Alfred Bader

Personal

[Internment] [19--]

QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY ARCHIVES

LOCATOR 5169

BOX 1

FILE 13

CHAJES-REALGYMNASIUM , WIEN

KLASSE IV B, 1937/38

The attached list of names and addresses was drawn up by me in 1938, probably before the summer holiday, i.e. about the time the attached class photo was taken. However, the months after the Anschluss saw much upheaval: pupils left the country apace and others joined the class after expulsion from other schools. Therefore, the list does not imply that all the 41 pupils were in the class at the same time.

In the photograph only 37 pupils are shown. Of the boys, all but 6 have been identified. But there are 11 boys listed whose likeness has not so far been identified. It could be that five boys were absent when the photograph was taken, or that some of the listed boys joined the class later on. Of the 8 girls in the photo, only 3 have so far been identified . Only 7 girls are listed, presumably due to an oversight.

Some of the information on the destination of classmates dates back to notes I made in 1938, and in a few cases to contacts I maintained thereafter. Other information was gleaned from the Chajes –newsletter issued periodically by Uri Spielvogel (1899 Litchfield Tpke. Woodbridge, CT 06525-1264,USA). Much information has been added by Moshe Aberbach with whom I met recently in Jerusalem (He and his wife Shoshanah live at 8, Keren Kajemet St.entr.5). In particular, Moshe has documented the sad fate of Sally Alter. Benzion Feinstein (Kibbutz Lehavot Habashan, Israel 12125) has similarly provided much information, especially on those who reached Israel (Palestine) early on. Inge Ginsberg (One Liberty Plaza ,New York, N,Y. 10023) Kurt's widow, wrote movingly in the Chajes –Newsletter (Aug. 99) about her husbands last days. She also gave the sad news about Kurt Geiger. I am hoping that recently established contact with Salo Bordon (78, Corringham Rd., London, NW11) and Lou Dauber (2709, Childress Drive, Las Vegas, NV 89134) will lead to further identifications and information. Hugo Brainin in Vienna (Kegelg.1/47,A-1030,Wien) may be able to ferret out more current addresses from the Pensions-versicherrungsanstalt and I shall approach him with that request.

In his otherwise well researched book 'Generation Exodus: the Fate of young Jews from Nazi Germany' (Brandeis University Press, 2001) the historian Walter Laquer, our contemporary, chronicles how our generation escaped, dispersed and resettled in all corners of the world.

He documents, in most readable fashion, a multitude of different individual fates, adventures and achievements. Some groups such as the alumni of the non-zionist agricultural training centre at Gross Breesen, Silesia, who kept in touch through a newsletter, receive prominence. But no mention is made of the Chajes-gymnasium or of Chajesniniks (bar a reference to Walter Kohn). This was not a deliberate omission, I am sure. Rather, it reflects the emphasis of the book on the fate of Germany's (proper) Jewish youth, to which Laquer belonged and about which he was better informed. Even so, he has left a gap to be filled. .

Whilst there is an abundance of individual memoirs, there is a dearth of statistics on the fate of our generation. So it is interesting to note that of the 35 boys listed 24 (i.e.68%) managed to flee Vienna. I hope that this figure will rise as more information flows in. For the upper classes of the school in 1938, the percentage who soon made aliyah was very high. So the proportion of 16-18 year-old Chajesniks who saved themselves was probably higher than applied to the age group as a whole. In our year, at least 8 boys made aliyah –still a sizeable number. So for our cohort also the statistics may be favourably loaded in comparison with our Jewish contemporaries as a whole.

At present, we have too little information on the girls. Perhaps some of the girls kept in touch with each other. One fears that the girls might have fared worse. They were too young to be eligible for entry to Britain as domestic servants, an important escape route for those a few years older. And parents might have been more reluctant to send away unaccompanied teen-age girls via a Kindertransport.

Please send along whatever information you have, corrections to this first attempt and pertinent comments you wish to make.

Otto Hutter.

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N.B. We move around quite a lot, visiting family etc. So snail-mail addressed to Glasgow can stay unopened for weeks. But I endeavour to open my e-mail every few days.

1	ABERBACH, MOSES IX. Moserg. 11	Left with Kindertransport Dec 1938. Parents were Hebrew Teachers and succeeded in following Moshe to Leeds. Moshe narrowly missed deportation to Canada. Soon gained degrees in Hebrew and History. Taught Hebrew and Talmud in Leeds and London, then Librarian and contributor , Jewish Chronicle. Later on faculty of Baltimore Hebrew College. Now Emeritus Professor living in Jerusalem.
2	ALTER, SALOMEA IX. Moserg. 14	Declined Kindertransport to stay with her parents. Father was a Rabbi. After many vicissitudes, family boarded ship from France to Peru. When typhoid fever broke out, Sally nursed the sick many of whom recoverd. But Sally herself sadly succumbed eventually.
3	BOHORODCANER, SALOMON XX.Treustr. 45	Kindertransport,Feb 1939, direct to relation who had vouched for him. Became businessman. Now known as BORDON SALO,living in NW London c.f.Chajes-Newsletter Sep. 93
4	BRAININ, HUGO II. Nordbahnstr.32	Escaped , but returned to live in Vienna. Mentioned in Chajes Newsletters.
5	BRENNER, JOSEF	Fate unknown
6	BUMMER, HUGO II. Gr. Mohreng.29	. Was Habonim Shaliach in London. Became Israeli diplomat under the name of SHIMON MORAT
7	DAUBER, LUIS XVII.Hernalser Hauptstr.79a	Mentioned in Chajes Newsletter as recently living in Las Vegas and recently contacted. Used to live in New Jersey Where he practiced as engineer.
8	EIGENMACHT, HARRY II.Schmalzg. 7	Came to England and went to school in Margate. Subsequent career unknown.
9	ELLENBERG, JOSEF Traunklg.10	Believed to have lived in Haifa and to have been in Israeli Navy.
10	EPSTEIN, MAX ii. Reichsbrueckenstr.32	Known to have arrived in Israel
11	FAERBER, MANFRED VIII Blindeng.29	Fate unknown
12	FEIBUSH, ADOLF IX. Broegerg.24	Became shop-owner in New York
13	FEIGENBAUM, HINRICH ix. Gussenbauerg.6	Changed to FEIGAN and lives/d in Australia.
14	FEINSTEIN, BERTOLD	Made alijah with mother in summer 1938 . attended Mikve Yisrael agricultural college, then British army. Dropped Bethold in favour of BENZION. Founding Member (Nov. 1945) of Kibbutz Lehavot Habashan in Hulleh Valley, where he and his family still live. One son sadly fell in Yom Kippur war. For many years managed Kibbutz factory producing fire fighting equipment.
15	FINKEL, NORBERT	Fate unknown
16	FRIEDLAENDER, JOSEF II. Krummbaumg. 2	Known to have reached Haifa (Herzl St. 52/1) in 1938.
17	FRIEDMAN, HERBERT	Fate unknown.

	II.Reichsbrueckenstr.26	
17B	GEIGER, KURT	Was member of class at one stage. Died recently in Usa.
18	GINSBERG, KURT Bleicherg.8	Initially left Vienna for Paris. Then in'Quito,Ecuador Later lived in Florida. According to Chajes Newsletter recently succumbed to infection contracted in hospital where he had treated for longstanding Emphysema.
19	GLASSBERG, JOSEF ix. Marrianneng13	Attended Mikveh Yisrael at the same time as Benzion Feinstein. Later served in Israeli Army.
20	GOLDSTOFF, GERTRUD IIAspernbrueckeng.4	Joined relativein London. Later during the wae in Bedford. Was swept off her feet by English sailor whom she married to become a Mrs.SMITH.
21	GROSS, HEINRICH VII.Neubaug. 7	Fate unknown
22	Gruenbrg-ESTER, ALFRED XX.Karliserstr.3	Left in 1938 for Bet Sara, Kinereth.
23	HARMANN, ALFRED IX.Rossauerlaende11	Came to England (Kindertransport?) Became teacher and later Head of a remedial school. Died some years ago.
24	HAUSER, NORBERT II.Sterneckplatz.6	Fate unknown
25	HEIMANN, PAUL II. Praterstr. 43	Left Vienna in 1938, but destination unknown.
26	HIRSCH, SIEGMUND IX. Schwartz- Spanierstr.15	Came to England (Kindertransport?). In 1940, was interned With Moshe Aberbach at Huyton nr.Liverpool. Subsequent fate unknown
27	HUTTER, OTTO II.Lilienbrunng.3	Left on Kindertransport,Dec1938. Completed schooling in English Public School, thanks to generosity of its Old Boy's Club. War-work at Wellcome Physiological Research Laboratories set career pattern. Teaching and research appointments in London, then Professor of Physiology, University of Glasgow. Now Emeritus still in Glasgow.
28	JURIS, KURT II.Springerg.,11	Left in 1938 to join Yeshiva Or Yisroel, Stamfordhill, London . Subsequent career at present unknown.
29	KALMAN, LAURA	Other details and fate unknown.
30	KOERNER, BERTA XX.Traunfelsg.1	Fate unknown.
31	LEHRHAUPT, AMALIE XX.Wallensteinstr. 62	Fate unknown
32	LUSTIG, SIGFRIED IX. Berg.2	Left in 1938r to join relative in Brooklyn, N.Y. So far, no subsequent trace.
33	MEZEI, KURT XIX.Boschstr.7	Always outstanding at the top of the class. Father was Working electrician and family was well integrated with Viennese working –class community. This helped them to stay in hiding. But in the very last days of the war, with the Russian army at the gates of Vienna, they were betrayed and his twin sister were murdered. Their mother somehow Survived. In the 1960's Mrs Mezei was employed as a clerk by the Israelitische Kultusgemeinde.

34	PLASCHKES, MICHAEL II. Praterstr.	Father was Zionist politician and family wenton Aliyah soon after Anschluss. In the 1960's, Michael was still living in the Tel-Aviv flat of his late parents (61, Achad Ha'am st.)
35	ROTFELD, BLANCA IX. Dreihackeng.6	Fate unknown
36	ROUSHAL, EDUARD XX.Rauscherstr. 4	Fate unknown
37	SANDMAN, KURT I. Wiplingerstr.1	Came from a highly assimilated family. Was admitted to School in1938 after being thrown out from Vienna Military Academy. Fate unknown.
38	SPARER, BLANCA X.Selefeloterg.17	Married and in Israel. Met by Aberbach in 1994.
39	STEIN, HARRY I. Franzischanerplatx(?)6	Left Viennain 1938.Last known address was a refugee camp in Antwerp.
40	WEINREB, MAX XVIII.Staubg. 3	Fate unknown.

TEACHERS: VIKTOR LOEWENFELD made aliyah and became head of a remedial School in Israel

DR ASHKENASI (?). Fate unknown.

COPY

LIST OF P/W MISSING ARTICLES--INTERNMENT CAMP "I"

Serial No.	Name	Articles
240	Leo Mayer	1 golden watch with chain.
		1 fountain pen.
		1 lighter.
		1 pair of new rubber boots.
		1 clothes brush.
		2 tooth-pastes.
		1 tooth brush.
241	Hans Kohn	1 pocket watch.
		Money 2-.-.
		1 pair of spectacles with case.
		50 cigarettes.
		1 pocket knife in case.
		1 fountain pen.
		250 cigarettes.
		1 pair of new bathing drawers.
[illegible]	[redacted]	1 leather belt.
		1 cigarette machine.
		1 pad of cigarette paper.
		1 cigarette case, nut.
		1 cigarette case silver.
		1 gold seal ring 585.
		1 safety razor in leather case.
		1 shaving brush.
		2 razor blades.
226	Rudolf Krieger	1 English Exercise Book.
		1 " " " .
		12 french letters.
		3 fountain pens.
		4 boxes of 12 cigarettes each.
		1 small suitcase.
		1 suit.
		3 shirts.
223	Walter Schoenberger	1 white woollen blanket.
		1 complete case for shoe things.
		1 new lighter.
		1 pair of game boots.
		1 tooth brush.
		1 big razor mirror.
		1 small manicure case.
		1 suitcase entirely broken.
		1 key ring.
		1 razor cup.
		300 cigarettes.
219	Edgar Guensberger	1 travelling set.
		Manicure implements.
		Looking glass.
		Scissors.
		2 perfume bottles.
		1 glass case.
		1 glass box.
		1 tooth brush case.
		1 leather case containing safety razor and blade.
		1 leather case containing
		2 small bottles.
97	Paul Lorant	1 pair of trousers, 1 pair of
		1 towel, 1 pyjama, 1 sport
		2 pairs of socks, 1 handkerchief,
		1 pullover, 1 belt, 1 pair of
		penders, 1 pair of garters, 1
		shorts, about 100 cigarettes,
		1 leather [illegible] case, 1
		razor things.

16. TAKE 1 COL. KIPPEN

Col. Eric Kippen
Como, Quebec

Interviewed by Harry Rasky, CBC

RASKY

COL. KIPPEN

Well, it started in um...started about the end of may., beginning of June 1940.

RASKY

COL. KIPPEN

Well, what happened was, that uh, the district officer commanding in Montreal, MD 4, that's military district 4, was a man called uh, uh, Axh Archambeau, and his assistant or sous assis, was a man called Col. Ken P i double y..Per double..Pe double r y, and what happened was, that I had axi said something to them about the uh, that subject..the prisoners of war because I understood that quite a few were, were going to be brought to Canada because Winston Churchill had just taken over in England on May 10, and he, as soon as he came in, things started to.. things started to change, because he wasn't at all

satisfied with having any prisoners in England at that particular time because they expected an invasion. Hitler was going to invade England. That was very much on the tapis at the time, so the first thing..Archambeau called me up one day and he said,"Well, things have changed very quickly and there's an emergency now. We understand there's a ~~shipment~~ shipload of prisoners on the way and we've nowhere to put them. Would you undertake to find a place for them? Have you got a car?" I said, "Yes." They gave me 6 or 7 cents a mile I think, to tour around Quebec to find a suitable site for a prisoner of war camp..you know it had to be barbed wired in and it had to have all the facilities of uh, water and light and so..power and that sort of thing..well, I had quite a time finding anything. He gave me, I think, I remember, if I remember rightly, he gave me 6 or 7 addresses. Well, 3 of them were no use at all. Then I boiled it down to 2 or 3 and then finally down to 1...and that was the island of Isle aux Noix in the Richelieu River, which had been an old fort way back in in the..1790..and was used in the war

between Canada and the United States in 1812. The Americans invaded up the river, they tried to invade but they got stopped at Isle aux Noix. Well, there was an old building, very solid, very stone uh, stone all stone construction..and I looked at it and..and I'd been told..LAUGHS...which turned out to be, quite wrong, I'd been told by Col. Perry..at MD 4 that uh, and hê'd been informed that..they were a lot of very dangerous prisoners, Nazi prisoners of war, soldiers...and he said, "Well, that'll be a good place to put them, on the island." I said, "Well, I think so." Anyway, when they arrived about say, it was about the middle of June..he told me tha on the..I think it was the 18th of June, these ~~pxk~~ prisoners of war would arrive - so called prisoners of war - they weren't prisoners of war at all...uh..we had ~~xthm~~ the train surrounded with uh..~~txxxxp~~ troops..rifles and bayonets and machine guns and all sorts of things...LAUGHS...and then we has a raft which was all wired in to take them over the river - it's quite a little stretch there, it's about 2, 3 hundred yards..uh..to this ih..Isle aux Noix camp which by that time I'd got ready - I'd

taken about three weeks, I had some engineers working on it night and day. They had to install a uh... proper lighting and uh, had to do a lot about the water and the drainage and all that sort of thing, because it hasn't been lived in for about 60 or 70 years. It was full of bats..and all sorts of animals..so..it was a...rotten place, really, but it was the only thing I could find in a hurry. Well, anyway, the day came when they, they arrived.. great big, long train..about 18, 19, 20 carraiges and out streamed the most...disra...ragged looking crowd I've ever seen. First of all, an old fellow comes out..I guess he must have been at least 80..he could hardly walk...then there..a young boy, he was 16 or 17..these were all.... refugees, that had been swept up and had been brought over in this ship. Well, the information I had got, you see, was entirely wrong, and I got quite a shock when I saw them, because I said, "Hell, these aren't prisoners of war"....LAUGHS...."something gone wrong here with the...with the intelligence." ...LAUGHS...Anyway, they turned out they were...at that time they were, they were uh...they were termed

prisoners of war, class 2. I don't know why they were class 2, but...and they were...that was thw category for quite a long time. Well, anyway, we got them in there, and a lot of them were...a lot of them were..Orthodox Jews..was a big problem there because uh...first thing I knew, uh..quite a problem to solve too, because the army didn't have any facilities for it. They had to have kosher food. Well.....

RASKY

COL. KIPPEN

Well, I knew what kosher food was, myself, but the... a lot...you know...a lot of people didn't...LAUGHS... We had to go to no end of trouble..we..we were willi to ~~gthmxth~~ give them ~~kt~~ kosher food. That' was actually the Orthodox ~~fmmmt~~ fellows and then there were what you call, some liberal minded fellows that didn't mind what they had. But, anyway, I think there were about uh, well, there must have been 80, 90 or ~~x~~ 100 or at least more than that, of these kosher fellows. Well, you know, it wasn't the easiest thing in the world at war time, to provide it. We got it finally..and they were quite satisfied with it.

RASKY

COL. KIPPEN

Well, no they, no they, no..they didn't go on any hunger strike for that reason. We had a little trouble later on, but not for~~that~~ that reason. Oh no, they were quite willing to uh...they had their services and...and you see, uh, they were treated as though...at that time..it seems rather foolish now, looking back on it, but..that time they ~~xxxxx~~ were treated as prisoners or war. They were...there they were..in this great, big, old fashioned building... quite comfortable..and it's surrounded by barbed ~~xx~~ wire..patrolled 24 hours a day with sentries, just like a prison..and so on..and uh...we were told uh.. it turned out to be quite a ...a...an army story, but we were told that uh, quite a few of them ~~xxxx~~ were interested in getting out, you know. Well, I warned them..I told them more than once. I said, "you know, don't try to get out of here, because you won't be ~~xxxx~~ any better off..uh..there's a river and uh..I don't know as you can get across it very well without getting drowned. So, I think you just better stay here. And that...we'll feed you and we'll look after you and you...you'll certainly be quite content here." Well, I know...uh...And I told

them. I said, "Well, of course, I'm ~~xx~~ an old prisoner of war myself. I was in the first war and I was quite...a prisoner for quite a long time and the minute you're a prisoner, you know, you've got to get out!..LAUGHS...It's quite a fascinating pass-time figuring out ways and means of beating ~~t~~the uh...beating the authorities, getting...~~all~~ all ~~sort~~ sorts of streams, we had tunnelling undergroun and impersonating the guard and...and uh..all sorts of rather fantastic stunts. A good many of them never succeed, but never the less, most of us ~~f~~ would want to try..that is, if you're cooped up in a...behind barbed wire. I don't know what it is. I think that's the spirit of mankind, that they don't like being caged in...

RASKY

COL. KILLEN

Well I...when I looked at them, I thought, "Well, I don't think any of these fellows are very ~~enterpri~~ enterprising, in that way. I think they'll be here as long as they're comfortable, I think..I feel.. I keep them happy..LAUGHS..but the ordinary prisoners of war, of course, they're, they're always on it, they're always at it, but these, these fellows, after all, I got to know them quite well,

and they were only about, oh, there were very few there that I suspected of any such enterprise as that. However, we had to carry on as if it were the case, you see?

RASKY

COL. KILLEN

Well, I told Ken Perry and Gen. Archambeau and then later on, Gen. Benny, uh...and uh..he came down one day and he...I knew him quite well, before the war and..he said, "Well, Eric, uh...these fellows don't look very dangerous,"...LAUGHS...I said, "No, sir." "They're quite harmless,"I said, "But here they are" And what he said, uh..uh.."I might tell you, that there are steps underway, to uh..change ~~they~~ their category to..from prisoner of war, class 2, t refugee and that uh, we've got certain plans, they have certain plans in hand to uh..examine them and to release them, quite a few of them. That has to be quite a process". And, ~~in~~that..in due course, that took place.

RASKY

COL. KIPPEN

Well, I was there...I opened it, I say, in June, and then they moved me on Oct. 2, I think it was, 1940. They asked me to go over to Farnum, which

was being built at the time. That was going to be another internment camp, for these sort of people - refugees. So, I went over, and superintended the last stages of the building..they moved in there about the be..uh..we had about 6, 7 hundred move in about the uh..around Nov. the 1st or just the end of Oct., 1940..and that was a..a built camp.. series of huts..very comfortably built, very well appointed..and uh..towers all around it, just like an internment camp where the sentries could be, you know...

RASKY

THE SIXTH COLUMN
SOUND ROLL 8
61 -2-2470-0001

16 TAKE 2

RASKY

COL. KIPPEN

Well, I had nothing to do with it. I was simply in command of the camp and...I used to go up to MD 4 now and then, quite often, as a matter of fact, I'd tell them, they were quite harmless, I don't know why they were there.

I couldn't see any point in it. I said, "The quicker they're released, the better". Well, that was done in due course, because the first one to.. the first one that was released was a man called uh...Kurt Swinton, and uh, I remember taking him down to the Farnum station and he had this awful PW dress on, you know, coat with a big red circle on the back and great big red stripe down the trousers, and of course, all the townspeople were very interested..so I'd arranged for the station agent to get him into a room ther, in the station, and he changed into civilian clothes, and then, he was a free man, you see, then released..and we waited until the train came in. ~~Then, we put him on the train~~

Then we put him on the train and then...and he uh... as he left, he, you know, he clicked his heels, the way they do in Europe, especially the Germans and Austrians, and uh..he said good-bye, and uh..I said to him, "Kurt..remember ~~xth~~ this..We don't click heels in this country..we don't bow either..LAUGHS.. We say good-bye, we shake hands." So, I shook hands with him and wished him best of luck, and he went. And, he was the first one to go. And then there were oh, a good many others, by degrees. They used to have the RCMP come down. They'd go through them and it was quite a ritual to have to go through. The RCMP used to tell me, "Well, some of these fellows are a little hard to fathom, but most ofthem are quite simple. They're really, what they are..they're really..they're really refugees from Nazi oppression...that's what they really are." I said, "Yes, I can't agree more. Except for the od one, perhaps." And there were a few rats among them but ~~t~~ it took a little time to find them, but uh.. and then they had..another one was released was Walter Klenkopf, shortly after that, started an art gallery in Montreal. His father'd been a..a dealer, I think in Austria, in Vienna. He's been

very successful and many others. I can't name them all now, but...

RASKY

COL. KIPPEN

Well, he used to come into the office quite often. I used to have them come into the office, you know. They'd come in every day. Kurt..for instance, Kurt Swinton, I got to know him very well, and Klenkopf, because they used to come in every day, because they had an internal job. I mad Swinton the postmaster general inside. He..he used to distribute the mail to them, if there was ~~anyx~~ any, and letters going out, he'd gather them up and then it had to go through our censorship process, which...had to be read, you know...I got to know him very well, and he used to ~~sx~~ say, when he got to know me a little bit, he used to say, "Sir, I don't know why I'm here. I'm on your side".LAUGHS.. I said, "You probably are, but dammit, I can't do anything about it. It's just my job to keep you here while they..while I'm told to keep you here. I dare say, the day'll come. I'm doing what I can. I've made recommendations, I've written letters and so on, and we..there's a process, now going on, that you may find..will be productive ~~am~~ of your..of ~~something good for~~

xp something good for you..probably your freedom". and it came to pass, but it took..it took a long time..and he said, "Well, a lot ofthe fellows inside there, feel it's very unjust. The whole thing's unjust." I said, "Of course it is, but..I know it's unjust, but there's a war going on and if there's going to be any unjustice, the State can't afford to take any chances. We don't know anything about you fellows. You xxx seem alright, but hell we don't know anything about you...we only got to know you in the last few months."...LAUGHS... Anyway, the process went on and...then uh...

RASKY

COL. KIPPEN

Well, wex had a little trouble...well, I'll tell you what happened, if you want to go into that. Well, anyway, that's Isle aux Noix. At Farnum, we uh...there was a chap...R.W.S. Fornum...Col. R.W.S. Fornum in Ottawa, finally took over the uh... looking after these refugees about the end of uh... Oct., Nov. '40, and then things started to change, and first their category was changed to refugee, which was a good thing. Well, thaen that put the

whole thing in a different uh...well, a different background altogether...and uh...see, as it... developed..there's a chap called Major J.D. UH.. D.J. O'Donahue..and Fordham got hold of him, and he was to set up a ~~xxx~~ factory inside the ~~xx~~ enclosure at Farnum..a carpentry factory. We had a lot of skills there, you know, so this was done. We had all sorts of characters there. ~~x~~ We made a lot of things, uh, that were quite useful, mostly wood products. Well, one day, there was a little trouble because there was what they call, what is called today, a strike...LAUGHS...they ~~xxx~~ were dissatisfied with something or other and uh...I remember I had to go in and uh...they had a meeting and I just said, "Look here, boys, rather stupid to go on strike and lay down your tools because you aren't going~~x~~ to gain anything by it, and uh..what is the uh, what is the trouble?"...a whole mass of them there, a whole lot of them in one meeting, I had...and they got up, I ~~d~~ said, "I'd like to hear what you really..have you really got any realy grievances? I can't do anything about you being her You've gotta be here as long as the authorities want

to keep you here. I can't do anything about that but, is anything wrong with the food, or..are the guards molesting you or..what is the trouble?" It turned out there was very little trouble, but one or two aggitators had started a little bit of a plot to raise trouble. Well, we got ahold of those fellows and removed them. Took them right out of the place. Put them in another place. And after that, we had no trouble at all, and they were quite happy then, and one by one they were released. A great many of them were released.

RASKY

COL. KIPPEN

Well, there was a little squak about that, yes, but uh..we simply told them, we have to have a uniform of some kind, you've got to be identifiable to the general public; the general public demanded it.. and uh...you know, at that time, it's hard to realize it now, but at that time, the general public...

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16 TAKE 3

RASKY

...yes, we had to explain that to them and, uh.

and they accepted it..uh..the general public, looking back on it, it seems rather odd, but... there was a war of course, and the general public seemed rather hostile towards these people, although they were refugess, they were very hostil towards prisoners. They weren't very keen on them, and uh, I had one or two uh..not only at that, in Farnum, but...I had 1 in Farnum, I had...later on when I had..German prisoners of war, at differen camps across Canada, I like out west at uh, Lethbridge and so on, I had delegations wait on me about the matter of food. They said, "Look here,"...one day a lot of women came for instance, from Farnum. I think they were about aid or some society or other...said, "Look here. It's a funny thing. We're having an awful time getting certain ...articles of food and we understand that these refugees are getting, at no trouble at all, they're getting army rations." I said, "That's quite true...can't deny it." "What's wring with that?", I said. Well.....I said to one of the..the leading ladies, I said, "You're really jealous, are you? Is that it?" Well, she said, "I suppose you could put it that way". Well, it was a feeling, you see,

just a feeling. It was an underground feeling. Yo wouldn't notice it..every now and then it used to itself. So, with prisoners of war and refugees, you have to be...have to have a uniform, so that they be identified easily, and then, of course, under the uh, regulations of the Geneva Treaty at that time, they had to get the army rations..exactly the same as the fighting soldiers got. ~~Thaxt~~ That was it. I couldn't do anything about it.

RASKY

COL. KIPPEN ...Well, uh... every now andthen, there'd be a suspicien about that...uh...at Farnum, later on in 1941, January '41, around I think, January or February, we were...I got orders to get one or two x ready to be returned to...be sent to England.. and one of the was a man called Fuch, F,U,C,H.. very scientific man, very brilliant man..ix rather hard to get on with, but uh...for some reason or other he was..somebody, some scientist in England wantedxxxdxx him...it was to do with the development of the uh, something to do with the development of what turned out to be the...the atomic bomb...

16 TAKE 4
CAMERA 19
SOUND ROLL 8

RASKY
COL. KIPPEN

...We'd been very good to him, and uh, anyway, on day...ordered to pack him up and away he went. H he went back and he worked, I believe, in ~~Exxx~~ England for quite awhile, quite a few months..on scientific things, and then one day we heard that he'd uh..defected..went over to Russia. Far as I know, he's still there, I don't know...but that.. he ratted on us....LAUGHS....we were rather..we were rather annoyed about that...cause he'd been.. we'd been very good to him....

