteria?' Internment Policy towards Enemy Aliens in Australia during the Second World War." *Minorities in Wartime...*

Ed. by Panayi.

- Sawatsky, John. *For Services Rendered*. Markham: Penguin Books Canada Ltd., 1983.
- Sawatsky, John. *Men in the Shadows: the shocking truth about the RCMP Security Service*. Toronto: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1980.
- Scardellato, Gabriele. "La Colonna dei Figli d'Italia: Print Media in the Fascist period in Toronto." Speech at *The Internment of Italo-Canadians During the Second World War: A Conference*. York: Columbus Centre, 14 October 1995.
- Schonbach, Morris. *Native American Fascism During the 1930s and 1940s: A Study of Its Roots, Its Growth, and Its Decline*. New York: Garland Publishing Inc., 1985.
- Sher, Julian. *White Hoods: Canada's Ku Klux Klan*. Vancouver: New Star Books, 1983.
- Stanton, John. "Government Internment Policy, 1939-1945." *Labour/Le Travail*, 31 (Spring 1993), pp. 203-243.
- Stent, Ronald. *The Bespattered Page? The Internment of His Majesties 'most loyal enemy aliens'*. London: Andre Deutsch Ltd., 1980.
- Stephenson, Jill. *The Nazi Organisation of Women*. New Jersey: Barnes and Noble Books, 1981.
- Stephenson, *Women in Nazi Society*. London: Croom Helm Ltd., 1975.
- Sunhara, Ann Gomer. *The Politics of Racism*. Toronto: James Lorimer and Company, 1981.
- Swyripa, Frances. *Wedded to the Cause: Ukrainian-Canadian Women and Ethnic Identity, 1891-1981*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993.
- Thompson, John Herd. *Ethnic Minorities During Two World Wars*. Ottawa: Canada's Ethnic Groups, Canadian Historical Association, 1991.
- Trofimenkoff, Susan Mann. *Action Francaise: French Canadian Nationalism in the Twenties*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1975.

- Trofimenkoff, Susan Mann. *The Dream of Nation: A Social and Intellectual History of Quebec*. Toronto: Gage Publishing, 1982.
- Wagner, Jonathan. *Brothers Beyond the Sea: National Socialism in Canada*. Waterloo, Ont: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1981.
- Wagner, "The Deutscher Bund Canada, 1934-39." *Canadian Historical Review*, 58, 2, (June 1977), pp. 176-200.
- Wagner, "Heim ins Reich ,The Story of Loon River's Nazis," *Saskatchewan History*, 29, (Spring 1976), pp. 41-50.
- Wark, Wesley. "Security Intelligence in Canada, 1864-1945: the History of a 'National Insecurity State'." *Go Spy the Land: Military Intelligence in History*. Eds. Keith Neilson and B.J.C. McKercher. Westport, Connecticut: Praeger, 1992.
- Watson, Louise. *She was Never Afraid: The Biography of Annie Buller*. Toronto: Progress Books, 1976.
- Whitaker, Reg. "Left-wing Dissent and the State: Canada in the Cold War." *Dissent and the State: Canada in the Cold War*. Ed. C.E.S. Franks. Toronto, 1989.
- Whitaker, Reg. "Official Repression of Communism During World War II." *Labour/Le Travail*, 17 (Spring 1986), pp. 135-168.
- Whitaker, Reg. "The Liberal Corporatist Ideas of Mackenzie King." *Labour/Le Travailleur*, 2 (1977), pp. 137-169.
- Zucchi, John. *Italians in Toronto: Development of a National Identity 1875-1935*. Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1988.
- Zucchi, John. "The Rise of Fascism and Toronto's Notabili." *The Internment of Italo-Canadians During the Second World War: A Conference*. York: Columbus Centre, 14 October 1995.

Primary Source Articles

- Arcand, Adrien. *Fascisme ou Socialisme*. Montreal, 1933.

Arcand, Adrien. *The Key to the Mystery*. Montreal, undated.

Allen, S.R., "Quebec's Road to Fascism." *Empire Review*, LXIV, (September 1939), pp. 146-51.

"Anticosti Scare" *Saturday Night*, (4 June 1938), pp. 1-3.

Dawson, H.W. "Fascism Moves West." *Empire Review*, 67, (June 1938), pp. 348-50.

Edwards, F. "Fascism in Canada." part I. *MacLean's*, (15 April 1938), pp. 10, 66-68.
part II. *MacLean's*, (1 May 1938), pp. 15, 30.

"Fascism." *Newsweek*, (6 June 1938), 17.

Forsey, Eugene. "Clerical Fascism in Quebec." *Canadian Forum*, 17, (June 1937), pp. 90-92.

Forsey, Eugene. "Quebec on the Road to Fascism." *Canadian Forum*, 18, (December 1937), pp. 198-200.

Hoare, J. "Swastika over Quebec: Party Record." *Saturday Night*, (23 September 1939), 3.

Keith, J.E. "The Fascist Province." *Canadian Forum*, 14, (April 1934), pp. 251-2.

Keith, J.E. "Is Quebec going Fascist?" *MacLean's*, (1 August 1939), pp. 27-8.

Kerr, W.D. "Ottawa Begins to Worry About its Many Fascists." *Saturday Night*, (13 May 1939), 2.

Martin, D. "Quebec Fascists show their Hand." *Canadian Forum*, 16 (December 1936), pp. 253-6.

Martin, D. "Adrien Arcand, Fascist - An Interview." *The Nation*, (26 February 1938), pp. 241-44.

Quinn, H.F. "The Bogy of Fascism in Quebec." *Dalhousie Review*, 18 (October 1938), pp. 301-8.

Quinn, P. "Meet Quebec's Fascists." *New Frontier*, (September 1936), pp. 5-8.

Wood, S.T. "Tools of Treachery." *RCMP Quarterly*, (April 1941).

Woodside, W. "Nazi Germany's growing interest in Canada." *Saturday Night*, (27 August 1938), 2.

Primary Sources: Archives

National Archives of Canada

Manuscript Group:

NAC, MG 27, III, B10, vol. 22.
 NAC, MG 26K, vol. 653.
 NAC, MG 26, J4, vol. 230.
 NAC, MG 26, J4, vol. 359.
 NAC, MG 26, J4, vol. 372.
 NAC, MG 30, vol. 1.
 NAC, MG 30, E148, vol. 6.
 NAC, MG 30, E163, vol. 12.
 NAC, MG 30, E163, vol. 13.
 NAC, MG 30, E163, vol. 14.
 NAC, MG 30, vol. 50, file 50.
 NAC, MG 30, Lester Pearson Papers, N1, vol. 13.

NAC, C5368, reel HQS 7236.
 NAC, HQ650-C-1308, HQS 57236-84-2.

Record Group:

NAC, RG 13, C1, vol. 964.
 NAC, RG 13, C1, vol. 966.
 NAC, RG 14, vol. 2482.
 NAC, RG 18, vol. 599, file 1323.
 NAC, RG 18, vol. 599, file 1328.
 NAC, RG 18, vol. 3563, C11-19-2-2. vol. 1.
 NAC, RG 18, vol. 3563, C11-19-2-3. vol. 1, 3 and 4.
 NAC, RG 18, vol. 3569, Wallet G.
 NAC, RG 24, C5408, HQ57236-84-2.
 NAC, RG 24, vol. 2483, file 59.
 NAC, RG 24, vol. 6586, 5-1-1, vol. 3.
 NAC, RG 24, vol. 11245.
 NAC, RG 25, vol. 1964, 855-E-39.
 NAC, RG 73, acc. 80-81/253, box 73.

NAC, RG 73, acc. 80-81/213, box 74.
 NAC, RG 76, vol. 446.

Other Primary Sources

Canada, *The Defence of Canada Regulations, Consolidation 1941*. Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1941.

House of Commons, *Debates*, 1933-1941.

NOW, *Hitler over Canada*, volume 1, number 1.

RCMP, *Law and Order in Canadian Democracy: Crime and Police Work in Canada*.
 Ottawa: Edmond Cloutier, 1949.

Annual Report of the RCMP, 1930-1941.

CSIS, vol. 7 material including:

R.C.M.P., "The Ausland Organisation of the National Sozialistische Deutsche Arbeiter Partei in Canada." 15 February 1938
 R.C.M.P., "Deutsche Bund of Canada."
 R.C.M.P., "The German Labour Front."
 R.C.M.P., "Nazism."
 R.C.M.P. Reports, Re: "Canadian Society for German Culture." 17 December 1937.
 Re: "Bund Deutscher." 23 March 1938
 Re: "Ausland Organization." 26 June 1939*
 Re: "Deutscher Bund Kanada." 31 July 1939.
 R.C.M.P. Special Branch, *The Nazi Party in Canada*. Ottawa, February 1947.
 R.C.M.P. Personal File for William Whittaker and the National Party of Canada, 1934-38.

Royal Canadian Mounted Police Gazette, 4, 4 (28 January 1942), "German Subversive Societies in Canada" part I, Constable A. Als vold.

Royal Canadian Mounted Police Gazette, 4, 5 (5 February 1942), "German Subversive Societies in Canada" part II, Constable A. Als vold.

The Thunderbolt, vol. 1, #4 to vol. 2, #2, 1937-8.

Appendix I

Secret

Translation of the Personal History File Of

Giuseppe D'AMATA
Submitted by No. 17

City of Montreal, P.Q.

Date October 24, 1940.

Personal History File.

Name D'AMATO Giuseppe
Son of
Born in Italy, I think... Prov. of
about 30 years ago. of the year
married yes.....
Has..... children (Names) I do not know
Born at
Present address:- I do not know.....
Profession or usual trade shoemaker..... but he works at the Harbour of Montreal for the Dominion Coal
Co. as a coal handler
Immigrated to Canada several years ago... day of
Canadian Citizen? I do not know
Education elementary
Is he a member of the Fascio? yes..... Dopolavoro?.... Yes
Does he belong to the Order of the Sons of Italy? I do not know
In what lodge has he membership?
What office does he hold? none of importance
Offices held in the past:- none of importance
What activities did he perform in Italy or abroad in the patriotic, professional or working fields? Has always
been one of the most active and fervent members of the Fascio and Dopolavoro participating in all the
meetings and always showing a great faith and extreme anti-British feelings.
Status of Military Service
Rewards decorations, honors
Did he donate gold to Italy? yes... Did he subscribe for the building of the Casa d'Italia? Yes...
Did he subscribe to the Italian Red Cross? Yes
To the Italian School? I don't know. To other assistential funds? I do not know
Does his family attend patriotic institutions?
the G.I.L.E. the School
Is he a person of trust? yes. Can you depend on him for everything? yes

REMARKS:-

He is widely known as a fascist ready to undergo any sacrifice for the fascist revolution in Canada. Is a member of the "Action Squad". He has always been in splendid relations with all the authorities of the Fascio, by whom he was considered as a person of great trust. Proof of his faith is the fact that even today he continues spreading Fascist and anti-British propaganda, without any fear and with good results among his fellow-workers.

signed... Contact No. 17.

Appendix 2

NON-ITALIAN INTERNEES

Secret

If space is insufficient to give full particulars in answer to this questionnaire, attach answers on plain paper.

1. Name and Address?

(a) (Aliases.)

2. Place and Date of birth?

3. Education

(a) Give a complete account of all schools, colleges and universities you have attended, including trade, technical or propaganda schools. State dates when you attended each, and all certificates or degrees which you received.

(b) What trade or professional training have you received outside of school and what standing have you in any trade or profession in Canada, or elsewhere?

4. Occupation:

Give a detailed account of all positions which have held, businesses or professional practices you have conducted, including your present employment. State names of all employers, dates when you were in each employment, etc., and annual incomes received from each.

5. Have you or any of your family ever received any relief, or other government assistance in Canada?
If so, give details.
6. What municipal, provincial, or national government offices or other prominent positions have you held in Canada or elsewhere?

FAMILY

7. (a) Are you married?
(b) Is your wife living?
(c) Is your wife living with you?
If not, what is her address?
8. (a) What is your wife's maiden name?
Give name, racial origin, nationality, address and occupation of your wife's father and mother.
(b) Are they living?
9. Place and Date of wife's birth?
10. Wife's nationality?

11. Name, sex, place of birth, and age of each living child.

12. Have you any other relatives in Canada or elsewhere?
If so, give details.

13. Family's Education:
(a) Give a complete account of all colleges, schools, and universities your wife and children have attended, including trade, technical or propaganda schools. State dates when they attended each, and all certificates or degrees which they have received.

- (b) What trade or professional training have your wife and children received outside of school, and what standing have they in any trade or profession in Canada, or elsewhere?

14. Family's Occupation:

Give a detailed account of all positions your wife and children have held, and businesses or professional practices they have conducted, including their present employment. State names of their employers, dates when they were in such employments, etc., and incomes which they received from each.

15. What municipal, provincial, or national government offices have your wife and children held in Canada, or elsewhere?

RELIGION

16. (a) Your own?
- (b) Your wife's?
- (c) Your children's?
- (d) Have you ever changed your religion?
If so give details.
- (e) Has your wife or any of your children ever changed religion?
If so give details.
- (f) With what religious institutions in Canada are you and your family connected?

What priest or clergyman can testify as to your character?

LANGUAGES

17. (a) What languages do you speak?
Read?
Write?
- (b) What languages does your wife speak?
Read?
Write?

- (c) What languages do your children speak?

Read?

Write?

- (d) What languages are spoken in your home?

PROPERTY

18. (a) Do you own your own home in Canada?
If so, where is it and what is its value?
- (b) Do you own your own business?
If so, do you rent the premises or do you own them?
- (c) What other property do you own in Canada? What is its value and what income do you receive from it?
- (d) What property do you own outside of Canada, what is its value, and what income do you receive from it?
- (e) What property does your wife own outside of Canada, what is its value, and what income does she receive from it?
- (f) What property do your children own in Canada, what is its value, and what income do they receive from it?
- (g) What property do your children own in Canada, what is its value, and what income do they receive from it?
- (h) What property do your children own outside of Canada, what is its value, and what income do they receive from it?

- (i) What provincial and federal income tax have you and the various members of your family paid in Canada?

GENERAL INFORMATION

19. Have you any hobbies? If so what are they?
20. What organizations do you belong to? (Social, fraternal, political, charitable, scientific, educational, cultural, etc.)

21. What recreations do you indulge in?
22. (a) Who are your business associates?
- (b) With whom do correspond in Canada or elsewhere, for business or social reform?
- (c) Who are your closest friends in Canada?
- (d) With what bank do you do business?
- (e) What persons in Canada can testify as to your character?
23. What newspapers, magazines, periodicals, etc., in English, French or other languages, do you read or receive?
24. (a) Do you own any motor vehicles?
If so, how many?
- (b) Do you use it/them for business or pleasure?
- (c) Do the other members of your family use it/them?
25. (a) What travelling have you done in Canada? Specify places and persons visited, mode of travel, travelling companions, and purpose of trips.

- (b) Have you made any other trips outside of Canada since you first came?
If so, give details as in (a)

26. Have you or any members of your family ever been accused or convicted of having committed any criminal offence in Canada, or elsewhere?
If so, give details.

WAR SERVICE

27. (a) Have you ever served in the naval forces, army or air forces of Canada, or any other country?
- (b) If so, when, where, and for how long?
- (c) Are you on the active or reserve lists of any such forces at the present time?

NATURALIZATION

28. (a) When did you come to Canada?
- (b) Why did you come to Canada?

- (c) Have you applied for Canadian citizenship?
 - (d) If so, where?
 - (e) Were you accepted the first time you applied?
If not, why not?
29. Why did you apply for Canadian citizenship, or why did you not apply for Canadian citizenship?

(a) Do you consider the system of Parliamentary Government in Canada superior to the type of government which prevails in NON-DEMOCRATIC COUNTRIES?
If so, why; if not, why not?

- (b) What objection, if any, have you to the administration of criminal law and the imprisonment of private citizens in your country of origin.

Do you consider that the Canadian system is superior in any way to that of your country of origin. If so, how?

- (c) Do you attach any importance to "free speech"?

- (d) What objection, if any, have you to the abolition of free speech in your country of origin.

- (e) Do you consider that Canada gives your children better economic and educational advantages than your country of origin would?
If so, in what way?

- (f) Do you find the laws in Canada more or less oppressive than those in your country of origin?
In what way?

- (g) Did you leave your country of origin on account of -
(i) heavy taxes?
(ii) fear of war?
(iii) fear of military service?

30. (a) Do you hope that you or your family may return to your country of origin and remain there?

(b) Do you intend to remain in Canada permanently and make a home here for your children?

(c) Do you wish your children to remain in Canada and be Canadians?

31. (a) What are your obligations as a citizen of your country of origin?

- (b) Are you still bound by such obligations?
- (c) What allegiances do you owe to the country of your origin?
- (d) Has pressure of any kind ever been brought to bear on you in Canada to compel you to belong to any Foreign organization?
If so, give details.

32. (a) Were you ever a member of any of the following organizations?

The Auslands Organization of the National Sozialistische Deutsche Arbeiter Partei (N.S.D.A.P.)

The Deutsche Arbeitsfront (D.A.F.)

The Canadian Society for German Culture (Deutscher Bund fur Kanada) (C.S.F.G.C.)

The National Unity Party (N.U.P.)