15 TAKE 5
RASKY
COL. KIPPEN

Well, he was one of the refugees at Farnum, in o of the huts..and uh..x very interesting man..ver brainy fellow, scientifically inclined. Anyway, uh..one..one day, I think, early in '41, we got orders to uh, send him to England, back to Engla because somebody over there, some scientific uh, uh, group wanted him..knew of him and wanted him and it turned out to be later on, that it was to [illegible]

to so with what turned out to be the atomic bomb, you see? They were working on that, and then later on we heard, many months later, we heard that he'd uh...he defected, he'd gone over to Russia, which was uh..rather disappointing to us because we'd bee very good to him. However, that's what he elected to do.

RASKY

COL. KIPPEN Well, he was one of the few that were you see, he was one of the very few that did things like that..

RASKY

COL. KIPPEN Now, another thing..oh yes..talking about these, uh refugees, I forgot to say that, before they could be released there were certain ritual that had to be gone through...RCMP examination and interrogation and then they had to find a sponsor..uh.. and the sponsor had to put up at least $1,000.00, so that they wouldn't become a charge on the State....you know it wasn't the easiest thing in the world to find occupations when they were just released from a refugee camp. People were rather reluctant to, rather suspicious..you know..

in wartime, they would be. But Swinton, Kurt Swinton went and the first thing I know, one day..just had lunch in my mess and the telephon rang and...uh..he said..uh.."Got a surprise for you, sir, but this is Kurt Swinton speaking". I says, "I recognize the voice. Where are you, Kurt? "Well," he said, "I'm in Montreal, and I'm an officer now in the Canadian Armed Forces. I'm a s..I'm a Lieutenant." I said, "Good God, are you really?"...LAUGHS...so he said, "I've got a request I'd like to come down and see some of my old friends in hut #A, A hut at the uh.." "Alright, come on down." So, I fixed the..I think I fixed it for the next day. He came down, or the day after that. He came down about uh, 11:30, 12:00 o'clock. I took him into the mess and uh, introduced him to all the officers there and uh, had lunch..had him as a guest, as my guest, had him as a guest then. So, my officers thought I'd gone a bit balmy. "Imagine," they said, "having a ex-pris...ex-refugee, prisoner of war, having a...a..entertaining him and treating him..this

way. I didn't hear this, but I..I heard..later on I heard underground rumblings about it..LAUGHS.. but, uh, I took him up ~~axxy~~ anyway, to the uh, enclosure and I handed him over to ~~E~~ Sargeant-Major Breslin..so I said, "Breslin, take Lt. Kurt Swinton into his hut and let him stay there as long as he wants to..and uh..than bring him back to me..I'd like to see him afterwards." So, he did..and he went in and uh..old Breslin was the real Sargeant-Major, you know, and when ~~xh~~ he went into all these huts, he had a co..a habit of ~~sxxxxx~~ saying, "Achtung", ~~axx~~ you know, and they would all have to stand up, stand to attention. So he say, went in. "Achtung", and they all stand up and..he..he said, "i'd like to introduce you all to Lt. Kurt Swinton." Well, they were simply aghast, you see, couldn't understand it..anyway, Breslin disappeared, I told him to clear out, I told him, "Don't stay there. Let ~~at~~ them talk and..." So he was there for about an hour, hour and a quarter, I think, an hour and a half, and uh, then Breslin brought him back to my office..and we were just alone in my office..sitting at my desk and he was sitting across from me. "Well," I said,

"Swinton, that's quite an adventure wasn't it? Quite an ~~xpx~~ experience." And he was so.. emotionally moved that he had tears in his eyes. He said, "General..really, this is unbelievable.. that this could happen..couldn't happen in any other country, except in a democracy like this." "Well,"I says, "I think you're right". I said, "The quick transma...uh..transportation..transportation...trans...tr...transformation, isn't it?" and uh...thenk..to make...further..the.. the end of the story is, Kurt Swinton got on very well. He was promoted. He was in the signalling..he got into the Signalling Corps and by the end of the war he was a..a Lt. Colonel, and then when he came ~~bak~~ back in peacetime, he went into a business ofsome kind. I think, for awhile, he was in the uh...in the publishing business in Toronto, encyclopaedia, or something of that lind..and one day I got..I was a member of the Canadian Club., you know, the club that has luncheons every now and then, every week or two, and one day, I take up the card and here's Kurt Swinton going to be the speaker..so I..I went to hear ~~hm~~ him and met him again..so..we had quite a chat about old times. See, there's a, there's a

thing that happened, unb...almost unbelievable, but it happened...

RASKY

COL. KIPPEN

Well...~~welll~~ well, when he went away, you see, that day in the mess, when he went away...i... I...I remember my 2IC said to me, "Don't you think you're taking an awful chance, Sir, in having a ma like that in the mess, and uh, don't you thinkg the authorities are a little bit uh..uh..making a big mistake in having..taking a man like that into the army?" I said, "I don't think so at all."

RASKY

COL. KIPPEN

Well, you see, ~~as~~ we didn't uh..we didn't... theings like this you see, everybody was..you had to have a pretty flexible mind, you see, to handle all these things. I found that...personal] I found that the fact that I'd been a prisoner,~~of~~ ~~m~~ myself behind the wire, gave me a great deal of uh, ~~perhap~~ perhaps I was a little broad minded than a lot of my uh...other ~~bu~~ people in the bus.. in theuh..in the service, in the internment camp service. It was uh...on the whole , the Canadian authorities...while they knew nothing about the uh...business of looking after ~~p~~

prisoners of war or refugees when the war started. They knew very little and they had very few people that knew anything about it..but..slowly and by degrees, and precedent after precedent, uh..they developed a policy of uh..very compassionate and very uh..reasonable, decent sort of policy that uh..I think is quite a credit to the country. And I give a lot of credit to uh...Lt. Col. R.W.S. Fordham in Ottawa, because he designed most of it, and by degrees got his ideas accepted..and I know used to..we used to have long chats together, and I ...I always used to support him very strongly because I believed that was the proper policy..and weeding out the odd bad apple that we found every now and then, but there weren't very many of them. But there were some.

RASKY

COL. KIPPEN Beg pardon?

RASKY

COL. KIPPEN We had this uh...we had this school going with uh, McGill University. They were studying. I got them books. We got them all sorts of books. They had examinations and Mr. Matthews of McGill,

used to take, we used to take the papers up. They were marked, and they got a lot ...they got a lot of uh...uh...of academic credit for these examinations, which I think was a great help to them in future years. I don't know how many of them were, but I know a lot of those people are still in the country; God only knows where they are, because I've lost track of them all.

RASKY

COL. KIPPEN

Well, yea, I used to feel that way..LAUGHS... I..I..Iused to say, I used to say to some of them, "You fellows are lucky," to some of the youngest chaps, I said, "You're very lucky. My sons are in the service. They havent had any chance to study".uh..in the defences..uh in the uh..defence uh..uh..they were both...one was in the army and one was in the AirForce. And I said, "You chaps are lucky, uh, because you're able to get any books you want, practically any book you want, that had to do with uh, with uh, studies."and uh...then they were having this uh, papers sent down from McGill, for their uh..

RASKY

COL. KIPPEN ...taking easy examinations.....

RASKY

COL. KIPPEN That was a really interesting things about those two fellows uh...

RASKY

PROCEEDINGS of a* **Court of Inquiry**

assembled at **Fort Lennox, Ile-aux-Noix, Province of Quebec.**

on the **25th day of September, 1940.**

by order of **Brigadier J.P. Archambault, D.S.O., M.C.**
D.O.C. Military District No. 4, Montreal.

for the purpose of **reporting upon the loss or theft of baggage belonging to Prisoners of War and other Internees.**

*N.B.—As this Form may be applicable to any Board of Officers or Committee or Court of Inquiry the blanks to be filled in accordingly.

The signature of each Officer composing the Board, etc., should be attached to the end of the proceedings.

Lt.-Col. H. [illegible]
Reserve of Officers.

Major Walter H. Scott, M.C.
Canadian Grenadier Guards.
District Recruiting Officer.

Captain D. Cleghorn.
1st Bn. Black Watch (R.H.R.) of Can.

take evidence as follows:

Capt. [illegible], British Intelligence Officer, attached to Internment Camp "I", Ile-aux-Noix, having been duly sworn states:

He was with the detachment of Prisoners of War, Class II, usually referred to as "Internees", from the port of debarkation until arrival at this Camp. The last time he saw the baggage was at Quebec. They had docked there at 0800 hrs. and disembarked at 1000 to 1030 hrs. Baggage was taken off the boat by means of cranes, in large nets, and later loaded on trucks. He has no knowledge of what happened to it after that.

The night before leaving the boat, about fifteen representatives, appointed by the prisoners themselves, were allowed to go into the hold of the ship to look for prisoners' baggage and to put blue labels on every piece. Asked how they could recognize the baggage, Witness replies that these representatives had a list of the baggage belonging to their fellow-prisoners. During process of unloading baggage by cranes, it was possible, and even likely, that some of it would be damaged. Labels had fallen off in course of unloading, and he actually saw several labels lying on the quai at Quebec.

Witness did not see the baggage being loaded on the train, and the baggage was not in the same carriages as the prisoners.

[illegible] Internees.

[redacted]

[illegible]

[illegible]ers.

[illegible] R. [illegible]ott, M.C.
Canadian Grenadier Guards.
District Recruiting Officer.

Captain D. Clewmore.
of No. [illegible] [illegible]atch (R.S.R.) of [illegible].

[redacted]

gave evidence as follows:

[illegible], British [illegible] Officer, attached to Internment Camp "I", Ile-aux-Noix, having been duly sworn states:

He was with the detachment of Prisoners of War, Class II, usually referred to as "Internees", from the port of debarkation until arrival at this Camp. The last time he saw the baggage was at Quebec. They had docked there at 0800 hrs. and disembarked at 1000 to 1030 hrs. Baggage was taken off the boat by means of cranes, in large nets, and later loaded on trucks. He has no knowledge of what happened to it after that.

The night before leaving the boat, about fifteen representatives, appointed by the prisoners themselves, were allowed to go into the hold of the ship to look for prisoners' luggage and to put blue labels on every piece. Asked how they could recognize the luggage, witness replies that these representatives had a list of the baggage belonging to their fellow-prisoners. During process of unloading baggage by cranes, it was possible, and even likely, that some of it would be damaged. Labels had fallen off in course of unloading, and he actually saw several labels lying on the quai at Quebec.

Witness did not see the baggage being loaded on the train, and the baggage was not in the same carriages as the prisoners.

Prisoners were searched on the wharf at Quebec and were told, in German, by an Intelligence Officer whom witness does not know, that such articles as knives, scissors, etc. were to be given up on the spot, which was done. They were thrown "pele male" in a box. Some of missing articles may have been thrown in by mistake. These articles were not seen or heard of again.
Witness did not have occasion to see the baggage again until its arrival at St. Valentine Station three miles from St. Paul de l'Ile aux Noix, nor did he see the baggage at the Camp, and he did not have anything to do with it then. He saw that the baggage was damaged. Some of the damage, in his opinion, may have been done by the heavy rains after its arrival at destination.

WITNESS Major E.D.B. KIPPEN, Commandant of Internment Camp "I" having been duly sworn, states:

He first heard of the prisoners on 15th July, 1940, at H.Q., M.D. 4, when A.A. & Q.M.G. told him that prisoners were expected to arrive that same night. He then saw Major CATHCART about orders and arrangements to be made. He then telephoned his Adjutant at 1515 hours to give necessary instructions. Personally, he did not go to St. Valentine Station and did not take charge of the prisoners until they had actually arrived in his camp.
The first load of prisoners arrived at 1900 hrs. No information whatsoever regarding baggage had been received by him at that time. He took over the prisoners from Col. Peiller at about 0800 Hrs, next day. No receipt was given for baggage which had not yet arrived from the mainland. He was informed by Col. Peiller that the baggage would arrive later. Questioned as to when he had personal knowledge of any baggage arriving with the prisoners, witness says it was when the baggage was brought from St. Paul beach to the Island about 0500 Hrs. on July 16th. Next day the baggage was taken, soaking wet, to the Quartermaster's Stores.
With regard to movement orders, Major Kippen states that on instructions from A.A. & Q.M.G., he had 'phoned Col. Peiller, O.C. of the Canadian Grenadier Guards, with whom arrangements were made to supply a guard of about two hundred and fifty men to look after the de-training of prisoners at St. Valentine Station. Later in the day Col. Peiller arrived with his men and took charge of the whole operations, namely: de-training of prisoners and escorting them to Ile aux Noix, as well as supplying a guard for that night at the Camp. This was additional to Provosts who had other work to do. The Canadian Grenadier Guards then handed the prisoners over to Major Kippen and took their departure at about 0830 hrs. on 16th July.

WITNESS Capt. R.A. Stewart, in Command of Veterans' Guard of Canada, at Ile aux Noix, being duly sworn states:

The request was made to him to supply a guard for the prisoners while they were unloading baggage. This guard returned with the prisoners when this work was completed. They had been given to understand that prisoners were dangerous Nazis who required careful watching. A senior Officer of the Veterans Guard was in command of the train. No mention was made to him of baggage.

was done. They were thrown "pele mele" in a [illegible]. Some of missing articles may have been thrown in by mistake. These articles were not seen or heard of again.
Witness did not have occasion to see the baggage again until its arrival at St. Valentine Station three miles from St. Paul de l'Ile aux Noix, nor did he see the baggage at the Camp, and he did not have anything to do with it then. He saw that the baggage was damaged. Some of the damage, in his opinion, may have been done by the heavy rains after its arrival at destination.

2ND WITNESS Major H.D.B. KIPPEN, Commandant of Internment Camp "I" having been duly sworn, states:

He first heard of the prisoners on 15th July, 1940, [illegible] H.Q., M.D. 4, [illegible] & Q.M.G. told him that prisoners were expected to arrive that same night. He then saw Major [illegible] about orders and arrangements to be made. He then telephoned his Adjutant at 1315 hours to give necessary instructions. Personally, he did not go to St. Valentine Station and did not take charge of the prisoners until they had actually arrived in his camp.
The first load of prisoners arrived at 1900 hrs. No information whatsoever regarding baggage had been received by him at that time. He took over the prisoners from Col. Peiler at about 0200 Hrs, next day. No receipt was given for baggage which had not yet arrived from the mainland. He was informed by Col. Peiler that the baggage would arrive later. Questioned as to when he had personal knowledge of any baggage arriving with the prisoners, witness says it was when the baggage was brought from St. [illegible] to the [illegible] at about 0[illegible] Hrs. on July 1[illegible]. Next day the baggage was taken, soaking wet, to the Quartermaster's Stores.
With regard to movement orders, Major Kippen states that on instructions from A.A. & Q.M.G., he had 'phoned Col. Peiler, O.C. of the Canadian Grenadier Guards, with whom arrangements were made to supply a guard of about two hundred and fifty men to look after the de-training of prisoners at St. Valentine Station. Later in the day Col. Peiler arrived with his men and took charge of the whole operations, namely: de-training of prisoners and escorting them to Ile aux Noix, as well as supplying a guard for that night at the Camp. This was additional to Provosts who had other work to do. The Canadian Grenadier Guards then handed the prisoners over to Major Kippen and took their departure at about 0830 hrs. on 16th July.

250 men [illegible]

RD WITNESS Capt. R.A. Stewart, in Command of Veterans' Guard of Canada, at Ile aux Noix, being duly sworn states:

The request was made to him to supply a guard for the prisoners while they were unloading baggage. This guard returned with the prisoners when this work was completed. They had been given to understand that prisoners were dangerous Nazis who required careful watching. A senior Officer of the Veterans Guard was in command of the train. No mention was made to him of baggage.

baggage was not one of his duties. In fact, he had no official instructions about baggage. So far as he knows, there was no guard or attendants of any sort, military or otherwise, in the baggage car. He was detailed to assist the Canadian Grenadier Guards in the de-training of prisoners, and later supervised the unloading of baggage by prisoners. This done, he left the station after midnight with the last batch of prisoners, together with his own men, to report at Ile aux Noix. Witness was not called upon to detail any of his men for the purpose of guarding baggage at the station or on the beach.

[illegible] WITNESS Major J.A. Green, Internment Camp Adjutant, Ile aux Noix, having been duly sworn, states:

He was on duty [illegible] Major Kippen gave him instructions to prepare for the arrival of prisoners at 1830 hrs. on the night of [illegible] of July, which he did. He had no knowledge of, or instructions about, any baggage. There was a detail of about ten Provosts under a N.C.O. by the name of Harper, who arrived just before the first batch of prisoners and remained at the Camp until the next morning. They had been detailed by District Depot, at Major Kippen's request, to carry out a bodily search of the prisoners. Outside of what the prisoners carried on their person, these Provosts had nothing to do with baggage. After the prisoners had arrived at Ile aux Noix, witness says he was informed that all prisoners' baggage had been piled up on the beach in front of Ile aux Noix Hotel. When he arrived to make arrangements for removal of baggage to the Island, he found Sgt. [illegible] keeping guard over it. It took four or five hours to ferry the baggage across from the beach to the island, and two days more to move the whole of it into the quartermaster's stores. Due to weather conditions, witness states that tarpaulins were used to protect baggage. It had already been affected by the rain and was in pretty bad condition. Asked if he considers he had taken all necessary precautions to protect baggage from rain or other hazards, witness replies in the affirmative.

WITNESS [illegible]LED Capt. F.B. STAFF confirms Major Green's statement about there being a Provost detail in the Camp who carried out a bodily search of prisoners on arrival of these, as they had been instructed to do. He has no knowledge of their being near, or that they had access to the baggage.

WITNESS Mr. J.A. GOSSELIN, having been duly sworn, states:

His father is proprietor of the Hotel at St. Paul de l'Ile aux Noix. The boat, a motor scow, that carried prisoners and baggage from the mainland to the Camp belongs to him. Otherwise, witness had nothing to do with the baggage, nor does he know by whom and how it was moved from the train to the beach.

FOURTH WITNESS Sgt. A.F. Smith, Veterans' Guard of Canada, having been duly sworn, states:

That while on duty from Quebec to St. Valentine on the train carrying prisoners, the guarding of baggage was not one of his duties. In fact, he had no official instructions about baggage. So far as he knows, there was no guard or attendants of any sort, military or otherwise, in the baggage car. He was detailed to assist the Canadian Grenadier Guards in the de-training of prisoners, and later supervised the unloading of baggage by prisoners. This done, he left the station after midnight with the last batch of prisoners, together with his own men, to report at Ile aux Noix. Witness was not called upon to detail any of his men for the purpose of guarding baggage at the station or on the beach.

FIFTH WITNESS Major J.W. Green, Internment Camp Adjutant, Ile aux Noix, having been duly sworn, states:

He was on duty on the Island when Major Kippen gave his instructions to prepare for the arrival of prisoners at 1830 hrs. on the night of 15th of July, which he did. He had no knowledge of, or instructions about, any baggage. There was a detail of about ten Provosts under a N.C.O. by the name of Harper, who arrived just before the first batch of prisoners and remained at the Camp

SECOND WITNESS RECALLED

Major E.D.B. KIPPEN, States:

The baggage had probably come from the station to the beach in the same busses that had been used previously to transport the prisoners themselves; he is not sure.

SEVENTH WITNESS

Otto FUROHNT, (Prisoner No. 509, having been duly sworn, states:

He had seen his suitcase placed on the train at Quebec, after that it had been mislaid but was recovered later. Everything it contained was intact except for a small fountain pen which was inside the bag. This he did not recover. Prisoner declares himself perfectly satisfied and did not wish to appear before the Court when asked to do so.

[illegible]

Jack Elner (Prisoner No. 59), having been duly sworn, states:

His suitcase had been mislaid but it has since turned up complete and intact. He is very pleased to have got all of his things back.

NINTH WITNESS

Zaks ARON (Prisoner No. 22), having been duly sworn, states:

He has lost one large suitcase and did not see it on the ship. On arrival at Quebec he carried a small hand-bag, was ordered to declare luggage and was made to give up to someone in uniform any baggage then in his possession and this he did not see again until it turned up some time later at the Camp. Again at this camp, he had to give up other small articles. The small suitcase belonging to him was produced as evidence before the Court and was duly inspected. The bag shows evidence of having been cut open by some sharp instrument, the cut being in the shape of an "L". The bag was made of wood, paper lined and covered by some fabricoid material.

TENTH WITNESS

Seigfried VORSCHEIMER (Prisoner No. 263), having been duly sworn, states:

He last saw his suitcase in the hold of the SS. Sovieski. His name was clearly printed in white upon the outside of the suitcase. Witness is now in possession of one small leather suitcase which arrived at this camp and looking as though the locks had been forced open. It also had the appearance of having been damaged by rain.

ELEVENTH WITNESS

Martin FISCHER (Prisoner No. 273), having been duly sworn, states:

See Appendix "A".

SECOND WITNESS RECALLED

Major KIPPEN, upon being asked by the Court if he had any knowledge of anything having been done about this case of Fischer and any other similar ones, answers that nothing had been done so far as he knows. This man Fischer acts as Camp leader for the prisoners.

[illegible] WITNESS

Julius [illegible] (Prisoner No. 1[illegible], having been duly sworn, states:

After being searched at this Camp by a heavy thick-set soldier who spoke broken German, a gold watch with his name inscribed in the inside and a gold plated chain were missing. This was the last time he had seen these articles.

13th WITNESS

Otto TICHAUER, (Prisoner No. 148) having been duly sworn, states:

He saw a suitcase put in the baggage car at Quebec. It was then intact. When the suitcase was handed to him at Camp "I", he discovered that it had been forced open and upon examination of contents, he found that various articles were missing. He then called the attention of Captain Staff to this fact. Witness states, furthermore, that in common with the other prisoners he was searched on arrival at Camp "I", but that the articles taken from him then were returned later. He was allowed to retain the articles which are now missing while in Camp in England on the Isle of Man. It was his intention to send these valuables to a friend in London. There had been no time or opportunity, however, to do so. The articles referred to were a diamond ring, which was smuggled out of Germany in the first place, a lady's gold chain and hand-bag and a small gold watch with a chain. These articles were put by him into a small bag at Quebec station. When the bag arrived at Camp "I" these articles were missing and the bag showed signs of having been forced open.

1st WITNESS RECALLED

With regard to the search of prisoners made at Ile aux Noix, Camp, Captain STAFF declares that the men were stripped of clothing; and were told to hold anything of value, such as watches, rings, fountain pens and money in their hands. Articles or clothing, etc. were put into white sacks by the Provost details searching them, and the valuables placed in an envelope, which was sealed and identified by the number of the owner written on it. A week or so later each prisoner, in turn, was brought before the Officer Commanding the Camp, Major Kippen, and witnesses; in their presence each envelope was opened, and such articles as fountain pens, pencils, etc. were returned to their owners, who signed a receipt for them, mention being to prisoners that remaining articles and receipts would remain in the custody of Camp Commandant.

2nd WITNESS RECALLED

Major KIPPEN confirms the above statement, adding that the policy followed at Camp "I", is to leave in the possession of their owners only such articles as have no purchasing value or bribing power. At this stage of proceedings some seventeen (17) pieces of luggage which had held the personal effects of prisoners were brought before the court for examination. All showed signs of having suffered more or less severely from rain and hard usage. Several appeared to have been cut or forced open. Others had simply fallen to pieces due to the poor quality and flimsiness of their fabric.

TWELFTH WITNESS

Julius BIRKEY (Prisoner No. 16), having been duly sworn, states:

After being searched at this Camp by a heavy thick-set soldier who spoke broken German, a gold watch with his name inscribed in the facing and a gold plated chain were missing. This was the last time he had seen these articles.

13th WITNESS

Otto TICHAUER, (Prisoner No. 149) having been duly sworn, states:

He saw a suitcase put in the baggage car at Quebec. It was then intact. When the suitcase was handed to him at Camp "I", he discovered that it had been forced open and upon examination of contents, he found that various articles were missing. He then called the attention of Captain Staff to this fact. Witness states, furthermore, that in common with the other prisoners he was searched on arrival at Camp "I", but that the articles taken from him then were returned later. He was allowed to retain the articles which are now missing while in Camp in England on the Isle of Man. It was his intention to send these valuables to a friend in London. There had been no time or opportunity, however, to do so. The articles referred to were a diamond ring, which was smuggled out of Germany in the first place, a lady's gold chain and hand-bag and a small gold watch with a chain. These articles were put by him into a small bag at Quebec station. When the bag arrived at Camp "I" these articles were missing and the bag showed signs of having been forced open.

1st WITNESS RECALLED

With regard to the search of prisoners made at Ile aux Noix, Camp, Captain STAFF declares that the men were stripped of clothing, and were told to hold anything of value, such as watches, rings, fountain pens and money in their hands. Articles of clothing, etc. were put into white sacks by the Provost details searching them, and the valuables placed in an envelope, which was sealed and identified by the number of the owner written on it. A week or so later each prisoner, in turn, was brought before the Officer Commanding the Camp, Major Kippen, and witnesses; in their presence each envelope was opened, and such articles as fountain pens, pencils, etc. were returned to their owners, who signed a receipt for them, mention being to prisoners that remaining articles and receipts would remain in the custody of Camp Commandant.

2nd WITNESS RECALLED

Major KIPPEN confirms the above statement, adding that the policy followed at Camp "I", is to leave in the possession of their owners only such articles as have no purchasing value or bribing power. At this stage of proceedings some seventeen (17) pieces of luggage which had held the personal effects of prisoners were brought before the court for examination. All showed signs of having suffered more or less severely from rain and hard usage. Several appeared to have been cut or forced open. Others had simply fallen to pieces due to the poor quality and flimsiness of their fabric.

2nd WITNESS RECALLED (Cont).

Questioned as to protection of baggage after it was transferred to the Island, Major Kippen declares they used all available tarpaulins, but the pile of baggage was so large that some may have been left uncovered. Owing to its condition, this was not handled more than was necessary. No guard could be placed over it on the Island. The compound was not quite ready and all available personnel was fully engaged in looking after prisoners. No guards were therefore available for other than the most essential duties.

14th WITNESS

Sergeant B. BENN, V.G.C., having been duly sworn, states:

He has no knowledge of how and by whom baggage was transported from Railway Station to the beach at Saint-Paul de l'Ile-aux-Noix. When witness returned from [illegible] prisoners at Railway Station, he found baggage piled up on the beach and took upon himself to look after it until further orders. He sent word asking for tarpaulins [illegible] to transfer prisoners' belongings from the [illegible] that had burst open due to rain. When being asked why he had been left behind, Sergeant Benn explained that one prisoner had reported to him the loss of a wallet on the train. This was at the station. With the prisoner Sergeant Benn searched the cars and the wallet was found. The man having identified its contents, the wallet was returned to him then and there. After prisoners had come out of the train, Sergeant Benn says he went back again to have a last look inside the cars and make sure that nothing had been left behind.

15th WITNESS

Herman [illegible] (Prisoner No. [illegible]) being duly sworn, states:

He saw his "Remington" portable Typewriter for the last time at Quebec when it was put in the baggage car at the Railway station. One soldier was then in the baggage car, but witness has not seen this soldier anywhere since. Witness claims that he has lost various articles contained in a leather brief case and in a small suitcase, which articles have been listed. Both the brief case and hand bag turned up later at the Camp, but having found that the articles just mentioned were missing, witness noticed that the bag had been forced open and also that it had suffered from rain.

11th WITNESS RECALLED

Martin FISCHER (Prisoner No. 273) is questioned as to whether or not he knows how and where the alleged pilfering and the damage to baggage had taken place. He thinks that some baggage, on arrival at station near Camp, looked as if it had been tampered with. Prisoner Strien would bear out this statement. Prisoner also states that he watched the transfer of baggage by nine prisoners to loading lorries. Soldiers doing this work seemed to be in charge of an Officer and a Sergeant. He estimates that prisoners' baggage would be about 600 pieces.

16th WITNESS

Herman STRIEK (Prisoner No. 182) having been duly sworn, states:

He was one of the party of prisoners detailed for unloading baggage from the train at St.Valentine station and for loading it on lorries. To his personal knowledge 8 or 10 pieces were already damaged. He corroborates Fischer's statement, that some of the baggage appeared to have been tampered with.