The Canadian Union of Fascists

The Communist Party of Canada

The Young Communist League of Canada

The Canadian Labour Defence League

The League for Peace and Democracy

The Ukrainian Labour Farmer Temple Association

The Finnish Organization of Canada

The Russian Workers and Farmers Club

The Croatian Cultural Association

The Hungarian Workers Club

The Polish Peoples Association

The Canadian Ukrainian Youth Federation

Jehovah's Witnesses

Technocracy Incorporated

The Workers and Farmers Publishing Company

The Croatian Publishing Company

The Polish People's Press

The Serbian Publishing Association

The Finnish Society of Toronto

- (b) If so, why did you join?

- (c) What obligation does such membership involve?
- (d) Have you repudiated such obligations publicly or privately?
- (e) If so, why, when, and under what circumstances?
- (f) If not, why not?
- (g) (For naturalized Canadians.) How do you reconcile membership in such party or parties, with your obligations as a citizen of Canada?
- (h) State in detail what work you did ins such party or parties, how often you attended meetings, what offices you held, and what literature you received.

(i) What branch of such party or parties did you belong to, and who were the officers?

(j) How long did you belong to the such party or parties?

(k) What contributions have you made to the such party or parties or any other foreign organization since you became a Canadian citizen?

33. Are you under any obligation to carry out any instructions originating outside of Canada?

If so, give details.

34. Have you taken any part in municipal, provincial or federal politics in Canada? If so, what have you done?

35. (a) Are you willing to bear arms for the defence of Canada?

(b) Are you willing to bear arms for Canada against the country of your origin?

(c) Are you willing to bear arms for the defence of the ideals for which the democratic state stands?

For Naturalized Canadians Only.

As you are a person of foreign origin who has applied for and been granted naturalization as a citizen of Canada, the present war in which Canada is involved makes it imperative that you decide once and for all whether or not you desire to retain your Canadian citizenship.

While it may be that you are a loyal citizen of Canada, your own unguarded conduct in joining such subversive organizations has put you in a position of probation, and gives your fellow citizens grounds for doubting your loyalty to Canada. It is

essential, therefore, that you make an election as to whether or not you will publicly renounce all allegiance to any foreign state or subversive organization or renounce your Canadian citizenship. If you make the latter choice, your certificate of naturalization will be cancelled forthwith.

36. Do you hereby renounce and disclaim any allegiance to a foreign state or subversive organization?

37. Do you desire to have your Canadian citizenship cancelled?

I, _____ of the _____ of
in the Province of _____
do solemnly declare:-

1. That I have read the answers set out in the above questionnaire and the further answers attached hereto, and that I have affixed my initials to each page of both the questionnaire and such additional answers.

2. That the said answers are true and are full and complete answers to each of the questions asked by the said questionnaire.

And I make this solemn declaration conscientiously believing it to be true and knowing that it is of the same force and effect as if made under oath and by virtue of the Canada Evidence Act.

Name	Ethnic	Citizenship	Interned	Released	Camp	Affiliation	From	Occupation	Regulation
Abdelhahad, Albert	Armenian	Nat		23-12-42		NUP	Quebec		21
Abele, Paul		Nat		26-5-44					
Ahlers, Enno	German	fn	25-9-40	30-7-46	BK689				
Ahrenstedt, Karl Heinz	G	fn	25-9-40	4/05/46	B674				
Aiello, Vincenzo	It	Nat	10/06/40	26-5-42		Fascio	Windsor		
Albolini, Vasilinda	It	Nat	24-10-40	6/12/43	Fr. P880		Hamilton		21
Albrecht, Otto Hans	G	fn	1/04/40	12/11/46	B742				
Alessio, Ettore Silvestro	It	Nat	2/07/40	18-2-42	Pet. P343	Fascio	Windsor		
Alius, Alfred	G	fn		17-4-45	BK358	NSDAP/DAF	Mont		
Almighetti, Angelo	It			20-7-40			Mont		
Alovisi, Ernesto	It	fn	10/06/40			Fascio	Mont		25(8) to 21
Althoff, Charles	G	fn	13-9-39		Citadel	pro-H	Glace Bay, NS	miner	
Amadori, Aldo	It	Nat	10/06/40			Fascio	Mont		
Amann, Heinz	G		4/03/41	14-2-46					
Amarelli, Ernst	G		22-11-41	22-12-46					
Amartruda, Gaetana	Italian		11/06/40	20-10-43					
Amartruda, Giuseppe	It		13-7-40	28-12-42					
Ambach, Otto	G		2/01/42	31-3-46					
Amighetti, Angelo	It	Nat		17-3-42	Pet. P593	Fascio	Mont		
Amsberger, Alois	G	fn	5/09/39		Kan	DAF	Middle Lake, Sask	farmer	
Anderson, Harry (Hans Kristianse)	Norway		25-3-41	28-10-44					
Andinozzi, Geronoso	It	fn	10/06/40			Fascio	Mont		
Andreas, Herbert Weber				4/02/44					
Anetsberger, Alois	G	fn			Kan	DAF	Humbolt, Sask		
Anschuetz, Edward	G	fn	3/07/40	20-11-44	BK628				
Antilli, Antonio	It	Nat	28-6-40	1/06/42	Fr. P415	Fascio	Mont		21
Antinozzi, Generoso		Nat. Can.		10/04/41	Pet. P462		Montreal		
Antonucci, Raphaelle		Nat. Can.	10/06/40	27-12-40	Pet. P316		Timmins, Ont.		
Anwander, Lydia (Mrs. Rudolph)	G	fn	23-8-40	6/06/42	KP F9	pro-G	Port Alberni		25(8)
Anwander, Rudolf	G	fn			BK25	DAF	Port Alberni	Store Keeper	
Arcand, Adrien	Can	Can born				NUP	Mont		
Arcand, Henri	Can	Can born		18-10-43		NUP	Mont		21
Arena, Angelo	It	fn	26-6-40	17-8-45	P370				
Ariano, Alphonso	It	Nat		10/02/41	Pet. P536	Fascio	Mont		
Ariano, Ferruccio	It	Nat	10/06/40	24-9-41		Fascio	Mont		
Artemann, Karl Fredrick Wm.	G		23-8-40	25-2-42	Fred. BK 578				

Arno, Dominic		It	fn	22-10-40	13-3-43	P687						
Arps, Hans Otto		G	fn	7/10/39	1/11/43	BK152			Lawton, Alberta	farmer		
Asson, Henry		Br			6/10/42	HP1	anti-fas					
Astri, Alino		It		10/06/40	4/08/41			Tor				
Aull, Henry		G	fn	23-6-40	8/06/44	BK234						
Ayasse, Alred Otto		G	fn	4/06/40	2/10/43	BK610						
Bacci, Ruggero		It	Nat	10/06/40			Fascio	Tor				
Bacigalupo, Piero		It		4/03/41	17-4-41	Pet						
Badali, Agostino		It		10/06/40	24-12-41	Pet. P632		Toronto				
Bader, George		G	fn		11/04/44	FH	DAF	Tor		wood turner		
Baesso, Rino		It		10/06/40	6/12/41	Pet. P1113		Van.				
Baetzner, Willi		G	fn	1/04/41	4/03/46	BK361						
Baier, Julius Karl		G	fn		10/06/42	FH BK362	DAF	Tor		tailor		
Balocchi, Dr. Lorenzo		It	fn	10/06/40	19-6-40	Pet. P188	Fascio	Ottawa	Consular Agent	Released to US		
Bakkenes, Peter					14-5-42	P802	Released to	immigration dept				
Balestrini, Luigi		It	nat. Can	14-8-40	27-12-40	Pet. P718		Windsor				
Balfanti, Angelo		It		10/06/40				Tor				
Balint, George		Hung			22-9-42	HP1150	Anti-fas					
Balo, Rev. Settinio		It	Nat	10/06/40			Fascio	Tor, Ont/Trail, BC				
Barbaro, G		It			14-12-40	P292		Guelph				
Barck, G. Romeo		Br			6/03/41	Pet. P501	NUP	Mont				
Barinka, Frank		Czech		8/08/40	18-8-41							
Barmuller, Carl		Austria/G	fn	11/06/41	20-11-44	BK800						
Barrera, Vincenzo		It	fn	26-6-40	17-8-45	P371						
Barrese, Vito (Henry)		It		10/07/40	23-10-41	Pet.		Hamilton				
Barrucco, Luigi				10/06/40	7/03/42	Pet. P451		Montreal				
Barry, Richard					2/11/43							
Barth, Kurt		G	fn	25-9-40	12/03/46	BK663						
Barth, Valentine					16-11-42							
Bartholomew, Kurt Otto					19-4-43							
Bartolini, Sabatino		It	Nat	10/06/40	6/02/43	Fr. P284	Fascio	Hamilton				
Bassanesi, Alfred		It		10/06/40	3/12/40	Pet. P246		Tor				
Battigalli, Fiore Annibele		It	fn	10/06/40	17-3-42	Pet. P429	Fascio	Montreal				
Bauer, Max		G	fn	22-8-40	1944	BK719						
Baumann, George Wilhem		G	fn	7/09/40	7/09/43	BK591						
Baumert, Alexander		G	fn	5/09/39	22-5-45	K. BK23	DAF	Van				
Baumgarten, Edward		Rumania		24-8-40	3/06/44							

Baylik, Anton	Can		29-12-41	Hull, HP1089	NUP	Winnipeg		
Beaun, Paul	G		18-10-43					21
Beaumont, Heinz	G	25-9-40	4/03/46					
Becker, Ferdinand	G	25-9-40	1/003/46	BK675				
Becker, Hans	G		28-1-44	FH BK360	DAF	Toronto		
Becker, Karl (Charlie)	G	13-7-40	9/11/43	Fred BK313				
Beeching, William	nat. Can		21-9-42	HP861	anti-fas			
Beidler, Rudolph	Can (Mont)	15-12-40	6/12/41	Pat. PT164				
Beland, Walter	G	22-6-40	20-11-44			Winnipeg		
Belcastro, Dominic	It	24-10-40	23-3-43	F, P304		Guelph		
Bellani, Angelo	It	1/006/40	11/04/41					
Belicki, Andrew	It		3/03/42	Hull HP1064		Winnipeg		
Belmonte, Luigi	It	26-7-40	29-6-43	Fred P695	Fascio	Mont		
Bendi, Oscar	Austrian/G	7/08/40	9/10/41			Windsor		
Benedetti, Alessandro	It	1/006/40	6/10/41	P833		Windsor		
Benesch, Alfred	G	5/09/39		Kan	bund	Windsor		
Bennede, William Ludwig Hemig	G	1/04/41	12/10/44	FH BK364	NSDAP	Tor		
Berlinka, Jonni Anton	G		1/003/46	BK765				
Berono, Michele	It	1/008/40	1/006/44	BK715		Mont		
Berger, Adelhart Sappfried	G	1/0712/40						
Berger, Edgar Hori	G	13-12-40	31-7-44	BK716				
Berger, Otto	G	28-8-38	4/03/46					
Bergboeler, Henry	G		28-01-44	FH	NSDAP/DAF	Tor		
Bergman, Otto	G		11/05/42	FH BK366	DAF	Mont		
Berkowitz, Paul	G		1/05/41	P844		Montreal		
Bernick, Eric	G	4/09/40	20-7-42	Fred P814				
Berniard, Alfred Max Adolph	G	1/11/44	31-1-46					
Bernier, Henri	Can		18-10-43		NUP	Mont		21
Berone, Antoni	It	22-7-40	5/03/42	Pat. P701		Hamilton		
Berube, Joseph Robert			25-2-41	P847				
Beutler, Marcus								
Beutner, O	Can				Communist			21
Bevillacqua, Alessandro	G		11/08/41	Kan				
Beyer, Richard	G	16-8-40	1944	BK630		Windsor		
Bignoli, Marino Uberto	It	2/08/40						
Bignoli, Umberto	It	20-7-40	13-9-41			Hamilton		

Blanco, Luigi	It		20-7-40	7/10/41			Niagra Falls			
Bidulka, Nicholas	Ukr	Nat		16-5-42	HP1085	anti-fas				
Biffi, Albert	It	Nat	4/07/40	6/02/43	Fr. P575		Mont			21
Biffis, Giovanni	It		10/06/40	23-6-42			Tor			
Bilecki, Andrew	Can.				HP1064	Anti-fas				
Bilecki, Antony	Can.	Can born		21-8-42	HP1056	Communist				21
Billinski, Joseph	Can.	Can born			HP653					
Bilotta, Vincenzo	It		19-8-40	2/08/41			Niagra Falls			
Binda, Theodore	It	fn	10/06/40	14-3-41	P419	Fascio	Mont			
Binder, Louis	Can.	Can born		15-9-42	HP403	Communist				
Binders, Franz	Belgium	fn	8/04/41	6/10/43						
Bindhammer, Wilhelm	G	fn	25-9-40	10/03/46	BK686					
Binjowski, Mike	Ukr	Nat		2/07/42	HP1068	Communist	Fl. William, Ont			
Biollo, Oliver John	It		19-9-40	27-8-41			Venice, Alb			
Bischitz, Sandor				27-10-42						
Bitzinger, William	G	fn		8/12/44	FH BK367	DAF	Mont			
Bleier, Franz	G	fn	3/06/40	15-6-44	BK210					
Block, William	G	fn		13-5-42	FH BK368	NSDAP/DAF				
Bloedon, Richard	G	fn	1/04/41	4/03/46	BK765					
Boccaccio, Giuseppe	It	Nat.	7/08/40	25-3-42	Pet. P805		Hamilton			
Bocchini, Alberto	It		10/06/40	7/03/42	Pet P1033		Van			
Bode, Max Konrad	G	Nat	4/09/39	22-5-45	Kan	Bund	Rivers End, Sask	farmer	Nat revoke	
Bode, Walter	G	fn			Fort Henry					
Bodenstein, Johannes Martin	G	Nat	22-6-40	1944 repat	Nat revoked, 20-5-42					
Bodewin, Heinrich	G	fn		16-11-42	FH	NSDAP	Tor		machine operator	
Boege, Rudolf	G	Nat. Can	24-10-40		Fred. P896					
Boerio, Michele	It	fn	10/06/40	20-5-42		Fascio	Mont			
Bogula, Max	G	fn			Fort Henry	DAF	Montreal			
Bohner, Theodore	G	fn	5/09/39		Citadel	DAF	Sydney, NS	off ship		
Bolla, Amedeo	It	Nat. Can	4/07/40	2/03/42	P537	Fascio	Montreal			
Bonanno, Felice	It		26-6-40	17-8-45						
Bonfanti, Alfredo	It	fn	10/06/40			Fascio	Mont			
Bordonaro, Charles	It	Nat	5/09/40			Mafia	Hamilton			
Borghardt, Ewald	G		28-8-40	4/03/46						
Borillo, Donato	It	Nat.	7/08/40		Fr. P725		Hamilton			21
Borlasca, Luigi	It	fn	12/06/40	17-8-45	P373					
Bornhauser, Emil	G	Nat	19-7-40	29-1-44	Fr. P666					21

Brunner, George	G	fn	11/11/39	20-11-44	BK182					
Bruno, Nicola	It	Nat	10/06/40	14-12-40	Pet P240		Toronto			
Bruno, Raphael	It		8/03/42		Pet. P398		Thetford Mines, Q			
Brutto, Mariano	It	Nat	10/06/40	2/07/42		Fascio	Mont			
Bucci, Michele	It		4/07/40	10/04/41	Pet. P583		Mont			
Buck, Tim				6/10/42		Communist				
Bude, Gottfried	G	fn			FH	DAF	Tor		labourer	
Buehler, Hermann	G	fn			FH	DAF	Montreal			
Buehrer, Robert Wm.	G		26-6-40	21-7-41						
Buettnier, Otto	G	fn		3/07/42	Bk15	DAF	Van			
Buller, Annie				19-10-42		Communist				
Bulmahn, Wilhelm Heinrich	G	fn	25-9-40	4/03/46	BK645					
Bundschuh, Otto	G	Nat	12/09/39	8/02/44	K BK92	DAF	Middle La farmer			21
Bundschuh, William	G	Nat	12/09/39	21-2-44	Fr. P1009	Bund	Goodsoil, Sask			21
Burani, Paolo	It	fn	26-6-40	17-8-45	P374					
Burzie, Muriel Maria	G	Can (Sask)	28-8-40	7/11/40	KP F7	pro-G	Winn			
Burzie, Prof. John Anto	G	fn	20-8-40	8/09/42						
Busse, Heinrich Hans	G		5/09/39		Kan	DAF	Van			
Busseri, Frank	USA		18-6-40	1/11/40	Pet. P270		Tor			
Butz, Emil	G	fn		8/12/44	BK375	NSDAP/DAF	Montreal		chemist	
Butz, John	G	fn			Fort Henry	DAF	Mont			
Cabooter, Abraham				14-5-42	PW800	Released to	immigration			
Cacchione, Nicola	It	Nat	2/05/42		Pet. P540	Fascio	Mont.			
Caini, Guido	It	Nat	28-6-40		Fr. P474					
Caldato, Guido	It		10/06/40	12/12/41	Pet. P1034		Van.			
Calderisi, Luigi	It	Nat	10/06/40	6/10/42		Fascio	Mont			
Camerata, Simone	It	fn	10/06/40	17-8-45	P375					
Camparelli, Francesco	It		24-7-40	13-11-41			Van			
Campbell, A. Cowie	Br			23-9-42	HP937	anti-fas				
Capobianco, Antonio	It	fn	10/06/40	21-6-41		Fascio	Mont			
Caporicci, Antonio Giuseppe	It		10/06/40	13-6-41			Tor			
Cappellere, Eugene	It			4/12/42						
Capponi, Girolomo (George)	It		25-7-40	24-5-42			Hamilton			
Capuano, Ambrozio	It	Nat	10/06/40	28-1-43	Fr. P673		Mont			21
Carbone, Agostino	It	fn	10/06/40	7/03/42	Pet P428	Fascio	Mont.			
Carbone, Carmine	It	Nat	28-6-40	10/01/42	Pet. P418	Fascio	Mont.			
Carbone, Riciotti	It		10/06/40	8/03/42	Pet. P772		Mont			