There being 10 or 12 more prisoners whose evidence would not likely bring out any new facts bearing upon the case, the Court had them marched in, and asked if they had all missed some personal effects from the time they boarded the ship in England until they had reached their present destination. All having replied in the affirmative; the Court told them that if any one of them had a direct charge to make against anyone, or anything of particular interest to [illegible] [illegible] their hands, [illegible] [illegible] in evidence. It was then explained to them why this inquiry was being held, and that it was a serious offence under British and Canadian Military Law for any member of His Majesty's forces to steal and that anyone found guilty of such an act would be severely dealt with. They were then dismissed. (Court adjourns).

17th WITNESS

At 9.30 on the same evening, 5th September, 1940, the Court assembled again at St.Helen's Island, to hear the following evidence:

[redacted] [illegible] Commanding, [illegible] Battalion, Canadian Grenadier [illegible] [illegible]

His Unit was detailed to assist in detraining of Internees at St.Valentine Station. Major [illegible], [illegible].A.T.C. was on duty there to attend to the R.C.A.S.C. tasks. Witness describes in detail how he conducted the movement of prisoners from Railway station to the beach at St. Paul de l'Ile-aux-Noix and from there to the Island by means of a ferry-boat. Great care was taken to guard against any trouble or escape of prisoners. Some of his more experienced men had ball ammunition. Nothing to the contrary having been said, witness had reason to believe that prisoners were a dangerous lot. At the station a truck backed up to the baggage car and a detail of soldiers and prisoners unloaded the personal effects and placed these into each truck. Colonel [illegible] adds that Provost details were on the Island and that he personnally had no orders concerning baggage, but that some of the Internees helped to load and unload the baggage. Many civilians were around at the station to watch the proceedings.

He saw one truck load being loaded and thought it was all the baggage there was. Later he saw a truck unloading. Baggage was piled on the beach and he personally had placed a guard over it. His first concern had been, of course, to see that no prisoners got away and that they were delivered, all of them, safely at Ile-aux-Noix Camp. (Court adjourns).

16th WITNESS Herman STRIEN (Prisoner No. 152) having been duly sworn, states:

He was one of the party of prisoners detailed for unloading baggage from the train at St.Valentine station and for loading it on lorries. To his personal knowledge 8 or 10 pieces were already damaged. He corroborates Fischer's statement, that some of the baggage appeared to have been tampered with.

There being 10 or 12 more prisoners whose evidence would not likely bring out any new facts bearing upon the case, the Court had them marched in, and asked if they had all missed some personal effects from the time they boarded the ship in England until they had reached their present destination. All having replied in the affirmative; the Court told them that if any one of them had a direct charge to make against anyone, or anything of particular interest to bring to the Court's attention, they could [illegible] individually and privately. Several raised their hands, and being briefly interrogated in their own language by Captain Staff, it was found that they had nothing to say that had not already been brought out in evidence. It was then explained to them why this inquiry was being held, and that it was a serious offence under British and Canadian Military Law for any member of His Majesty's forces to steal and that anyone found guilty of such an act would be severely dealt with. They were then dismissed. (Court adjourns).

British Intelligence office

17th WITNESS At 9.30 on the same evening, 25th September, 1940, the Court assembled again at St.Helen's Island, to hear the following evidence:

[redacted] Officer Commanding 1st Battalion, Canadian Grenadier Guards, C.A.S.F. having been duly sworn, states:

His Unit was detailed to assist in debarkation of Internees at St.Valentine Station. Major JOYCE, D.S.&.T.O. was on duty there to attend to the R.C.A.S.C. tasks. Witness describes in detail how he conducted the movement of prisoners from Railway station to the beach at St. Paul de l'Ile-aux-Noix and from there to the Island by means of a ferry-boat. Great care was taken to guard against any trouble or escape of prisoners. Some of his more experienced men had ball ammunition. Nothing to the contrary having been said, witness had reason to believe that prisoners were a dangerous lot. At the station a truck backed up to the baggage car and a detail of soldiers and prisoners unloaded the personal effects and placed these into each truck. Colonel FEILER adds that Provost details were on the Island and that he personally had no orders concerning baggage, but that some of the Internees helped to load and unload the baggage. Many civilians were around at the station to watch the proceedings.

He saw one truck load being loaded and thought it was all the baggage there was. Later he saw a truck unloading. Baggage was piled on the beach and he personally had placed a guard over it. His first concern had been, of course, to see that no prisoners got away and that they were delivered, all of them, safely at Ile-aux-Noix Camp. (Court adjourns).

*

h WITNESS

At District Headquarters on 26th September, 1940, at 11.45 hrs, the Court assembled again to hear the following evidence:

Major M.J. JOYCE, D.S.& T.O., M.D.No.4, having been duly sworn states:

Both he and Captain CARLYON were at St. Valentine Railway station. Captain Carlyon was in charge of the trucks. Major JOYCE says that one or more R.C.A.S.C. trucks were used to transport baggage. When prisoners had crossed over to the Island he saw the baggage piled on the beach on the main land, and notified Major KIPPEN that he would look after it until help arrived. He had no instructions regarding the transport of baggage itself. Major JOYCE states that prisoners loaded and unloaded their own baggage, and that some of it was in a damaged condition.

19th WITNESS

The Court assembled again on October 2nd, at 11.30 hrs. at H.Q., M.D. No.4, on 12th Floor, Sun Life Building.

Captain T.C.W. CARLYON having been duly sworn, states:

He corroborates the evidence given by Major JOYCE, in that he provided five trucks to transport prisoners' baggage from St. Valentine station to the beach at St. Paul de l'Ile-aux-Noix. The baggage car which was part of prisoners' train was backed on to a siding where a detail found from their own group attended to the loading and unloading of baggage. It was still daylight and the weather was clear. Captain CARLYON states definitely that he saw the prisoners' baggage piled on the beach and that he had sent a message to Major KIPPEN to supply a guard to take care of it as there were a number of civilians in the immediate vicinity. He did not leave the scene himself until the guard had taken over. The five trucks were 2-tonners and each one made two trips, which would imply that approximately 20 tons of prisoners' baggage was transported from Railway Station to the beach.

20th WITNESS

The Court assembled again on 7th October, 1940, at 14.35 hrs in District Depot, Place Viger Barracks, to hear the following evidence.

Sgt. WAGNER D-98564, No. 5 Provost Coy. having been duly sworn, states:

On or about July 15th, 1940, he was one of a detail of 8 or 9 Provosts from District Depot who were sent to Ile-aux-Noix Internment Camp in connection with arrival of prisoners from Quebec. Instructions were that, as prisoners arrived in groups of 20, they were to be taken into a room, lined up and searched: Their clothes were to be put into a bag which was handed to one of three men at a desk at the end of the room. Each bag was tied up and a tag attached to it on which were written the name and number of prisoner.
Their personal valuable effects were put into a brown envelope which was sealed and given into the custody of Major KIPPEN, Camp Commandant.

20th WITNESS (Continued)

Witness further states that he was transferred from No. 3 Provost Company to No. 5 Provost Company along with two other men, one of whom was on the same detail. This man's name is Pte. (L/Cpl) John A. IMHOFF, who is at present under arrest for reasons not clear to witness. During the course of his evidence, Sergeant WAGNER asked to know why he was being questioned and was told that the Court was endeavouring to trace the movement of prisoners' baggage from the time it left Quebec until arrival at Ile-aux-Noix. Witness states that he speaks English, French and a little German.

21st WITNESS

Pte. (L/Cpl) IMHOFF - L-98566, attached to District Depot, being duly sworn, states:

On or about July 15th, 1940, he was sent with a detail of Provosts from District Depot to Ile-aux-Noix under the command of one Sergeant WAGNER. The prisoners' clothing was removed and put into a bag, a tag tied on each bag with name and number of prisoner. His particular duty was to tie the bag, attach the tag and check the name and number of owner. During this time prisoners were ordered to take a shower bath. Witness states that he knew nothing of the baggage until the next day when, upon leaving camp, he saw the baggage on the beach at Ile-aux-Noix and noticed that some of it was lying open and looked to be in very bad condition. There was no discontent among the prisoners except that they were getting tired of being searched, as they claim this had been done already on docking at Quebec. He knows nothing of personal effects or baggage being taken away from them. He states that they finished the search late at night, had a light lunch and went to bed at the [illegible], leaving the next day.

(10)

Continuance of Court of Inquiry Regarding Prisoners' Baggage at Ile aux Noix.

Headquarters Military District No.4
1435 hours - 7th October, 1940

ND WITNESS

Witness: Major H.M. Cathcart, National Defence Headquarters, Ottawa, formerly on the staff of A.A. & Q.M.G., Military District No. 4, and in charge of Internment Camps in that District.

Q. There was a movement of Prisoners about the 15th of July, 1940, from Quebec to Ile aux Noix?
A. Yes, that is correct.

Q. Did you have anything [illegible] given at that time?
A. Yes, I did.

Q. Where did the Orders come from and how, Major?
A. The only notification we had that Internees were moving into the District (Q. Did they use the word "Internees"? A. No, "Prisoners of War".) was a schedule made up showing that Camp "I" would have approximately 275 Prisoners.

Q. By whom was that schedule made up?
A. The schedule was made up by National Defence Headquarters, at Ottawa.

Q. And communicated to you in writing or by telephone?
A. In writing - but no date was set.

Q. Was this communicated to you previous to move?
A. Yes, a long time; about a week prior to move.

Q. As to the Movement Order; how did it come in and when?
A. Movement Order was never received; we learned of this move by accident.

Q. In other words, the A.A. & Q.M.G. of Military District No. 4 was not advised of this movement?
A. Exactly.

Q. Did you not receive a telephone message?
A. No. The only way we found out that it was coming in was that we had sent six Interpreters to Quebec to meet boats. One of these Interpreters arrived back on a Monday (I do not remember the date) and told me that two of our Interpreters were still in Quebec because a boat was coming in on that day. That is the first that we knew that they would be in that week, actually; no intimation had been given.

I understand that you telephoned to Ile aux Noix to Major Kippen and asked him to come to Montreal right away?
Yes, that is right.

On the 15th?
On a Monday; I do not remember the date.

Then you gave him verbally instructions with regard to making ready for the arrival of these Prisoners?
Yes.

Continuance of Court of Inquiry Regarding Prisoners' Baggage at Ile aux Noix.

Headquarters Military District No.4
1435 hours - 7th October, 1940

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Q. Did you have any [illegible]
A. [illegible]

Q. [illegible]
A. The only notification we had that Internees were moving into the District (Q. Did they use the word "Internees"? A. No, "Prisoners of War".) was a schedule made up showing that Camp "I" would have approximately 275 Prisoners.

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A. In writing - but no date was set.

Q. Was this communicated to you [illegible]
A. Yes, a long time [illegible]

Q. [illegible] the Movement Order [illegible]
A. Movement Order was never received; we learned of this move by accident.

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A. Exactly.

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I understand that you telephoned to Ile aux Noix to Major Kippen and asked him to come to Montreal right away?
Yes, that is right.

On the 15th?
On a Monday; I do not remember the date.

Then you gave him verbally instructions with regard to making ready for the arrival of these Prisoners?
Yes.

Q. There were no written instructions from any Department - Ottawa or M.D.5 or any other source whatsoever?

A. None at all.

Q. Can you recall in a general way the instructions given to Major Kippen, and if there was anything said about a lot of baggage accompanying these Prisoners of War?

A. No. When we found out that the ship was coming in we phoned Quebec, M.D. , and asked if it was true that there were Internees coming [illegible] (Q. Did you use the word "Internees"? A. No, "Prisoners of War".) and they said "No". We then asked them if there were any Prisoners of War coming for Camp "I" and they said "Yes, [illegible]", and, they left an hour ago."

Q. They had actually left when you heard they were on the way?

A. The Prisoners had actually left the boat and Quebec, M.D.5, when Headquarters, M.D.4, heard that they were on the way.

Q. When and how did you find out, and from whom, the real nature of these Prisoners of War - that is to say, that they were Internees?

A. We did not find that out until I actually met the train when it arrived at St. Valentine Station and found out what they were.

Q. Until then nobody had the slightest information that they were not a dangerous lot of [illegible] Prisoners of War - fighters?

A. No. We had made arrangements with the Guards (all verbally) to escort the Prisoners of War from the Station to Ile aux Noix, and we had made every preparation as if they were the most dangerous type of Prisoners of War. They were well guarded.

Q. Nothing was said about baggage all through the move?

A. No, nothing was said about baggage at all.

Q. You would not expect, in the ordinary course, that Prisoners of War would have a great deal of baggage?

A. No.

Q. Did it come to your knowledge, then or later, that they had a great deal of baggage?

A. Not until the next day.

Q. Is it not a fact, Major, that, expecting Prisoners of War, you would not expect them to have more than the personal effects they carried on themselves, and perhaps a rucksack or something of the kind?

A. That is all we expected them to have, sir.

Q. Did you hear anything about a complaint of the Internees (as we may use the word now) as to the loss of any baggage or personal effects, and, if so, when did you hear of this complaint?

A. I did not hear of any such complaint for a week or ten days afterwards, at least.

Q. Apparently, Major Cathcart, you were at St. Valentine Station when these Prisoners arrived?

A. I met the train.

Q. Was it your responsibility to meet that train, or did you meet it just to see how they came in?

A. I wanted to see how they came in and how they were treated. We had had some complaints as to how Internees (or Prisoners of War, Class II) had been badly treated previously by the Provost Guards. The one reason I went down there was to check that and to make sure that nothing of the sort happened here.

Q. You had no official responsibility at that time?

A. No, sir; I was down there merely to check on that end of it.

Q. You were satisfied, Major, that they were properly treated?

A. Yes. I was there all the time from 8.30 o'clock at night until a quarter to five in the morning, when that finished up the last of the searching. I left only for half an hour during the night to eat.

Q. Did you go to the bench?

A. No, I left St. Valentine Station with the first lot and went to the Island and watched the searching there.

Q. Did you notice any irregularities at all in the search? Did you think that it was carried out in a businesslike, Military way?

A. I did not notice any irregularities. The search was carried out in a businesslike, Military way. The discipline was fine. There was an Officer there at all times when the Prisoners were actually being searched, bodies and clothes.

Q. You felt, after completion, that it was handled correctly?

A. Yes, I did.

Q. (The witness says he made no enquiries about baggage at the time.) You are sure that there were one or more Officers present at the time; to your knowledge was there more than one Officer?

A. Yes - Captain Staff, Major Kippen or myself were there at all times; sometimes the three of us.

Q. Was any action taken at the time the complaint was reported to you that some personal effects and baggage were missing?

A. There was no report made for some little time afterwards.

Q. When the report was received by whom was it made?

A. By Major Kippen.

Q. Did you pass on that report, in turn, to any higher authorities?

A. Yes, it was turned over to the Director of Internment Operations, Ottawa.

Q. Are you aware of any subsequent action being taken, speaking from your knowledge of the file?

A. The Director felt that, especially in one case (that of Ottokar Fishauer) who had secreted, as he said, $20,000. worth of diamonds in an alarm clock, that as he had really been smuggling from the time he left Germany, arrived in England, and, finally arrived in Canada, any loss was his own fault and responsibility.

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Witness - Major H. M. Cathcart
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Q. Was it your responsibility to meet that train, or did you meet it just to see how they came in?

A. I wanted to see how they came in and how they were treated. We had had some complaints as to how Internees (or Prisoners of War, Class II) had been badly treated previously by the Provost Guards. The one reason I went down there was to check that and to make sure that nothing of the sort happened here.

Q. You had no official responsibility at that time?

A. No, Sir; I was down there merely to check on that end of it.

Q. You were satisfied, Major, that they were properly treated?

A. Yes. I was there all the time from 8.00 o'clock at night until [illegible]

Q. [illegible]

A. No, I left St. [illegible] Station with the first lot [illegible] out to the Island and watched the searching there.

Q. Did you notice any irregularities at all in the search? Did you think that it was carried out in a businesslike, Military way?

A. I did not notice any irregularities. The search was carried out in a businesslike, Military way. The discipline was fine. There was an Officer there at all times when the Prisoners were actually being searched, bodies and clothes.

Q. [illegible] was handled correctly?

A. Yes, I did.

Q. [illegible] time. You are sure that there were one or more Officers present at the time; to your knowledge was there more than one Officer?

A. Yes - Captain Staff, Major Kippen or myself were there at all times; sometimes the three of us.

Q. Was any action taken at the time the complaint was reported to you that some personal effects and baggage were missing?

A. There was no report made for some little time afterwards.

Q. When the report was received by whom was it made?

A. By Major Kippen.

Q. Did you pass on that report, in turn, to any higher authorities?

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Q. There are instructions, of course, or regulations as to what a Prisoner may bring with him as personal effects?
A. I have never seen them, but I believe that forty pounds of baggage is all that is allowed.

Q. Are you aware that most of these Prisoners, if not all, had a great deal of baggage in excess of the forty pounds allowed?
A. Yes, I would say that ninety percent of them had up to one hundred or one hundred and fifty pounds of baggage, or more.

Q. From your knowledge of the case, Major, you would understand that the emphasis was on the protection and security of the prisoner?
A. Yes, that is right.

Q. Baggage would be a secondary consideration
A. Very much so.

Q. You would not expect a great deal of baggage anyway
A. No, not at all.

Q. Is there anything else you would like to say, Major?
A. Yes. When I left Camp next morning around 10.00 o'clock it had been raining most of the night. When I got to the Island Wharf I found two great piles of baggage. The baggage had been transferred from the mainland to the Island. One of these piles was covered with tarpaulins. The other pile of baggage was not covered, and it appeared to be thoroughly soaked through, from the rain, and the bags were breaking. To my knowledge, I have never yet seen one bag that looked as if it ~~were~~ split open with a knife, although Captain Staff, the Intelligence Officer, reported that that had been done.

Q. Anything else, Major?
A. My own personal opinion was that, from the pressure of heavy bags, one on top of the other, the bags folded, and, from the rain, burst at the folds, which would make it appear as if they had been cut with a knife. There were at that time a great many civilian workmen on the Island, going back and forth from the mainland. They may, or may not, have rifled that baggage when it was split like that.

Q. Was there any Guard on the baggage at that time?
A. There was no Guard at all on the baggage left on the Island.

Q. But it is only a short distance from the Wharf on Isle aux Noix to the Camp itself?
A. I would say about two hundred yards, but the location where the baggage was piled is out of sight of anybody standing in or on the Internment Camp grounds.

Q. Of course, the Camp Staff, which was not large at that time, would be having a pretty busy time looking after the Prisoners, as I understand that the Camp was not ready at that time?
A. That is right, sir. The Camp would not, in the ordinary course of events, have been ready for four or five days.

Q. So that the question of the security of the Prisoners would be uppermost in the minds of all concerned?
A. Yes, that is right, that was the main thing on their minds - not baggage or anything to do with it.

I might say that later on, after the subject had been taken up with the Director of Internment Operations, copies of some correspondence were mailed direct to the Officer Commanding, Royal Canadian Mounted Police, and the subject of an investigation by that Force was discussed over the telephone with Superintendent Gagnon and Sergeant Lemieux.

Q. I have before me a copy of a letter from Superintendent Gagnon (no date, unfortunately) which was addressed to the A.A. & Q.M.G. on this very subject; by looking at it, do you recall this letter?
A. I have never seen that letter before, sir.

Q. In this letter paragraph 2 states:

> "The matter has been referred to our Commissioner, who is of the opinion that this is a matter for the Provincial Police to investigate."

You do not know anything of this?
A. That is the first I knew of it, sir.

Q. Under date of the 19th September I have a letter from Superintendent Gagnon to the same effect.
A. I had not seen that letter previously.

Q. Did you see another letter, this time from Col. [illegible], Officer Commanding, District Depot, No. 4, dated 28th August, 1940, copy of which I have here on the file?
A. Yes, I have seen that letter, sir.

Q. I do not know that it is a correct transcription, but the last paragraph, Paragraph 3, reads as follows:-

> "I respectfully suggest that implication in this matter by Sergeant Harper or of any of his detachment is beyond my belief. His record and that of his Provost Section has always been excellent."

To me, there is a mistake in that letter, and the original might possibly have read as follows:-

> "......implication in this matter of Sergeant Harper or any of his detachment......."

As it reads now it does implicate some of the detachment by Sergeant Harper himself.

Q. Do you identify also as being on file a report from Major Kippen, addressed to the A.A. & Q.M.G., dated 23rd August?
A. Yes, sir, I remember that letter.

Q. So that the question of the security of the prisoners was uppermost in the minds of all concerned?

A. Yes, that is right, that was the main thing on their minds, not baggage or anything to do with it.

I might say that later on, after the subject had been taken with the Director of Internment Operations, copies of some correspondence were mailed direct to the Officer Commanding, Royal Canadian Mounted Police, and the subject of an investigation by that force was discussed over the telephone with Superintendent Gagnon and Sergeant Lemieux.

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Q. In this letter Paragraph 2 states:

> "The matter has been referred to our Commissioner, who is of the opinion that this is a matter for the Provincial Police to investigate."

You do not know anything of this?

A. That is the first I knew of it, sir.

Q. Under date of the 19th September I have a letter from Superintendent Gagnon to the same effect.

A. I had not seen that letter previously.

Q. Did you see another letter, this time from Col. [illegible], Officer Commanding, District Depot, M.D.4, dated 26th August, 1940, copy of which I have here on the file?

A. Yes, I have seen that letter, sir.

Q. I do not know that it is a correct transcription, but the last paragraph, Paragraph 3, reads as follows:-

> "I respectfully suggest that implication in this matter by Sergeant Harper or of any of his detachment is beyond my belief. His record and that of his Provost Section has always been excellent."

To me, there is a mistake in that letter, and the original might possibly have read as follows:-

> "......implication in this matter of Sergeant Harper or any of his detachment......."

As it reads now it does implicate some of the detachment by Sergeant Harper himself.

Q. Do you identify also as being on file a report from Major Kippen, addressed to the A.A. & Q.M.G., dated 23rd August?

A. Yes, sir, I remember that letter.

Q. Is it your opinion that the claims of losses by some of the Prisoners and the state of their baggage may have been more or less exaggerated?

A. I believe that, sir, because some of the Prionsers whom I understand Major Kippen asked to make a statement of what they had lost went into such great detail about the names, trade names, sizes, etc., of the pieces, that it was really amazing. The average man would not, in my opinion, remember such details.

Q. They would exaggerate their claims in order to obtain sympathy?

A. It would appear to me, sir, that that would be the case, especially when they had so much time to think up what they had lost before they sent in their list, and had talked about it among themselves. Otherwise, how any man could remember such great detail is beyond my imagination.

Q. Has it come to your knowledge, officially or otherwise, that some of the missing pieces of baggage have been recovered since?

A. Some of the missing baggage has come in from other Camps.

Q. Is there anything else, Major, that you would feel might be of value in this connection?

A. There is nothing I can think of at the moment, sir.

Q. Have you any idea, failing any direct proof, as to who might have been guilty of any tampering with these personal effects of Internees?

A. Failing any proof, it appears that the civilian workmen might have had more access to the baggage without being seen than anyone else, considering that it was left on the Island without

Q. Is it your opinion that the claims of losses by some of the Prisoners and the state of their baggage may have been more or less exaggerated?

A. I believe that, sir, because some of the Prisoners whom I understand Major Kippen asked to make a statement of what they had lost went into such great detail about the names, trade names, sizes, etc., of the pieces that it was really amazing. The average man would not, in my opinion, remember such details.

Q. They would exaggerate their claims in order to obtain sympathy?

A. It would appear to me, sir, that that would be the case, especially when they had so much time to talk over what they had lost before they went in their hut, and talked about it among themselves. Otherwise, how they could remember such great detail is beyond my imagination.

Q. Has it come to your knowledge, officially or otherwise, that some of the missing pieces of baggage have been recovered since?

A. Some of the missing baggage has come in from other camps.

Q. Is there anything else, Major, that you would feel might be of value in this connection?

A. There is nothing I can think of at the moment, sir.

Q. Have you any idea, failing any direct proof, as to who might have been guilty of any tampering with these personal effects of Internees?

A. Failing any proof, it appears that the civilian workmen might have had more access to the baggage without being seen than anyone else, considering that they were in the [illegible] without Guard for twenty-four hours or longer.

Q. Where were the civilian workmen from?

A. I understand that they came from St. Johns, Que., sir.

After review and consideration of the foregoing evidence, the Court find : -

1. That the claimants, prisoners of war Class II, have suffered the loss of personal effects and property. There is room for some doubt, however, as to the nature and extent of such loss. Detailed lists were submitted by prisoners of the various articles which they claim to have lost. It would be natural for them to exaggerate their losses if only to draw sympathy and obtain perhaps some form or other of compensation. Under the circumstances, and whatever the extent of individual losses, the Court cannot help but recognize the predicament of those concerned and urge that every effort be made to recover these personal effects, some of which may be considered indispensable to a man likely to be confined for a long period of time.

2. That no clear evidence was given to show exactly how and where the alleged loss or pilfering had taken place. In the course of the long journey from England to Canada, the baggage was handled several times and by different people. It is not unlikely there would be many opportunities to tamper with such a shipment, which included bags and boxes of all description. Another material fact is that a good many, if not all, of these pieces of luggage were made of poor fabrics, which could hardly stand the wear and tear incidental to travelling by land and sea. There is no evidence to prove that this baggage had been subjected to careful scrutiny, piece by piece, when sorted out and labelled on board ship. Moreover, this was done by representatives of the prisoners, not by each owner himself. How would they know if some of the baggage had not already been forced open or otherwise tampered with?

not already been forced open or otherwise tampered with.

3. That it is not clear whether or not train attendants were on duty between Quebec and St. Valentine Station, in the baggage car or cars. It is known that a long stop was made somewhere along the line on a railway siding. Was the door of the baggage car locked or sealed; could anyone have had access to what was inside? The Court have been unable to satisfy itself on these two points. Civilians have sometimes peculiar ideas about the treatment of prisoners of war. This was the first batch to arrive in Canada and local people were naturally curious to have a good look at them. There is no evidence, however, of any acts of open hostility. Nothing would indicate, furthermore, that any unauthorized civilians at Quebec, or elsewhere, had an opportunity to get close enough, and sufficient time, to tamper with the baggage.

4. That no less than five witnesses, viz., Major Joyce, Captain Carlyon, Sergeant Benn and Lieut-Colonel Feiler, declare they had made it a point, on their own initiative to look after the baggage when it was lying on the beach at St. Paul de l'Ile-aux-Noix awaiting transfer to Camp I on the Island. It does not seem likely, therefore, that the baggage could have been very long without someone to keep an eye on it before and after dark.

FINDINGS (Cont.)

5. That inasmuch as these were prisoners of war, it is on record they had been permitted to bring an unduly large amount of baggage all the way from England to their final destination in Canada.

6. That this baggage, once the journey was started, just followed along as a matter of course. From start to finish, there was no system of control by means of manifest or bill of lading, receipt, etc., for handling this huge mass and motley assortment of personal luggage. Nobody seems to have been directly responsible for its safety. Little advance notice was received of the arrival of prisoners. Preparations for the journey to Camp "I" were therefore attended by considerable rush and uncertainty. There was hardly time for anyone to plan ahead and issue orders. All those concerned, in turn, had to do for the best under more or less indefinite and trying conditions. This, of [illegible] not be conducive to the best possible arrangements. Were the same experience to be repeated, it is felt that circumstances would be rather different, all having sufficient knowledge of what to do and what to expect.

7. That, in the first place, the confusion would be avoided as to the character of the prisoners--a lot of dangerous Nazis being expected instead of internees or prisoners of war Class II, which they actually were. All arrangements, as it was, centered about the safe delivery of prisoners

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avoided as to the character of the prisoners--a lot of dangerous Nazis being expected instead of internees or prisoners of war Class II, which they actually were. All arrangements, as it was, centered about the safe delivery of prisoners to their destination, which was carried out without a hitch anywhere.

8. That, nevertheless, reasonable precautions were [redacted] delivery of baggage which, be it noted again, was so much greater in weight, volume and number of pieces than could reasonably have been, and in fact was, expected.

9. That, for all of which facts and reasons, the Court are unable to arrive at a definite conclusion and to hold anyone in particular accountable for the unfortunate mishap which they were directed to investigate.

10. That, to protect all concerned, including the prisoners themselves, against any such happening in future movements, advantage should be taken of the present experience. This could be done by means of (a) definite written instructions, (b) someone in authority being made responsible for the safety of baggage throughout the journey, (c) such precautions as are usually taken by a common carrier in this respect, and last, (d) baggage in excess of maximum allowed should be labelled as such and all pieces should bear a tag showing final destination (Internment Camp), thus eliminating the possibility of loss or shipment to wrong locality.

11. That, in view of time elapsed, the Court are unable to entertain much hope in respect of a successful search for, and return of, lost property—— except possibly in the case of Martin Fischer whose statement is marked "Appendix "A" ". Which suggests that this may not be the only case where baggage was actually lost on the other side, although the owner may not be aware of the fact. It might be worthwhile, nevertheless, to have the Provincial Police pursue enquiries, not only in Montreal, but also at St. Johns, P.Q., and in the vicinity of St. Paul de l'Ile-aux-Noix, in which case a complete list of articles said to have been lost, which is on record at Headquarters, M.D. No. 4, should be handed over to the proper authorities for such purpose.

12. The Court recommend that the necessary police action be carried out and the British Internment authorities communicated with on the possible chance that some of the missing effects might be recovered [illegible] the full satisfaction of all concerned.

Signed at [illegible], P.Q. this [illegible] day

LIST OF P/W MISSING ARTICLES--INTERNMENT CAMP "I"

rial No.	Name	Articles
221	Erich Goldvogel	1 raincoat, mark Valmeline. 3 shirts marked EG. 1 razor, Fasan. 1 shaving stick. 5 blades.
261	Emil Schechter	3 tablets of soap. 1 hand brush. 2 dictionaries (English and French) 3 pairs of socks.
81	Sanibert Hollaender	1 pocket knife. 1 small pair of scissors. 25 cigarettes.
254	H. Mayer	1 grey raincoat. 1 umbrella. 1 pant. ~~English textbooks.~~ ~~[illegible]~~
218	Heinz Philippsborn	Passport portfolio containing important documents regarding reemigration. 1 razor set and washing articles.
251	Ferdinand Stern	150 cigarettes. Angling-set;
137	Eduard Elias	1 rubber raincoat marked "Sporthaus Missler Wien." 1 small brown document case with zip fastener.
156	Alfred Bader	1 blue "Harris Tweed" coat. toilet articles. small book containing valuable ~~postage~~ stamps. 1 blue & white shirt. 2 pairs of socks. 1 pair of brown shoes.
163	Otto Segall	1 silver wristwatch. 1 hot water bottle. 3 pieces toilet soap. 3 pieces of washing soap. 2 pieces of shaving sticks.
205	Rudolf Westreich	1 blue tennis suit, almost new. 2 pairs of black shoes with [illegible] 1 leather vest, brown, brand new. 1 art. silk, shirt blue. 1 pullover, yellow-brown. 1 blue net shirt, blue. 1 winter shirt, green checked. 1 fancy shirt, striped. 17 handkerchiefs. 2 pairs of socks. 1 boot-stretcher or spanner. 1 photo-case containing 1 pair of [illegible] skin gloves, with stripes. [illegible] the train at Quebec.) 1 pair of scissors. 2 spools of thread, black and [illegible] 1 scarf, grey.

COPY

LIST OF P/W MISSING ARTICLES--INTERNMENT CAMP "I"

Serial No.	Name	Articles
220	Max Segelbaum	About 6 shirts. About 6 vests. About 5 shorts. 2 pairs of drawers. 12 handkerchiefs. 1 bathing costume, nearly new. 1 grey suit. 1 pair of shoes. Several sport shirts. 2 towels. 2 ties. 1 pair of new white shoes. 1 pair of slippers. 1 belt. 1 pair of braces. shaving articles. 6 pairs of socks. All the linen is marked M.S.
248	Jonas Worimklayn	2 tubes toothpaste. 3 pieces of soap. 1 shaving brush. 2 bottles of antiseptic water. 2 pairs of socks. 70 cigarettes.
247	Albert Teichner	1 pair of rubber boots. 1 box containing sewing material.
203	Adolf Kantorowitz	1 fountain pen.
257	Justin Hirschheimer	150 cigarettes.
133	Ernst Breichenstein	1 large brown suitcase. 10 shirts. 6 pants. some socks. 6 pieces bedclothing. 2 blankets. 1 suit. 2 caps. toilet articles. some brushes and other little thi
271	Herbert Rothschild	1 pair slippers. 1 piece of soap. 1 tube toothpaste.
5	Hermann Gutwurzel	Typewriter tools. 260 cigarettes. 10 packets tobacco. Some photo articles.
6	Josef Gross	1 complete leather shaving case.
8	Salli Sternstein	1 steel chrom wrist watch. 1 set of playing cards. 1 pair of spectacles with case.
13	Josef Feldmann	400 cigarettes. Some very rare foreign stamps. Some charity sets.
17	Alfred Feldheim	2 overcoats. 1 razor. 2 shaving sticks. 1 shaving brush. 1 book. Freiligrath.

COPY

LIST OF P/W MISSING ARTICLES--INTERNMENT CAMP "I"

rial No.	Name	Articles
15	Robert Hesse	1 suitcase. 1 coat. 4 shirts. 3 pants. 4 pairs of socks.
55	Salomon Fagot	1 white bag. 1 pair of black shoes. 1 pair of slippers. 1 pair of rubberboots. 1 rubber cape. 1 working coat brown. 1 working coat blouse. 1 camelhair blanket white, mark. Fakshire. 2 pyjamas. 2 pairs of trousers. 2 towels white. 1 macintosh green.
63	S. Zahler	1 suit, blue striped. 1 suit, dark blue striped. 1 pair of trousers brown. 2 pair of shoes (1 was found) 2 lighters. 2 ties. 3-4 shirts. 130-150 cigarettes.
66	Bernhardt Tachauer	1 electric dry shaver.
72	Joachim Bijum	1 pyjama. 80 cigarettes. 1 toilet box with contents. 1 pair of brown shoes.
88	Schwarzwald Samuel	1 trenchcoat. 1 raincape.
91	Alexander Landesberg	3 shirts. 2 nightshirts. 2 pairs of pants. 3 pairs of socks. 1 working coat. 1 towel. and some other little things.
95	David Adler	1 shirt. 1 automatic lighter.
99	Julius Frankel	400 cigarettes. 1 post saving book No. 9875 iss at Sandwich. 200 cigarettes.
102	Alfred Alpert	1 portfolio with documents.
116	Heinz Jakobsohn	1 brown suit. 3 shirts. 1 pair of shoes. 30 cigarettes.
109	Ludwig Kempfer	30 cigarettes.
40	Heinz Mandstock	1 receipt concerning the lugg depot at Pall Mall, London. 1 safety razor. 100 cigarettes.

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LIST OF P/W MISSING ARTICLES--INTERNMENT CAMP "I"

ial No.	Name	Articles
59	Jacob Elner	4 suits. 4 pairs of shoes. 15 shirts. 10 shorts. Some pyjamas. 1 dressing gown. 35 pairs of socks. 200 cigarettes. 1 necessaire. 15 ties. Some cosmetic articles. 4 towels. 1 clock. 1 mackintosh. Some handkerchiefs.
16	Bruno Kroner	2 pairs of trousers. 1 vest. 2 shirts. 1 pair of gunboots. Handkerchiefs, stockings, sewing material. 1 night shirt. 1 pair of boots. 1 pair of gymnastic shoes. 3 towels.
02	Herbert Kahn	3 shirts. 3 pairs of socks. 1 pair of golden buttons. 1 pair of shoes. 2 tubes of toothpaste.
5	Lieb Haputmann	5 shirts. 4 pants. 10 handkerchiefs. 4 ties. 2 pyjamas. 1 suit.
1	Bruno Tanchen	1 blue woollen pullover.
4	Martin Reiss	1 woollen travelling blanket. 1 bathing gown. 10 blades.
	Dedo Kahn	1 blanket. 1 pair of rubber boots. 1 raincoat. 1 pullover.
	Armin Gerechter	1 pyjama. 2 ties. 1 shaving stick. 1 razor mirror. 4 handkerchiefs. 2 pairs of socks.
	Siegfried Vorchheimer	Money £2/-/- 2 fountain pens. 1 wrist watch. 1 razor set. 1 cigar case. (leather) 140 cigarettes. 1 pyjama.

COPY

LIST OF P/W MISSING ARTICLES--INTERNMENT CAMP "I"

ial No.	Name	Articles
255	Heinz Vogel	1 wrist watch. 1 pocket-knife. 20 cigarettes.
250	Max Stern	1 suit case. 2 suits (blue & grey). 2 pairs of shoes (brown & black). 2 pairs of socks. 8 shirts. 10 shorts and pants. 5 vests. Razor things, toilet articles. 5 white aprons.
240	Karl Kunfer	1 silver pocket watch (Glasshuette) 1 manicure case (Black leather). 1 tin containing fire-stones. 1 "Pears" Cyclopaedia dictionary. 70 cigarettes. 1 English novel. 1 tooth-brush. 1 mackintosh (cape).
244	Walter Frohnhausen	1 training suit. 2 ties. 1 suit. 2 pairs of trousers. 1 pair of braces. 1 overall. 2 linen dress shirts. 3 silk dress shirts. 2 vests. 2 pairs of drawers. 2 pairs of pyjamas. 24 handkerchiefs. 1 cape. 8 pairs of socks. 2 towels. 1 blanket. 1 pair of shoes. 1 pair of rubber boots. 1 pair of slippers. 1 shoe brush. 1 clothes brush. 1 manicure case. 1 sewing case. 4 toilet soaps. 1 pouch. 3 pencils. 1 case containing note paper. 1 dictionary (Engl. Germ). 1 box containing studs. 1 pack playing cards. 1 pair of suspenders. 1 cigarette holder. 15 cigarettes. 1 tin skin cream. 1 pair of shorts. 1 sport vest. 1 shaving soap.

LIST OF P/W MISSING ARTICLES--INTERNMENT CAMP "I"

rial No.	Name	Article
260	Max Rosenthal	2 pairs of scissors.
		1 pair of scissors special.
		300 cigarettes.
		1 shaving mirror.
		1 fountain pen.
		1 propelling pencil.
		3 dress shirts.
259	Willi Bodenheimer	1 electrical safety razor, Brand Vico.
		1 pair of gymnastic shoes.
268	Siegbert Stein	1 suitcase.
		1 pure woollen camel-hair blanket.
		1 woollen travelling blanket.
		~~1 pair of brown shoes.~~
		Several toilet articles.
209	Ralph Kora	1 grey mackintosh.
		1 pair of brown low shoes.
211	Kurt Flink	10 pieces of "Palmolive" soap.
		1 leather case, shaving set.
		2 sets of underwear.
		1 fountain pen in leather case.
		5 pairs of woollen socks.
		6 handkerchiefs.
		1 snuff-box.
		6 pcs. of shaving sticks.
		40 razor blades.
		1 shaving mirror.
		1 bottle of eau de cologne.
		2 boxes of powder.
		1 pair of shoes.
		2 pocket lighters (Tausendzuender).
		50 cigarettes.
213	Ludwig Loeb	1 wallet containing documents, passport.
		1 shirt.
		1 suitcase, containing documents and garments.
214	Paul Stueller	2 suitcases.
200	Guenther Graf	1 pair of rubber boots.
		1 pair of lined shoes.
201	Hans Mosberg	2 pocket knives, brand new.
		1 lighter.
192	Paul Flesch	1 pyjama jacket, grey striped.
		1 shirt, light blue.
		1 brown felt-hat.
183	Fritz Mueller	1 nail-file
		1 small, golden, lady's watch.
		1 small leather case containing: 1 comb, 1 {1 mirror.
		1 pencil sharpener.
		1 pair of spectacles.
		1 pair of scissors.
		1 felt shoe.

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COPY

LIST OF P/W MISSING ARTICLES--INTERNMENT CAMP "I"

No.	Name	Articles
[illegible]	Artur [illegible]	1 suitcase containing: 2 fountain pens 1 shaving mirror 135 cigarettes.
117	Gustav Menkes	1 damaged suitcase. 2 pyjamas. 2 shorts. 1 brown wallet. 80 cigarettes.
115	Josef Fleschner	Snuff box containing £ 10.0.0. 1 gold orig. Schaffhausen watch, value RM 350. 100 Razor blades "Suplex". 500 cigarettes. 1 gold seal ring.
106	Erwin Goetz	100 cigarettes (15's). 1 pair scissors. 1 knife.
100	Karl Heinz Morawetz	1 box containing sewing material, also 1 losh banknote and 2 half crown. 1 leather document case containing: rare foreign postage stamps, some envelopes with foreign stamps, some documents. Value of stamps at least: £ 1.10.0.
98	Wilhelm Herz	1 brown camel-hair blanket marked W. Herz. 1 large facetted looking-glass. 1 manicure case. 1 gold fountain pen. 1 propelling pencil, "Haro". 1 manicure set "Solingen" in leather case. 1 pair nail clippers, "Solingen". 1 safety razor, "Gillette". 6 razor blades. 1 pocket knife "Solingen" mother of 1 shaving stick. 1 tube face cream. 1 envelope containing collected Various correspondence.
122	Hermann Strism	Missing out of leather suitcase: 1 passport. 1 pair of low-shoes. 1 leather bag with zip fastener. 1 leather case containing various toil articles. 1 razor set "Rothbart Extra". 1 manicure set. 1 purse containing 3 or 2 sh. 1 lighter "Tausendzuender". 120 cigarettes. 3 tablets of chocolate.
94	Eduard Friedlaender	1 pair brown shoes. 2 shirts. 1 box containing valuable medicam 1 box containing a cleaning set, and toilet articles.

COPY

LIST OF P/W MISSING ARTICLES--INTERNMENT CAMP "I"

rial No.	Name	Articles
196	Helmut Mueller	1 pair of light summer shoes.
		1 tooth-brush and paste.
		1 dark shoe brush.
		2 tubes of colourless shoe paste.
		2 tubes of black shoe paste.
		1 woollen scarf, green white.
		Various sewing-yarn rolls, needles, et
		1 pair of scissors.
188	Heinz Schindler	1 pocket lighter.
		1 pocket knife.
		200 cigarettes.
		1 leather jacket.
		1 patent "Gillette" Safety razor.
189	Walter Stenach	1 case of mathematical instruments.
		1 pair of rubber boots.
185	Paul Stern	1 fountain pen "Montblanc"
		1 wallet with photos.
		1 envelope containing stamps.
		100 cigarettes "Fifteen".
		20 cigarettes "Dome".
		1 grey blanket, tied around my suitcase.
186	Georg Leiser	1 brilliant tie-pin.
		2 wallets (of brown and black leather) unused.
		2 fountain pens (unused, with 14 car. gol pens.
		1 crayon (brand: Montblanc).
		1 case-brand: Montblanc, with zip-fastene consisting of 3 parts.
		1 signet ring, marked "G.L." gold.
		1 manicuring case (red leather).
		1 sh. 10/- note.
		Several family pictures.
		300 cigarettes.
		1 attache case, (damaged).
		1 suitcase (damaged).
		About 80 cigarettes.
		1 small mirror.
184	Heinz Hirschfeld	200 cigarettes.
		1 grey sport-hat.
		1 pair of skiing gloves (half leather).
		1 cigarette case.
178	Ernst Meisel	1 new pair of striped trousers.
		2 pcs. of leather belts.
		2 pullovers.
		2 pairs of new shoes.
		12 pairs of stockings.
		2 shirts, white.
		3 shirts.
		1 pair of gloves.
		6 handkerchiefs.
		5 pants.
		5 ties.
		1 fountain pen.
		1 scarf.
167	Jakob Margosches	1 propelling pencil "Montblanc".
170	Leo [illegible]	10/-.
166	William Bergmann	2 new dress shirts.
		4 pairs of new socks.

COPY

LIST OF P/W MISSING ARTICLES--INTERNMENT CAMP "I"

erial No.	Name	Articles
153	Benno Seligmann	1 fountain-pen "[illegible]". 1 fountain-pen "[illegible]".
151	Hugo Kokisch	2 new suits. 1 pair of shoes. 1 woollen vest. 1 leather wallet containing papers & photos.
152	Sally Reiss	150 cigarettes. 1 razor brush.
140	Erich Neumann	1 large brown suitcase. 1 leather belt. 1 shaving brush. 1 razor. 1 pair of scissors. 3 pairs of socks. 1 working suit, blue. 30 cigarettes. Several books.
141	H. Feldmann	1 rubber cloak (soldiers raincoat). 1 blanket. 2 shirts. 2 pairs of socks. 1 training trousers. 1 pair of shoes. 1 tool, various parts, chromed. Application to the Commandant of Mooragh Internment Camp, Ramsey, I.O.M., containing S.O.O., documents and correspondence, concerning emigration. 1 shaving brush. 1 tooth-brush in celluloid case. 1 shaving stick. 1 toilet soap in cell case. 1 towel. 1 toothpaste "Kalodont".
143	Gerhard Rosenstein	1 brown suitcase. 1 white bag. (turned up)
144	Leo Hoffmann	1 brown attache case unused. 1 writing case, leather. 1 wallet, leather. Emigration documents. Bank letters, private letters, Bank Saving Book by Lloyds Bank Sandwich branch, amount 19/-/-. 1 bottle of liqueur.
139	Erich Glaser	1 pair of new brown shoes. 1 pair of slippers. 1 razor mirror. 1 razor-soap. 1 brown leather belt. 1 tin of Nivea-cream. 2 tins of shoe polish (black and [illegible]) Sewing twist. Cotton for repairing linen. 1 mackintosh. 1 suitcase (damaged).
131	Leo Berkowitz	1/-/-.

LIST OF P/W MISSING ARTICLES--INTERNMENT CAMP "I"

Serial No.	Name	Articles
132	Lgnaz Kurzmann	1 Langenscheidt dictionary.
130	Hermann Czarlinski	1 pair of boots. 1 new pocket-knife. 1 tooth brush. 1 shoe brush 2 shirts. 3 ties.
128	Hans Heller	1 great coat. 1 raincoat. 1 new suit. 1 pair of shoes. 4 shirts. 5 pants. 1 travelling plaid. 1 silver watch with chain. 3 pairs of socks. 100 cigarettes. Various toilet articles. 1 fountain pen with gold pen.
126	Siegbert Schmul	1 pair of black shoes. 1 attache case brown. 1 travelling set, brown pigskin, fitting. 1 safety razor. 1 shaving brush w/ box. 1 soap box. 1 looking glass, comb and brush. 1 manicure case. 1 brilliantine box. 1 bottle of perfume.
122	Otto Bermann	1 navy blue suit. 1 pair of black low shoes (new) 2 pairs of leather gloves. 100 cigarettes. 1 cigarette case (leather). 4 pairs of wool socks. 1 umbrella.
121	Ludwig Schacht.	1 grey trousers. 1 sport jacket (brown). 4 pairs of socks. 1 pair of shoes.
120	Rudolf Appel	200 cigarettes. 1 lighter ([illegible]). 1 cigarette case, black leather, containing: 15 cigarettes (Goldflake). 1 manicure case (mother of pearl 1 propelling pencil, (1 pair of pyjamas (white red). 1 goggles. 195 cigarettes (Tenner, Fifteen, 2 packages of tobacco (
180	Leo Klag	1 pair of new boots. 2 new pyjamas. 1 nickel wrist watch in tin 1 hat. 2 sport shirts, silk.

LIST OF P/W MISSING ARTICLES--INTERNMENT CAMP [illegible]

Serial No.	Name	Articles
172	Werner Daltrop	1 rubber raincoat. 1 suit 2 pcs. 1 pair of black shoes. 1 tie. 2 shirts. 1 towel. 1 pullover. 1 piece of soap, shaving stic Several pairs of stockings.
173	Rene Maurice Kaufman	1 big bag. 1 small suitcase with books an documents. Underwear, pullover, things for washing, one jacket.
174	Robe[illegible]	2 pairs of black shoes. 3 shirts. 1 hat. 1 safety razor. 1 overall. 1 pair of new suspenders. 1 pullover. 1 nail file. 1 pair of nail scissors. 2 nail files. 1 leather case. 1 cardigan. 1 pair of socks. 1 leather belt. 1 little gold heart with stone 2 cuff-links, silver hammered. 2 tie-pins.
166	Hermann Weininger	2 suitcases. 620 cigarettes. 2 pairs of socks. Toothpaste. Cigarette machine. 2 books. Some tea. 3 tablets of chocolate, sandi
164	Robert Appel	1 pair of new shoes. 1 pair of trousers. 1 jacket. 1 shirt. 1 travelling set. 3 towels. 3 pairs of socks. 6 handkerchiefs.
165	Fritz Klein	1 midget dictionary. 1 "Junker" pocket dictionary. 1 fountain pen. 1 set of coloured pencils.
157	Heinz Abrahamsen	1 wrist watch brand [illegible] steel with metal [illegible] 1 pocket watch brand [illegible] steel with chain. 1 wallet black leather [illegible] ing pictures & docu[illegible] 1 manicure set.
154	Paul [illegible]	1 umbrella.

LIST OF P/W MISSING ARTICLES--INTERNMENT CAMP "I"

Serial No.	Name	Articles
79	Otto Sternberg	1 nightshirt. 1 towel. 11 packages of tobacco at each. 1 lighter.
77	Hans Freyberg	1 umbrella.
69	Kurt Laser	1 piano accordion, white, "Solo" with brass springs, in brown case. 2 octaves, new, value 9.18.0. 1 silk tie. 1 pair of silk socks. 1 forester knife, (strong, special pocket knife.) 10 cigarettes.
68	Jacob Kwaszes.	2 shirts. 2 pants. 5 handkerchiefs. 3 pairs of socks. 1 looking glass. 1 atlas. 240 cigarettes. div. copy-books.
52	Heinz Landmann	1 cromed wrist watch.
60	Egon Eckmann	1 wallet, containing passport and other documents. 1 pair of spectacles, horn-rimmed. 210 cigarettes. Money 1-/-/ 1 lighter. 1 pocket knife, consisting of 6 parts. 1 pocket knife, consisting of 2 parts. Several trifles, as nail scissors, etc. 4 packages of tobacco "Main Line" 2 oz. each. 1 woollen blanket.
54	Dr. Otto Freund	1 suitcase. 4 suits. 10 shirts. 6 pants. 2 pairs of shoes. 7 stockings. 2 pullovers. 1 cap. 1 bathing suit. 1 black rubber raincoat. 1 lighter. 1 fountain-pen, gold. 30 cigarettes, 3/-d in cash.
51	Rudolf Spinrad	2 suitcases. 2 pairs of shoes. 3 shirts. 1 manicure set. 4 pairs of socks. 240 cigarettes, tobacco, machine. 2 ties.

[illegible]

Testimony from Sévère Maynard
July 6 1941)

LIST OF P/W MISSING ARTICLES -- INTERNMENT CAMP "L"

Serial No.	Name	Articles
49	Walter Hirsch	1 violin with black case and 1 fountain pen. 1 pair of scissors. 6 knives. 3 woollen vests. 2 pairs of woollen socks. 1 dictionary (English-German)
44	Heinz Weissenberg	4/-2/-6. $3.00 Swiss wrist watch with blue leather bracelet. 1 pair of brown Engl. shoes to measure. 1 pair of black shoes. 1 new D.K. blue bathing drawers. 1 pair of rubber galoshes. 1 safety razor "Gillette Aristo in case. 1 new blue pullover with crew ne 1 new grey cotton knitted vest. 3 ties. 1 pair of yellow pigskin gloves. 1 blue silk scarf. 1 leather belt. 2 pairs of garters. 1 blue trousers, striped. 10 pairs of new socks.
42	Eugen Lange	1 pair of cufflinks. 2 pairs of cufflinks, silver. 1 wrist watch chromed with chrom bracelet. 1 pair of nail scissors. div. manicure implements. div. collar buttons.
41	Julius Berney	146 cigarettes. 9 razor blades.
37	Siegbert Weinmann	1 dry shaver brand: Bisco. 1 ditto " " : Consul. 1 " " " : Consul supe 2 resistance for dryshavers. 1 tin of oil. 1 flex. 5 handkerchiefs. 67 cigarettes. 1 silver watch. 1 watch chain. 1 pair of scissors. 2 pocket knives. 1 prayer clock. 1 alarm clock. 1 pocket oxydol. 1 glass of jam. 1 pyjama jacket. 1 blue over jacket. 2 pairs of laces, bundle of blankets.
35	Rudolf Edelstein	1 brilliant ring. 1 razor blade sharpener. 180 cigarettes. 1 [illegible] note book. 1 pair of brown shoes. [illegible] and underwear. 1 [illegible] 1 [illegible]

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LIST OF P/W MISSING ARTICLES--INTERNMENT CAMP "I"

Serial No.	Name	Articles
35	Rudolf Edelstein	various toilet articles. 2 new leather suitcases. 1 fountain pen.
34	Fritz Cahn	1 propelling pencil in case. 1 fountain pen in case. 1 pair of socks. 1 shirt. 1 training jacket.
82	Leo Simon	1 pair of labour shoes.
85	Georg Brandes	200 cigarettes. 1 card board case containing 1 pair of scissors. 1 nail cleaner.
94	Eduard Friedlaender	1 trunk completely damaged. 1 pair of brown shoes. 2 shirts. 1 box containing valuable medicaments. 1 box containing a cleaning set.
228	Julius Jekel	1 suit of clothes.
229	Guenther Krebs	50 cigarettes.
238	Aurelius Thalheim	50 cigarettes.
232	Ulrich Lewin	240 cigarettes. 2 shirts. 1 pair of shoes.
14	C. M. Badlemesser	1 diamond ring. 100 Wolverley cigarettes. 1 cigar case, crocodile leather. 1 pocket lighter, "Dunhill".
21	Manfred Katzenstein	1 black fountain pen (Montblanc). 1 green shirt. 1 alarm clock, in a red leather case. 95 cigarettes.
20	Josef Pick	1 haircutting machine. 1 hairbrush (hairdresser's too
18	Hans Berger	1 pair of black boots.
24	Otto Weiss	1 pair of shorts, velvet gre 1 pair of shoe stretchers. 1 shaving brush. 25 cigarettes.
22	Arron Zaks	3 sport shirts. 2 ties. 2 pieces of underwear. 2 pants. 4 pairs of socks. 1 pair of pyjamas. 80 cigarettes. 1 hairdresser's machine. 1 hairdresser's scissors. 1 brush. 1 blanket. Various toilet articles.
25	Kurt Silberberg	2 fountain pens with gold ni one "Pelikan" one "Ibis".
26	Jonas Mikler	2 jackets of almost new sui 1 umbrella. 1 haberdashery case.

Oliv

Returned by [illegible] [illegible] to his [illegible] 1942

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LIST OF P/W MISSING ARTICLES--INTERNMENT CAMP "I"

Serial No.	Name	Articles
31	Berthold Wormann	1 pair of scissors. 21 razor blades. 1 wallet black morrocco. 1 pair of woollen pulse 1 piece of soap. 19 cigarettes.
~~30~~	~~Armand Demuth~~	~~1 pair of new grey gloves.~~ 1 small long belt. 1 fever thermometer. 1 spare part for braces. 1 used grey working cloak. 1 torch light. 1 rope. 1 leather label.
~~32~~	Fritz Kammermann	1 Vienna "Master's violin.
~~4~~	Paul Joachim	1 wallet. 3 birth certificates. 1 passport. 1 big brush. 70 cigarettes. 1 new blue overall.
23	Hans Wilk	2 pairs of shoes new. 2 " " " used. 1 black suit. 1 bright pair of trousers. 1 overcoat. Religious utensils. 1 bathing gown. 1 mackintosh. 6 dress shirts. 4 vests. 5 pieces of underwear. 1 stamp collection valuable. 2 razor sticks. 2 tooth pastes. 1 bathing drawers. 1 overall. 1 pair of new leather gloves. 1 pair of woollen gloves. 14 handkerchiefs. 2 pairs of pyjamas. 1 bottle of eau de cologne. 5 pairs of socks. 4 pairs of woollen socks.
2	Albert Strauss	Leather wallet containing papers, visiting cards, 1 tube of tooth-paste.
7	Heros Lipnowski	1 English pound note. 10 Shillings in silver coins. 1 Langenscheidt dictionary. 30 cigarettes.
9	Erich Mundstock	Purse with zip fastener. 240 cigarettes.
246	Leopold Rattner	1 suitcase 8 sporting shirts. 6 pants. 3 pairs of socks. 2 pairs of shoes. 1 suit, 5 books, 3 braces. 6 undershirts. 1 belt.