Carbone, Thomas Joseph	It		10/06/40	16-11-40	Pel. P911		Timmins		
Cardella, Giulio	It	In	10/06/40	13-5-41		Fascio	Mont		
Cardi, Giuseppe	It	Nat.	28-6-40	2/03/42	Pel. P494	Fascio	Lachine		
Cardi, V.	It	Nat.	10/06/40			Fascio	Mont		
Carlucci, Carlo	It		10/06/40	28-7-42			St. Catharines, Ont		
Carnel, Carlo	It		10/06/40				Mont		
Carroli, Prof. Pietro	It		10/06/40				Tor		
Carr, Samuel	It			6/10/42		Communist			
Carra, Antonio	It	Nat. Can	10/06/40	10/04/41	P417	Fascio	Montreal		
Carreie, Marc	It			8/01/43					
Carri, Irene	G	Nat.			KP	pro-G	Winn		
Cassanova, Ermino	It	Nat.	18-6-40	24-3-42	Pel. P948		Windsor		
Casoli, Prof. Guido	It			1/02/43	P474	Fascio	Mont		
Casozzo, Carlo	Can (BC)	Nat.	10/06/40	13-12-41	Pel. P1036		Van.		
Castagnola, Giuseppe	It	In	10/06/40	17-8-45	P376				
Cattarelli, Dominico	It		10/06/40	28-10-40	Pel. P912				
Cerrelli, Giuseppe	It	Nat.	10/06/40	18-7-42		Fascio	Mont		
Cerniare, Gasuele	It			29-5-41			Sherbrooke, Q		
Cashick, Alaya	Can			28-9-42					
Chabot, Rosalie		Can born		18-10-44		NUP	Worltonville, Q		
Chapman, John	British		21-3-42		HP680	anti-fas	Mont.		21
Charest, Eugene	Can		2/03/42		HP754	anti-fas			
Chiba, Sanji	Can (BC)		5/11/42	15-3-46					
Chisleni, Erminio	It		29-7-40	10/06/42					
Chisleni, Mario	It			30-1-43					
Chopowick, Thomas	Can	Can born			HP926				
Christiansen, Hans				12/10/44			Pt. Winipeg, Ont.		
Cicco, Giovanni	Can (Ont)		18-6-40	25-9-43	Pel. P253		Tor		21
Ciccioppio, Luigi	It	Nat.	10/06/40	1/02/43	F. P293				
Ciani, Antonio	It	Nat.	18-1-41		Pel. P1078		Van		
Ciancio, Liberto	It		14-9-40	27-6-42					
Ciano, Luigi	It	Nat.	10/06/40	6/02/43	Fred. P274		Tor.	photographer	21
Ciarella, Raffaele	It	Nat.	10/06/40	6/02/43	Fred. P244				
Cicchini, Nicholas	It		18-6-40	8/7/42					
Cills, Felice	It		13-12-41		Pel. P1114		Van		
Cino, Gaetano (Thomas)	It	In	20-6-40	26-5-42	P524		Hamilton		
Cipparone, Buonaventura	It	Nat.	10/06/40	12/03/41	Pel. P700	Fascio	Windsor		

Debat, Willi	G	fn	21-5-41	30-7-46	BK772						
Debowski, Albert John	G	fn	10/10/40	4/03/46	BK672						
DeCarie, Dr. Noel	Can			4/04/45		NUP					
DeFranchi, Leo	It	fn	10/06/40	17-8-45	P378						
Deimling, Erwin	G	fn	5/09/39	26-8-42	Kan	DAF	Edm		salesman		
Del Grande, Filippo	It	Nat	27-07-40	6/05/42	Pet. P547	Fascio	Mont				
Del Piero, Aurelia	It	Nat	18-6-40	28-6-41		Fascio	Hamilton				
Delai, Giovanni	It		10/06/40	9/12/42			Tor				
Delle Vedove, Angelo	It	Nat	10/06/40	1/09/42	Fr. P488	Fascio	Mont				
Dello-Sbarba, Dabomida	It	Nat.	28-6-40		Fred. P444						
DeMarco, Carmine	It		18-6-40	3/12/40	Pet. P319		North Bay, Ont				
Demaro, Salvatore	It	Nat	10/06/40	5/05/41			Mont				
Demmerit, Karl	G	fn	5/09/39		Kan	DAF	Middle Lake, Sask	farmer			
Demuth, Oscar Arthur Edmund	G	fn	3/09/39	22-5-45	Kan	DAF	Winn	News Agent			
Denise, Guiseppe	It		28-6-40	25-12-40	Pet. P735		Niagra Falls				
DeRico, Rosario	It		10/06/40	21-11-41	Pet. P1040		Van				
DeRosa, Luigi	It	Nat.	28-6-40		Fr. P438	Fascio	Mont				21
DeSimone, Pietro	It		10/06/40	17-8-45							
Dettore, Giuseppe	It	Nat		10/05/41		Fascio	Mont				
Di Battista, Luigi	It	Nat		2/01/42	Pet. P465	Fascio	Mont.				
Di Blasio, Alfredo	It	Nat			P486	Fascio	Mont				
Di Cenzo, Mario	It		6/08/40	3/10/42							
Di Critico, Francesco				6/05/41	Pet.		Timmins				
Di Domenico, Romolo	It	Nat.	12/12/40	25-9-43	Fr. P929						21
Di Fabio, Leonardo	It	Nat	3/12/40		Fr. P921		Noranda, Q.	Mechanic		25(8)	
Di Filippo, Gabriele	It		26-9-40	14-7-41			Hagersville, Ont				
Di Francesco, Santino	It	Nat	10/06/40	17-11-41	Pet. P717	Fascio	Windsor				
Di Gaspero, Angelo	It			3/10/41			Windsor, Ont				
Di Giantommaso, Daniele	It	fn		7/03/42	Pet. P492	Fascio	Mont				
Di Iola, Dominico	It	Nat	24-8-40	17-7-41		Fascio	Mont				
Di Iola, Francesco	It	Nat		30-1-42	Pet. P545	Fascio	Mont				
Di Liello, Angelo Michele	It	fn	20-11-40	28-1-43	P999		Mont				
Di Manno, Benedetto	It			6/08/41			Thorold, Ont				
Di Maurizio, Gabriele	It	Nat		18-10-41	Pet.	Fascio	St. Catharines, Ont				
Di Mercurio, Giuseppe	It	Nat	10/06/40	6/08/41		Fascio	St. Catharines, Ont				
Di Pietro, Antonio	It	Nat	10/06/40	20-9-43	Fr. P763	Fascio	Mont	shoe designe		21	
Di Pietro, Giusppe	It			26-8-42	Pet. P768		Mont				

Di Rosario, Nicola	It			26-9-41				Sault Ste. Marie, Ont		
Di Stefano, Antonio	It	Nat	31-7-40	24-12-41	Pet. P809			Hamilton		
Di Stephano, Rocco	It	fn		14-4-41	Pet. P410	Fascio		Mont		
Di Valentino, Fierenzo	It		10/06/40	27-6-42						
Dickert, Karl Heinz	G	fn	1/04/41	10/03/46	BK787					
Dickhaus, Clemens	G		4/09/39		Kan	DAF		Vernon	labourer	
Dickhaus, Ferdinand	G		4/09/39		Kan	DAF		Vernon		
Didams, Frederick		Can								
Diehl, Wilhelm	G		28-8-39	28-8-43						
Diekhaus, Clemens	G	fn			Kan	DAF		Vernon, BC		
Diekhaus, Ferdinand	G	fn			Kan	DAF		Vernon, BC		
Diemke, Richard	G		6/06/41	13-4-47						
Dieni, Antonio	It	Nat	10/06/40	9/11/42		Fascio		Mont		
Dieni, Gentile	It	Nat	10/06/40	20-9-43	Fr. P426	Fascio		Mont		21
Diesing, Wilhelm	G	fn	26-6-40	4/06/45	BK249					
DiGregorio, Luigi	It	fn	10/06/40	16-12-42		Fascio		Mont		
Dill, Harry	G		13-6-40	2/12/41	Fr. BK607			Ottawa		
DiManno, Benedetto	It		10/06/40	6/08/41				Thorold, Ont		
Dimeo, Michele	It		10/06/40	2/01/42	Pet. P232			Tor		
Diodati, Salvatore	It			16-1-42	Pet. P445			Mont		
Diola, Domenico	It			23-6-41				Mont		
Diorio, Savino	It			19-11-40				Mont		
Dix, Werner Heinrich	G	fn	1940	1944	BK592					
Doering, Konrad	G			14-6-43						
Doering, Meinholf	G	Nat	5/09/39	27-11-41	Fr. BK89	Bund/NUP		Goodsoil, Sask		
Doerle, Carl	G		7/08/40	28-10-44						
Doganieri, Nicola	It	Nat	4/07/40	1/02/43	Fr. P576			Mont	publisher	21
Dohrn, Walter	G		11/06/40	20-11-44						
Dominato, Angelo Giacomo	It	Nat	10/06/40	2/07/41		Fascio		Windsor		
Donatelli, Pasquale	It			28-10-40	Pet. P586					
Dornig, John Sr.	G			7/01/42	Pet. P527			New Waterford, NS		
Dotto, Angelo	It	Nat		12/12/41	Pet. P1037	Fascio		Van		
Draeger, Walter	G	fn	25-9-40	15-2-44	BK650					
Dragone, Giuseppe	It	Nat	3/07/40	20-9-43	Fr. P598			Halifax	storekeeper	21
Dreisow, Ewald	G		5/09/39		Kan	DAF		Van		
Drescher, Julius H.				23-4-42	Fr. BK598			Pincher Cr., Alb		
Dressel, August	G	fn	5/09/39	12/08/43	Kan. B17	DAF/NSDAF		Van	carpenter	

Drobrust, Frans Gustav	G	fn	10/10/40	4/03/46	BK676						
Dube, Evariste				10/06/42							
Dubno, John	Ukr			22-6-42	HP1065	anti-fas					
Duchesne, Joseph	Can	Nat		8/10/42	HP755	anti-fas					
Duckhorn, Martin Gustav	G	Nat	7/08/40	3/08/42		pro-G	Walkerton, Ont				
Duitscher, Peter H.	G		28-6-39	24-11-46							
Duliani, Mario	It	fn	Jul-40	Oct-43	P459	Fascio	Mont				
Dunay, Eugene				28-1-44							
Durand, Paul Emile				28-12-40	Pet P758						
Durso, Giovanni	It			23-10-41	Pet		Hamilton				
Duval, Romeo	Can			21-5-42	HP848	anti-fas					
Dyck, John Peter	R/G	fn	8/07/40	29-12-42	BK309						
Dyk, Folkert	Can	Can									21
Ebberg, Kurt Wilhelm	G	fn	10/10/40	4/05/46	BK692						
Eberhardt, Hans Georg	G	fn	1/05/41	12/06/46	BK796						
Eberhardt, Otto	G	fn		3/03/42	Fr. BK377	DAF					
Eilbacher, Edmund	G	fn		15-11-43	FH	DAF/anti-Br	St. Catharines				
Eilmaurer, Otto	G				FH	NSDAP/DAF	Mont				
Eimbeck, Hans Victor	G	fn	10/10/40	24-11-46	BK693						
Eisenbeis, Helmut	G	fn	23-9-40	3/11/44	BP889						
Eismann, Max Richard Emile	G	Nat	12/09/39	19-5-43	Fr. BK105	Bund	Big River, Sask	farmer			21
Eilmaurer, Otto	G	fn		12/10/44	BK380	DAF	Mont				
Eloranto, Into				27-6-45		Released to Immigration Authorities					
Endress, Franz	G	fn	10/10/40	24-11-46	FH. BK687	NSDAP/DAF	Tor				
Endress, William	G	fn		27-6-45	BK381	NSDAP/DAF	Tor				
Engel, Richard Egon	G	fn	6/09/39	9/11/43	FH BK16	DAF	Van		labourer		
Erlenwein, Emil	G	fn		28-1-44	FH BK195	Bund	Mont		Accountant		
Erlrichman, Morris (Muni)		Nat		23-9-42	HP885						
Esch, William	G	Nat	4/09/39	27-2-42	Pet. P1176	Bund	St. Walburg, Sask	farm instructor			
Esposito, Gennaro	It	Nat	29-11-40	30-1-41	Pet. P765	Fascio	Mont				
Esposito, Luigi	It		1/12/40	17-8-45							
Eylman, Friedrich	G	Nat.	31-7-40	15-2-44	Fr. P1134						21
Fabri, Allmando	It	Nat		19-11-41	Pet. P1050	Fascio	Van				
Fabri, Emilio Victor	It	Nat	10/06/40	21-12-41	Pet. P1036	Fascio	Van				
Facchin, Onorato	It		10/06/40	18-12-41	Pet. P1038		Van				
Facella, Paolo	It			21-7-41			Mont				
Falola, Guido	It		10/06/40	14-7-41			Tor				

Falsetto, Giuseppe	It	Nat.	10/06/40	5/02/43	Fr. P345	Fascio	Windsor			21
Fantino, Bernardo	It		7/07/40	30-1-42	Pet. P578		Mont			
Faoro, Secondo			29-7-40	12/12/41	Pet. P1115		Van			
Fargen, Rudolf	Polish		13-7-40	8/03/46						
Farr, Joseph C.	Can			29-10-43		NUP				21
Fasano, Giovanni	It	Nat.	10/06/40	28-7-42		Fascio	Mont			
Fasano, Nicolo				16-11-40	Pet. P314		Cochrane, Alb			
Favretto, Peter	It	Nat.	10/06/40	25-3-43	Fr. P195	Fascio	New Waterford, NS			
Fecho, William	G	Nat.	20-7-40	11/05/42	Fr. P1099	Bund/NUP	Loon Lake, Sask	labourer		
Federico, Sebastiano				27-11-40	Pet.		London			
Fehlow, Hans Otto Martin	G		3/06/40	10/09/45	BK215	G merchant	seaman interned in Canada			
Fehn, Georg	G		25-9-40	22-12-46						
Feldman, Armand Labis				8/01/43						
Fernandez, Antonio Navarro				26-2-45						
Ferrante, Francesco	It	fn	10/06/40	17-8-45	P380					
Ferrari, Giuseppe	It		10/06/40	14-7-41			Tor			
Ferri, Francesco	It		14-8-40	16-1-42	Pet. P821		Hamilton			
Ferri, Panfilo	It		31-7-40	2/07/41			Hamilton			
Fest, Paul	G	fn	7-8-40	17-1-44	BK213					
Ficht, Heinrich	G	fn	10/10/40	4/04/46	BK670					
Ficken, Hans	G		5/09/39	13-4-42	Fr. BK31	DAF	Edm	labourer		
Fink, Johan	G	fn		13-11-42	FH.BK385	DAF	Tor			21
Fischer, Frank	G	fn	29-9-39		Citadel		New Waterford, NS	caretaker		
Fischer, Karl	G	fn	4/09/39	30-3-42	Kan BK91	DAF	Middle Lake, Sask	Butcher		
Fischer, Rudolf	G	fn		1/05/40	FH	NSDAP/DAF	Mont			
Flinisch, Roland	G	Am cit	5/09/39		Citadel	pro-G	Newcastle, NB			
Fontanella, Maria Eglida	It	fn	12/09/40	18-2-41	KP F12	Fascio Fem	Tor			25(8)
Forster, Joseph Frank	G	fn	23-6-40	28-6-43	BK230					
Fortin, J.N.	Can	Can		21-9-42		NUP	Mont	Doctor		
Fortin, Wilfred				6/10/42						
Franceschini, Lorenzo	It			27-6-41			Mimico, Ont			
Franceschini, Vincenzo	It			20-6-41			Mimico, Ont			
Frare, Pietro	It			2/07/42						
Frascadore, Gabrielle	It	Nat.	10/06/40	3/04/41	Pet. P452	Fascio	Mont			
Frascadore, Joseph	It			20-9-43						
Frascarelli, Nicola	It	Nat.	10/06/40	12/06/42		Fascio	Mont			
Frediani, Francesco	It			26-5-41			Tor			

Freed, Norman		Poland	Nat			HP	Communist					
Freitag, Erich		G	fn		21-5-43	FH BK387	DAF	Mont				
Frenza, Leonardo		It	fn		2/03/42	Pet. P467	Fascio	Mont				
Fresogna, Domineco		It	fn	10/06/40	17-8-45	P381						
Frey, Albert		Russian		13-7-40	15-6-43							
Frey, Otto		G	Nat	19-7-40	8/08/43	Fr. P1089						21
Frey, Otto Gottlieb		G		21-6-40	25-2-42	Fr. BK388		Tor				
Frey, Wilhelm		G	fn	4/09/39		Citadel	NSDAP	Kingston, NS				
Friederich, Reinhold		G		5/09/39		Kan	DAF	Edm		butcher		
Friedlein, Phillip		G	fn		17-11-43	FH BK386	DAF	Tor				
Fries, Hans Rolf		G	fn	7/09/39	24-8-43	BK60	DAF	Abbey D. Sask				
Fuchs, Franz		G	fn		29-1-44	FH BK389	DAF	Tor		Cook		
Fuchs, Wilhelm		G		5/09/39		Kan	DAF	Victoria		painter		
Fudco, Gregorio		It	Nat.	10/06/40	22-4-43	Fr. P1051						21
Fuoco, Vincenzo		It			13-12-41	Pet. P1119		Van				
Furini, Mario		It	Nat	13-6-40	23-3-43	Fr. P208		Dominion, NS				21
Futo, John					27-6-45	Released to Immigration Authorities						
Gabert, Leopold		Polish/G	fn	29-5-40	31-5-45	BK724						
Gaggiottini, Agostino		It		16-7-40	5/03/42	Pet. P683		Hamilton				
Gagliacco, Regolo		It	fn		2/02/43	Pet. P490	Fascio	Mont				
Gagnon, Henri					6/10/42							
Galardo, Emilio		It			27-5-41			Sudbury				
Galassi, Rocco		It		10/06/40	5/09/42							
Galasso, Erminio		It			8/03/41	Pet. P890						
Galle, Heinz Herbert		G	fn	1/04/41	10/03/48	BK762						
Galoni, Francesco Dominico		It		12/08/40	6/06/42							
Gambal, Adolf		G		20-6-40	4/03/42	Fr. BK232		Edm				
Gansch, Wolfgang		G	fn	5/07/40	20-11-44	BK623						
Garbarino, Pietro		It	Nat		18-6-41		Fascio	Mont				
Gatien, Marius		Can			24-5-45		NUP					
Gatto, Antonio		It	Nat	10/06/40	30-1-43	Fr. P703	Fascio	Tor				21
Gatto, Giordano		It	Nat		25-3-42	Pet P196	Fascio	New Watersford, NS				
Gattuso, Francesco		It	Nat	10/06/40	27-6-42		Fascio	Mont				
Gavdioso, Antonio		It			17-3-42	Pet. P850		Mont				
Gebauer, Otto		G	fn		27-6-45	FH	NSDAP/DAF	Kitchener				
Gehrig, John		G			9/05/42	Fr. BK736		Kelowna				
Geigenmüller, Albert		G		5/09/39		Kan	DAF	Pilger Dist., Sask				

Geiger, Franz Johann	G	fn		22-5-45	Kan K108	NSDAP/DAF	Vibank, Sask		
Geiger, Hyronimus	G	Nat	5/09/39		Kan	Bund	Prelate Dist. Sask	farmer	
Gembe, Joseph	G	fn		11/05/45	Fh	NSDAP/DAF	Tor		
Geniale, Giuseppe (Joseph)	It	fn	16-9-40	12/11/42	P884				
Gentiletti, Harold	It	fn	7/03/42	28-9-43	P1196				
Gerhart, Kurt	G			29-1-44					
Gerling, Joseph F.	G	Nat	4/09/39		Kan	Bund	Macklin, Sask	salesman	
Germanno, Nicola	It	Nat	10/06/40	4/02/43	Fr. P434	Fascio	Mont		21
Gershman, Joseph				22-8-42					
Gervais, Paul	Can	Can born		26-2-42	HP683	anti-fas			
Ghiggin, Marcantonio	It	Nat	10/06/40	17-10-44	P382	Fascio	Van		
Ghislieri, Ermino	It		22-7-40	4/06/42			Van		
Ghislieri, Federico	It	Nat	29-7-40	10/01/42	Pet. P1112		Van		
Ghislieri, Mario V.	It	Nat	29-6-40	23-7-42	Fr. P1052		Van		21
Giacomelli, Osvaldo	Can (Ont)	Can born	18-6-40	29-5-45	P669				
Gialleonardo, Luigi	It	Nat	9/01/41	27-6-42			Mont		
Gieblitz, Frank				28-9-42					
Gieblitz, Joseph				28-9-42					
Giguere, Paul				18-10-44		NUP			
Gilet, Lucien Georges	Belgian		23-6-41	8/10/41					
Gillman, Otto	G	Nat	5/10/40	23-2-43	Fr. P1152				21
Globerti, Guido	It		3/08/40	11/08/41			Hamilton		
Gioya, Italo	It	Nat	10/06/40	6/06/41		Fascio	North Bay, Ont		
Girardi, Attilio	It			27-11-41	Pet. P1082		Van		
Girardi, Bruno	Can (BC)	Can born	18-7-40	3/12/41	Pet. P1080		Van		
Girolamo, Nascenzio	It		13-11-42	28-0-43					
Giuliano, Leonardo	It	Nat	10/06/40	13-4-43	Fr. P341				21
Giustini, Giuseppe	It	Nat		6/05/40	Pet. P315		Timmins		
Glass, Karl	G	fn			FH	DAF	Mont		
Glauche, Karl	G	fn		22-12-41	Fr. BK394	DAF	Mont		
Gleichman, Hans	G		11/09/39	23-6-44	Kan	pro-G	Rossland, plumber		
Glitscher, Otto	G	fn	13-6-40	1944	BK228	Repatriated			
Goebel, Henry	G		Nov-39	Jun-43	BK502				
Goebel, Otto	G		6/09/39		Kan	DAF	Britania Beach, BC	farmer/miner	
Goedicke, Werner	G	fn	1/04/41	12/06/46	BK760				
Goggio, Prof. Emilio	It		10/06/40	11/07/40					
Gortler, Alfons	G	fn			FH	NSDAP/DAF	Mont		

Gottardis, Angelo	It		14-9-40	17-8-45									
Gough, Peter Richard	English		7/08/40	7/01/42	Pet. P719		Tor						
Goydos, Andy	Czech		4/02/40	2/09/41									
Granieri, Antonio	It		1/08/40	6/03/42	Pet. P1108								
Grassi, Luigi	It	fn	10/06/40	17-8-45	P383								
Gray, Maxwell				22-9-42	HP977	anti-fas							
Greco, Vincenzo James	It	fn		28-1-42	Pet. P457	Fascio	Mont						
Grimaldi, Carmelo Gaetano	It	Nat		21-2-41	Pet. P550	Fascio	Mont						
Grimaldi, Joseph (Giuseppe)	It	Nat	10/06/40	9/12/41	Pet. P1046	Fascio	Van						
Grimm, Johannes F.H.					Pet								
Grinten, Franz van der	G	fn			FH	NSDAP/DAF	Acton, Ont			Assemblyman			
Grittani, Joseph				31-1-41	Pet. P399		Mont						
Grueter, Joseph (Grider)	G	Nat	9/07/40	5/02/44	Fred. P1176		Goodsoil, Sask			Farmer, black		21	
Grunewald, Ottoman	G	fn	11/07/40	20-11-44	BP979								
Grunow, Herman	G	Nat	18-8-40	22-12-42		NUP/CUF	Peterson, Sask			farmer		21	
Grunow, Victor F.A.	G			8/12/44									
Gutzen, Frank	G	Nat	4/09/39		Kan	Bund	Winn			shipping Clerk			
Guagnelli, Luisa	It	Nat	14-9-40	24-2-41	KP F11	pro-It	Tor	Female				21	
Gualano, Domenico	It	Nat	10/06/40	1/09/42		Fascio	Mont						
Gubernman, Israel	G			9/01/42									
Guerriero, Romole	It			15-8-41			Niagra Falls						
Guiliano, Leonardo	It			7/04/43	released to hosp to die								
Gunn, Archibald	Can				HP1093	anti-fas							
Guralnick, Harry				31-8-42									
Haarloss, Jake	G	Nat	4/09/39		Kan	Bund	Bayard, Sask						
Habel, Emilien				22-5-45									
Haberta, Joseph	G		1/04/41	24-11-46									
Habicht, Alfred	G	fn	25-9-40	10/03/46	BK647								
Hackmaier, Christian Wm	G		4/09/39		Kan	DAF	Vernon			farmer			
Haertle, Andreas	G	fn	5/09/39		Fr	NSDAP/DAF	Van			wood worker			
Haertle, Centa	G	fn			KP F5	pro-G	Van	Repat to G. 5-6-42				25(8)	
Hahn, Bruno	G	fn	6/06/40	20-11-44	BK398								
Haidinger, Katherine Margaret	G	fn	29-12-39	9/08/43	KP F1	pro-G		Female					
Haindl, Hans J.	G	fn			FH	DAF							
Hake, Hugo	G	Nat	4/09/40	22-5-45	Fr. P839							21	
Halder, Max	G		23-8-40	6/05/42	Pet. P1180		Rochfort, Alb						
Haller, Kurt	G	fn			FH	DAF	Mont						

Hammel, George	G	In	5/09/39	29-5-45	Kan BK131	NSDAP/DAF	Van				
Hammer, Joseph	G	Nat	19-7-40		Fr. P637						
Hammerich, Bruno	G	Nat	18-7-40	18-10-43	Fr. P618						21
Hammerich, Hans	G		2/07/40	4/09/43							
Hannawald, Emil	G	In	25-9-40	10/03/46	BK658						
Hara, John Frederick	G		8/11/42	20-8-46							
Hareuther, Paul	G	Nat	4/09/39	1/12/41	Fr. BK57	Bund	N. Battleford, Sask	butcher			
Harlos, Wilhelm	Austrian		29-6-40	15-12-41	Fr. BK253		Avonlea, Sask				
Harnischmacher, Bernard	G	In	14-6-40	21-12-42	BK286						
Harteveld, Adrianus						Communist					21
Hartman, Nicholas Leopold	Russian		19-7-40	22-12-42							
Hartman, Wilhelm	G	In	25-9-40	4/03/46	BK657						
Hartmann, David	G	Nat		1/12/41	Fr. BK548	NUP	Edm.				
Haubrich, Leo	G	Nat	12/09/40	25-10-43	Fr. BK566	Bund	N. Battleford, Sask				21
Haugut, Peter George	East Pruss	In	15-7-40	26-6-42	BK605						
Haun, Ernest	G	Nat	4/09/39	8/02/44	Kan BK64	Bund	Hillmond, Sask	farmer			
Hausknecht, Cuno	G	Nat			FH						
Hawthorne, John Roxbury				26-6-42							
Helmsath, Otto	G	Nat			FH	DAF	Tor				
Heinlein, Johann Adolf	?		12/07/40	1944							
Heinrich, Joseph	G		21-8-40	25-10-41	Fr. BK278		Brooks, Alb				
Heinz, Louis	G	Nat	10/10/40	18-10-44	Fr. P875		Oakville	wool expert			21
Heitmann, Walter Jack	G		1/04/41	10/03/46							
Henke, Herbert	G	In	29-9-39		Citadel		Quebec C/G	seaman, deserted			
Henkelmann, Gottfried	Polish		20-8-40	17-1-44							
Henschel, Alfred	G	In			K35	DAF	Edm				
Hentschel, Rudhard	G	In	5/09/39		Kan	NSDAP	Osoyoos, BC	fruit farmer			
Herber, Frank	Austrian	In	22-4-41	4/06/45	BP990						
Hermann, Wilhelm	G		13-9-39		Citadel		Tower, NS	miner			
Hermes, Werner	G	In		9/08/42	BK402						
Herzig, William Powel	G	In	12/07/40	1/04/44	BK311						
Hess, Emil	G	In	17-9-39	17-4-45	Kan Bk141	DAF	Rutland, BC	shoemaker			
Hetzel, Karl	Czech	In	25-9-40	24-11-46	BK651						
Heunemann, Fritz	G	In	4/09/39	25-3-43	Kan BK87	DAF	Sandal, Sask	farmer			
Hill, A.T.				5/10/42							
Hilmer, Johann Hans	G	Nat	12/09/39	23-6-44	Fr. BK116	Bund	Claybank, Sask	labourer			21
Hilmer, Mariel	G	Nat		27-3-43	KP F3	pro-G	Tor			25(8)	

Hintz, Heinrich	G	Nat	4/09/39		Kan	Bund	Oakshella, Sask	farmer		
Hirtzy, Karl	G	fn		16-12-42	FH	DAF	Kitchener	painter		
Hjelmvedt, Ingvar Johan	Norwegian		22-12-40	11/06/46	crew off ship					
Hoch, John	Austrian	fn	25-6-40	31-5-45						
Hoeck, Heinz	G	fn	25-9-40	10/03/46	BK669					
Hoefft, Gustav Adolf	G	Nat	4/09/39	25-5-45	Kan BK62	Bund	N. Battleford, Sask	labourer		
Hoeller, Franz	G/Austrian	fn	7/09/39	17-10-44	Kan BK54	DAF	Vernon	labourer		
Hoensbroeck, Lothar	G	fn			Kan		In Can on fishing trip		25(8)	
Hoffman, Henry	G				FH	pro-G	Mont	caught setting up radio st		
Hoffman, Max	G		22-7-40	6/06/44	Bk612					
Hogel, Joseph	G	Nat		6/01/42	Pet. P101	Bund	Lloydminster, Sask	convicted DOCR giving a		
Holizki, Zack		Nat			Kan		Bayard, Sask		21	
Holl, Peter	G	fn			FH	DAF	Mont			
Holler, Franz	G	fn			Kan	DAF	Vernon			
Holtmann, Heinrich	G		14-6-40	20-1-42	Fr. BK222		Stonewall, Man			
Hopfinger, Joseph				1/12/41	Fr. BK404		Ottawa			
Hopfinger, Rene	G		19-6-40	27-11-41	Fr. BK405		Ottawa			
Hornig, Otto	G	fn		15-9-42	FH BK406	DAF	Tor	Dominion Paper Box Co		
Horvath, Ferenc				27-6-45	released to immig authorities					
Houde, Camillien	Can			15-8-44	anti-conscript		Montreal	mayor		
Hower, Bertha (Haver)	Austrian		27-8-40	1/05/42	KP	Female	BC	restaurant owner		
Hrudka, Gustav Edward	Bohemian		23-12-42	28-2-44						
Huber, Bela	G			27-6-45	released to immig authorities					
Huber, Franz	G	fn	4/09/39	6/05/42	Kan	DAF	Middle Lake, Sask	farmer		
Huber, Mathias	G	fn		23-6-44	FH BK407	DAF	Mont			
Huber, Pankraz	G	fn		12/06/43	Kan	DAF	Middle Lake, Sask			
Huculak, Nicholas	Ukr	Nat		8/10/42	HP654	anti-fas	Winn	labourer		
Huelsbruch, Henry	G	Nat	12/06/40	16-12-42			Tor	butcher		
Huesing, Bernard	G		9/10/39		Kan	DAF				
Hufnagel, Peter				25-8-41						
Huging, Bernhard	G	fn	9/10/30	27-8-43	Kan BK145	DAF	Van			
Huhn, Reinhold	G	fn	1/04/41	10/03/46	BK751					
Huttges, Henry	G			6/03/42	Fr. BK408		Glance Bay, NS	miner		24
Ialenti, Pasquale	It	Nat		19-2-42	Pet P482	Fascio	Mont			
Ianetta, Michele	It		18-6-40	8/09/42						
Ianniruberto, Vittorio	It	Nat	10/06/40	20-3-41	Pet. P226		Tor			
Iannuzzi, D.A.	It	fn		7/05/41		Fascio	Mont			

Iannuzzi, Frank	It	In		7/02/41	Pet. P873	Fascio	Mont		
Iannuzziello, Antonio	It		18-6-40	8/09/42					
Iasenza, Carmine	It		29-5-41	22-12-42					
Iezzi, Daniele	It			28-7-41					
Ilig, Friedrich	G	In			K140	DAF			
Incognito, Salvatore	It	In	10/06/40	17-8-45	P384				
Invidiata, Dr. Rosario	It	Nat	10/06/40	11/03/41	Pet. P704	Fascio	Tor		Dr
Israel, Camille				27-8-45	released to immig authorities				
Israel, Hubert	G	In		12/10/44	FH BK409	NSDAP/DAF	Mont		
Italiano, Antonio	It			13-6-41		Fascio	Mont		
Jackson, Clarence S.	Can	Nat		19-12-41	HP1006	Communist			
Jantzen, David	G/S.Pruss	In	5/09/39	29-5-45	Kan BK18	NSDAP/DAF	Elaine, BC		mechanic
Janzen, Herbert	G	In			K2	DAF	Van		
Jarabeck, John				27-10-42					
Jarvela, Jolo Aarne	Finnish		24-7-42	25-8-45					
Jasper, Heinrich	G		19-7-40	18-2-44					
Jennerjahn, Erich	G	In	28-6-40	22-12-43	BK276				
Jerome, Nick		Nat		8/03/41	Pet. P773		Mont		
Jeske, Arno Walter	G	Nat	4/08/40	1944	Nat revoked. 12-5-42				
Joesting, Wilhelm F.	G		28-8-39	10/03/46					
Johansen, Sigurd T.	Norwegian		30-9-40	2/08/43					
Jooses, Johannes P.		Can							
Jung, Fred	Bavarian, G		14-9-40	18-8-44					
Jurgens, Wilhelm	G		13-6-40	15-12-41	Fr. BK604		Ottawa		
Kaczmarczyk, Ignatz	G	In		14-6-43	FH BK410	DAF/CNP	Kapuskasing		butcher
Kaiser, Ludwig	G	In			FH		Louisburg, NS		botswain
Kaiser, Martin	G	Nat	14-9-39		Fr. P30	Bund	Tor		21
Kaiser, Philipp	G	In		17-4-45	BK413	DAF	Tor		
Kalie, Dr. Gunther	G	In	1/04/41	23-2-46	BK788				
Kalmer, Stephan				27-10-42					
Kalvins, Robert				30-6-44					
Kaminski, Karl	G	Nat	21-3-41	31-1-44	Fr. P1198				21
Kansy, Hubert	G	In	10/10/40	10/03/45	BK665				
Kapperell, Alois	G	In	Jun-40	21-4-42	Fr. BK224		Westbank, BC		
Kapral, Johannes				27-6-45	released to immig authorities				
Karner, John					FH	DAF	Mont		
Kary, Emanuel	Russian		5/10/40	22-12-42					