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DAD'S INTERNMENT

Falshback
Hitler Persecuted Them: Canada Jailed Them
Whwn These Jewish refugees arrived in Canada, they were interned as 'Dangerous Nazis' By Eric Koch
copyright @1980 pp 6-11.

In t In the spring of 1940, during the Nazi assault on Holland, Belgium and France, the British government interned as 'enemy aliens' more than 30,000 people who had fled to England from Nazi Germany and Austria. This step was motivated in part by fear of fifth column activities in case of a German invasion and in part by simple prejudice. At about the same time, British authorities persuaded the Canadian government to accept custody of 7,000 'dangerous Nazis,' but they managed to round up only 1,934 suspect German civilians and had taken 3000 German prisoners of war. They filled the spaces on the prison boats with refugees.

German-born Eric Koch now a distinguished Toronto writer and broadcaster, was a 21-year-old student preparing for his final exams at Cambridge when two policemen came to escort him to internment on the Isle of Man. He was among 2,468 refugees most of them Jewish, who were shipped to Canada.

The following excerpts are from his book Deemed Suspect, the story of the interned wartime refugees in Canada, published this week by Methuen.*

Overcrowding and seasickness and fear of U-boat attacks characterized our trip as the Ettrick zigzagged her way across the Atlantic. Some of us remained reasonably cheerful and kept moving through the crowds of those who could still stand up. William Heckscher met a man with a black slouch hat. They soon discovered each other's love for the work of Dante. So, leaning against a wall in a corner where there was a little light they read De monarchia together. He also remembers the priest who seemed in a state of deep depression. He had a sort of nervous breakdown and I helped him to regain his composure by engaging him in a discussion about the "existence of God."

An attack of Dysentery during the final days on the Ettrick marked the emergence of Prince Friedrich Georg Wilhelm Christoph von Preussen. He was the youngest son of the Grown prince of Germany, and the grandson of the kaiser who, at 81. was still living in exile in Holland. The prince travelled under the name of

Count Fritz Lingen. He organized a bucket brigade to clean up the mess caused by dysentery and seasickness - noblesse oblige! He had been with me at Cambridge. I never noticed him till he emerged as 'Mr. Clean'- or rather Prinz von Clean - on the Ettrick.

Good-looking, polite, elegant though a little aloof, a young man with true royal glamour, he had impressive personality. At the time he was 29 and unquestionably anti-Nazi. Nevertheless he was a good German and certainly not a 'refugee from Nazi oppression. In fact the Nazis would have been delighted had he become one of Hitler's followers as some of his brothers had.

Prior to wading through rivers of filth as commander in chief of the Ettrick's bucket brigade, the prince had lived in London. studying banking at the House but banking was not to his taste. As part of a compulsory stint in the German army, he was conscripted in the Wehirmact's tank corps and he participated in its actions during the Anschluss of Austria in 1938. He then returned to England to be tutored in Cambridge by the great historian George M. Trevelyan.

On the Ettrick he emerged as a natural leader. Victor Ross ascribes this to a pair of Wetllington boots. "I first became impressed by Lingen because he borrowed a pair of Wellingtons. Then everybody else said. "We must have Wellingtons." ... Suddenly everybody wanted to clean latrines.

Aboard the Dutchess of York no attempt was made to separate prisoners of war from civilians. For the refugees to be surrounded by a majority of Nazis was an extremely painful experience. Clive Teddern, a youngster of 16 in 1940, recalls that when the ship left Liverpool the passengers were not told its destination: "The moment we went through the Irish Sea it became apparent that we were not going to the Isle of Man.- and a large number of Germans were, of course naval person, who had no difficulty in finding out which way we were going. Soon there was a terrific outcry 'Britain has been invaded so that we can't be liberated - they are sending us to Canada. But we won't go to Canada. Half-way across the war will be over and then the ship will go back to Germany. And then we'll throw you overboard"

On board the Sobieski, another transport ship, there was a large group of orthodox Jews. One day, after a meal, when they were chanting their traditional prayer of thanks, the following incident occurred, according to Albert Pappenheim, a member of that group: "There was one guard from Yorkshire, judging from his accent: he told us to stop singing. I asked him why ... He came over with his bayonet and punched a hole in my coat. At that point we stopped singing"

Charles Luwisch had more to say about the orthodox: "The Sobieski had been in the emigrant trade before the war and had a

kosher kitchen with kosher dishes. The Polish crew didn't like the Nazi prisoners, so they served them on, kosher dishes. They didn't like us either because we were Jewish. So they put meat in our kosher soup to make it unkosher! Our rabbis decided that the amounts of meat were so small that we were allowed to eat it"

The Sobreski landed in Quebec on July 15, two days after the Ettrick. ' There the Canadian army treated everybody alike. There was not a trace of anti-Semitism in their behaviour. To them we were all dangerous Nazis.

Weakened by hunger and\or dysentery, we stood on deck for hours in the hot sun, until we were taken ashore at 8 o'clock in the evening. Having had nothing to drink for many hours, a few people fainted and keeled over. Heavily guarded and accompanied by motorcycle escorts, buses took us from Wolfe's Cove up the Rock of Quebec to The Plains of Abraham. Some curious Quebecers lining our route called to us, "Sales boches," "Nazis," and similar words of welcome, but once we stepped off the buses Canadian officers took over. They all eyed us with suspicion, and some were perplexed by the ingenuity of these enemy prisoners who had donned the guises of Catholic priests, bearded rabbis and pale-faced rabbinical students complete with traditional earlocks.

The Canadian military personnel suspected the priests to be German parachutists who had been captured in Holland. Walter Loevinsohn recounts the following story "We had three rabbis an board. The district chaplain wanted to see the prisoners coming in. So when the rabbis saw his clerical collar they marched up to him and introduced themselves. The chaplain decided to test them. He addressed one of them in Latin. He received an answer in Latin. The chaplain tried Greek, addressing the second rabbi in Greek. He got a perfect answer in Greek. He was beginning to think these must be very strange parachutists. So he tried the third rabbi; he put a question to him in Hebrew. Naturally he get a flawless reply. The poor chaplain just shook his head shrugged his shoulders and walked away."

Some attempt had been made by the British officers who had accompanied us to explain to the Canadians that we were not dangerous Nazis But this was not always done in the most flattering terms Loevinsohn recalls: "A Canadian major colonel had boarded the ship down-river from Quebec and the English intelligence officer introduced the passengers to him. 'Over there, there are a thousand prisoners of war' soldiers sailors airmen - very good troops. In the stern, there are 800 Italian civilian internees: they're no trouble at all. Over 'there' - and he pointed to us - 'these people are the scum of Europe."

Some soldiers of the Regiment de Trois Rivieres then engaged in the time honoured practice of robbing the conquered of his possessions. Most of the pilfering - I prefer to use that word to

the more ambitious 'looting' - occurred during to first night on Canadian Soil. Our luggage had been taken to the Plains of Abraham by truck and was dealt with separately.

At Camp L - a group of temporary barracks on the plains of Abraham - we were also subjected to a curious VD inspection. Stripped, we were lined up in front of the medical officer, who, using his swagger stick as a diagnostic tool, performed a somewhat cursory examination which may have been an uplifting experience for us though it could not have contributed much to the storehouse of medical knowledge. Some claim that what it really did was further enrich certain soldiers who found more treasures, such as combs and playing cards, in the pockets of our discarded clothes that were lying on the benches. E.M. Oppenheimer lost a bottle of aspirin, which he didn't mind too much because he had been told at the dockside. "In Canada you won't get any headaches."

One of the most, pathetic tales of arrival in Canada is told by Walter Wallich:

"Mr. F. was the son of a German father and a Spanish mother. The boy had Spanish nationality and at the outbreak of war was returning to Spain from South America, where he had been selling second, hand textile machinery. He was travelling on the Levantine steamer that was intercepted by the British blockade. From his passport it could be ascertained that his father was German. So, having started out with five cabin trunks packed with all his worldly possessions, one trunk was lost on the way to Spain. He was taken to Gibraltar, from there to Britain on the next convenient steamer - minus two of his trunks. We met him in Huyton; he spoke no German and in Spanish asked to see the Spanish consul. No one paid any attention to him.... When we were transferred to Douglas on the Isle of Man, Mr. F. had to leave behind another one of his cabin trunks .

"Being in his late 20s and unmarried, he now was a candidate for going to Canada. On arrival in Quebec, our luggage was taken to the camp by truck. A few days later, we were paraded to an area outside the camp where the luggage was stored. Mr. F.'s fifth and last cabin trunk was conspicuously absent. So, standing there in his bathing costume, trousers and braces, instead of asking for the Spanish consul, he foamed at the mouth, threw fits and screamed. The Canadians decided he was a dangerous man and promptly sent him to a Nazi camp. I don't know what happened to him."

However much we tried to explain to the Canadian authorities who we were, they had great difficulty in grasping it. The British intelligence officer, Captain Godfrey Barrass, knew precisely who we were and had convinced the corpulent, well meaning commandant of camp L. Major L.C.W. Wiggs, a former coal merchant from Quebec City and I think the only camp commandant we ever had who was popular enough to be given a nickname; we called him Piggy-Wiggy.

A more representative view of us was held by Colonel H. de N. Watson who insisted our camp on behalf of the director of internment operations Colonel Watson was not pleased. He found life in Camp L was "a very casual affair." noting that this may have been due to the influence of the British intelligence officer who "referred to the prisoners as 'refugees of Nazi oppression' and told him that 'they had nothing in common with the Nazis and in fact hated them.'" The colonel found this very confusing, especially since Barrass appeared to have "undoubtedly influenced the officers and staff of the camp to think along the same lines." Another thing Watson found difficult to take was that the prisoners had not been instructed to salute the officers, and, as he reported to headquarters, little attention was being paid to the commandant while he made his rounds. Not only was this lack of discipline appalling, he thought but a number of officers and staff were invited to a camp concert given by "a number of first-class musicians. It was pointed out to the camp commandant that this was not very good policy ... and that ... it placed the officers and staff attending under a certain obligation to the prisoners, which is not desirable." Colonel Watson also found it hard to understand why the concert was concluded with the singing of 'God Save the King' and '0 Canada'. Probably much to his relief, a year later he became commandant of a camp for Nazis, where life was simpler.

A tragic incident had occurred during our second night in Camp L. It reflects how charged the atmosphere was at the time. Ernst Scheinberg was a young boy who had suffered severe mental impairment as a result of having been brutally beaten in a German concentration camp. The terrible voyage aboard the Ettrick, the reception in Quebec marked by uncertainty and hostility, and the sight of bayonets, barbed wire and watchtowers proved too much for him. He became hysterical, began kicking and screaming and then tried to choke somebody in his hut. A guard was called. He put the poor fellow into the hospital isolation cell near the main gate. The boy tried to force his way out through the window. The guard shot him in the head.

This horror was successfully hushed up in the camp. I did not hear about it until long afterward, because each one of our seven huts was a separate world.

In all other respects Canada looked great to us. The location of our camp was magnificent, especially since it provided a magnificent view of the mighty St Lawrence. The St Lawrence seemed broader than the Rhine, the Elbe and the Danube combined and unlike European rivers, it had never been the scene of bloody wars. Bigness in our eyes was synonymous with innocence or rather naivete - which struck us as a very attractive feature. Not only was the river broader than any other we had ever seen but the sunsets were more intensely blood red and the thunderstorms noisier. All in all we were overawed by the grandeur of North America.

Within the camp the presence of royalty - Fritz Lingen, the old German kaiser's grandson - added glamour to our lives. The other celebrity in Camp L was Hans Kahle, the former commander of the 11th International Brigade during the Spanish Civil War, immortalized by his friend Ernest Hemingway in General Hans in 'For Whom the Bell Tolls'. It was Hemingway who helped obtain Kahle's release from internment in 1941.

He was a commanding figure tall impressive-looking - a man of action admired by almost everybody. He was straightforward and uncomplicated and, above all, in contrast to almost everybody else, actually had risked his life fighting the fascists.

The son of a Prussian officer, Kahle was born in Berlin in 1899, where he attended the Kadettenanstalt, the equivalent of Sandhurst or West Point. When war broke out by 1918 he was an officer in the German army. Immediately after the war he drifted toward communism and in 1922 became the military leader of a workers' revolt in a north German port city.

His experience on the ship to Barcelona was characteristic. He became increasingly annoyed listening to bitter ideologist infighting among the left-wingers on board. As none of them had any military training, he assembled all those who could speak German and marched them up and down the deck. That he thought was a more useful exercise then arguing about the finer points of communist theory. When they got off the boat, the German group was the only one that marched like soldiers; all the others seemed like rubble. He was a superb strategist and enjoyed a formidable reputation as 'the defender of Madrid.' In camp he gave lectures on the strategy of the Spanish Civil War, and more than one internee , including myself, had the singular privilege of having strategic subtleties explained to him while sitting next to Kahle on the toilet, where he invariably drew explanatory diagrams with a pointer on the cement floor.

The refugees who arrived on the Sobieski were split into two groups; one arrived at Trois Rivieres railway station about 7 o'clock on a hot summer's night. The town's population had turned out in large numbers to watch the 'enemy paratroopers' being marched to the exhibition grounds. Heading the procession were Talmudic college students - the yeshiva boys - who bore before them instead of a flag a Torah scroll, the five books of Moses. They were followed by about 20 Catholic lay brothers in ordinary clothing.

Spurred by the sergeant's repeated exhortations to hurry up, the procession reached the exhibition grounds. Although work was still underway to turn the sports arena adjacent to the baseball diamond into an internment camp, the machine guns were already in place at the gate. Our people swallowed hard and entered the building. It quickly became apparent that the arena was occupied

by Nazi German's who had arrived two weeks earlier on the Duchess of York. When they saw the Torah scroll at the head of the procession being carried by a rabbinical student one of them shouted "Das sined ja Juden!" To translate these words with, "Look, these guys are Jews!" would be missing the bloodcurdling ring of the phrase, especially coming from the mouths of Nazis: this was followed by the singing of the rousing chorus of the most despicable of all their songs. Wenn's Judenblut vom Messer spritzt, dann geht's nochmal so gut! (When Jewish blood drips from our knives things go twice as well).

The new arrivals stopped. Rooted to the spot, they refused to proceed any farther. After a hasty conference it was drifted to choose two spokesmen who would ask to see the commandant. Dr. Richard Huebsch explained that there would be violent clashes unless the Germans and the Jews were separated. He pointed out that many in his people had suffered mental anguish and physical abuse as a result of Nazi persecutions. While Dr. Huebsch made his plea, Colonel Dorval was gazing out the window to avoid eye contact with him.

Although shattered by the seemingly cold reception the two men had been given they felt they had made their point for soon barbed wire was strung down the middle of the camp. The arena became the refugees reserve: the kitchen, however, remained 'in enemy hands.' Some of the people were reluctant to eat whatever food the Nazis prepared, fearful it might be poisoned.

The first, night was the roughest, partly because of the heat. I shall not dwell on the sanitary conditions except to report that, within half an hour of arrival all the toilets were blocked. Ditches had to be dug in the sand-filled corral which had been used for livestock shows long ago. The internees slept in the bleachers above. One former inmate told me that what struck him most was that some of the older 'intellectuals' were those least able to cope 'with the appalling conditions. 'They went hysterical,' he said.

The second group of Ettrick passengers was sent to Camp Q near Montreal in Northern Ontario. On one occasion the commandant, Colonel A. M. Campbell ordered the internees to clean the soldiers' latrine. The lawyers among the internees decided it was a breach of the Geneva Convention. carefully briefed their leader with precise legal arguments, and instructed him to make representations to the colonel. 'I am the Geneva Convention Campbell was quoted as replying. "If I tell you to work you work."

Other crises were caused by drunken guards who amused themselves by taking potshots at the tents; luckily, they were never drunk enough to hit anybody. The rigidity of Campbell's regime helped form an esprit de corps, and soon we forgot about extraneous disturbances and concentrated on important matters like

establishing a camp school.

For the younger crowd, tent life was a new experience. In William Hecksclier's tent there was a priest who, he told me, 'was devastated because there were no women; another man entertained us with marvellous tales that enabled us to escape our situation 'through the magic of words."

By far the greatest event was the emergence of the smash hit 'You'll Get Used to It'. Freddy Grant had written the song just before leaving the internment camp in England and it was first sung at a camp show put together by the composer. There were no instruments other than an old upright piano and some violins, but there was a lot of talent in the camp.

You'll get used to it
You'll get used to it
The first year is the worst year
Then you get used to it
You can scream and you can shout
They will never let you out.
It serves you right you so-and-so;
Why aren't you a naturalized Eskimo?
Refrain:
Just tell yourself it's marvellous
You get to like it more and more and more
You've get to get used to it!
And when your used to it.
You'll feel just as lousy as you did before.
You will never see your wife
For they've got you in for life.
It makes no difference who you are.
A soda jerk or movie star.

Freddy Grant recalls that "by October 15, when the camp broke up, everyone was singing it, including the guards and it remained our camp song throughout internment."

After Grant's release he was invited to a dinner party in Montreal where he played 'You'll Got Used to It' on the piano. His hostess suggested he see a friend of hers, "a fellow who's a comedian who could probably use that song. He's got a little show called Tin Hot Show." The "fellow" was John Pratt, who loved the song and decided to include it in show after making a few changes in the lyrics. Six months later Pratt auditioned for an American show.

"I'll hire you if you sing that song," the producer said. Pratt agreed. 'You'll Get Used to It' became an enormous hit. Later it was included in the British film 'This is the Navy'.

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PA

The Accidental Immigrants: Canada And The Interned Refugees: Part II

PAULA JEAN DRAPER*

Résumé

SYNTHESE FAITE PAR C. DADOUN

Dans une étude menée sur les réfugiés, l'auteur de l'article s'étend sur des situations qui, au Royaume-Uni ou aux Etats-Unis, ont été absolument différentes de celles que les réfugiés ont vécu au Canada.

Après un arrêté en conseil passé au Gouvernement du Canada, ils eurent droit à des libertés beaucoup plus grandes. Il en fut ainsi pour la pratique religieuse du Shabbat qui leur fut accordée.

D'autre part, l'auteur fait une couverture bien plus qu'un simple survol de ce que fut la vie dans les camps de réfugiés. Comme on peut s'y attendre, elle fut loin d'y être agréable. Elle fut rendue d'autant plus difficile qu'il n'existait que deux organismes de bienfaisance à cette époque, c'est-à-dire le Y.M.C.A. d'une part. et le Congrès Juif Canadien d'autre part.

Les réfugiés développèrent leur propre système de leadership et d'organisation. Ceci eut pour conséquence de donner naissance à un milieu de travail qui leur fut propre et propice.

L'UJRA fut une fédération d'agences juives dont la fonction était de pouvoir soulager les Juifs qui sortaient d'une impasse très difficile (la Seconde Guerre). Au sein des camps de réfugiés, il y eut un grand nombre de personnes qui firent leur propre éducation. Ils apprenaient autant si ce n'est plus de matières que celles qui avaient cours dans les écoles et universités.

Cependant, l'auteur souligne dans ce texte les difficultés que M. Saul Hayes du Congrès Juif Canadien eut à propos du Directeur du service d'immigration M. Frederick Charles Blair, dont il rapporte ce qui suit: "Le cas de F. C. Blair requiert une explication de la position de l'homme qui était directeur d'un service gouvernemental et dont le seul dessein pendant plusieurs années fut de tenir les immigrants à l'écart. Il fut formé

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*Out of respect to the privacy of the individuals who were interviewed in the preparation of this paper, the author has refrained from naming them in the footnotes. Those wishing precise documentation may contact the author through the office of the Editor

dans cette optique et son comportement illustre sa croyance ferme que tel était le travail qui lui était imparti."

A l'égard des réfugiés, les employeurs avaient beau jeu pour refuser tout avancement à la personne qu'il sous-traitait. Ils brandissaient le spectre du ré-internement. En décembre 1943, les camps de réfugiés furent abolis et les derniers réfugiés s'en retournèrent en Angleterre ou s'établirent au Canada.

Pour ce qui a trait à la mise en liberté des étudiants, il fallait trouver une personne disposée à le parrainer pendant sa scolarité. Le Congrès Juif Canadien est intervenu pour trouver des familles ou l'argent nécessaire dans certains cas.

Cependant, ce qui était à l'étudiant le plus difficile c'était d'être admis par des institutions scolaires. C'est de cette époque que date le principe selon lequel tout étudiant venu d'un autre pays que le Canada, doit recommencer toutes ses études, qu'il soit médecin, avocat ou autre.

Bien que les situations n'aient jamais été des plus agréables pour les réfugiés, ils sont malgré tout demeurés canadiens à la différence des Autrichiens qui accusaient un certain recul en pensant qu'une fois la guerre terminée, ils pourraient réintégrer leur patrie.

Le Canada offrit aux réfugiés un nouveau foyer et de grandes perspectives d'avenir. Il les traita peut être à certains moments, comme criminels, il leur fit la vie dure peut être, mais ils eurent tout de même un foyer, ce que, ni l'Angleterre ni les Etats-Unis réunis n'ont fait.

Si l'on considère l'holocauste, on peut dire que les réfugiés ont survécu grâce au Canada qui leur ouvrit ses portes.

> First of all, I didn't know what was going to happen in England. I felt a much stronger kinship to this continent . . . I wanted to be as far away from Europe as possible . . . I said, even if I have to sit out the duration of the war in this camp, I will not return.'

RETURNING TO ENGLAND

Finally in November 1940, the long-awaited British representative, Alex Patterson, arrived at the camps. He offered most of the internees the chance to return to England. Patterson's mission was partly one of apology, not to mention an attempt at cleaning up the mess. He spent from November 1940 to June 1941 interviewing individuals and arranging for their return. When he left, 700 men had been sent back.[2] At this point, the offer for release was based on agreement to join the Auxiliary Pioneer

Corps. This was a non-combat group which had originated with memb of the Kitchener refugee camp in England before the internment. To er this corps meant one would be placed in menial jobs. Since many of men were anxious to join the armed forces, this offer held little app Most internees felt that their abilities could be put to better use in ot types of war work. Once this first release was possible, could not others soon in coming? Internees were given consent and refusal forms. It wa difficult decision. They knew that organizations were working to obt their release in Canada. Stethem, representing the government, mad clear that:

> If he refuses to accept his release on the conditions stated, he must necessarily re main interned. We do not say he will remain interned for the duration of the war that will depend on the circumstances, but having once refused his consent it is n likely that he will again be afforded the same opportunity

Eventually over half of the interned refugees were to return to Engl Those who remained had various reasons. All were convinced that Canadian government would have to ultimately release them and few any intention of returning to Germany. But some remained only bec they did not have relatives in England or because their friends staying.[4]

> Then you had the choice to apply to go back to England and join . . . the Pione Corps, which was a pick and shovel brigade. I applied to join the army . . . and figured, if I'm not good enough to join to be in the army, I'm not going ov there. People who went over . . . had girlfriends or close family, or did not see a hope of getting out at all

Others who stayed, still hoped that emigration to the United States the basis of their quota numbers, would be possible. Friends in Eng wrote of the unsafe conditions there and advised the internees to stay freedom was, for most, the main goal of life. As friends began to l them behind, still imprisoned, the quality of the future awaiting the England lessened in importance. After a while many were to regre having decided to return, for Canada stood fast against their admitta

> June 14, 1941
> A list comes out bearing the names of 61 men to be returned to England. Everybo longs to be on this list, everybody is sick of internment. We want freedom, ever there are bombs in England and none here. Internment bears heavy on my nerv the barbed wire seems almost choking me. Freedom, freedom.
>
> June 18
> The boys leave for England. They stand in the space between the two gates and wa back to us. We stand in the compound longing to be in civilian clothes like they, g ing back to the old country . . . It was a crime almost that Mr. Patterson . . . told beautiful things although they knew reality was quite different. If they had told straight how the matter stood, many would have gladly gone back to England.'

Thus the British government, while anxious to let Canada take care of the interned refugees, felt obligated to receive those who desired to return. Under their conditions, of course.

AMERICAN IMMIGRATION 1940-1941

The United States, the previous destination of most of the refugees, was no longer willing to take them in. The Canadian authorities were agreeable, as early as August 1940, to allow those with American visas to emigrate.[7] In October, five internees, one whose mother was dying of cancer in the States, received permission from the British government to emigrate to the United States. The U.S. consul refused to see any of them.[8] The consul stated that: "all interviews with internees were definitely refused and that this stand was concurred in full by Washington."[9] Four days later the consul agreed to interview one internee, and granted him a visa. The American Department of Immigration immediately stepped in, decreeing that since the internee "had not arrived at a port in the U.S., he was not eligible for entry."[10] By 1940-41 many of the quota numbers held by internees were valid for U.S. emigration. In fact, an arrangement existed whereby temporary visitors in the U.S. could enter Canada to obtain permanent quota visas from American consuls. (Canada excluded enemy aliens, who had to go to Cuba.)[11] But as the war progressed and fewer refugees reached American shores, restrictionist and isolationist sentiments grew. The internees were not wanted, and it was easy to keep them out. The American consul informed the Canadian government on December 2nd, 1940 that he was "under no circumstances to interview any internees regarding immigration unless said internees have been released from internment by the Canadian authorities."[12] Since they refused to do this, the American consul was able to blame Canada and get himself off the hook.

The Canadian authorities could not even be moved by money. One American citizen offered to place twenty-five thousand dollars in trust in a Canadian bank in return for the release of three of his relatives for emigration.[13] His request was denied. Finally, in July 1941 qualified internees began to be released into Canada. But, because of fears of fifth columnists, the U.S. consuls had received instructions on June 5th to withhold visas from all applicants who had parents, children, husbands, wives or siblings resident in territories under the control of Germany.[14] This covered most internees. Then in July 1941 an Alien Bill was passed in Congress. At the same time plans had just been completed in Canada for internees to go to Newfoundland as tourists and there visit the American consul. The Bill therefore included a section stipulating that no one would be admitted who had been incarcerated at any time during the year in which application was being made for entry into the U.S.[15] Internees would therefore be required to be freed in Canada for one year before their visa application would be considered. Thus the U.S. effectively barred the same people whose quota numbers had given them refuge in Great Britain.

PART FIVE

THE EXPERIENCE OF INTERNMENT

> I would say being interned, being deprived of your freedom is never good. But, it gave us, at least it gave me, a chance to get acclimatized to the country, being an immigrant. That means I didn't have to come into the country and the next day start work. It gave me a chance to become very proficient in English. It gave me a chance to learn about Canada.[16]

> It is an event, when the Y.M.C.A. sends us a piano. We dance [illegible] free and unrestrained humour as if the world is in the deepest of peace. We try to forget the sad reality and the dreadful past behind us, and we succeed at least partly.

FORMATION OF REFUGEE CAMPS IN CANADA

Pressure brought to bear on the government finally resulted in a change in status for the internees. Camp Commandants even extended themselves so far as to suggest the change. Lieutenant-Colonel A. T. McLean of Camp "B" forwarded a letter to Stethem from the Camp spokesman in May, 1941 requesting that the Camp be designated "Refugee" instead of "Internment". McLean commented:

> After nearly a year's experience with these people it is my opinion that [illegible] would be beneficial. They are highly tempermental and react very keenly to what they think are injustices and are very grateful for any favours given them.

He also suggested that fewer armed guards were necessary. When Patterson finished his investigations in June 1941, 1542 remaining internees were officially classified as refugees.[18] The Canadian government could no longer claim there were enemies in the midst of the refugees. There could be no justification for armed guards. Then the Jews of Camp "B" were moved to Camp "I".

> June 20, 1941
> We leave Camp "B" for Camp "I". We travel 30 hours and are guarded like very dangerous criminals. As I watch the people through the windows, I think that they can not be less dangerous or more innocent than I and many more. Yet we are treated like this. It is enough to make everybody lose faith in the world and in mankind. In Edmundston we can see the U.S. border house about 200 yards away.

> st across a river. What an irony. The land of liberty and freedom so near and yet so far.

On July 1st three Refugee Camps were established. Camps "I", "N", and "A" came under a new director, the Commissioner of Refugee Camps—Lieutenant-Colonel R.S.W. Fordham. PC 5246 specified that the internees were no longer to be classified as prisoners of war, class 2, but as refugees who would now be subject to special regulations. The Order in Council laid out the regulations under which the refugees had to live. They were not substantially different than the previous ones. All orders were to be obeyed immediately (article 1); disobedience could be punished (2-5); visitors would be allowed only by special permission (6); group leaders would assist in keeping order (11); any work connected with the maintenance of the camp would not be paid for (19a); and censorship of mail was to continue (26). Yet there were more freedoms allowed. The right to perform religious duties (7) and to keep Saturday as the sabbath (21) were ensured. Permission to obtain liquor (8) was granted and the provision of a canteen was ensured (12). Monthly medical inspections (13) and the facilities for drawing up legal documents (18) were provided. Refugees were allowed to receive visits from the representatives of welfare organizations (25). If transferred, they would be notified in advance (28) and if seriously ill their relatives would be contacted (29). In cases of punishment, the accused would have the right to have the witnesses take the oath required in a military court (32). In other words, the Refugee Camps were to be prisons still, only the inmates would have certain rights.

LIFE IN INTERNMENT

Camp life became endurable for the "camp boys".

> As long as there is a definite hope to cling to, the internment is easy to bear, although this confinement is losing more and more of its rough sides as time passes on. Since our acknowledgement as "refugees" small concessions are made every now and then. For instance we can walk about freely on our small island after giving our word of honour not to leave the island without written permission. We spent Chanukah very nicely and there was a nice evening in our recreation hut where we watched a play performed by some of our mates. It is rather cold now so that we can go skating on the ditch which runs around our old fortress. Most of our men are engaged in knitting camouflage nets for the army. Besides that there is always maintenance work to be done on the premises, so that there is always something to do. We have pictures once a week and generally life is very bearable.

From the moment the internees had settled in the first camps, an active intellectual and physical life had been created. They built an environment which was not only livable, but intense and stimulating. For many, it was an opportunity to learn from some of the best minds of Germany and Austria. The intellectual climate of the camps was utterly unique. Schools were set up and matriculation exams written. In Camp "L" a series of lectures which were given with the aim of "offering people distraction from boredom and worry, and of replacing their cynicism by a more constructive outlook on life," were enlarged into a school system. This continued in all the Refugee Camps. In Camp "I", yeshiva students studied Judaism together while in all three camps academic subjects were the main topics of discussion.

> We have in this camp lecturers for most university subjects who are able to teach up to degree standards . . . We realized that rather than giving a few students the opportunity to continue their studies, we had to prepare those who are not qualified to take a university course for matriculation examinations. This led to the formation of the school, perhaps the only institution in this camp enabling people not only to keep up their mental or manual skill, but actually to improve their worth during internment . . . Education is only too easily put aside as a mere luxury, but people in this camp begin to realize that to them education, apart from being a necessity, is the one and only foundation stone for a better future.

Books were few, and it was difficult to obtain recent publications due to the nature of the charitable organizations (the Y.M.C.A. and the Canadian Jewish Congress) involved. Thus lecturers taught and students learned, using only their minds. Current events were avidly discussed every day after the news broadcasts. (Originally they were allowed only one radio, but this eventually changed.) Teaching English was also a popular occupation. All the Jewish internees were convinced that English was going to be the language of their future home, be it England, the U.S. or Canada. Once in Canada, great efforts had been made to conduct all activities and discussion in English. For many, this was the prime advantage of the whole experience. It gave them an opportunity to become comfortable with their new language. (In Camp "A" in Farnham, this was less prevalent because there was a large contingent of Communists who intended to return to Germany after the war.) Whether an internee attended structured classes, or not, the camp experience was first and foremost an educational one. Concentrated together with such a group of intellectual and political leaders, the interned refugees learned much more than they could have in any university.

The camp schools, which prepared the boys for matriculation exams were created with the co-operation of the authorities and McGill University. These classes were desired not only by the younger men, but also by those who felt that having a Canadian matriculation degree would be more advantageous than the European ones they already held. On October 18, 1940, McGill University agreed to hold junior and senio

matriculation exams for the inmates of camps "A", "I", "N" as well as "S" (where Italian civilians were being held). In November, the Registrar of McGill, T. H. Mathews, wrote the Director of Internment Operations that

> I shall be very pleased to hear from you again and can assure you that we are most anxious to do everything we can to provide an interesting and educational element in the life of your anti-Nazi internees.[25]

Thus the problems of pre-university students were taken care of. In the spring of 1941, classes in Farnham were conducted in the following subjects: English language and literature, French, German, Spanish, Latin and Greek, the history of Europe and England, math, physics, chemistry, heat light and sound, mechanics, biology, geography, economics, general science, divinity, art, music and woodwork.[26] The first sets of examinations were written in Montreal. In September 1941, refugees from three camps wrote their examinations on St. Helen's Island, which was Camp "S".[27]

> We went to an internment camp — you know that little island which is under the bridge and is now part of Expo — it was called St. Helen's Island. That was an old prison which they made into an internment camp — mostly Italians . . . That particular night when we were finished, they gave us an outing. And we were invited to the Jewish club in Montreal, Montefiore Club, and we were invited to have dinner there . . . We went on a bus with guards and the guards said, 'We'll be back at twelve o'clock to pick you up'.[28]

Many of those who wrote these exams stayed in Canada to become successful doctors, lawyers, accountants and outstanding intellectual and cultural innovators. One such student found his internment to be the first time he had ever excelled in school.

> I though I was really quite stupid, because I'd always been stupid in school. And I remember when the results came back . . . The top grade was my friend W.H. . . . The second was a fellow called Peter Neurod, who was released to get his doctorate in physics . . . and then my name was mentioned. And I stood up and I said that this was a mistake . . . I wasn't embarassed, I said it slipped from the bottom. The fellow said no . . . I thought, what must the others be like? Then I discovered that I was smart.[29]

Once matriculation had been achieved, there was no opportunity to work for a higher degree in the camps. While Matthews was very helpful and tried hard to find ways for internees to do advanced credit, he was unsuccessful. McGill did not have any correspondence courses but Matthews tried to interest Queens and the University of Toronto in providing facilities for the internees. He got no response. But the matriculation was an important stepping stone for those who were able to use it after their release.

The internees developed their own system of leadership and organization which helped them create a working environment. In Farnham, where most of the political refugees were concentrated, there was a strong leftist presence. Many were seamen who had fought against the Fascists in the Spanish Civil War.[30] They held the key authority positions in Camp "A" Sherbrooke was comparatively unpolitical. "Everyone had an uncle in th United States, or was hoping to find one,"[31] and so politics in terms o returning to Europe did not concern them. But there were camp politics i Sherbrooke. Camp spokesmen were elected to represent the refugees t the authorities. In Camp "L" the first spokesman had been Count vo Lingen. He had more or less elected himself the first evening of internment.

> I see this guy, who incidently had left Germany and gone to Czechoslovakia to escape army service, so he was a bona fide refugee. And I see him going to the door and looking out, and shouting GUARD! in real military fashion . . . And then some soldier came and said . . . "Yes sir" . . . He said . . . "Give this card to the commanding officer" . . . And a little while later this guard comes back and asks for Count Lingen to see the Commanding Officer.

Lingen was asked by the Commandant to take the leadership of the i ternees. The refugees were glad to accept him, knowing that someone such prominence could only help their cause. Later on, Heinz Kahle, w was the ex-Prussian colonel who had led the anti-Fascist forces of the 11 International Brigade in Spain, became the spokesman. Spokesmen Camp "N" were elected democratically for a period of months. Oth positions of authority were obtained through election and appointment. pyramid organization extended down to the hut leader. Knowing t Deputy Speaker, or the Works Programme Manager, for instance, wou enable one to get particularly desirable jobs. One was the garbage deta It meant you got the opportunity to ride the garbage truck through t town of Sherbrooke to the dump, and back.[33] This opportunity to get o of the camp was very exciting. Another choice job was working in t Commandant's garden, which was also outside camp, and on the St. La rence River.[34] To be in charge of some camp organization was also vantageous because you could earn two salaries, amounting to one dol a day. In this manner a whole government was established in the cam

The Works Programme was an important aspect of life in the cam Most people participated in it , more as a means to keep active, than way of earning spending money. (The internees ran canteens which s special foods, cigarettes, and even, for a while, beer. They were se supporting and all profits were used to benefit the internees themselve

While any work which concerned the administration of the camp was not paid for, the Canadian government did offer remuneration for other projects. Since Britain was paying for the upkeep of the internees[35] this work meant pure profit for Canada. Work was done on a volunteer basis. In the first camps, the only work provided was for construction and forestry purposes. The reasoning behind providing work was that:

> When any group of men, large or small, are forcibly detained from their ordinary activities, their morale rapidly deteriorates if they are not given some occupation. This leads to discontent which gives rise to insubordination, a tendency to destroy property wantonly and renders the group difficult to handle. The result is that an increasing number of men are required to guard them. [36]

Certainly the employers of Internment Operations could not have received a more discontented bunch of prisoners than these. In Camp "B" they were immediately sent to work in the forests. The pay was twenty cents a day, as set out by the "Regulations Governing the Maintenance of Discipline Among and Treatment of Prisoners of War and Civilian Internees," of December 1939. This amount was based on the pay scale of Canadians in forest labour camps during the early 1930's.[37] But these were not the kind of workers the authorities had expected.

> The internees were not a good type of labourer; many of them were highly educated and had never done labouring of any sort; many others were the school-boy age between sixteen and eighteen and knew nothing about labouring. It was necessary to have to organize the work from the ground up, to teach the men the use of tools, to teach them the necessity for the work that was being done . . . Because of the fact that some of the men had engineering experience, it was possible to organize a survey party . . . These men were interested in the work . . . but slow; however, they more than earned the money paid them . . . This work would probably have cost us $500 under ordinary conditions. At the 20c per day rate it would not cost the government more than $200 or $300, and would only cost that amount due to the inexperience of the workers [38]

After their recognition as refugees by the camp authorities, more meaningful work was made available. The refugees clearly expressed their willingness to help in the war effort. Workshops were established and materials supplied for the production of various defence items like camouflage nets, ammunition boxes and socks. In September 1941, pay increased so that it ranged from thirty to fifty cents a day.[39] The refugees were pleased to be able to aid the Allied cause, but the knowledge that, with freedom, they could make a much more valuable contribution caused increasing impatience. On October 15, 1941 the inmates at Sherbrooke issued a "Statement on the Occasion of One Year in Camp 'N' ". In it they expressed their dissatisfaction.

> In England skilled, and even unskilled labour is at a premium. In Canadian Refugee Camps, there are some 1200 potential workers, mostly young, some already fully trained, all urgently demanding to be given places in that war effort without whose triumph they themselves will be lost. We have been given work to do, important work, but work requiring only a fraction of our energies. We have been promised more war work; some of us may be trained for some specialized tasks. But it is impossible that men who are held in captivity can, or will work like free men [40]

The Commissioner of Refugee Camps, Colonel Fordham, who was very sympathetic to the men under his care, agreed with this. In February 1942 he wrote some memoranda[41] discussing the possibility of making this refugee labour available to the war industry. The only obstacle he could see was the Director of Immigration.

There also was a large group of men involved in the operation of camp facilities who had to be paid. These wages came from the profits made by the canteens. With the approval of the authorities, this money went to those on cleaning detail, dish washing, kitchen work and other similar duties.[42] Thus some men were able to earn double salaries. One of these flagrant capitalists started the Camp "N" laundry in the following manner:

> There were a lot of lazy people in camp — we were given a bit of underwear — who wouldn't wash their stuff . . . Well you couldn't start private enterprise. We had to steal. Tubs to do your washing, you couldn't get soap, of course, you only had a bit of rationed soap for yourself, but we knew the orderly in the camp hospital, and doing his laundry for free he would give you some soap . . . And the other thing, there were some lazy s.o.b.s who wouldn't wash their socks, and if they saw a line they would steal towels or they would steal socks. You couldn't go to your customer and say tough luck . . . So we had to keep a reserve supply, which we stole off the lines. The laundry went on and did very well . . . Out of the money I bought a fountain-pen, and later a wristwatch. [43]

Everyone found some work to do to pass the time. A typical day might have included rising at five a.m. to avoid the lineup for the shower,[44] returning to sleep, and then a roll-call and breakfast. Work took up to eight hours. Then the rest of the day was free. Some played poker, others perfected their bridge game. Only two letters a week were allowed, so the internees wrote, read books, listened to recorded music in the canteen and attended bi-weekly films, mostly westerns.[45] They frequented lectures and entertainments. Sports involved the active players and the passive spectators. Various outdoor events, complete with team competitions, took up the summer hours. In the winter there were walks and ice skating. Musicians, both classical and popular, combined their skills with artists and actors to provide varied entertainments. Musical instruments were donated to the camp or purchased from canteen profits. Auditions were held for plays and musicals. There was a lot of time for rehearsal. Practically everything was performed in English, and the camp guards often came,

and enjoyed, the performances.[46] Life in internment camp was certainly bearable.

> There was a stage where some people even said the food was good. The treatment was good. They said that if only they had some female companionship they wouldn't even leave the place.[47]

The guards at the three Refugee Camps were members of the Veterans Guards of Canada. Many were unemployed French Canadians who had little, or no, idea of the situation of their charges. Unlike their predecessors, the Canadian Provost Corps, they were not about to shoot anybody. One internee recalls working outside the camp one day and being given his guard's rifle to hold while the man tied a shoelace.[48] Bribery was easily used in order to overcome certain regulations, such as restrictions on reading materials and outgoing mail. In Farnham, the younger refugees annoyed the guards by hiding from their roll calls[49] — a kind of passive resistance. The numbers would never be correct. Most clashes with authority were therefore rather petty, and in fun.

> Oh, there were some jokers. There is one man I can think of. He pretended he was partially insane. That, of course, was a lot of fun. He would imitate the Sergeant-Major. He would always be late for roll call, then he would come out in some kind of an outfit and march like the Sergeant-Major with a stick under his arm. He would stand right next to the Sergeant-Major . . . He just pretended like he was some kind of a case, and nobody could prove it — whether he was or not — there were no medical authorities who would say he is or he isn't . . . And they would put him in stockade and then he would come out — the same way. I think he just had fun, if you call that fun.[50]

There were, on occasion, more serious clashes with the camp command. In Sherbrooke a number of internees were accused by a French Canadian, who was working in the same bakery, of stealing large amounts of baking goods.[51] The case was taken to the camp court where the refugees' spokesman represented them. The Commandant took the refugees' side and the civilians were soon caught stealing more goods. Thus there was recourse to justice when serious problems did arise. By and large there were few emergencies caused by the internees. The primary occupation of prisoners of war — planning escapes — was not a problem in the Refugee Camps.

> Not a soul wanted to break out of camp. Where the hell would you go? Everyone was happy to have a roof over their head, and be looked after in a sense, except that it was becoming too long.[52]

But there were a few escape attempts. One was connected to the short-lived sale of beer by the canteen in Camp "N".

> Then they had for a short while liquor. Then somebody got completely drunk on this and went over the fence. And disappeared. And they had roll call. And the Canadian Veterans Guard always had trouble in counting. They counted wrong. Nobody was missing. And the police in Sherbrooke arrested somebody, who came up to them because he didn't know where to go or what to do. And they phoned the camp. "Are you sure he wasn't from there?" and they said "No, he isn't from there." And finally they phoned Ottawa . . . Then he came back . . . This was the end of the available beer. Then it remained dry.[53]

While relations with most guards were generally friendly, some refugees developed close relationships with the officers they worked under. One refugee, who worked in the accounts office, was treated extremely well by the accounts officer. During his internment he was allowed to accompany this man on trips to various towns and cities.[54] Thus, with the creation of the Refugee Camps the antagonisms between the internees and their overseers had lessened.

There was only one place in the camps where negligence by the military could have serious consequences — the hospital. In the Refugee Camps they were supervised by the Medical Officer and staffed by refugee doctors. Most of the patients had colds, influenza or ulcers.[55] Those seriously ill were presented to the Medical Officer who was responsible for removing them to real hospitals. In at least one case, the delay of such a transfer caused a death. In October 1941, Dr. Meyerhoff, a gifted young doctor, died of a perforated ulcer.[56] The Medical Officer had refused the advice of the refugee doctors in Camp "N" and thus this man's life was lost. But tragedies such as this were rare.

Otherwise, working in the hospital was one of the more rewarding jobs. Every day the list taken to the kitchen for meals was padded, and thus everyone in the hospital got more rations. The food was hidden in rolled-up mattresses in the hospital storage room. When the shipments to England began, the extra food was given to the men returning. They knew that food was not so plentiful there.[57]

Yet no matter how much the atmosphere improved in the camps, there was still one major obstacle to contentment.

> We are sometimes told that our demands are excessive, and that we are pushing them to a point where those might be antagonized who wish us well. Our answer to this contention is that it is justice which we are demanding, and that justice cannot be demanded too often. It has taken us one year to get our mere living conditions adjusted to acceptable standards. We will never cease to appeal to the sense of reason and equity of the outside world, until we have achieved our most important and elementary aim . . . Freedom for every refugee, who is now unjustly interned, freedom to speak, and freedom to work.[58]

RELEASE AT LAST

With the possibility of release in Canada, which was finally available to them after their change in status, the refugees began to regain hope. As

early as November the War Cabinet Committee had been forced to consider the release of the internees in Canada. The Minister of Mines and Resources, T.A. Crerar, brought to the meeting of November 7th, 1940[60] the case of an internee who wished to remain in Canada. He noted that "the decision in this case would create a precedent, affecting large numbers, possibly 1700 or 1800 internees in the B and C categories, whom the U.K. government were prepared to release." The Minister of Justice, Lapointe, expressed concern over such admissions while C. D. Howe, Minister of Transport, felt that Canada should continue to regard herself as jailers for the U.K. Dr. Skelton suggested a careful study of the individual internees, since many had U.S. visas and thus might be desirable citizens. It was decided at the time that no releases would be granted pending a further investigation.

More and more requests began to flood the Immigration Branch, coming from all parts of North America as well as England. Frederick Charles Blair, the Director of Immigration and a longtime civil servant, was not amenable to the idea of two thousand more immigrants, especially Jewish ones.[61] In a letter dated December 20th, 1940 he outlined his views to the likeminded Colonel Stethem

> I may say that pressure is being brought to bear on our Minister to take favourable action in a few cases of the interned Jewish boys, the object being their release in Canada . . . A couple of days ago, Mr. Crerar said he thought we should take some steps to deal with a few of the more pressing cases. The moment this is done there will be, figuratively, a rush to the door and a determined effort to get the release of the whole lot including those destined to the U.S. Some people profess not to be able to understand why there should be any objection to admitting any number of Jewish people to Canada to wait here until they can get into the U.S. We take a determined stand against anything of that sort because in no case would we have any assurance of their admission to the U.S. and none of them could be sent back to where they came from. Government, as we are both aware, does not want any wholesale delivery of these internees to Canada.[62]

Blair was not to have his way. But the fight was going to be a long one.

On January 24th, 1941 the question of release again came up in the Cabinet.[63] Crerar asked that a German internee whose family (mother and two brothers — his father had died in 1937) was already in Canada, be released. This young man had remained in England in 1939 in order to join the armed forces. Crerar further urged that other internees, totalling eight,[64] who had first degree relatives in Canada be allowed to immigrate. This was agreed upon, and by February 18th the first nine internees had been released into Canada. On January 29th, Crerar sought permission for the release of a skilled technician who had been requested by Research Enterprises Ltd. for secret war work. Once again, the release was approved. On May 3rd another skilled worker was released.[65] While the first releases in no way contravened the existing Immigration regulations, the second ones precluded the "rush to the door" which Blair so dreaded.

In 1940 only 11,324 immigrants had been accepted into Canada. This number was comparable only to the lowest point of the Depression.[66] In a time of economic recovery and rapid industrialization, two thousand educated and skilled men could only be a boon to Canada. On April 1st, 1941 this question of immigration was raised by various members in the Commons.[67] One asked: "What is the possibility of some of these people being permitted to make a contribution in Canada towards defeat of our common enemy?" Another stated:

> I think it is desirable if some of these wanted to stay here and it was found convenient that they should be allowed to stay, they would be an asset to our country as I am sure they are to Great Britain.

As pressures continued to mount, inside the government and from without, the inhumanity of the situation became clear. The Prime Minister, who was under pressure himself regarding an internee whose uncle was a professor at the University of Toronto[68] decided to deal sympathetically with the problem. On May 13th, 1941 the War Cabinet Committee agreed:

> that applications to remain in Canada, on the part of internees whom the U.K government were prepared to release should be investigated individually, with a view to reaching just and humane decisions and granting admission where good faith could be established and arrangements made as to maintenance.[69]

Provisions were immediately set up for release. For the internees the next two years were to be occupied with attempts to find employers, sponsors and, ultimately, freedom.

THE COMMITTEE FOR INTERNED REFUGEES

Many of the pressures which resulted in the improvement of the lot of the internees were a direct consequence of the activities of the Canadian Central Committee For Interned Refugees. This committee was a united front for the National Committee for Refugees and the United Jewish Refugee and War Relief Agencies (U.J.R.A.). The U.J.R.A. was a federation of existing Jewish relief and community agencies which was formed in 1939 to deal with refugee problems. Senator Carine Wilson was the Chairperson of the Committee for Interned Refugees, and Constance Hayward and Saul Hayes were joint secretaries. The office was in the Canadian Jewish Congress in Montreal. While the U.J.R.A. had been actively involved in attempting to obtain justice for the interned refugees

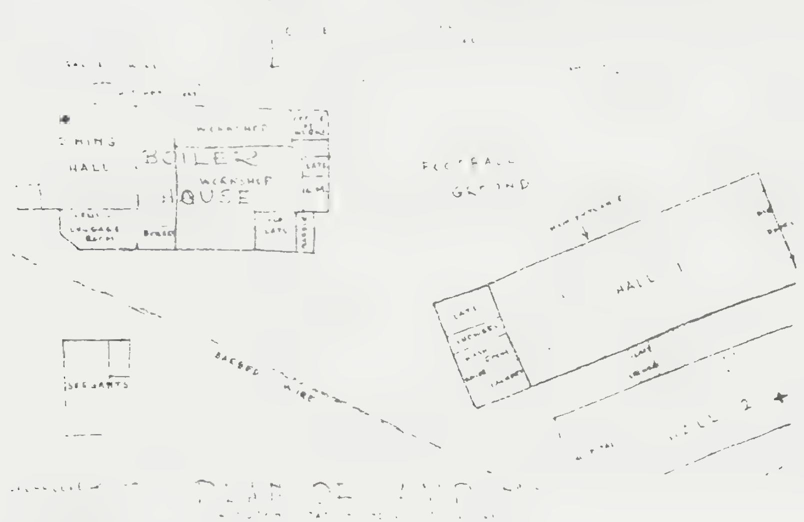

Figure 1
Plan of Camp '[redacted]'N'
(Courtesy of [redacted] Harry Seidler

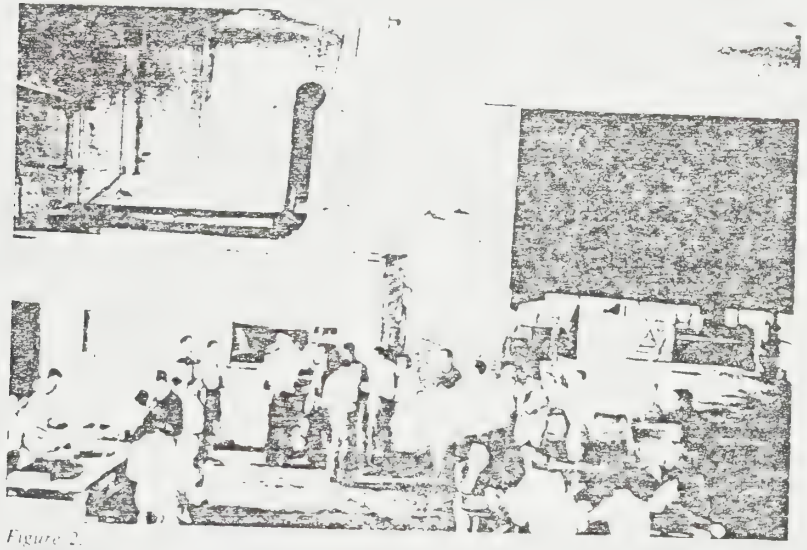

Figure 2.
Meal Time at Camp "N"
(Courtesy of [redacted] Marcell Seidler

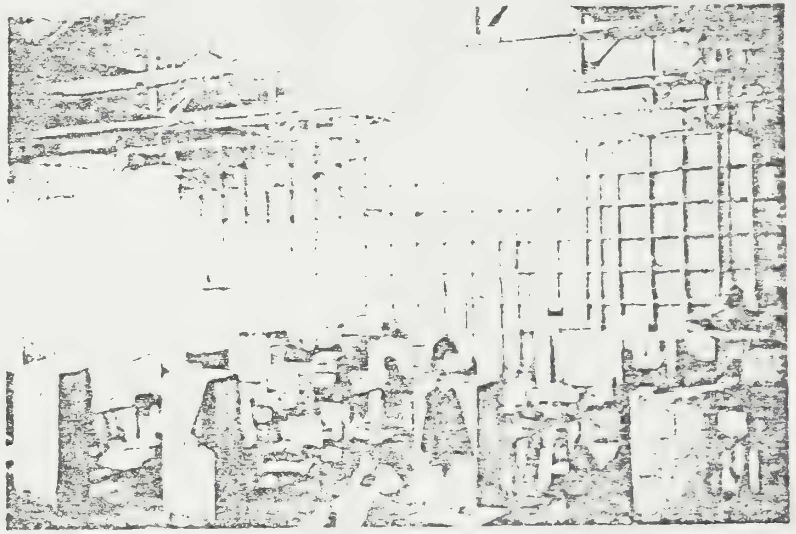

Figure 3
Camp "N" - Interior View
Courtesy of [redacted] Marcell Seidler

Figure 4
Summer at Camp "N"
Courtesy of [redacted] Marcell Seidler

since the summer of their arrival, the National Committee was not aware of their presence until November of 1940.[70] Yet it was Senator Wilson who was asked by the government to form the Committee for Interned Refugees. Late in December, Colonel Stethem wrote the Senator.

> It is safe to say that the greater part of our time is being taken up with questions connected with these B and C internees. The office is being flooded with correspondence from relatives, friends, legal advisors and a very large number of Jewish societies and refugee organizations . . . It is desirable that all the various associations concerned should follow the procedure adopted in Great Britain and organize a joint unofficial body to represent . . . .those . . who are concerned with the welfare of the refugees In England this is known as the Central Department for Interned Refugees. [71]

In January 1941 the Committee was formed. To have a Senator as chairman was definitely an advantage for the Jewish organizations, and they were aware of this. It had been already made quite obvious that the government was not anxious to deal with Jews. Thus an agreement was worked out by which both Christian and Jewish sources could be tapped in the battle for recognition and release of the internees. The Committee also ensured that the needs of the internees were met both physically and mentally. Massive correspondence fills the files kept by the Canadian Jewish Congress in Toronto. Once release was possible, sponsors were found for students and employers for workers. At first, only students who had been studying in England and skilled men needed in the war industry were eligible for release. The Committee fought a battle for each individual internee, continually stretching the regulations to fit their charges. Eventually most who could prove that they were good students, as well as farm workers, were able to be released. Christians were dealt with by the National Committee, as well as by the U.J.R.A.

Ann Cowan was the secretary for the Committee in Toronto. After persistent badgering, she and Charles Raphael — an Englishman sent from the Jewish Board of Governors in London — were allowed into Camp "I" by Blair. On September 7th, 1941 they reached the Ile aux Noix, eager to interview and collect the *curriculum vitae* of the internees.[72] The Commandant tried to dissuade them from their task and by eleven a.m. they were on the phone to protest to Blair. He told them that "the camp officials were nervous because the internees had not seen a woman in two years." She told Blair that if she was not allowed to see the men she would communicate with every newspaper in the country. "They finally agreed, and as we entered we walked down an aisle with bayoneted guards on either side." When Cowan reached the designated meeting place she was amazed to find her chair perched on top of two tables "which meant that I would be out of reach. I was indignant and refused to have the men looking up at me." Finally able to intelligently interview the internees, Cowan found herself showered with an abundance of information and artistic gifts.