Kashtan, William					6/10/42								
Kastendieck, Echart	G	Nat	12/09/39			Fr. P1010	Bund	Deer Creek, Sask					
Kastendieck, Eckart	G	Nat	12/09/39	?		Fr. P1010	Bund				farmer		
Katheder, Frederick Gottlob	G	In	1/10/39			Kan	DAF	Brightview, Alb			labourer		
Kaunat, Erich	G	In			31-1-44	FH BK414	NSDAP	Mont					
Kayne, Oscar					6/10/42								
Kempf, Hans	G	In	10/10/40		27-7-45	BK691							
Kempff, Fritz	G	In			31-1-44	FH	DAF	Tor					
Kerr, Robert Joseph	Br				8/10/42	HP1032	anti-fas						
Ketterer, Johann	G	In	5/09/39		3/06/43	Kan BK49	DAF	Vernon			farmer		
Keweniger, Peter	Ukr				8/10/42	HP989	Communist						21
Kiechle, Joseph	G	In	20-6-40		20-6-44	BK284							
Kiefer, Heinrich	G	Nat	4/09/39			Kan	Bund	Avonlea, Sask					
Kieffer, Joseph	G	Nat	12/09/39		8/02/44	Fr. BK90	NUP/Bund/C	Seniac, Sask					21
Kilbertus, Michel					8/03/42	Pet. P604		Mont					
Kilger, Louis	G		13-6-40		3/10/41								
Kirschbaum, Reinhard	G	In				FH	DAF	Mont					
Klaiber, Conrad	G	In				FH	DAF	Mont					
Klassen, Maria Augusta	G	In	24-7-40		1/06/42	KP F4	pro-G	Frenchman's Butte, Sask					
Klemm, Arthur					21-11-41	Fr. BK615		Ottawa					
Klofer, Frank					14-7-42								
Klohs, William					28-9-42								
Klueser, Eric	G	In	1/04/41		10/03/46	BK744							
Koch, Siegfried	G	In	25-9-40		10/03/46	BK672							
Koehler, Albert	G	In	5/09/39		4/05/42	BK617	DAF	Humbolt			baker		
Koehler, Ernest	G	In	24-5-40		7/05/42	Fr. BK94							
Koehn, Alfred Kurt	G		28-8-39		10/03/46								
Koester, Hans	G				14-3-41	K631		Ott					
Kohlhauser, Arthur (Albert)	G		5/09/39		12/08/43	Kan	DAF	Vernon					
Kolbenschiag, Karl	G	In			31-1-44	FH	DAF	Mont					
Koller, Peter	Australian	Nat	8/08/40			Fr. P1130							21
Kopp, Emil	G	Nat	4/09/39			Kan	Bund	Bigger Dist, Sask			farmer		
Korman, Anton	G	In	21-6-40		18-5-42	Fr. BK280		Calgary					
Kornpointer, William	G	In				FH	DAF	Mont					
Korth, Ewald Adolf	G	Nat	18-7-40		19-10-44	Fr. P1084		Calgary			Salesman		21
Kostaniuk, Myron	Ukr	Nat			28-8-42	HP1060	anti-fas						
Kozlars, Richard					8/12/44								

Kraemer, Hans	G	fn	8/06/40	30-12-43	BK418						
Krammer, Rudolph	G	fn		27-10-42		DAF	Mont				
Kraus, John Alfons	G	Nat		2/02/44	Fr. P642						21
Krause, Otto	G	Nat	4/09/39	18-2-44	Fr. BK111	Bund	Regina		electrician		21
Krause, Zoltan	G			27-10-42							
Krauss, Adolf	G	fn		10/03/42	Fr. BK419	DAF	Mont				
Krauss, Otto	G	Nat	26-6-40		Fr. P369						
Krautter, Ernst	G	fn			FH	DAF	Tor		cook		
Krawchuk, Peter	Ukr	Nat		23-1-42	HP1149	Communist	Winn				
Krechmarowski, Nikita	Ukr				HP1061						
Kremmel, Oscar	G	fn		9/06/42	FH BK421	DAF	St. Lawrence				
Kresse, Charles Frank	G	Nat	29-7-40	3/03/42	Pet P1103	pro-G	Lanigan, Sask				
Kreuzpaintner, Franz	G	fn	5/09/39		Kan	DAF	Edm		machinist		
Kriek, Willy	G	Nat	27-7-40	1944	Fred. P110	Bund	Blue Bell, Sask				
Kriens, Fritz	G	fn		2/02/44	BK422	DAF	Mont				
Kroehnert, Frederick Wilhelm	G	Nat	13-8-40	1944	BK568						
Kroll, Ernst	G	fn		20-2-42	Fr. BK423	DAF	Mont				
Kroll, Heinrich	G	fn			FH		Mont				
Kronberg, Phillip	G	fn			FH	NSDAP/DAF	Tor		colour manufacturer		
Kropp, Hubert Karl	G	Nat	14-9-39	2/02/44	Fr. P61	DAF	Toronto				21
Kropp, Norbert Victor	G	Nat	7/09/39	2/02/44	Fr. P131	DAF	Mont				21
Krueger, Fritz W.J.	G		12/08/40	10/07/41							
Krueger, Jacob	Russian		8/08/40	25-4-42	Pet. P1135		Gretna, Man				21
Kruse, Albert W.G.	G	Nat	14-8-40	1944	Fr. P1134						
Krutzen, Frank		Nat									
Kubacki, Erich Edwin	G	fn	25-9-40	22-12-43	BK649						
Kube, Carl	G	fn			FH	DAF	Mont				
Kucher, Ewin Edward				13-11-42							
Kudde, Anton	G		9/07/40	1944							
Kudla, Franz	G	fn	17-10-40	1944	BK706	repatriated					
Kuehne, Karl	G		28-8-39	30-7-46							
Kueng, Gerald H.	G		26-9-40	23-5-42							
Kugler, Johans	G	Nat	4/09/39	19-10-44	Kan	Bund	Leader, Sask		real estate		
Kugler, John Moriz	G	Nat	12/09/39		Fred.						
Kulessa, Gertrude	G		17-1-42	9/08/43	KP		Female				
Kulessa, Gustaf	G			28-9-42							
Kulessa, Rof				28-9-42							

Kulzer, Julius	G	In	5/08/39	19-10-43	FH	DAF	Mont		
Kula, Leo	G	In	5/09/39	6/02/43	Kan BK10	NSDAP/DAF	Van		
Kyren, Joseph	G	In	5/09/39	21-6-41	Kan BK97	DAF	Middle Lake, Sask	farm labourer	
La Rosa, Giuseppe	It		29-7-40	9/07/41			Niagara Falls		
La Rosa, Giuseppe	It			21-6-41	Cladel		Niagara Falls		
La Rosa, Ignazio	G	In	3/09/39	15-3-41	Pel. P852	NUP	Yamouth, NS	sailor	
Lange, Harold Carl	Can	Can	12/03/41	8/1/43			Mont		
Lancette, J.P.	Can (Que)	Can	25-9-40	10/03/46					
Landot, Gerard	G				Pel. P732	Facio	Hamilton		
Langos, Erich	It	Nat	10/06/40	14-9-42	8/01/42	Facio	Sudbury, NS		
Lanza, Luigi	It	Nat	28-12-40	20-9-43	Pel. P481	Facio	Mont		
Latella, Constatto	It	Nat	28-6-40	20-9-43	F. P484	Facio	Mont	Reverend	21
Latoni, Liborio	It	Nat	10/06/40	20-9-43	F. P553	Facio	Mont		21
Laudadio, Romolo	It	Nat	4/07/40	19-12-41	Pel. P254		Mont		21
Laurie, Howard	It		11/06/40	22-12-41					
Laurus, David (Loon)	Br		19-3-42	HP994	Communist	Tor			21
Lavie, Michael	It	Nat	1/05/40	4/03/42	F. BP853	Facio	Mont		
Lawson, William T.	Can (Man)	Can	27-7-40	22-5-42	P766				
Lazak, Joseph	Can	Can born		14-4-43		pre-G	Brandon, Man		
Le Brun, Alfred	G					NUP	Cornwall, Ont		
Leblachning, Joseph (Karl)	G								
Lechler, Fritz	G	In	5/09/39	7/02/44	Kan	DAF	Middle Lake, Sask	farmer	
Lequitt, Ernest	G	In	4/09/39	10/03/42	Pel. P866	NUP	Mont		
Lehr, Fritz	G	In	5/09/39	9/02/44	Kan BK10	DAF	Middle Lake, Sask	farmer	
Lehr, Leonard	G	In	4/09/39		Kan	DAF	Middle Lake, Sask	farmer	
Lemieux, Ernst	G			18-10-44					
Lemieux, Gerard	Can			28-8-42	HP1029	Communist			
Lemhan, Patrick	Br		6/08/40	3/07/41	Pel. P264		Greenwood, BC		
Leo, Frederick	It			26-7-44	FH		Tor		
Lesmolinan, Hugo	G	In	1/08/40	10/06/44		NSDAP/DAF	Mont		
Levenenz, Otto	G	Nat	25-9-40	8/10/42	HP1102	anti-fas			
Lewin, Isaac	G	In		10/03/46	BK660				
Lewin, Harry	G	In		22-5-45	BK428				
Leykauf, Jacob	G	In							

Lepsius, Phillip	Ukr.	Nat	7/08/40	14-4-41	HP1059		Hamilton	
Lucas, Michael	G	In			Pat. P712	DAF	Middle Lake, Sask	
Leher, Friedrich					Kan			
Lefava, Paul					Pat. P360			
Lefava, Paul	Nat		10/06/40	1/02/43	Fr. P224		Tor	fruit merchant
Lipschitz, Sam	It	In	10/06/40	6/10/42	P385			
Litico, Pietro	It							
Litwick, James	It			6/10/42				
Lo Bosco, Verma	It	Can born	12/09/40	6/07/41	KP F13	Fascio Femil	Welland, Ont	blacksmith
Lo Cicero, Vincenzo	It	Nat		4/02/43	P820		Hamilton	labourer
Loesch, Joseph	G	In	12/09/39	22-5-45	Fr. BK428	DAF	Tor	chef
Longe, Bruno Oswald	G	Nat	10/09/40	29-3-43	Fr. BK132	Bund	Winn	
Longo, Dominic	It	Nat	10/06/40	24-5-42	Fr. P306		Queph	labourer
Longo, Guido	It			20-5-42				
Lopa, Primitivo	It	Nat	10/06/40	12/10/42		Fascio	Mont	
Lorenge, Louis	Can	Can born		23-12-42		NUP	Weldonville, Q	
Lorimer, John				1/09/42				
Lorraner, Louis				23-12-42				
Lose, Bruno	G	Nat	3/09/39		Kan	Bund	Winn	taylor
Lowrie, Dr. Howard A.	Can			14-5-42	HP984	Communist		
Lubker, Max Karl					Fr. BK430			
Lucas, Antonius F.		Can						
Luchinger, Alfred (Fritz)	Swiss		28-12-40	8/04/43	reinterned	25-2-44	Windsor	
Luciano, Giuseppe	It	Nat		15-8-41		Fascio		
Luebker, M.G.	G		15-6-40	13-3-42	Pat. P214		Ottawa	
Lueders, Edward R.W.	G	Nat	8/09/41	30-9-43	Fr. P1200		Mont	
Lupl, Julius	It			21-8-42				
Lysets, Phillip	G	Nat	12/09/39	20-8-43	Fr. P1020	Bund	Winn	salesman
Mass, Julius N.W.	Can	Can	25-9-41	17-9-42	KP F17	Communist	Rapina	(11-9-40 jailed one year before inter)
MacDonald, Gladys	G	Nat	1/08/40		P124		Ogryg	Manufacturer
Macht, William Emil	Austrian	Nat	3/01/40	1/001/44	P1025		Rossland, BC	
Mager, Henry	Swedish	Nat			HP743	Communist		
Magnuson, Bruce	G	Nat	4/09/39		Fr. BK96	Bund	Rosheim, Sask	
Machika, William	G		13-9-39	1/05/40	Chadel	pro-G	Berwich, NS	farmer
Mahnitz, Reinhold								
Maleau, Rudolphe	Can	Can			HP925	Communist		

Malatesta, Pardo	It	Nat		8/03/41	Pet. P406	Fascio	Mont			
Maltepl, Basilio	It				Pet. P795		Mont			
Maltese, John				4/03/42	Pet. P1162		Fort William, Ont			
Mancini, Giulio	It			15-3-41	Pet. P295					
Mancuso, Dr. Ferdinand	It	Nat		23-10-41	Pet	Fascio	Mont		Dr	
Mancuso, Salvatore	It	Nat		22-12-41	Pet P448	Fascio	Mont			
Mandato, Raffaele	It	Nat		6/11/40	Pet. P556	Fascio	Mont			
Manke, Kurt	G	fn			K138	DAF	Van			
Manocchio, Carmine	It	Nat		29-10-40	Pet. P433	Fascio	Mont			
Manuelli, Armando	It	fn	10/06/40	17-8-45	Pet. P339					
Manzo, Michele	It	Nat		7/07/40	P585					
Maravalle, Luigi	It	Nat		28-6-40	P446	Fascio	Mont			21
Marcogliese, Giuseppe	It			7/03/42	Pet.P864		Mont			
Marcogliese, Pasquale	Can				HP849					
Marcuzzi, Natale	It	Nat		10/06/40	20-11-41	Pet P339		Windsor		
Marguardsen, Johannes	G	fn	21-9-39	10/03/46	BK431		Quebec City	Seaman on Danish freighter		
Marl, Tommaso	It	Nat		19-6-40	Pet. P239	Fascio	Tor	Released to US, It consular official		
Marinello, Frank	It	Nat				Fascio	Sydney, NS	Grocer		
Marini, Basile		Nat		6/05/40	Pet. P769					
Marini, Olivo	It			6/03/42	Pet. P1110					
Marino, Giaconto	It	Nat		29-7-40	17-11-41	Pet. P1109	Van			
Marino, Oliveri	It		10/06/40	6/03/42	Pet P1049		Van			
Marktanner, August	G	fn			FH	NSDAP/DAF	Mont			
Marschner, Frederick	G	fn			Kan	DAF	Edm			
Martin, Frederick	G		21-6-40	27-3-43						
Martinello, Felice	It	fn	11/06/40	23-1-43		Fascio	Sydney, NS			
Martini, Benito	It	Nat		1/03/41	Pet P723		Hamilton			
Martirano, Francesco	It	Nat		30-1-41	Pet P784	Fascio	Mont			
Martucci, Oreste	It	Nat		7/03/42	Pet. P744	Fascio	Mont			
Mascia, Luigi	It	Nat		23-3-42	Pet. P286	Fascio	Hamilton			
Mascioli, Antonio	It	Nat		17-2-41	Pet. P315		Timmins			
Mascioli, Leo	It			17-2-41	Pet. P321					
Masi, Nicola	It	Nat		30-1-42	Pet. P733	Fascio	Hamilton			
Massow, von Gerhard	G	Nat		13-7-40	BK312					21
Mastromonaco, Giovanni	It	fn		4/03/42	Pet. P780	Fascio	Mont			
Mauro, Aldolph	It	fn		21-9-40	22-3-43	P857				
Mauro, Raffaele	It			29-7-40	23-5-42					

Mayer, Gustave	G	Nat	7/08/40	24-8-43	Fr. P702	Bund	Vegreville, Sask	farmer	21
Mayer, Hans	G	Nat	5/09/39		Kan	Bund			
Mayer, Joseph	G	Nat		4/04/42	Pei. P868	DAF	Mont	Proprietor	
Mayerhofer, Herman	G	In	5/09/39		Kan	DAF	Vernon		
Mayerhofer, Joseph	G	In	5/09/39		Kan	DAF	Vernon		
McEwen, T.A.	Br				HP4	anti-fas			
McEwen, Fergus	Can				HP	anti-fas			
McLean, Scott	Can				HP	anti-fas			
McManus, T.G.	Br.			26-1-42	HP759	Communist	Three Rivers, Q		21
McNeil, John	Br.			26-3-42	HP2	Communist			
Mecon, Louis	It	Nat	14-6-40	25-9-43	Fr. P352	Fascio	Windsor		21
Melhuill, Adolph	S. Russia	Nat	30-3-42	18-2-44	Fr. P1189				
Meincke, Heinz	G			22-12-41	Fr. BK626		Ort		21
Meiner, Karl	G		25-9-40	24-11-46	BK654				
Meinhardt, George Carl	G		26-6-40	20-7-43					
Meisel, Johann	G	In	5/09/39		Kan	DAF	Van		
Mertens, Jacob	G		26-10-39	20-10-44					
Mertz, Adam	G			18-10-41	Pei				
Mettie, Kurt	G	In	1/04/41	10/03/46	BK776				
Meyer, Herman	G	In	29-8-40	10/09/45	BK584		Hylo, Alb		
Mickeli, Rudolph	It			2/09/41					
Micklinpfot, Theodor	Holland		1/12/40	7/07/46					
Mielke, Gustav	G	In			Kan	DAF	Fawcett, Alb		
Mielte, Adolt	It	In		16-5-41		Fascio	Mont		
Milio, Eugene	It	Nat		3/04/41	Pei. P627		Windsor		
Milke, Gustav	Br		5/09/39		Kan	DAF	Fawcett, Alb	farmer	
Miller, Alexander	Br	Can			HP1159	Communist			
Miller, Jacob	G	Nat			Kan	Bund	Grayson		
Miller, Leonard	G	Nat			Kan	Bund	Melville		
Miller, Ohio Ernst	G	In			FH	DAF	Q. city		
Miller, William H.	G			12/02/42	Pei. P902				
Minchau, Adolph	Fr		26-9-40	2/09/41					
Mineilo, Leo	It	Nat							
Mirable, Fortunato	It		25-11-40	27-6-41			Hamilton	miner	
Misson, Mario	It	Nat	10/06/40	11/02/43	Fr. P705	Fascio	Tor		21
Moeler, Philip Ernst	G	In	5/09/39		Kan	DAF	Drumheller, Alb		
Moeller, Waldemar	G	In			FH	DAF	Mont		