> Suddenly I am called to this Mrs. Cowan. He asks her whether she can get a sponsor for me, so I might be released in Canada and she says yes. Then he mentions that I write, askes me to bring some of my work . . . She says she'll have them published [73]

As soon as Cowan returned to Toronto, she indeed published a poem by Henry Kreisel in the Jewish newspapers.

VISIT

My mother came to visit me
She looked pale and her hand trembled
As she took my head and kissed it.
She did not speak much
Just asked me how I was.
She never took her eyes off me.
And her hands stroke my head
As she had always done,
When I was very small
And then the time was up
"So soon", she murmered, "so soon"
And then she kissed me
Kissed me long and deep
"Be brave, my child, she said, "be brave"

As a result a large number of Jews offered to sponsor the student ir
ternees. Thus persistence and determination fueled the supporters of th
interned refugees against the resistance of government officials. By th
end of 1943, 972[75] of the original 2250 would be released for residence i
Canada.

THE DIFFICULTIES IN OBTAINING RELEASE

Internees released for employment found their new jobs in a variety
ways. Once the possibility of release for war work became known, the
compiled *curriculum vitae* and sent them to companies which they four
in the Toronto telephone directory. The Committee For Interne
Refugees compiled lists of men with various skills and then convince
Jewish-owned companies to apply for specific internees. They achieve
good results through personal contacts of members of the Committee,
well as through the Jewish newspapers. This sometimes meant an overla
ping of requests for internees with particular skills, since the m
themselves had no idea who the Committee was approaching on the
behalf. The conditions of release were such that a refugee needed t
special permission of F. C. Blair to obtain release or to change jobs. Tl

one man proved to be a formidable obstacle to the smooth and quick release of many of the interned refugees.

A Scottish-Canadian Baptist, born in 1874, and President of the Union Mission in Ottawa, Blair refused to retire until 1943. "In closing he stated that he had tried to do his duty to his God and his country."[77] In order to do this duty, Blair took it upon himself to deal with every single internee release.

> Mr. Blair is [illegible] in his attitude [illegible] with the K[illegible] case [illegible] Blair has a department [illegible] refuse to put any [illegible] in charge of internees, reserving for his own approval all these cases. [illegible] The sensible thing for him to do would seem to be to hand over these cases to some other man, or some other men in his department to deal with. [illegible] he steadfastly refuses to do this. Under the circumstances it is easy to understand that a case which might be able to be settled in two or three weeks might take six or seven weeks because of the conditions already laid.[78]

Thus every delay, every complication, every refusal of release, and every mixup was due to Blair. The internees' files abound with such problems. One boy was refused release because Blair did not believe he was telling the truth about his job experience since he had been eighteen when interned. He had claimed to be a [illegible] student with one and a half years plumbing experience. The plumbing had been learned in camp.[79] Blair wrote a prospective employer that although he knew nothing about the requested internee's qualifications he found it incredible that such a young man could have had such work experience. The employer refused to have any further correspondence with him.[79] People who had caused any difficulty for camp authorities or had written letters criticizing the camps were refused release.[80] Files that were put aside for unknown reasons delayed releases for months.[81] In one case Blair feared that the release of a mathematician, who was to be sponsored by a colleague of Einstein, would cause him to bring over his whole family from Cuba. This was not desirable.[82] In May, 1943 a total slowdown occurred in releases and refugee workers complained that while "we are continually taking up cases with the Immigration Department . . . the Department is being particularly difficult."[83] Blair therefore found the means to interpret the Immigration regulations in their most restrictive sense. This necessitated constant intervention by Saul Hayes, with whom Blair was often persuaded to agree. Hayes' lasting impression of Blair was that of the perfect Canadian public servant.

> The story of F. C. Blair requires an entire explanation of the man's position as head of a branch of government whose sole purpose for so many years was to keep out immigrants. He was trained in this respect and his whole attitude illustrated his firm belief that this was his job.[84]

RELEASES FOR EMPLOYMENT

The Committee For Interned Refugees had to set up a system of application for release which would satisfy the strict interpretation of immigration regulations practiced by Blair. This meant that certain responsibilities would have to be taken by both sponsors and employers.

> It rests with the firm to make sure that the refugee [illegible] they propose [illegible] suitable man for the work which they are offering. If afterwards the refugee does not live up to his own statement about his qualifications [illegible] would presumably have to go back to the camp.[85]

Thus prospective employers were informed of the importance of their application in giving freedom to a refugee, as well as of the fact that they ha the power to cause re-internment. The employers were also given guidanc in how to write their applications. A sample letter was offered by th Committee.

> Dear Mr. Blair:
>
> We are experiencing considerable difficulty in obtaining qualified men to work in our printing plant. We understand that ______ ______ ______ at present in Refugee Camp [illegible] Sherbrooke, Quebec, is an experienced compositor and is familiar with all branches of printing. We are badly in need of the services of a man with his qualifications and are prepared to offer him [illegible] We might as well elaborate on the shortage of skilled workers of this type [illegible] more about the type of work done in your plant [illegible] particularly if the work is allied to the War Effort. Would you be good enough [illegible] it be possible for us to obtain the services of ______ ______ and if so how soon we might expect him.[86]

During the war, when there was a large demand for skilled workers, th release of the interned refugees was to prove a boon to those compani who utilized their skills. Unfortunately this was not always to be the case.

Most of the internees had few possessions. On their release they we given some basic clothes and a loan to help with their transportation to Toronto, by the Committee. They came alone and in small groups. O arrival they could stay in a boarding house with which the Congress ha an arrangement, until a more permanent lodging could be found. Th house was owned by a German refugee family which had arrived earlie The Congress had given them a loan to buy the house, on St. Geor Street, on the condition that refugees could stay there temporarily.[87] Onc settled in Toronto, with only the barest necessities, the refugees went work. The men were treated differently in each company. While it is in possible to generalize about the attitude of their employers, it is clear th some of the companies exploited the internees as cheap labour.

In one factory a thirty-six year old man, who had had three years

prenticeship training and had even had a similar business in Europe, earned fourteen dollars for a sixty hour week.[88] Thus the problem was twofold. Men with various skills were given menial and lowpaying jobs, while others were underpaid for work which they were qualified to handle. In either case, the internee had to remain in his job because of the wartime restrictions. When the owners themselves were confronted with these inequities, either by the employee[89] or the Committee, the situation was usually remedied.

> Apart from the usual grumblings about no future prospects and having to live in a small town, he states that he doesn't receive legal pay for overtime or night work. And so many of the refugees at this firm . . . seem to be disgruntled and want to change would it be possible to bring up this matter to the firm in a general way? . . We understand that some of the Jewish employers in Toronto have been approached personally with a request for better treatment of their refugee workers and that improvement had resulted.[90]

In some cases the threat of re-internment was used to keep internees from complaining.[91] Once an employer wrote Blair about an unsatisfactory employee, there was little the Committee could do to protect him.

> It was difficult because I do believe in some instances the prospective employer felt he would be getting experienced but cheap labour. This was a complex problem to deal with and in some cases other employment had to be found for the men.[92]

Therefore some of the internees had to suffer through menial jobs at subsistence wages until the wartime regulations were eased. But at least they were free.

The employee situation for those released to smaller companies was usually satisfactory. The owners of these operations were often former refugees themselves. As such they either felt that the newcomers should be given the same rough treatment they had received, or else they developed an empathy based on an understanding of the refugee's difficulties. In most cases the latter occurred. One internee whose experience in knitting consisted of four summers of working in his father's textile factory, (and one year of medical school), was released to a Jewish-owned mill. Beginning in the factory, he worked his way up through clerical work and the shipping department to eventually become the vice-president and general manager of the company.[93] While this story is not a typical one, the fact remains that internees released for employment in industry worked at jobs, even those not necessarily commensurate with their abilities, in which they received fair treatment.

Despite the fact that many refugees went to work in companies dominated by Eastern Europeans, they found that they mixed quite easily. The internment process had provided opportunities and experiences which

permanently altered the perspectives of many internees.

> You can never become a bourgeois after that. When you're separated from the bourgeois customs and you suddenly find yourself dressed the same way as other people and you really see through the kind of superficiality of public life. We all said this.[94]

While most of the internees had come from upper and middle class backgrounds, the change in status they experienced was cushioned by what they had learned in internment. Once they entered Canada's working class this re-evaluation of standard was reinforced.

> What impressed me the most, coming to Canada, is the lack of the caste system. In Canada I learnt very soon that the only thing that counts was money, more or less, to determine your status. Another thing that I admired very much and that I was not used to from Europe was that Jewish people were workers here. That means that it was not a shame here to be an electrician or a plumber or a glazier or whatever . . . Well in my background you wouldn't dream of it. People would look down on you if you were in a trade . . . This impressed me very much in favour of this part of the world.[95]

Comfortable in their job relationships, the internees were able to make friends with their co-workers. They were invited into homes and introduced to girls. For many it was a whole new lifestyle.

> It made me a much better person. All the experiences. Because I was rather spoiled. I came from a wealthy home and, terribly spoiled . . . First of all, mixing with the working people and seeing their point of view . . . They got a much bigger kick out of life than we did because they took it much easier . . . And I learned to relax a little, which I never did before.[96]

Clashes did occur, but they usually stemmed from the fact that the typical internee was more highly skilled than the people he worked with. One of the Gentile internees,[97] a qualified toolmaker, was released to a job working the night-shift in a small company. Since his training meant he could operate all the machines, which the more specialized Canadian-trained men could not, he was soon promoted to foreman for the night-shift. Then he began to have problems. There was one man who gave him a particularly hard time. He was an Irishman who resented having a "foreigner" telling him what to do. Other internees were confronted with anti-Semitism among their fellow workers and lower management.[98] But these difficulties were overcome in time. In fact the most obvious discrepancies — those between German and Polish Jews — were not problems at all in the working class environment.

> This was a funny thing, and I gave up after awhile to tell people. When I told people I came from Austria, they'd say "Oh, you're a landsmench of mine. You come from Galicia too." and I tell him no, I came from Vienna. "You come from Austria. So, you must come from the same part that I come from." So, after awhile, I say sure, I gave up . . . I learned how to speak Yiddish. With my German background it wasn't too hard. I got along very nicely.[99]

Those men who successfully adjusted their expectations and made a conscious effort to adapt to the new environment, found that in Canada, life as an immigrant workers was full of promise

RELEASE AS A FARM WORKER

A substantial number of internees were released as farm workers. Most had had little or no experience with farming and thus had to make the most difficult, and often degrading, adjustments of any of the internees. Those who went to farms were ineligible for release to war industry or as students. There were a variety of problems which arose after the internees reached the farms. Most, no doubt, were rooted in the isolation of farm life which was anathema to men raised in large cities and emerging from two or three years of incarceration. Some were physically unfit for strenuous labour, while others were injured or became ill on the farms. Some of the farmers mistreated, overworked, or neglected to pay their helpers. The Committee worked to try and aid these internees, by requesting their transfer to other farms and to industrial jobs. But they were not always successful, and a number of the refugees were re-interned. This was an especially harsh and disturbing experience for men who had believed that freedom was at last theirs.

> Perhaps the only fault they made was that they have been too precipitate because most of them registered for farm work, a job which they have never performed and for which they were neither physically fit nor physically suitable . . . It must be said that the re-internment of those refugees was a terrible shock to them. They took it as punishment for their precipitate will to help, but on the other hand, they thought that after a few months they will have a chance for rehabilitation . . . The Immigration Authorities once more demur, they are against us

In December 1943 the Refugee Camps were dissolved and those remaining either returned to England or were released in Canada. Transfer from farms became easier because the threat of re-internment could no longer be used. Thus most of the released internees would be living in the cities by the end of the war.

THE RELEASE OF STUDENTS

In order to be released as a student, a young man had to meet four requirements. First of all he had to be under twenty-one and able to prove that his studies had been interrupted by internment. This was especially difficult for German Jews who had been expelled from the gymnasiums in the mid-1930's. The Committee eventually was successful in making both these requirements more flexible. Having passed a matriculation examination in camp was extremely helpful. Secondly, the prospective student had to find a sponsor with enough money to support him through school. (He was only allowed to do farm work in the summer, and therefore could not be expected to work.) A number of internees had relatives who could send them money and the Committee found them nominal sponsors, to satisfy the Immigration authorities. Sponsors were also found who would support a student on their own. The Committee followed the same procedures to find sponsors as it did to find jobs. Internees wrote letters to distant relatives, in the hope that they might be able to help them. Those who had no-one to turn to wrote strangers with the same surname who they found in the telephone directories.

> You will certainly be surprised to hear from me. I have got your address by pure chance and I hope you will excuse my liberty of writing to you . . . It is almost impossible to say how much it would mean to me if my freedom were restored to me . . . You might be able to imagine how desperate I am by seeing that I am writing to you, a complete stranger, on the off chance that you may be willing to help me Perhaps if you yourself can not comply with the above formality, it would be possible for you to find someone who could . . . However the case may be it would mean so very much for me if I at least had some connection in this tremendously big country."

These efforts also met with some success. If one family could not afford to carry the whole burden, then a group of friends or associates would contribute to an allowance. The money for all sponsorships in which the student did not live with the sponsors was funneled through the Committee offices, at the Canadian Jewish Congress. Refugee workers were thus able to keep a close rein on the finances of these youths. Once in a while there were difficulties, either when sponsors were unable to live up to their commitments, or when money promised from abroad did not materialize. People who undertook nominal or partial sponsorships were usually unable to support the student when the funds disappeared. In November 1941 this type of problem arose.

The final requirement for release as a student was acceptance by an educational institution. This proved, in many cases, to be even more difficult than finding money and sponsors. Unless they had their senior matriculation, students often had to repeat one year of high school. Those who did usually attended Harbord Collegiate where the highly competitive atmosphere was such that students even "went to the toilet with a book to read." Some students who had finished a number of years of university or medical school, in England as well as in Europe, were forced to repeat their studies at Ontario universities. McMaster, Queens and the University of Toronto were the major institutions which students who

were released to Ontario attended. A few internees attempted to enter the College of Pharmacy in Toronto, with little success.[104] From those accepted to secondary schools and universities there were few complaints. With the help and friendship provided by their sponsors the students became the most fortunate of all the internees. If they had remained in England they would not have been given the chance to finish their education.

> [illegible] any I had never planned my future because everything was so uncertain. I never dared hope for a career — my schooling had been interrupted when I was [illegible]. When I came to England I thought that now I would be like everyone else, [illegible] life would be normal. When I was asked what I wanted to be I said a doctor. The woman who was filling the form in said: "I can't put that down — you must remember that you are a refugee."[105]

Students were invited to the homes of prominent and wealthy Jews. Many excelled, standing at the tops of their classes and winning scholarships. A large proportion reached prominence in academic, cultural and professional fields. They had all the advantages.

CANADA — FIRST IMPRESSIONS

By 1943 the treatment of the Jews by the Nazis could no longer be ignored. Newspaper articles described mass shootings and gassings. Debates in both Houses re-iterated the ghastly details, as the battle for a new immigration began. The released internees were pointed to again and again as examples of desirable immigrants.[106] In this context it was no longer expedient to have any of the refugees remain interned. Thus, on December 10th, 1943 PC 9440 was passed. The Canadian government thereby dissolved the remaining Refugee Camp and issued temporary permits to the last refugees.[107] For the remaining few, three and a half long years of unjust imprisonment were over.

For those who chose to remain in Canada, at least for the duration of the war, there was a degree of adjustment necessary. At first, "anything looked good."[108] They were free. The whole continent and way of life was new to them. Many of them liked it, despite the peculiarities of Toronto. To the big city boys Toronto seemed provincial. One internee, picked up at Union Station and driven through the city to his sponsor's home in Rosedale asked on arrival where the downtown was. Sundays everything closed down and even the blinds were drawn on the store windows of Eatons. But the city was clean, and the way of life more European and easygoing than south of the border.

> As soon as I got my citizenship I flew to New York to see my family. [illegible] When I came to the States and I saw the life there, which was quite different . . . much more

> hectic. [illegible] Then I appreciated Canada a lot more. [illegible] I got used to it here and I wasn't going to move anymore.

Tired of upheaval and uncertainty, many internees were content to accept Toronto as their final refuge. "It was like you found a new home."

It was not always easy for the new immigrants in Toronto. While many had discarded the class consciousness which marked those refugees who had not been interned, they were still separated from the general Jewish community by culture and education. There was also a degree of hostility in the community. Some were told: "I want you to know we don't like German Jews". The German Jewish immigrants of the mid-nineteenth century did not share their values as they had not come from the same strata of society. But there was one skill which these refugees possessed that made adjustment easier — assimilation. The orthodox Jews quickly entered the predominantly Eastern European community. Those who did not wish to be identified as Jews were able to merge into the Gentile world. The rest went to High Holy Day services at Holy Blossom Temple, and wherever else the tickets were free. They formed their own groups of internees, and friends made on the job or at school. Many married Canadian girls and stopped speaking German. Summers were spent at cottages on Hanlan's Point or at Sunnyside swimming pool. A large group of ex-internees lived in the Bathurst-College-Spadina area of the city. Most spent the little money they had to attend operas, concerts and theatre. They had been a unique group of immigrants, and each in his own way remained unique, no matter which path he chose to take.

BECOMING CANADIAN

There is no way of knowing how many of the [illegible] internees released in Canada remained here after the war. A substantial number moved to the United States to join their families or to attend universities. Others returned to Germany and Austria when reconstruction began. But most of those had already been sent back to England. Among the German Jews interviewed there was widespread hostility towards Germany which continues to this day. With one exception, none of these German refugees had ever thought of returning to live in their country of birth. Some cut themselves off totally from the language and thus their German identity.

> Q. Do you ever speak your native language? When?
> A. Rarely, when talking to [illegible]

For some internees a lifelong hatred of Germans marks their personality.

> As soon as I am with one for awhile I see him in that brown uniform. I think it's [illegible]

> sickness with me . . . Its left me with something that cannot be erased

The men who felt this way would only return to Germany in order to show their wives where they had grown up. Without exception, the men who did not have feelings of antipathy were those who escaped as teenagers and were released as students. They have business dealings with Germans, speak the language often and make many trips to Germany. But they remain Canadian. Thus for the German Jews, the decision to remain in Canada was not a difficult one. They had rejected the possibility of any future in Germany long before they had escaped.

In the case of the Austrian refugees the sense of Canadian identity is much different. Many of those interviewed maintain a strong identification with Austrian culture, and are active members of the Canadian Austrian Society. None of those interviewed had rejected being Austrian, or minded speaking German. With one exception, all had returned to Vienna and two of them make yearly trips. Yet their attachment to Canada is no less than that of their German counterparts.

One thing they all share is a deep-seated suspicion of nationalism.

> I am constantly surprised that some people have such strong national feelings, particularly in a multicultural country where we are.

Most will always have an accent, and a knowledge that others know they were not born in Canada. They will forever feel that they are, in some way, outsiders. Despite their treatment by the Canadian government every internee has a strong belief that Canada was the best place that they could have settled and raised their children. Both the internees, and Canada, are the beneficiaries of this accidental immigration.

> I think I have made as good an adjustment and [illegible] to Canadian life as one can make.

> For a penniless immigrant to become president of a national corporation . . . can only happen in North America.

The interned refugees did not remain a group after their release. While strong friendships were maintained, many internees developed whole new circles of friends. Yet whether or not the relationships have been preserved, a feeling of brotherhood persists.

> And to this day, many of these people, even though we may not see each other very often . . . if anyone needed anything I would be there and I'm sure they would be there. Its a bond that just can't break.

One internee, recently met a visitor from New York, who, upon sighting him, immediately proclaimed: "Well if it isn't number 521, group 21!" It is only when these "camp boys" meet one another by chance, or design that they think about their internment. Their stories and memories then are all in a humourous vein. They remember the funny things that happened to them, and the rosy side of the more unpleasant events. Otherwise, few dwell on the internment, or on the circumstances surrounding their early lives, and their escape.

> Basically most people forget. They don't put it out of their mind, but they don't want to be disturbed by it. And I think its only right . . . You have to draw a line somewhere . . . Its a horrible thing that happened. Its not the first time. It won't be the last. Suffering . . . has happened before.

CONCLUSION

Nevertheless, internment did deprive the internees of a number of years of their lives. While they learned a great deal from the experience, there was no compensation for the stolen time. At the time they were undoubtedly bitter. But in the light of the Holocaust these survivors have rejected any resentment of their treatment. They know now that England literall saved their lives by taking them in. Any discomfort or inconvenience they experienced is negated by this knowledge. Canada, although reluctantl did give them a new home and generous opportunities. Many were able t become extremely successful. Others never reached the goals they had se for themselves in their youths. But the blame is attached to Hitler, not the internment.

The story of the interned refugees has significance on a number o levels. In essence it is only a small part of the whole tragic episode of th destruction of the European Jews. The interned refugees were caught up i the political machinations of four countries — Germany, England, Th United States, and Canada — and abused as if they were no more tha pawns in a game. Their treatment clearly illustrates the political an public climates of the mid-1930's and early war years in each countr Forced to flee Germany, they looked away from the firmly closed doors o Canada towards the United States. America gave them pieces of pape and shallow promises. England gave them refuge, but deprived them o their freedom. Canada treated them as criminals, made their lives difficult, but ultimately gave them a home. In terms of Canadian immigra tion policy, before 1947 and even afterwards, these internees were amon the fortunate few.

> The degree of generosity which Canada has shown in her international relations is reflected in the admission of refugees. In 1949, the peak year of overseas resettlement of refugees . . . the United States accepted almost five times as many refugees as Canada, Australia more than three times as many and Israel twice as many . . . Records were kept of the number of refugees requiring permanent care in institutions . . . Canada accepted so few that she was not even listed among the

> countries which received two hundred cases or more ...[62]

These refugees might not have been admitted any other way. In terms of the Holocaust, they had survived

The story of the interned refugees is also an illustration of group survival. Thrown together in a period of massive injustice these men succeeded in maintaining their love of life, their dignity, their humour, and their hopes. Individuals united in order to utilize their inner resources to build a vibrant microcosm of society. Upon regaining their freedom each individual was strong enough to independently pursue his new life in Canada and elsewhere. By maintaining their individualities through a unity of purpose they were able to re-enter the mainstream of life without crutches. And as individuals the interned refugees know that, as former refugees, they will always carry a unique perception of the fragility of personal contentment.

> A refugee is a man, who has learned that nothing on this earth-plane is constant, but is subject to a permanent alteration. Yet only by finding a foothold in this whirlpool and by picking out of the passing waves the red thread of life, he moulds into a real human being ...[63]

FOOTNOTES

1. Interview [redacted].
2. *House of Commons Debates*, February 23, 1942, p. 776
3. P.A.C., Department of National Defence, RG 24 C4, 6592, 5-2-9
4. Confidential Interview
5. Confidential Interview
6. Kreisel, p. 24-25.
7. P.A.C., Department of National Defence RG 24 C4, 6593, 5-2-9
8. P.A.C., Department of National Defence RG C4, 6593, 5-2-11.
9. *Ibid*
10. *Ibid*
11. Wyman, p. 181
12. P.A.C., Department of National Defence, RG C4, 6593, 5-2-11
13. *Ibid*,
14. Wyman, p. 191.
15. Canadian Jewish Congress Central Region Archives (hereafter referred to as CJC Central Region Archives) Internees Files. Paul Batist.
16. Interview.
17. CJC Central Region Archives "Internees Files", Fritz Mueller-Sorau
18. P.A.C., Department of National Defence, RG 24 C4, 6592, 5-2-9
19. *House of Commons Debates*, February 23, 1942, p. 776
20. Kreisel, p. 25.
21. CJC Central Region Archives, "Internees Files": Ernst Meyer.

22. *Camp L Chronicle*
23. Interview
24. *Camp L Chronicle*
25. P.A.C., Department of National Defence, RG 24 C4, 6581, 3-3-2
26. *Ibid*
27. *Ibid*
28. Interview
29. Interview
30. Interview
31. Interview
32. Interview
33. Interview
34. Interview
35. *House of Commons Debates*, November 20, 1940, p. 245-46
36. P.A.C., Department of National Defence, RG 24 C4, 6576, 1-1-5
37. *Ibid*
38. *Ibid*
39. P.A.C., Orders in Council, RG series 1, #2[illegible]2, PC [illegible]
40. *Statement on the Occasion of One Year in Camp 'N'* Camp 'N' Inmates, Sherbrooke Quebec, October 15, 1941
41. P.A.C., Department of National Defence, RG 24 C4, 6576, 1-2-[illegible]
42. P.A.C., Department of National Defence, RG 24 C4, 6262, 12-[illegible]
43. Interview
44. Interview
45. Interview
46. Interview
47. Interview
48. Interview
49. Interview
50. Interview
51. Interview
52. Interview
53. Interview
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BOOK REVIEW

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The Accidental Immigrants: Canada And The Interned Refugees: Part 1

PAULA JEAN DRAPER

Résumé

Dans cet article l'écrivain étudie ce qui c'est passé à un petit groupe d'Allemands et d'Autrichiens dont au moins le 70% descendait d'un de deux grands-parents juifs. Ces hommes se sont trouvés pris entre la destruction et l'exclusion de la societé. S'étant réfugiés en Angleterre, ils furent pris, emprisonnés et envoyés au Canada où ils passèrent une grande partie de la deuxième guerre mondiale.

Paula Jean Draper fait remonter le commencement de l'odyssée de ce groupe d'internés à 1930 lorsqu'ils cherchèrent asile en Angleterre. Pendant les premières 10 années, ils purent bénéficier d'une liberté preque absolve. Pourtant, à partir de 1940, ils furent mis dans des camps spéciaux. Aprés être envoyés d'un camp d'internement à un autre, une partie d'eux fut envoyée en Australie et 4000 internés partirent pour le Canada. Les autorités au Canada s'attendaient à ce que ces internés fussent de catégorie "A", c'est à dire "dangereux", mais il s'agissait surtout de personnes de catégorie "B" et "C", ce qui implique qu'ils avaient le droit à être remis en liberté.

L'écrivain donne d'abord un aperçu de la politique canadienne des années 30 sur l'immigration. Elle décrit l'arrivée et le traitement réservé à ce groupe particulier d'internés. Les recherches faites par l'écrivain prouvent que malgré les pressions de la part du gouvernement anglais et de la part de plusieurs organisations, les personnes de groupe "B" et "C" étaient traitées comme des prisonniers et non pas comme ayant des privilèges bien définis.

Le gouvernement canadien aurait preféré ignorer les plaintes de ces réfugés mais ceux-ci et leurs amis firent ainsi que le gouvernment dut bientôt changer de politique.

Pour compléter ses recherches l'écrivain a consulté plusieurs articles de journaux, les éditoriaux de cette période et elle a eu plusieurs entrevues

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[*] Out of respect to the privacy of the individuals who were interviewed in the preparation of this paper, the author has refrained from naming them in the footnotes. Those wishing precise documentation may contact the author through the office of the Editor.

avec des personnes dont, par raisons humanitaires, elle préfère cacher le nom.

This is an examination of how a small group of German and Austrian men, at least seventy percent of whom had descended from one or more Jewish grandparents, found themselves caught between destruction and exclusion. Refugees in England, they were suddenly seized, imprisoned and shipped to internment camps in Canada. There they were to spend a good part of the war years. While their story is not unique, it's outcome is peculiar to "the Canadian Way". The treatment these men received at the hands of the Canadian government and military reflects the changing self-image which Canada underwent during the Second World War. Newspaper editorials shed light on the political stances involved in humanitarian issues. The actions of the Director of the Immigration Branch of the Ministry of Mines and Resources further illustrate the prevailing views on what kind of people were desirable as future Canadians. And the attitudes, perseverance and triumph of these refugees illustrate the abilities man possesses to ward off despair.

ENGLAND AND THE INTERNED REFUGEES

> Loss of freedom is a shocking experience. It was all the more so for us because we felt ourselves to be allies of Great Britain. We regarded Britain as the country that had rescued us from Nazi tyranny. To be then incarcerated by our friends seemed almost incomprehensible, a kind of betrayal.[1]

By the late 1930's England had become the refugee centre of the world. In the summer of 1943, there were 114,400 war refugees in the country. They came from every nation in Western Europe. When war was declared, all people categorized as "enemy aliens" were brought before tribunals to be classified into one of three categories. Class "A" aliens were termed "dangerous enemy aliens" and immediately interned. Class "B" or "friendly enemy aliens" were under suspicion and were given restrictions such as curfews and a five mile travel limit. The third group, and the largest, was category "C", "friendly alien and refugee from Nazi oppression". Apart from general restrictions against driving and using cameras, "C" as well as "B"s were free from internment.