Molinaro, Francesco	It	18-6-40	3/1/40	Pel P268		Tor		
Molinaro, Guido (Julius)	It	10/06/40	29-10-40	Pel P272				
Molinaro, Pasquale	It	10/06/40	11/04/41			Winn		
Moller, Heinrich	G			K131	DAF			
Monaco, Antonio	It	28-6-40		P480				21
Monaco, Vincenzo	It	10/06/40	27-12-40	P427	Fascio	Mont		21
Monok, Wajsl	It		21-10-41	Pel P900		Kirkland Lake Ont		
Monna, Frederick Peter	It		12/02/41	Pel P731		Hamilton		
Mont, Silvio	It		10/06/41		Fascio	Mont		
Moock, Johannes	Holland	8/04/41	11/09/43					
Morrnell, Nicola	Nat		6/05/41	Pel P568		Mont		
Morreale, Carmelo	It	30-7-40	13-1-41	Pel P726				
Mosca, Donato	It		27-12-40	Pel P779				
Moschetti, Giuseppe	It	4/12/40	30-7-41	Pel P250				
Moser, Martin	G	4/09/39			Bund	Regina	upholsterer	
Mostacci, Samuel John	Can	14-8-40	9/07/41			Hamilton		
Moyluk, Dionys	Ukr			HP1060	anti-fas			
Mucka, Jan	Czech	6/12/40	17-9-41					
Muehler, Albrecht	G	25-9-40	10/03/46	BK648				
Mueller, Carl	G	24-10-40	25-5-45	BK705				
Mueller, Leonard	G	4/09/39			Bund	Melville, Sask	farmer	
Muench, Ernest	G	28-8-39	4/03/46			Sudbury	mechanic	21
Mulack, Paul F. W.	G	8/06/40	28-6-43	PT84				
Muller, Gottlieb Frederick	G	20-7-40	28-8-43	BK343				
Muller, Heinrich	Polish	8/06/40	28-8-43	BK238				
Muller, Jacob	Polish	4/09/39	24-3-40		Bund			
Muratori, Giovanni	It	18-6-40	25-3-42			Gregson, Sask		
Murphy, James Abdeen	Br					Meyerson, Ont	manufacturer	
Murray, Charles	Can		17-1-42	HP995	anti-fas	Halifax		
Muzzati, Emilio	It	27-7-40	22-11-41	HP974	Communist	Van		
Nappolitano, Frank	It		14-11-40	Pel P271		Tor		
Nardocchio, Domenico	It		8/03/42	P203	Fascio	Sydney, NS		
Narizzano, S.E.	It		23-6-41		Fascio	Mont	nd. detective	
Nassa, Gennaro	It							
Nawrozski, John	Nat			HP1030	anti-fas			
Neels, Henry John	Polish			Pel BK597				
Nell, Sulo Gabriel	G	14-9-40	6/01/42	Pel P652		Calgary	on compassionate grounds	
			8/02/41	Pel P652				

Neppe, Joseph	G	fn	11/06/40	1944	BK235	Repatriated				
Nero, Antonio	It	Nat	18-6-40		P307	Fascio	Welland, Ont			21
Neuman, Gustaf	G	fn	11/06/40	4/07/42	BK233					
Neumeyer, Ernest Paul	G	fn	4/09/39		Kan	DAF	Winn		cheese maker	
Neumeyer, Kurt	G	fn			K123	DAF	Winn			
Neumeyer, Paul	G	fn	4/09/39		Kan	DAF	Winn		jam manufacturer	
Neumeyer, Werner	G	fn				DAF	Winn		musician	
Nickels, Nick				22-10-41	Fr. BK624		Kapukasing			
Nicolini, Canio	It	fn		8/08/41		Fascio	Mont			
Nieberding, Robert	G	Nat	20-8-40		Kan P1137		St. Paul, Man			21
Niemann, Fredrick	G	fn	22-8-40	10/09/45	BK585					
Niemeyer, Karl	G	fn	25-9-40	30-7-46	BK644					
Nierhoff, Hermann	G	Nat	19-7-40	4/08/44	P1088		St. Walburg, Sask			21
Nieri, Archangelo	It	Nat	10/06/40	8/02/43	Fr. P560	Fascio	Mont			21
Niggermann, Joseph	G	fn			FH	DAF	Mont			
Niklas, Peter	G/Yugosl	Nat	22-7-40	24-8-43	Fr. P697		Tecumseh, Ont			21
Nosch, Sennes	G	Nat	19-7-40		P645					21
Nurnberg, Hans	G	fn	1/04/41	10/03/46	BK747					
Nuvoli, Antonio	It	fn	10/06/40	17-8-45	P387					
Nye, William	Holland		12/07/40	6/10/43						
Nyerki, Julius	Hungarian			16-5-42	HP895	anti-fas	Hamilton			
Oelhaupl, Ferdinand	G	Nat	1/12/41	15-12-43	Fr. P1008					25(8)
Ofano, Vincenzo	It	fn	10/06/40	17-8-45	P388					
Ofenbeck, Gustav	G	fn	4/09/39		Kan	DAF	Vernon		fruit farmer	
Olivieri, Donato	It	Nat	18-6-40	6/02/43	Fr. P287	Fascio	Hamilton			21
Opitz, Richard Clemens	G	Nat	9/07/40	23-4-42	Pet. P646		Tor			
Orlando, Eliseo	It	Nat	18-6-40	12/02/43	Fr. P277					21
Orlando, Italo	Can	Can born	18-6-40	15-11-40	Pet. P278		Tor			
Orlando, Roy	It	Can born			Pet. P296		Tor			
Orsatti, Piero	It	Nat	10/06/40	18-11-41	Pet. P1053	Fascio	Van			
Paduani, Joseph				7/02/41	Pet. P745					
Pagano, Erasmo	It		10/06/40	17-8-45	P389					
Palangio, Donato	It	Nat		2/01/42	Pet. P469	Fascio	Mont			
Palladino, Guiseppe	It	Nat	11/06/40	5/02/43	Fr. P587					21
Palmeri, Vito	It	Nat		22-2-42	Pet. P568		Mont			
Palmero, Umberto	It	Nat		29-1-42	Pet. P784		Mont			
Palmeri, Giovanni	It	Nat	18-6-40		P342					21

Palmieri, Leonard	It			5/03/42	Pet. P662		Hamilton		
Paluka, Ferdinand	G	fn			FH	DAF	Mont		
Pancaro, Luigi Filippo	It		18-6-40	15-7-42					
Pancaro, Roberto Carlo A.	It	fn	17-2-41	3/05/43	P988				
Panfilio, Pasquale	It			3/11/40	Pet. P411		Mont		
Pankow, Gunther	G		12/08/40	22-12-42					
Pannes, Otto	G	fn				seaman on E	Halifax		
Pannes, Otto	G	fn	14-9-39		Citadel		Halifax	seaman	
Pannike, Hugo Walter	G	Nat	8/03/40		P1197				21
Panonesa, Guisepppe	It		18-6-40	8/05/41					
Pantaone, Frederick Rocco	It	Nat	26-6-40	27-2-41	Pet. P404		Ott		
Paone, Raffaele	It			30-1-41	Pet. P634				
Paone, Raffaele	It		14-12-40		Pet. P634		Niagra Falls		
Paonessa, Giuseppe	It	Nat		6/05/41	Pet. P336		Windsor		
Papalia, Antonio	It			14-10-41			Hamilton		
Papalio, Antonio	It			23-10-41	Pet.				
Paparellim Marino	It			13-2-41	P562		Mont		
Pape, Richard Fred	G	fn	4/06/40	18-12-43	BK216				
Papcc, Charles	Czech		10/04/41	8/06/43					
Papicchio, Giovanni	It		14-6-40	30-3-41	Pet. P351		Windsor		
Papriilo, Antonio	It			21-10-41	Pet. P1174		Hamilton		
Paradies, Wilhelm	G	fn	25-9-40	22-8-44	BK695				
Parente, Giovanni	It		12/08/40	26-9-41					
Parente, Giovanni	It			22-9-41			Hamilton		
Parisi, Raymond	It		15-8-40	26-6-41					
Parisi, Raymond	It			18-6-41			Hamilton		
Pascuzzi, Vincenzo	It	Nat	26-6-40	3/03/42	Pet. P736		Niagra Falls		
Pasquale, Luigi	It	Nat		19-2-42	Pet. P568	Fascio	Mont		
Pasquale, Panfilo	It			19-10-40		Fascio	Mont		
Pasqualini, Santo	It	Nat	10/06/40	10/07/42			Van	Baker	
Pasquantonio, Luigi	It			25-2-41	P353				
Pasquantonio, Luigi	It			21-1-41			Sault Ste. Marie		
Passarelli, Pasquale	It			10/04/41	Pet		Mont		
Pataracchia, Nello	It	Nat			P807	Fascio	Hamilton		
Pateras, Salvatore	It	Nat		8/03/41	Pet. P566		Mont		
Pattui, Eugene	It		17-10-40	8/03/42	Pet. P897				
Pauwells, Wilhelm	G	Nat	6/09/39		Kan	Bund	Quinton, Sask	farmer	

Pavan, Angelo	It		18-6-40	14-7-41								
Pavan, Angelo	It			23-6-41				Windsor				
Pavan, Eugenio	It		10/06/40	13-12-41	Pet. P1048			Van				
Pech, Johann	G	fn			FH	DAF		Mont				
Pede, Rudolph	G	Nat	2/08/42		P1019							21
Peeters, Antonia	It	Nat		8/01/42	KP							21
Peeters, Antonia	G	fn			KP F16	pro-G						
Pelissero, Ercole	It			5/03/42	Pet. P641			Owen Sound, Ont.				
Pellarin, Maggiorino	It		10/06/40	2/02/41	Pet P318			Kirkland Lake, Ont				
Pellarin, Maggiorino	It		24-10-40					Kirkland Lake, Ont				
Pelle, Guiseppe	Argentina	fn	10/06/40	17-8-45	P390							
Pelzer, Adolf	G	fn	5/09/39		Kan	DAF		Van				
Pennacchiotti, Giuseppe	It	Nat		14-4-41	Pet. P828							
Penner, Jacob	G	Nat			HP1031	Communist						
Penner, Jacob						anti-fas						
Penz, Heinrich	G	fn	4/09/39		Kan	DAF		Hepburn, Sask		farmer		
Penzle, Paul	G	fn			FH	DAF		Mont				
Peralto, Vito	It		18-6-40	22-12-42								
Perilli, Attilio	It	Nat	18-6-40	25-9-43	P249	Fascio		Tor				
Peroni, Eleuterio	It		24-10-40					Hamilton				
Perri, Michele				17-3-42	Pet. P631			Hamilton				
Perri, Phillip				5/03/42	Pet. P629			Tor				
Perri, Rocco	It	Nat	11/06/40	28-9-43	P298	Fascio		Hamilton		Bootlegger		
Perrino, Dr. A	It			11/06/41		Fascio		Mont				
Pesch, Max	G	Nat			Kan	CNP/Techn		Trail, BC				
Pesch, Max	G	Nat			Nat Revoked, 12-5-42							
Peters, Cornelius	G	Nat	4/09/39		Kan	Bund		Waldheim, Sask		farmer		
Peters, Hermann	G	fn			FH	DAF		Winn				
Petersen, Ulrich Otto	G	fn	26-6-40	11/11/43	BK242							
Pellico, Lino	It	Nat	26-5-42		P1496							21
Petrash, James	Polish	Nat			HP1055	anti-fas						
Petropo, Laurence	US (NY)	fn	19-7-40	5/02/43	P623							
Petruciani, Luigi	It			1/11/40	Pet. P242			Tor				
Petruciani, Luigi	It		25-10-40					Tor				
Petworth, Frank				3/03/42	Pet. P518			New Waterford, NS				
Plau, Lother Hans	G	fn	4/09/39	25-9-44	FH BK441	DAF		Mont				
Pilant, Karl	G	fn	5/09/39		Kan	DAF		Middle Lake, Sask		farmer		

Pfrotzschner, Paul Willy	G	fn	17-7-40	11/05/43	BK329							
Pianosi, Adolpho	Italy		10/06/40	3/11/40	Pet. P323		Sudbury					
Piccinini, Vincenzo	It		7/08/40				Tor				21	
Picciolo, Espodido	Italy		10/06/40	14-9-43								
Picinnini, Giuseppe	Italy		10/06/40	29-10-40	Pet. P231		Tor					
Pick, David	Poland		26-7-40	6/08/42								
Pieh, Erich	G	fn		26-07-44	Fort Henry	NSDAP	Mont					
Pierpaoli, Marino	it	Nat	26-7-40	25-2-41	P676	Fascio	Mont					
Pietracupa, Vincenzo	It		11/11/40		Pet. P778		Mont					
Pio, Angelo	Italy		10/06/40	25-4-41	P468	Fascio	Mont	relesed ill health				
Piontkowski, Ludwig	Germany		28-8-39	10/03/46								
Piras, Antonio	Italy	fn	10/06/40	17-8-45	P391							
Pirczek, John	Polish				HP1106							
Pirozzi, Rolando	Italy	Nat	10/06/40	18-3-41	Pet. P561	Fascio	Mont					
Pischitelli, Domenico	It	Nat	4/07/40	26-08-42		Fascio	Mont					
Pistor, Kurt	G	Nat	4/08/39		Kan	Bund	Whitewood, Sask					
Pistor, Kurt	G	Nat	4/08/39	22-12-42	Fort Henry	Bund	Whitewood, Sask					
Pitocco, Lino	Italy	Nat	26-5-42	12/02/43	P496							
Pitrella, Nicola	It	Nat	10/06/40	28-1-41		Fascio	Mont					
Pizzagalli, Carlo Egildio	Italy		23-1-41	8/09/42			Mont					
Pizzagalli, Theodore	It	Nat	10/06/40	10/04/41	Pet. P401	Fascio	Mont					
Pizzari, David	It	fn	10/06/40			Fascio	Mont	It Consular Staff		Released		
Placido, Gennaro	It	fn	10/06/40	10/04/41	Pet. P439	Fascio	Mont.					
Plakholm, Josef	Austria		19-7-40	27-11-42								
Plantedi, Giuseppe	Italy		26-6-40	2/08/41			Niagra Falls					
Pluenneck, Walter	Germany		28-8-39	2/07/46								
Pock, Edward	G	Nat	8/09/39	27-06-45	K/F. BK27	Bund	Calgary		Dental mech.		21	
Poggi, James	It	Nat	12/07/40	15-3-42	Pet. P1096		Van		miner			
Poggi, Vincenzo	G		4/07/40		P564	Fascio	Mont					
Pohl, Adolf	It	fn		22-05-45	BK150	DAF	Vernon, BC					
Poitras, Gerard	Can	Can born		13-10-42		NUP	Mont					
Poll, Joseph	Germany	fn	13-11-40	4/05/44	BK708							
Pollack, Walter Edward	G	fn		2/02/44	BK444	DAF	Tor	Wallpaper designer				
Pollender, Henry	G	fn			Fort Henry	DAF	Verdun					
Pongratz, Alfred	Germany		9/01/41	7/07/45	BK725							
Pontano, Pietro	It	Nat		15-3-41	Pet. P304		Niagra Falls					
Popovich, Matthew				2/11/40	Pet. P511		Mont					

Poppe, Edwin F.	G	fn				Fort Henry DAF	Mont			
Poppel, Konrad	Germany		1/04/41	10/03/46	BK723					
Porcelli, Francisco	Italy		10/06/40	12/11/42			Sudbury, Ont			
Possebon, Giovanni	It		25-6-40				New Waterford, NS			
Pozza, Adone	It	Nat	4/07/40	22-9-41		Fascio	Mont			
Pozzeon, Giovanni				12/09/42						
Prehn, Hans	Germany		1/04/41	10/03/46	BK791					
Pregel, Albert	G	fn	29-9-39	18-05-45	F.H. BK44	NSDAP	Timmins		Salesman	
Presselo, Maria	It	Nat	27-8-40	1/05/42	KP F8	Fascio	Windsor			25(8) then
Preuhs, Werner	G	fn	4/09/39	26-07-44	Citadel BK	DAF	Bridgetown, NS		Jeweller	
Prokopchak, Pete	Uk	Nat		28-08-42	HP1063	Communist				
Prossak, John	Austrian	Nat		11/06/42	HP1067	anti-fas	Winnipeg		labourer	
Protsch, Arnold	G/Russia	fn	15-7-40	28-3-44	BK327					
Prott, Wilhelm	Germany		25-9-40	4/03/46	BK685					
Puessel, John	Germany		28-8-39	10/03/46						
Pugliese, Dominic	Italy		26-6-40	19-09-41			Hamilton			
Pyhaniemi, Toimi	Finland		39-41	20-12-46						
Pyndus, Nicholas	Ukr.	Nat	28-09-42	conditional n	HP512	anti-fas				
Quell, Henry	G	fn	5/09/39	26-10-43	Kan BK1	DAF	Van			
Qvester, Friedrich	Germany			1/04/41	10/03/46					
Raco, Giuseppe	It	Nat	14-8-40	3/04/41	P776	Fascio	Mont			
Rademacher, Werner	G	fn		27-06-45	FH BK447	NSDAP	Tor		Commission Agent	
Rader, Italo	Italy	Nat	10/06/40	19-11-41	Pet. P1042	Fascio	Van			
Radino, Vincenzo	It	Nat	4/07/40			Fascio	Mont			
Radke, Carl	G				Fr. BK798					
Radowski, Helmut Theodor	Germany	fn	21-6-40	20-11-44	BK731					
Rainone, Servirino (Sam)	Italy	Nat	10/06/40	8/09/42		Fascio	Windsor			
Ranni, Michele	It	Nat	13-6-40	23-03-43	Fr. P205	Fascio	Sydney, NS			21
Rapone, Pasquale	It		9/08/40	15-3-41	Pet. P783		Mont			
Raschke, Paul Gottlieb	Germany		1/07/40	20-5-44						
Raso, Antonio	Italy		10/06/40	11/04/41			Welland, Ont			
Raso, Thomas	Italy	Nat	29-11-40	29-3-43	Fr. P905		Guelph		Labourer	21
Rastello, Giovanni	Italy	Nat.	26-6-40	25-03-43	Fr. P400	Fascio	Mont			21
Rathje, Wilhelm Fritz	Germany		7/08/40	3/11/42						
Ratigliano, Anthony Bernard	Italy		4/02/41	8/03/42	Pet. P968		Hamilton			
Ravanello, Angelo	It		14-12-40		Pet. P330		Windsor			
Razzolini, Rudolph	It		25-6-40	14-09-42			New Waterford, NS			

Rebaudengo, Antonio	Italy	Nat.	10/06/40	25-9-43	Fr. P1107	Fascio	Calgary			21
Reda, Francesco	it	fn	10/06/40	19-2-41	Pet. P413	Fascio	Mont			
Reichert, Frederick	G	fn	4/09/39	22-05-45	Citadel BK449		Quebec City		Civil Engineer	
Reichle, Oskar Karl	Germany	Nat	19-7-40	28-2-44	Fred. P1086					
Reider, Elise	Germany	fn	6/08/40	6/06/42	KP F2	pro-G	Repat to G. 6-5-42			25(8)
Reihn, Edmund	Germany	fn	25-9-40	10/03/46	BK659					
Reinhard, Josef	G	fn			Fort Henry	DAF	Tor		flour miller	
Reinhold, Friedrich	G	fn			Kan	DAF	Edm			
Reiter, Kurt Friezt	Germany	fn	1/04/41	4/03/46	BK759					
Renda, Vincenzo	Italy		10/06/40	3/11/42			Van			
Repka, William	Can			15-09-42	HP 1143	Communist				
Restaldi, Dr. Vittorio Vincenzo	it	Nat	4/07/40	11/05/42	P570	Fascio	Mont	repat to it	Dr.	
Rettura, Giuseppe	it		10/06/40				Welland, Ont			
Ricci, Savino	it	Nat.	10/06/40	20-09-43	Fr. P420	Fascio	Mont			21
Ricci, Vincenzo	Italy		2/07/40	6/03/42	Pet P1077		Van			
Riccio, Giuliano	it		10/06/40	5/05/41	Pet. P238		Tor			
Richter, Frank	G	fn	19-6-40	20-4-42	Fr. BP876		Invermere, BC			
Richter, Kurt	G	Nat	5/09/39	12/09/40	Fr. BK80	Bund	Stone District, Sask		labourer	21
Riem, Mathias	G	fn		26-02-45	FH BK452	Bund	Kitchener		Rubber Worker	
Rill, Joseph	Germany	fn	7/03/41	19-6-45	BK734					
Risanti, Luigi	it		10/06/40			Fascio	Mont			
Rissmann, Max	G	fn		22-05-45	BK453	NSDAP	Toronto			
Rita, Angelo	Italy	Nat	29-7-40	19-11-41	Pet. P1116		Van			
Ritschdorff, Mathias	G	fn			FH	DAF	Mont			
Rivenna, Donato	it	Nat	14-12-40		P596	Fascio	Mont			
Robert, Paul Henri	Can			15-07-42						
Roeder, Fred	Rumania	Nat	27-7-40	2/04/43	Fr. P1097		Hilda, ALB.		farmer	21
Roeder, Bernard	S. Dakota, USA		8/08/40	10/08/41						
Roeske, Alfred H.	Germany		11/09/39	20-11-44						
Rogiani, Charles	Italy		17-10-40	2/09/41			Madrid, Sask			
Roitz, Eugenio	Italy		17-6-40	17-6-45			Repat			
Romanelli, Gaetano	it		26-7-40	20-05-42			Niagra Falls			
Romano, Giulio	it	Nat	28-6-40	20-09-43	Fr. P407	Fascio	Mont		Professor	21
Romano, Silvia	Italy	Nat	10/06/40	8/07/42		Fascio	Trail, BC			
Romano, Vincenzo	it	Nat	4/09/40	21-07-42	Fr. P816	Fascio	Niagra Falls			21
Romanus, Bernard A.	German	Nat	19-7-40	20-11-44	Fr. P1074					21
Romeo, Salvatore	Italy		18-6-40	18-7-41			Calgary			

Romeo, Samuel	It		10/06/40	4/07/41			Hamilton			
Roncarelli, R.	It	fn	10/06/40			Fascio	Mont			
Rosati, Ubaldo	Italy	Nat	24-10-40	3/05/43		Fascio	Mont			
Rose (ROSENBURG), Fred				6/10/42						
Rosen, Charles				27-08-42						
Rosenthal, Fritz	Germany		28-8-39	10/03/46						
Ross (aka ZUKEN), William				6/10/42						
Rossi, Florention	It	fn	10/06/40			Fascio	Mont			
Rother, Heinrich	G			10/06/42						
Rothweiler, Helmut	Germany		11/07/40	17-1-44						
Roveto, Florindo	It			9/01/41			Mont			
Rowley, Kent				17-09-42		anti-fas				
Rudolph, Henry	G	fn	5/09/39		Kan	DAF	Edm		truck driver	
Ruggi, Michele	Italy		1940	1944		POW	Taken from ship arriving in NF in 1940			
Ruocco, Angelo (John)	Italy		29-7-40	12/12/41			Van			
Ruocco, Pietro	It		10/06/40	25-7-40			Van			
Ruocco, William	It		20-6-40				Van			
Rust, Karl	Germany		25-9-40	10/03/46						
Ryerson, Stanley				6/10/42						
Sabbette, Oreste	Italy		20-7-40	27-6-42			Sault Ste. Marie			
Sabbeta, Dr. Vittorio	Italy	Nat	10/06/40	15-2-43	Fr. P190	Fascio	Ottawa		Dr.	21
Sabino, Giuseppe	It		10/06/40				Tor			
Sacco, James Emmanuel V.	Italy	Nat	19-7-40	29-3-43	Fr. P665					21
Sacco, Luigi	It		1/08/40				Niagra Falls			
Sacco, Peter Marc	It		26-6-40	29-3-43			Niagra Falls			
Sacco, Rosario	It		1/08/40				Niagra Falls			
Sacco, Vincenzo	It		6/07/40				Niagra Falls			
Saccone, Archie (John)	It		30-1-41	5/03/42			Niagra Falls			
Sailor, Adolf	G			19-10-43						
Sala, Giovanni Giancono	Italy	Nat	10/06/40	2/08/41		Fascio	Van			
Salamon, Jean S.				26-02-45						
Salera, Rocco	It	Nat	10/06/40			Fascio	Mont			
Salli, Pasquale	It		22-7-40	22-9-41			Niagra Falls			
Salmaso, Adolfo	It			26-1-41			Mont			
Salsberg, J.B.	Toronto			5/09/42						
Salvadori, Luciano	It	Nat	10/06/40	6/08/41		Fascio	Mont			
Samuel, Emery				6/10/42						

Sanguino, Ettore	It		10/06/40	16-12-42			Hamilton			
Sansone, Antonio	It		20-7-40				Hamilton			
Sansone, Dr. Donato	Italy	Nat	19-7-40	2/04/43	Fr. P667	Fascio	Tor	Dr		21
Santelli, Carmello	It	Nat	4/07/40	17-07-42		Fascio	Mont			
Sartori, A.D.	It	In	10/06/40	14-7-41		Fascio	Mont			
Sassone, Giuseppe	Italy	Nat	18-6-40	25-9-43	Fr. P252		Tor			21
Saul, Markham				9/04/41	Pet.	Communist	Mont			
Saunders, Arthur Roy	Ottawa/ Montreal			8/10/42		anti-fas				
Sauro, Felice	It	Nat	4/07/40			Fascio	Mont			
Sauro, Pasquale	It		4/07/40	16-05-42			Mont			
Sauro, Rev. Liborio	It		30-8-40				Tor			
Savona, Emmanuel	Italy		17-6-40	9/06/42			Mont			
Sawiak, Michael	Poland		6/07/40	15-1-42						
Sbarba, Dabormida Dello	It	In	10/06/40				Mont			
Sbragi, Enrico	It	Nat	10/06/40	6/02/43		Fascio	Mont			
Scalera, Rev. Dominico	It		8/07/40	20-09-43		Fascio	Mont	"Order of Min. of Just.... he leave C		
Scalia, Giuseppe	Italy		10/06/40	17-8-45						
Scandiffo, N.F.A.	It	Nat	19-8-40	15-8-41		Fascio	Tor			
Scappatura, Frank	It	Nat	19-7-40			Fascio	North Bay, Ont			
Scappatura, Vincenzo	Italy	Nat	12/06/40	25-9-43	Fr. P324		North Bay, Ont			21
Scarabelli, Carlos	It		2/07/40	12/08/40			Ottawa			
Scattolon, Romano	It	Nata	10/06/40	14-09-42		Fascio	New Waterford, NS			
Schaebler, Leo	G	In	3/09/39		Kan	DAF	Winn, Man	cafe owner		
Schaege, Henry A. M.	G	Nat	9/09/39		Fr. BK56					21
Schaetzle, Pius	G	In	5/09/39		Kan	DAF	Weyburn, Sask	farmer		
Schalge, Heinrich	G	Nat	5/09/39		Kan	Bund	Osoyoos, BC	fruit farmer		
Schall, Hans Eugene	Germany		18-6-40	1944						
Scheer, Erich Alwin	G	In		19-10-43		DAF	Tor	tailor		
Scheerbeek, Jan		Can								
Schegel, Berthold			31-1-45							
Schepperle, Gottlob	G	In		27-06/45		DAF	Tor			
Scheuermann, Carl	G	In	deceased	6-05-42		DAF	Mont			
Schiefele, Attilio	Italy		10/06/40	17-8-45						
Schiffers, Carl	G	Nat		17-04-45	Fr. P1021	Bund	Winn	Electrician		21
Schilde, Arthur Anton	G			22-05-44		DAF	Vernon, BC			
Schinz, Paul	G			22-05-45		DAF	Van			
Schinz, Ulrich	G			21-10-43		DAF	Van			

Schio, John		G	Nat	12/09/193	r12-3-40	r.i. 10/10/15	Fr. P1013	NUP/Bund	Saskatoon	Nurse		21
Schlage, Joe		Germany		20-7-40	11/03/41							
Schlageter, Heinrich					22-11-42							
Schlamp, Harry					10/11/42							
Schlamp, Joseph Heinrich		Germany		17-6-40	20-11-44							
Schleicher, Ernest		G	fn				DAF	Tor		assembler		
Schleicher, Konrad		G	fn		22-5-45		DAF	Tor				
Schlichting, Harry		G		18-5-41	26-11-42			Manitoba				
Schmidt, Bruno		Germany		27-7-40	21-7-41							
Schmidt, Ernst		G	fn	5/09/39			DAF	Van				
Schmidt, Johannes		Germany		28-8-39	10/03/46							
Schmidt, George		G			14-7-42		DAF	Tor				
Schnee, Emile		G			14-7-42							
Schneider, A.N.		G	Nat		21-2-44		Bund	St. Walburg, Man				
Schneider, Alois N.		G	Nat	10-9-39	r12-3-40	r.i. 19-7-40	Fr. P1008					21
Schneider, Bruno		G	Nat	12/09/39		Fr. P1019						21
Schneider, Bruno Paul		G	Nat		25-10-43		Bund	Flin Flon, Man				
Schneider, Dr. F.K.		G	Nat		27-10-42		Bund	Lockport, I.Dr.				
Schnittker, Hans		G	fn		4/02/44		DAF	Mont				
Schnor, Wilhelm		Germany		18-10-40	20-6-44							
Schonberg, Alfred		G	fn		21-2-44		DAF	Tor				
Schrage, Joseph					28-9-42							
Schranz, Edward					22-05-45							
Schroeder (Schaeffer), Henry Jol		Russia		24-10-40	10/06/42							
Schroeder, John Henry					3/06/42							
Schroeder, Otto		Germany		25-9-40	10/03/46							
Schubert, Henry		G		20-9-39		Citadel	anti-Br	Glacé bay, miner				
Schuler, Karl		G	fn	23-9-39		Kan	DAF	Middle Lake farmer				
Schulte (Milford), James Melvin Vincent					29-6-40			Ont.				
Schultenkamper, Fritz (Fred)		Germany		13-8-41	1944							
Schultz, Fritz E.		G	fn	5/09/39		Kan	DAF (39 on)	Wainwright, Alb				
Schultz, Paul		G	fn		1/03/44		DAF	Mont				
Schumacher, George		G	fn		21-10-43		DAF	Mont				
Schurg, Henry William		G	Nat	12/09/39	25-10-43	Fr. P1186	Bund	Frenchman's Butte, Sask				21
Schwaabe, Frederick		G	fn		11/02/43		DAF	Tor		cashier		
Schwant, Joseph H.A.		Germany		23-7-40	19-5-43							
Schwartz, Mor					27-10-42							

Schwarz, Heinz	G		1/04/41	10/03/46							
Schwemmer, Karl	G	fn	1/04/41	10/03/46		DAF	tor				
Scozzafave, Dr. Ignazio	It	Nat	4/09/40	6/02/43	Fr. P830	Fascio	Welland, Ont	Dr		21	
Scozzafave, Johann	It		12/09/39	20-11-44							
Scusarenko, Giovanni	It		17-6-40	17-8-45							
Secco, Ignazio	It	Nat	14-11-40	13-2-43		Fascio	Trail, BC				
Seigner, Augusto	It		11/06/40	12/07/40							
Senger, Fred	R	Nat	3/10/40	21-2-44	Fr. P1151		Regina		Labourer	21	
Sereni, Cpt Emilio	It		28-1-41				Balzac, Alb				
Serge (Sergi), John	G		10/06/40	11/11/40							
Serge, Joseph	It			15-8-41			Hamilton				
Serge, Michael	It			19-19-41			Hamilton				
Serniesi, Giovanni	It		12/07/40	25-8-41			Huberstone, Ont				
Sgarlata, Saverio	It		10/06/40				Sarnia, Ont				
Sguigna, Giovanni	It		10/06/40	2/08/41							
Sguigna, Luigi	It		1/08/40	8/12/42			Tor				
Shatulsky, Mathew				28-8-42		anti-fas					
Sherbo, Frank	It	Nat	13-4-41	23-3-43	Fr. P966		Niagra Falls			21	
Sicari, Luigi	It		13-6-40	15-12-42							
Sicari, Vincenzo			19-9-42								
Sidel, Vincenzo	It		12/02/41	25-9-42							
Siegert, Frederick				27-6-45							
Siegler, Hubert	G	fn	23-9-39		Kan	DAF	VAn		cabinet maker		
Sievers, Herman			7/07/43								
Sievers, Herman A.	G	fn	5/09/39		Citadel	suspected s	St. John, NB				
Sigona, Herbert	G		15-6-40	28-3-44							
Silvestro, Antonio	It			17-10-41			Hamilton			21	
Siranni, Francesco	It	Nat		28-8-42		Fascio	Mont				
Sirotniach, Rosario	It		10/06/40	17-8-45			Mont				
Skowronek, August	G	fn	5/08/39		Kan	DAF	Van				
Skowronek, Erich	G	fn	5/08/39		Kan	DAF	Van				
Sleebloom, Han		Can									
Smith, Stewart				6/10/42							
Smole, Frank	G	fn		22-5-45		NSDAP	Winn				
Smyth, Joseph				16-9-42		anti-fas					
Soccio, Angelo	It	Nat					Mont.		Labourer		
Soccio, Giuseppe	It	Nat	10/06/40	25-6-42		Fascio	Mont				

Soccio, Luigi	It	Nat	10/06/40	23-6-42		Fascio	Mont			
Soccio, Michele Angelo	It	Nat	10/06/40	25-6-42		Fascio	Mont			
Soccio, Vincenzo	It	Nat	10/06/40	25-6-42		Fascio	Mont			
Soclek, Mike	Poland		20-9-40	10/08/41						
Soda, Kurt Ernst	G		1/04/41	24-11-46						
Soda, Natale	It		10/06/40	16-5-42			Windsor			
Sollendieck, Rudolph	G			7/02/44						
Sombrutski, Frank	G	Nat	4/09/39		Kan	Bund	Oxbox D., Sask	farmer		
Sonberg, Erwin	G			27-10-42						
Spallacci, Natale	It		10/06/40	21-5-42			Hamilton			
Spallek, Nazzerino	It		11/06/40	3/04/41						
Spengler, August Walter	Germany		5/06/41	7/06/45						
Spennato (Robinson), Albert Jos	It		11/06/40	2/10/42			Gault, Ont			
Sperapani, Goffredo	It		10/06/40				Tor			
Spewak, Fred				15-6-42		anti-fas				
Spinelli, Cosimo Albert	Italy		10/06/40	28-12-41			Mont			
Splett, Arnold	Polish	Nat	22-7-40	12/07/43	Fr. P1090		Paradise Hill, Sask	farmer		21
Spuyt, Daniel		Can								
Stadler, Anton	G	fn		7/02/44		DAF	Tor		door keeper	
Staebler, Frank				?						
Stangl, Alfred Bernard	G			22-6-45						
Starken, Giuseppe	It		10/06/40	12/04/41						
Starnino, Bartolomeo	It	fn	10/06/40			Fascio	Mont			
Staufler, Willi	G		25-9-40	10/03/46						
Steele, Richard	G		3/10/42							
Stegmeier, Adolf	G		9/06/42							
Steiger, Jacob	Poland		2/09/40	21-10-41						
Steiger, William	G		9/06/42							
Stelte, John	G	Can								25(8)
Stelter, Albin Hubert Wm.	G		1/06/40	18-7-42						
Stepp, Max	G			8/12/44						
Stevens, Peter	G		5/09/39	20-2-43	Kan	DAF	Van			
Stoltefaut, Henry	G	fn	4/09/39		Kan	DAF	Smiley D., Sask	farmer		
Stranzinger, Gustav	G		25-9-40	4/05/46						
Straubinger, Franz	G	fn	3/09/39	27-6-45	Kan	DAF	Winn		Ont rep DZ	
Stressman, Albert	G			21-8-43						
Sullivan, Pat		Can				anti-fas				

Sumiak, Johann		G		28-8-39	10/03/46								
Sundquist, Gustave					6/10/42								
Suraci, Michele		It		20-6-40						Niagra Falls			
Swankey, Ben		Can			28-8-42			Communist					
Sylvestro, William August		G		21-6-40	11/04/42								
Taglerino, Benjamin		It		19-7-40	8/12/42					Hamilton			
Taglerino, Jeff		It		18-6-40	15-12-42					Hamilton			
Taglerino, John		It		2/07/40						Hamilton			
Tambosso, Alessandro		It		10/06/40						Tor			
Tamiglio, Michele		It		4/07/40						Mont			
Tammen, Albert		G		1/04/41	10/03/46								
Tandarini, Abel Gaspar		It		10/06/40	9/11/40					Guelph, Ont			
Tassoni, Joseph		It		9/08/40	6/10/41					Mont			
Tatter, Egon Robert Friedrich		G		1/04/41	12/06/46								
Taub, Muni		Can			5/09/42			Communist					
Taylor, John Ross		Can	Can born	28-8-42	20-10-44			NUP/CUF		Tor		salesman	
Taylor, William				5/09/42				Communist					
Tederahn, Ernst W.P.F.		G	Nat	3/01/40		Fr. P1026							21
Tenisci, Fioravante		It	Nat	10/06/40	9/02/43	Fr. P1045	Fascio			Trail, BC			21
Termini, Nicola		It		11/06/40	14-12-40					Hamilton			
Testa, Camillo		It	Nat	4/07/40	28-7-41		Fascio			Mont			
Testa, Francesco		It		10/06/40	17-8-45								
Tezzi, Daniele		It		11/06/40	2/08/41								
Theoderahn, Ernst		G			31-1-45								
Theopile, Otto		G	In	5/09/39		Kan	DAF			Middle Lake, Sask	farmer		
Thibert, Armand		G			23-12-42								
Thierbach, Otto		G	In		26-7-44		NSDAP			Mont		stone mason	
Thomsen, John Henry		G		9/07/40	9/04/41								
Thorsen, Walter-Heinz Albert		G		25-09-40	10/03/46								
Tiemann, Richard W.F.		G	Nat	12/09/39	27-7-43	Fr. P1012	Bund			Paradise Hill, Sask			21
Tierney, Martin				2/11/43									
Tietgen, Franz		G		1/04/41	10/03/46								
Tiezzi, Gino		It	Nat	12/06/40	27-2-41	r.l.10-11-4	Fascio			Ottawa	Fr. P191	Tile Setter	21
Tintinaglia, Giovanni		It		10/06/40	10/05/41					Sioux Lookout, Ont			
Tobber, Johannes Richard		G	Nat		27-6-45	Nat Revoked, 26-1-42							
Tognarelli, Luigi		It	Nat	30-7-40			Fascio			Mont			
Tomasicchio, Joseph (giuseppe)		It		10/06/40	27-03-41					Tor			

Tondoli, Antonio	It		26-06-40	6-08-41*			Niagra Falls, Ont		
Tonellato, Clemente	It		20-6-40	12/09/42			New Waterford, NS		
Tontanot, Oriente	It		17-06-40	17-08-45					
Torunski, Ernst	G	fn		10/10/44		DAF	Mont		
Trasciatti, Dr. Nello	It	Nat	10/06/40	27-6-45		Fascio	Mont		
Travali, Giocionni	It		14-12-40	13-08-41			Hamilton, Ont		
Treptow, Albert	G		13-07-40	9/06/42					
Troen, Knut	Norway		5/09/41	8/03/46					
Trolano, Giuseppe	It		4/07/40	20-9-43			Mont		
Trolano, Joseph	It	Nat	7/07/40		Fr. P579				21
Trolano, Pasquale	It		9/08/40	26-8-42			Mont		
Trost, Eugene Francis Xavier	G	fn	26-06-40	4/06/43	BK485				
Tucci, Giuseppe	It	Nat	20-11-40	6/10/42		Fascio	Mont		
Tufenbacher, Otto	G				citadel	pro-G	Millville, NS	farmer	
Tuomi, William				21-9-42		anti-fas			
Ulatowski, Conrad	G	fn	1/04/41	10/03/46	BK779				
Ulery, Donald				16-5-42					
Ulrey, Geraldine	Can	fn(married G)		27-12-40	KP F6	pro-G, anti-B	Regina		21
Ulrich, Rudolph	G	Nat	4/09/39		Kan	Bund	Kronau D., Sask	farmer	
Urso, John	It		23-04-42	28-09-43					
Vagt, John Henry	G	fn	6/09/39	22-6-45	Citadel	DAF	Charlottetown PEI	fox farmer	
Vairo, Eugenio	It	Nat	26-07-40	27-12-40	Pet. P708		Sudbury		
Vairo, Giovanni	It		26-07-40	28-06-41			Garson, Ont		
Valente, Antonio	It	Nat	20-11-40	30-11-42		Fascio	Mont		
Valente, Pasquale	It		10/06/40	13-12-41	Pet. P1044		Van		
Valente, Sam	It		24-7-40	9/12/42			Van		
Valline, Gabrielle	It		?/7/40	?/7/43					
van der Caster, Angele	Belgian	fn			KP F15	pro-G			21
Van Der Grinten, Franz	G			22-6-45					
Van Der Maesen, Matilde	Belgian		28-11-40	8/01/42	KP F14	pro-G			
Van Der Pavert, Geraldus	G			22-1-43	detained under order in council P.C. 4751 no new release date.				
Varcalli, Paul	It		30-6-40	23-3-43	Fr. P530		New Waterford, NS		21
Varga, Lajos			?						
Vattolo, Carrado	It		18-06-40	8/12/42			Tor		
Vecchiarino, Giovanni	It	Nat	28-6-40	28-1-43	Fr. P431	Fascio	Mont		21
Vedove, Angelo Della			3/02/43						
Velden, Johannes V.D.	Can								

Wahl, August	G	fn	5/10/30	22-6-45	Kan	DAF	Marlboro, Alf	farmer	
Wahl, Gustav	G	fn	8/07/40	8/05/43	BK319				
Walkowski, Bruno	G	fn	1/04/41	4/03/46	BK746				
Wallace, Joseph S.	Can			12/09/42		Communist			
Walsh, William	Can			8/10/42		Communist			
Walter, Oscar	G	fn	5/09/39		Kan	DAF	Vernon		
Wappel, Laszlo				4/01/43					
Warne, Gerhart				9/07/42					
Warneboldt, Alexander	G	fn	5/09/39		Kan	NSDAP/DAF	Van	mining	
Wassmuth, George	G	Nat	8/07/40	12/02/44	Fr. P644		Highland reek. Ont	Labourer	21
Weber, Otto W.	G	fn	4/09/39		Kan	DAF	Graven D., Sask	farmer	
Weber-Andrae, Herbert	G			29-5-45					
Weichler, Emil	G			8/12/44					
Weihers, Johann Fredrich	G		13-9-39		Citadel	anti-Br	Berwick W. NS		
Weir, Charles	Can			23-9-42		Communist			
Weir, John	Can			23-9-42		Communist			
Weisenberger, Erhard	G	fn		10/06/42		DAF	Mont		
Weitzel, Jacob	G	Nat		30-11-42		Bund	Togo, Sask		
Weiden, Johannes V.D.		Can							
Weiske, Adolf	G	fn	1-04/41	10/03/46	BK784				
Wendling, Franz				22-5-45					
Wenjold, Karl	G		28-08-39	10/03/46					
Wenz, Charles Anthony	Bavaria	fn	27-09-40	4/06/43	BK602				
Werner, Kurt	G	fn	1/04/41	10/03/46	BK789				
Westphal, Oscar	G	fn	5/09/39		Kan	DAF	Vernon		
Wholgeschaffen, Karl	G	fn	5/09/39		Kan	DAF	Edm	mech. engineer	
Wichelmann, Johann Karl Heinrich	G	fn	25-09-49	24-11-46	BK696				
Wildeman, Robert	Russia		8/09/40	4/06/42					
Wilke, August	G	fn	4/09/39		Citadel		Sydney, NS	sailor	
Willer, Johann	G	fn		12/05/42		DAF	Mont		
Windelmann, Willy	G		25-09-40	10/03/46					
Windt, Anton	G		28-05-40	12/05/42					
Windt, Paulus V.D.		Can							
Wingberg, Edwin	G	fn	1/04/41	10/03/46	BK769				
Wirth, Karl	G/A				Citadel	pro-N	Dominion, NS	miner	
Wirth, Phillip H.	G		19-01-41	29-03-42					
Wirtz, Heinz	G		1-04/41	4/05/46					

Witt, Helmut Wilhelm Walter	G		8/10/40	7/09/41		DAI	Edm			
Wittmann, Andreas	G	Nat		1/09/42		Bund	Saskatoon		Building Contractor	
Wiwyrsky, Charles	G	Can								
Woehr, Albert	G			26-2-45						
Wollf, Vincent	G	fn	4/09/39		Citadel	DAF	Sydney, NS		butcher	
Wolfram, Carl Alexander Emil	G		5/06/40	1/05/45						
Wonneberg, Charlotte	G	fn			KP F10					21
Woytyshyn, Anton	G			1/09/42						
Wuderl, Alois	G		29-08-40	4/06/45						
Wuerfel, Ernst	G	Nat	4/09/39	21-8-42	Kan	Bund	Burstall, Sask		farmer	
Wuerstle, Anton	G	Nat	26-07-40	2/08/43	Fr. P1189	Bund	Vegreville, Alb		Miller	21
Wulf, Rev. Karl	G		7/05/41	28-08-43						
Wunderlich, Karl	G	fn		8/11/43		DAF	Mont			
Wurm, Hans	G	fn	4/09/39		Kan	DAF	Winn		soap maker	
Wuschke, Adolf	G	Nat	4/09/39		Kan	Bund	Mossbank D. Sask		farmer	
Wuth, Fritz			12/08/43							
Wyzsick, Joseph	G		8-7-40	17-02-41						
Yeske, Edward	Pol		22-07-40	13-03-43						
Zabzinski, Guenter Feliz Lothar	Pol		2/08/40	14-04-45						
Zach, Emil				27-6-45						
Zaffiro, Francesco	It	Nat	18-06-40	20-07-42	Fr. P288		Hamilton			21
Zahn, Ernest Heinz	G		25-09-40	10/03/46						
Zaina, Luigi	It		11/07/40	4/03/42						
Zambri, Theodore	It		10/06/40				Tor			
Zanussi, Capt Giuseppe	It		10/06/40	26-8-42			Tor			
Zanussi, Pietro	It		10/06/40	29-05-42			Tor			
Zaza, Nicola	It		18-06-40	17-07-41			Tor			
Zeppieri, Giovanni	It		10/06/40	3/10/41			Mont			
Zerillo, Umberto	It	Nat	10/06/40	17-2-43	Fr. P493	Fascio	Mont		Supervisor	21
Ziefenbalg, Fritz	G		1/04/41	10/03/46						
Zieglsanberger, Eloi	G	Nat	30-07-40	2/04/43	Fr. P1098					21
Ziegler, Fritz	G			17-6-42						
Ziegler, Gustav	G	fn	5/09/39		Kan	NSDAP/DAF	Van		joiner	
Zittlav, Herman	Pol		18-06-40	25-05-43						
Zugelder, Joseph	G		9/07/40	25-05-42						
Zurborg, Alois	G		8/06/40	20-03-43						
Zwan, Arie V.D.		Can					Communist			21

Female Names	Ethnic	Citizen	From	Marital	Affiliation	Interned	Released	DOCR	Number	Age	Length	Occupation	Religion	Status
Lydia Alexander	G		Port Adams	Mrs		23-9-40	6/08/42	25(6)	F9		39-22 months	Housewife	Luth/Prot	repat
Muriel Marie Burke	G	Nel	Winn	Mrs		26-6-40	7/11/40	25(6)	F7		28-1 months	Housewife		
Elizabeth H Bony	G	m	Van	Mrs		40/4/42	6/08/42	25(6)	F19		42-1 months	Housekeeper		repat
Ruth A Bony	G	m	Van	Mrs		20-5-42	6/08/42		F20		16-1 months			
Marie Fontbeille	G	m	Tor	Mrs	F.F.	12/09/40	18-2-41	25(6)	F12		55-5 months	Nurse, 39		
Luisa Giuglietti	G	Nel	Nagay Fish	Mrs	F.F.	14-9-40	24-2-41		F11		42-5 months			
Cecilia Henric	G	m	Van	Mrs		6/08/40	6/08/42	25(6)	F5		29-44 months	Housewife	RC	repat
Katherine Hedges	G	m	Tor	Mrs		28-1-39	9/08/43	25(6)	F1		33-32 months	Housewife	Luth/Prot	
Marcel Himmer	G	Nel	Orkney's S	Mrs	pro-N	7/01/40	21-3-43	25(6)	F3		33-32 months		RC	
Bertha Himmer	Austrian	Nel	Herman Laas	Mrs		21-6-40	5/08/42	25(6)	F8		35-21 months		RC	
Marina Klaasen	G	Nel	Franchman	Mrs		24-7-40	1/08/42	25(6)	F4		38-23 months	Housewife	Prot	repat
Gertrude Kulasza	G	Nel	Welland	Mrs	F.F.	11-1-42	9/08/43				21 months	Housekeeper	RC	
Verna La Bosco	G	Can born	Papine	Miss	Comm	25-9-41	17-9-42		21 F13		29-10 months	Self Run LP		
Gladys MacDonald	Can	m	Hallux	Miss	pro-N	9/1/40	6/01/42		21 F16		38-13 months	Housewife	RC	repat
Antonia Peeters	Belgian	m	Hallux	Miss		14-6-40	14-6-41	25(6)	21 F2		53-12 months	Housewife		
Marie Prestallo	G	m	Winklor	Mrs		6/08/40	6/08/42		21 F10		46-22 months	Housewife	Luth/Prot	repat
Elise Pledier	G	m	Tor	Mrs		28-11-40	6/01/42		21 F14		31-13 months	Housewife	RC	repat
Angela van Caster	Belgian	m	Hallux	Miss	pro-N	28-11-40	6/01/42		21 F15		13 months	Housewife	RC	repat
M. von der Maassen	Belgian	m	Papine	Mrs	pro-N, wife	4/08/40	22-12-40		21 F8		4 months			
Gertrude Ullery	G	Can born				14-10-39	25(6)		F10					
Charlotte Wombing	G													
Questioned, married and released														
Annie Butler	Can	Can born			Comm									
Lyrra Carter	G	Nel	Winn	Mrs	NSDAP									
Louise D'Meng	G	Nel	Moit	Mrs										
Guiseppina Di Iola	G	Nel	Moit	Mrs										
Cemalie Francesco	G	Nel	Moit	Mrs	FF/Sons									
Elisbeth Friedl	G	Nel	Tor	Mrs										
Forca Gubelli	G	Nel	Moit	Mrs	FF, ODE									
Antonella Marzio	G	Nel	Moit	Mrs	FF, ODE, teacher									
Francesca Oliveri	G	Nel	Hendon	Mrs	FF									
Florence Pizzo	G	Nel	Tor	Mrs										
Marie Spallini	G	Nel	Tor	Mrs										
Pora Spallini	G	Nel	Tor	Mrs										

Compiled from several NAC files, including MG 30, E163, vol 14, RG 24, vol 6566-6567, vol 11249, RG14, vol 2483, CS408, RG 14, vol 2483, RG 18 vol 3568-3569, vol 1964, 6565-6569, part 1, RG 73, box 73 acc. 90-81/253