During the "phony war" these refugees were well-treated in England. But the spring of 1940 brought an end to tranquility in England. On April ninth, Denmark fell. Norway was subdued by May. On May tenth, 1940, the *Blitzkrieg* began. Holland, Luxembourg, and Belgium collapsed. By June twenty-second an armistice had been signed between France and Germany. Britain was now the target of the Nazis. As fear of invasion mounted, the possibility that amongst the refugees in England there could be subversive elements waiting to help overthrow the government became increasingly realistic.

> That the fifth column could be a decisive factor in modern warfare emerged from the Spanish Civil War. Although seldom clearly projected, the common image of the fifth column included saboteurs and spies, as well as propagandists who aimed to divide the populace and undermine the government by convincing masses of people of the fruitlessness of resisting the enemy.[2]

This fear was especially prevalent among the British military. Beginning in mid-May all categories of enemy aliens residing in eastern coastal or so-called "Protected Areas" in England and Scotland were interned by the Home Office. German and Austrian men between the ages of sixteen and sixty, totalling 23,000 and 3,000 women, were interned.[3] They were placed in improvised camps and prisons. The government explanation of this round-up was presented by the Under-Secretary of the Home Office, Mr. Peake, on July 10th, 1940:

> I wish we knew half as much about many of the neutral aliens and many British subjects as we know about the enemy aliens in this country . . . It was represented to us by the military authorities, on military grounds, that the whole of the coastal belt on the east and south-east coasts of England must be made into a protected area. Not only did they press upon us that enemy aliens, about whom we knew so much, should be turned out, but, they pressed upon us also that neutral aliens should be removed. The military authorities asked for the removal of all aliens from the coastal belt. The only practical method of dealing with the situation was, in fact, to intern the males . . . In my view the most humane thing to do with the aliens at that time, and with public feeling what it was, was to put them into temporary internment.[4]

Thus it was obvious that those refugees, who by accidents of fate were living in the designated protected areas, were deliberately interned. That it was a precautionary measure, which in fact served to remove these early victims of Nazism from possible danger zones, is also clear. No one believed that this was anything more than a temporary measure.[5]

I was working as an apprentice cutter in the large clothing factory

> of the Montague Burton Company in Leeds, when, at 12:30 p.m., on May 16, 1940, I was called to the main office. This was so unusual an occurence as to cause something of a sensation among my fellow workers . . . My knees shaking, I followed the man who had been sent to fetch me, and was taken to the office of the assistant general manager. Two men in rain coats were waiting . . . These gentlemen, he said, were detectives who had come to fetch me. The room began to sway. I could not find my voice. My throat seemed parched. What had I done? Then one of the detectives said that all aliens were being interned for a brief period. But there was nothing to be afraid of . . . It would all be sorted out quickly . . . I would soon be sent back . . . It was likely, he added, that I would be detained for a day or two. Therefore they would drive me home so that I could get some pyjamas and a toothbrush . . . Then I walked out of the office, between two detectives, a kind of prisoner.[6]

The younger the refugee was, the less ominous was the visit by the police.

> I sat in the car. I'm sure they must have thought I was crazy, and I laughed and I laughed on the way to the police station. I knew something marvelous had happened to me.[7]

For thousands of those interned in this manner, freedom was not to be regained in one or two days, but in one, or two, or even three years.

Moved about from place to place, the internees found themselves congregated in ever growing numbers. Three of the larger camps were in Huyton, near Liverpool, and in holiday resorts on the Isle of Man.

> Vividly I still see the picture as we went through the streets of Ramsey to the Internment Camp in a long marching column, everybody carrying his small luggage. The inhabitants of Ramsey stand in front of their houses. The rumor has spread: we are dangerous parachutists, and so we are looked at gloomily, perhaps one or the other astonished, how we managed to jump down with suitcases and portfolios.[8]

With the exception of those who had been transferred from Kitchener Camp, the Isle of Man was the first place in which many of the refugees were thrown together in large groups. The camps were segregated into those for men and for women. In these camps there was no work to be done and so time was spent in entertainment and discussion. They complained about the food, discussed the war, dwelt on the horrors they had escaped and worried about those they had left behind.[9] For those who observed *kashrut* there was little to eat other than bread.[10] While the few who had friends in the kitchens ate well,[11] others had, on occasion, only a little bread to last them days.[12] One refugee recalls hearing that in Ramsey the quartermaster was selling nine-tenths of their rations on the black market.[13] But the Isle of Man was a resort, so the conditions were comfortable and they could go swimming in the Irish Sea. Only for the men recently released from concentration camps was this incarceration difficult.[14] The imminent threat of invasion caused fear in some that the large groupings of refugees on the island would serve as convenient concentration camps for the conquering Germans. Others saw their removal to an area far from the scene of battle as a measure of protection. Nevertheless, there were guards and barbed wire, though guns had to be exchanged at every change of the guard due to their shortage.[15] For about two thousand of the men thus incarcerated, the comfortable stay was soon ended, by way of transfer to a camp in Huyton, and then a ship ride to Canada.

The amount of manpower necessary to administer and guard 26,000 people led to a decision to send internees to Commonwealth countries. Canada and Australia accepted, as a means of aiding the war effort.

> 15 June 1940. Arrival in Douglas, Isle of Man. Hygenical conditions excellent. We sleep in beds again. Food is not enough, though. We are allowed to bathe in the sea, and are taken for walks. We live fairly peacefully and undisturbed for some ten days, when it is announced that all unmarried men between the ages of 16 and 40 are going to be moved. There are rumours to Canada, but we do not know.[16]

Two thousand internees of all categories were sent to Australia in the summer of 1940. More than four thousand internees were shipped to Canada. They were sent on three ships: the Arandora Star, the S.S.Ettrick, and the S.S.Sobieski. Canada had expected that her offer to take internees was restricted to those in class "A", dangerous enemy aliens, but she instead received approximately 2250 "B"s and "C"s. It was generally believed among the interned refugees that there had been a mistake in orders and that the refugees had not been officially designated for removal to the Dominions. There is no indication in the available documents that such was the case.

The fact that England was shipping these refugees to Canada came to a tragic light when the Arandora Star was torpedoed on June 30th, 1940. Four hundred lives were lost, all of them internees.[17] Cables from Vincent Massey, the High Commissioner for Canada in England, indicate that at

least fifty of the internees aboard were in category "B".[18] An additional 532 were stated to be German internees, category "A". The resultant exposure caused by this tragedy led to public outcries in Britain, and to many questions about the treatment of the refugees. On July 9th, Mr. Cross, the Minister of Shipping, in answer to a question in Parliament said: "The Germans on board were Nazi sympathizers and none came to this country as refugees."[19] The next day he repeated the above statement and then went on to contradict it. "Having arrived at the names of the missing . . . the Home Office . . . (will) transmit them to the refugee organizations because it is only the refugee organizations who will be able to get in touch with the relatives.[20] In the following weeks and months the British government was forced to justify its actions. On July 23rd, the Home Secretary, Sir John Anderson, spoke in the House of Commons and explained that:

> The recent restrictions for the internment of Germans and Austrians who had been placed in the "C" category provided for the exemption of those falling within certain specified descriptions . . . There have been cases of mistaken interpreting instructions which necessarily had to be carried out under a great deal of urgency.[21]

This explanation did not stand up to the further scrutiny of an Inquiry. In his report on the Arandora Star, Lord Snell stated:

> The Canadian government agreed to take four thousand, and it was estimated that this number would absorb all the more dangerous characters. While the underlying idea was, in the first stage at any rate, to send out of the country those aliens who were proved or known to be dangerous characters, it would not be right to say that the orders issued ever laid down that only aliens who could be described as dangerous characters were sent overseas.[22]

Thus while the original intentions of those who ordered internment were for temporary detention, the pressures of the time caused indiscriminate actions. We do not know which agencies were responsible for the sending of refugees to the Dominions. But there can be no doubt that the government was well aware of what was happening. That public sentiment was not behind this policy was clearly illustrated. In the following eight months five debates were forced in the Commons regarding the internments.[23] By the end of July opportunities for release were made available for "C" internees. Those eligible for release included: students under eighteen, those with work permits, workers in agriculture, scientists and academics for whom there was war work, doctors and dentists authorized to practice or study, those engaged in refugee organizations, those with sons in the British armed forces, religious ministers with congregations, and people "about to embark on emigration overseas."[24] These regulations were duly transmitted to the Canadian authorities. By the end of July the transferal of interned refugees was halted and those in British internment camps were being processed for release. Only two ships had brought refugees to Canada. How the Canadian government reacted to the knowledge of who the prisoners were, and the manner in which she treated them clearly illustrates the immigration policies and practices of the time.

CANADA'S IMMIGRATION POLICY IN THE 1930's

Workers in Jewish agencies in the 1930's were familiar with the often repeated stories of how recent Jewish immigrants had received their visas to Canada. Claiming to be farmers in order to pass the regulations, Jews were told to show the immigration officers their hands. It was not the texture of the hands these men were interested in. It was the money they held.[25] Many Jews lied about their religion, aware as they were that Canada did not want Jews. A large group of Czechoslovakian farmers, who were allowed into Canada in 1938, contained many Jews who only made themselves known to the Jewish community after they became citizens . The internees were well aware of the difficulty involved in Canadian immigration.

> So began what was to be an internment lasting more than a year and a half. It was to take me to Canada, a country that I barely knew by name and that was only a large red stretch on the school maps we had used in Vienna in our geography lessons. It was a silent, mysterious land for me, known by all refugees as the country whose doors were most tightly shut. Virtually no one could get in.[26]

When Auschwitz became an extermination centre, all the belongings of the victims were stored in a huge complex which was refered to by the inmates as "Canada". In concentration camp slang "Canada" meant "an abundance of everything", which was off limits and closely guarded.[27] This was an unfortunately apt description of Canadian immigration policies in the 1930's and early 1940's.

The anti-immigration policies of the 1930's were based on simple prejudices as well as elaborately constructed economic and social theories. The restrictionist legislation of 1931 was predominantly a result of economic recession. The standard of living began to fall in 1929 and con-

tinued its downward trend every year until 1933.[28] By 1933 twenty-nine percent of the labour force was unemployed,[29] and over a million of Canada's population of ten million were on direct relief.[30] Admitting more job-seekers was a political impossibility. Coupled with this crisis were the effects of the imposition of a quota system in the United States. Canada's open door system of immigration had depended heavily on the outward flow of new arrivals to the south. This had long been criticized by opponents of free immigration, such as the Canadian historian R.M. Lower.

> Wholesale immigration, productive as it is of wholesale emigration, turns our country into a training ground for American citizens. Meanwhile we in Canada have brought in another batch of raw material which out of the goodness of our hearts we proceed to prepare for our American friends.[31]

The change in American policy meant that only Canadian citizens were free to resettle in the United States. Fear grew that the departing native Canadians would be replaced by undesirable immigrant groups. Academics therefore devised a theory which would show that these immigrants were unnecessary altogether. Lower, writing in 1930,[32] contended that the present natural surplus of births over deaths (1½%) was sufficient population increase due to the limited expansion of the economy. The end of the land boom meant that new settlers would only displace the native born. Thus immigration would cause emigration and "cheap men will drive out dear ones".[33] But as the 1930's progressed, the economic argument became less tenable. During that decade emigration exceeded immigration by over 100,000 and the standard of living rose every year but 1938.[34] By 1939 the economy had recovered to its 1928 peak, and after 1940 there was full employment.[35] Thus in the mid-thirties less tangible arguments took precedence in the restrictionist mind.

Those who opposed immigration on social grounds maintained, as did W. Burton Hurd, that an "appeal" to religious prejudices is patently un-British."[36] Their main concern was that the British character of Canada was seriously threatened by the massive influx of Central and Eastern Europeans, as well as by the importation of Oriental labour. Besides ignorance of English, these groups displayed an alarming propensity towards high birth rates and contined illiteracy.[37] They also seemed to defy assimilation, especially the Orientals, Negros and Hebrews.[38] Hurd claimed that these new immigrants were significantly crime-prone and that this tendency persisted to the third and fourth generation.[39] He came to these conclusions on the basis of children in reformatories. By some inverted reasoning Hurd then concluded that:

> No claim is made for the superiority of the Anglo-Saxon and French races nor for the British culture. Nor is any blame attached to individuals or groups for circumstances beyond their control which make their assimilation in Canada difficult.[40]

The racialism which surfaces from under the guise of social self-interest in these arguments was even more thinly disguised by W.A. Carothers in 1929.[41] While complaining that the cheap labour of immigrants was destroying the economic chances of the Anglo-Canadians, he inferred that their low standard of living was a racial trait.[42] Though he was mainly concerned with the threat of yellow, black and brown immigration,[43] he was willing to admit that "from the biological point of view their (central, south and eastern Europeans) assimilation would not necessarily lead to race deterioration."[44]

> The problem is not so much of racial inferiority, as of controling numbers to ensure that they have the opportunity of understanding our social ideals and institutions.[45]

Would-be citizens should be judged by "Canadian standards of life, justice, integrity, fair play, and morality, both public and private.[46] Thus, in social terms, the ideal non-British or non-French immigrant would be white, Christian, and a believer in democracy.

Politics, in fact, were a dominant theme of the social supporters of restrictionism. The fact that large homogenous groups of Eastern and Central Europeans had settled *en masse* in the prairie provinces, and to a smaller extent in Montreal, Toronto and Winnipeg, gave rise to fears of a different sort. Communism, not fascism, was the primary evil which clouded the vision of the western world. The growing voting power of the unassimilated groups in Western Canada, and in the larger cities, combined with the massive unemployment in these areas to create anti-democratic movements. In capitalist Canada the threat of communism was perceived to far outweigh that presented by the little known ideals of fascism. In the 1930's the Communist Party actually gained very little support in Canada. By 1937 the total membership in the country was estimated to be less than fifteen thousand.[47] One example of the fears aroused by socialist ideas occurred in Ontario. The Oshawa strike of 1937 resulted in a political swing to the far right by Premier Mitchell Hepburn. Industrial unionism became branded as Bolshevism. Subsequently, Premier Hepburn demoted his two most progressive cabinet ministers.[48]

One was a Jew. Allied with the government, the Toronto *Globe and Mail* editorialized that:

> Although it cannot be said that a majority of Jews are Communists, the indications are that a large percentage, and probably a majority of Communists are Jews.[49]

In reality only about four hundred and fifty members of the Communist Party of Canada were Jewish.[50] Thus the real, though unsubstantiated, fear of communism was directly linked to the Jewish people. This was utilized by the growing, and vociferous, fascist movement in Canada. With the help of Nazi propaganda the Canadian fascists were able to add an additional terrifying note to the spectre of Jewish communism - the Jewish world conspiracy. The pamphlet, *The Key of Mystery*, which consisted of forged and distorted texts proposing Jewish domination of the world, was published in Montreal by Adrien Arcand.[51] This leader of the Canadian fascists found widespread support for his anti-Semitic propaganda, especially in Duplessis Quebec. The pervasiveness of these ideas was eloquently attested to as late as 1944 when a French Canadian member of the Federal Parliament was able to make the following statement without rebuke.

> Mr. Liguori Lacombe (Laval-Two Mountains) . . . It would be criminal to listen to the advocates of immigration who are all in the pay of international finance and who frequently receive favours from communists and proponents of world revolution . . . Will the government understand where lie the interests most dear to our people, or will it give in to national and international conspiracies hatched in secrecy and all of them detrimental to Canada?[52]

In the 1930's the largest pressures exerted on the government were on the behalf of refugees from Hitler's Germany. And who were these refugees? Communists, leftists and Jews. Thus a genuine fear of communist immigration combined with the slightly less fashionable reality of anti-Semitism under the guise of political and social restrictionism. The economic problems of the decade provided a convenient excuse for an anti-immigration government.

Newspaper editorials which followed upon the events of November 1938 in Germany, indicate that government policy was generally supported by public opinion. Those who supported the admission of refugees de-emphasized their Jewishness or else praised their stereotyped qualities, (shrewdness, industriousness, and thriftiness).[53] Other supporters stressed the need to populate Canada's vast lands in order that she might protect herself from conquerors. Those opposed were either vociferously anti-Semitic, as in Quebec, or else valiantly British. By warning against the loss of the British character of Canada, these loyalists were outdoing the British themselves, who had accepted over a hundred thousand refugees. Many advocated the granting of money to send refugees to other lands. The wilds of British Guiana and Tanganyika were two popular choices. Most editorials took the moderate view which combined these various aspects to allow for admitting people on humanitarian grounds. Thus they felt that the "White Man's Burden" should be borne, in part, by Canada. The Toronto *Globe and Mail's* views were typical.

> It is necessary because of indifference in the past, to regulate immigration to keep this a British nation and this will be no small task. But Canada can relax immigration regulations sufficiently to admit a moderate number of German and Austrian refegees on a selective basis who will take up land as farmers and avoid intensifying the unemployment problem in urban communities.[55]

That anti-Semitism played a significant role is illustrated by a public opinion poll taken in 1946,[56] after the atrocities of the Final Solution were well known. Asked "If Canada allows more immigration, are there any of these nationalities which you would like to keep out?"

(more than 100% because many gave more than one answer)

Japanese	60%	Middle European	16%
Jewish	49	Ukranian	15
German	34	Polish	14
Russian	33	Others	3
Negro	31	nine	18
Italian	25	no answer	7
Chinese	24		

Economic condition, nationalism, fear of communism and anti-Semitism thus combined to create a climate hostile to increased immigration, especially of refugees.

The government's actions fit the demands of public opinion. Dr. Manion wooed the French voters by outspoken opposition to increased immigration. The C.C.F. favoured admission according to absorptive capacity, which in a time of economic depression was equivalent to the Conservative stand. The Liberal government of Mackenzie King maintained a low level of immigration and the ratio of Jews given visas was no altered. Various attempts by Jewish organizations to change the attitud

of the Prime Minister failed. Three Jewish members of Parliament (S.W. Jacobs, A.A. Heaps, and Sam Factor) pleaded in the House for an easing of restrictions. In 1938 King was pushed into setting up a committee of the Cabinet to deal with the refugee problem. These ministers: T.A. Crerar, Ernest Lapointe, Ian Mackenzie, J.L. Isley and F. Rinfret, made no recommendations to ease the situation. Meanwhile, Jews were being excluded in every conceivable manner. On November 9, 1938, Heaps wrote to King: "the existing regulations are probably the most stringent to be found anywhere in the whole world. If refugees have no money, they barred because they are poor, and if they have fairly substantial sums they are often refused admittance on the most flimsy pretext."[57] On the other hand petitions against refugees were flowing in from Quebec. The petition of the Saint Jean de Baptiste Society was presented to the Commons with 127,364 signatures in protest "against immigration of any kind whatsoever, and especially Jewish immigrants."[58] Caught in the middle of this argument the government remained content to avoid any policy regarding refugees. The answer to why King did not allow himself to act was that, in his attitudes, he was a typical Canadian.

> His thinking was embarassingly simplistic, and he could refer to a Jew as "a credit to his race", to a "darky" servant or to the "masses" in his private musings in his diary. There was prejudice in him, but no more than was commonplace in men of his class, age and upbringing.[59]

As Jews continued to comprise about 5.4%[60] of the total immigration, and that number consistently dropped during the 1930's, Canada indeed became an impossible dream for refugees. While in 1931 4,164[61] of 27,530[62] immigrants were Jews, by 1938 there were only 584 Jews out of a total of 17, 17,244. Between 1933-1939 a total of 3,834[63] Jews were allowed into Canada, from all sources, including the United States. The reasons were summarized by the *Report of Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism* in 1970.

> In the late 1930's some of those arriving in Canada were refugees, but economic recovery was slow and the Canadian government was reluctant to admit even the victims of Nazi Germany. The tendency to give economic considerations priority over humanitarian ones was probably buttressed by the anti-Semitism expressed by small but noisy and even violent minorities in various parts of Canada in the 1930's.[64]

CANADA AT WAR

Canada entered the war in September 1939. She declared war only because Britain had declared war, and for no other reason. "It was not a war for Poland; it was not a war against anti-Semitism; it was not even a war against Nazism."[65] There were no ideological or humanitarian motives involved in Canada's actions. Defence of the Empire was her sole concern. In Canada there were large numbers of enemy aliens, particularly in the West, who had settled in Canada early in the century. Refugees made up only a small proportion of the overall "enemy" population. It was clearly impossible that all these people should be interned. The urgency involved in Britain was not necessary in a country far removed from the threat of invasion. Yet the police had been monitoring the activities of foreign-controlled organizations in Canada.[66] As a direct result the *Defence of Canada Regulations*,[67] which had been drafted on July 6th 1939 and which became law as P.C. 2483 on September 3rd, laid down provisions that "All enemy aliens in Canada, so long as they peacefully pursue their ordinary avocations shall be allowed to continue to enjoy the protection of the law and shall be accorded the respect and consideration due to peaceful and law abiding citizens." Article twenty-five created Registrars of Enemy Aliens (R.C.M.P. officers). Every enemy alien was required to report for identification purposes to a Registrar. Of a total of 16,643 registered by May 23rd, 1940, 4,322 had been given exemption certificates on the grounds that they were "people from Czechoslvakia and other similar refugees."[68] Appeals against internment were provided for in Article twenty-six and they were to be prompt and thorough. Thus a mechanism for release was in operation in Canada, as well as an awareness of the difference between a refugee and an enemy when the interned refugees arrived.

CANADA AND THE INTERNED REFUGEES: WHY THEY CAME

The S.S. Ettrick and the S.S. Sobieski landed in Canada in July o 1940. The possibility that they had brought a large number of refugee immigrants to Canada could not have been further from the minds of the authorities involved. Yet there had been ample indications that these internees were not the dangerous enemy aliens that the government had agreed to accept.

The earliest indication that Canada might be willing to take men interned in England came in February of 1940. A former member of th King's African Rifles wrote from Vancouver to the Minister of Nationa Defence, suggesting that it would be "a very valuable addition to Canada

war effort if arrangements were made for all German prisoners of war to be held in Canada for the duration."[69] He further suggested that veterans of the "Great War" could be used as guards. The Under Secretary of State, E.H. Coleman, agreed with this idea, while envisioning problems of world criticism.

> From the physical point of view, I have no doubt in my mind that we could in Canada set up an additional number of internment camps but it seems to me the suggestion raises an important question of policy. There is no doubt in my mind that a transfer of a considerable number of German prisoners to Canada by the government of the United Kingdom would be represented to the world as an act of barbarity. . . It would be represented that the prisoners were interned in Canada in Arctic wastes.[70]

Yet he did conclude that there was no doubt that if the United Kingdom asked, Canada would accept. In May, the request came. Massey cabled that there were nine thousand Austrians and Germans already interned in England.

> The custody of so many potentially dangerous persons in area which may be the scene of active operations presents a very difficult problem . . . Consideration thus being given to the possibility of easing these difficulties by sending certain internees out of the U.K. . . . The U.K. government would be glad to learn whether the principle of receiving alien internees from this country is acceptable to the Canadian government.[71]

Meanwhile fears that there were already too many enemies among Canadians were spreading. The Minister of Justice, Ernest Lapointe, tried to ally these fears. In a speech to the House on June 3rd, 1940, he warned:

> It is a great disservice to Canada and the allied cause to spread stories that Canada is filled with enemy sympathizers . . . But let us be careful not to mistake for pro-Germans persons who have German names and German descent. Most of them came to Canada to escape the Prussian yoke. The overwhelming majority are passionately anti-Nazi.[72]

The government therefore recognized that there were many Germans who were not sympathetic to the Third Reich. At the same time she unsuspectingly prepared to receive a whole new batch of them.

On June 7th, Massey again cabled, with the information that there were now 12,000 internees of whom 2,500 were pro-Nazi and "therefore dangerous in the event of parachute landings or invasion."[73] He urged that

accomodation be made quickly for the transfer of these "dangerous typ internees, and added that all costs in transportation and maintenan would be borne by the British. The Under-Secretary of State for Extern Affairs, Dr. O.D. Skelton, replied on June 10th that: "Under the circur stances the Canadian government are prepared to accept up to 4,000 i ternees as proposed, and also up to 3,000 prisoners of war."[74] Simp arithmetic proves that Canada, while implying she wanted only dangerou internees, invited the possibility that as many as 1,500 refugees could t sent over. It seems probable that the request for 4,000 internees was base on accomodation capacities rather than on a careful reading of Masse cable. The next day, June 11th, a Member of Parliament brought t plight of the interned refugees to the attention of the House. Quoting a article in the *London Spectator*, Mr. Hanson informed the House of t reasons for the mass internments in England.

> The safety of the country demands that no half-measures should be taken to guard against it here even if hardship is imposed on many innocent people . . . This drastic treatment of foreigners, the majority of whom are perfectly loyal to the allies is regrettable, but there is no alternative. It is promised that the measures will be mitigated when circumstances permit.[75]

The fact that there were large numbers of friendly aliens interned i England was not connected with the problem of bringing internees t Canada.

The War Cabinet Committee meeting on June 14th covered the subje of locating the new camps.

> The general view was that the majority should be located in New Brunswick, Quebec and Ontario, rather than in the Western provinces. . . .
>
> The Minister of Finance referred to the "political" problems connected with the locating of internees and prisoners of war . . . It had been felt that to locate large numbers in Saskatchewan might be unwise because of the German populations there; on the other hand, to send some to Alberta and not to Saskatchewan might appear to be a reflection on the loyalty of the other province.[76]

As a result of these fears the internment camps were located far aw from the German settlements of the west. For the refugees this was to be great advantage, as they were thereby placed in close proximity to t largest Jewish communities in Canada.

While arrangements for the prisoners of war and internees were bein

made, the government expressed a willingness to accept larger numbers of civilians from the United Kingdom.[77] To begin with, ten thousand British children would be accepted. Vestiges of colonialism remained in Canada before and during the Second World War. This offer to accept tens of thousands of British refugees reflects the extent to which this mentality still pervaded the government. As in her immigration policy, in her humanitarian policies Britain came first, often to the exclusion of all others. But, while Canada did not want other species of refugees, she got them. The first flight of internees sailed on June 21st, carrying 530 prisoners of war, and 2160 internees.[78] Internees were placed, on arrival, in Camp "F", Fort Henry and camp "R" at Red Rock (near Fort William) Ontario. Prisoners of war and 347 internees were put in Camp "T" in Trois Rivieres. Information available shows that thirty-six of the internees at Camp "R" were Jews.[79] It is not known whether there were any more than this on the first flight. The second flight was to be the Arandora Star. Massey's cable of June 29th, stated clearly that 50 "B" internees would be on the Arandora Star, as well as 858 on the Ettrick. On July 4th, he informed the authorities that 982 category "B" and "C" internees would sail on the Sobieski. The two ships sailed, without incident, (the Germans were informed that prisoners of war were on the ships), on the third and fourth of July. The cable of July 6th, corrected the information earlier sent, changing the number of internees on the Ettrick to 1,308 "B" and "C" aliens. Thus the government was informed that 2290 refugees were en route to Canada.

The interned refugees were placed on ships with Nazis and prisoners of war. While the prisoners of war travelled first class, under the Geneva Convention, the internees were quartered in steerage and surrounded with barbed wire and machine guns. The voyage was rather unpleasant for most. They had to sleep on hammocks or on the floor. Seasickness and salmonella (gastrointestinal diarrhea) plagued a large number and food ran out the last few days. One internee remembers a British colonel who hit people who did not follow his orders fast enough.[80] For many, knowledge of their destination was uncertain until their ship entered the mouth of the St. Lawrence River. There was little communication with the prisoners of war, and fortunately they were separated from the refugees. The British obviously were aware of the antagonism between the two groups.

> Our stay on the Isle of Man is only short. Again we go on board of a ship. In Glasgow we embark on a transoceanic liner and after

Figure 1
Marcell Seidler, interned refugee. (Official photo)
Mr. Seidler took all the photographs reproduced here with an illegally constructed cardboard camera

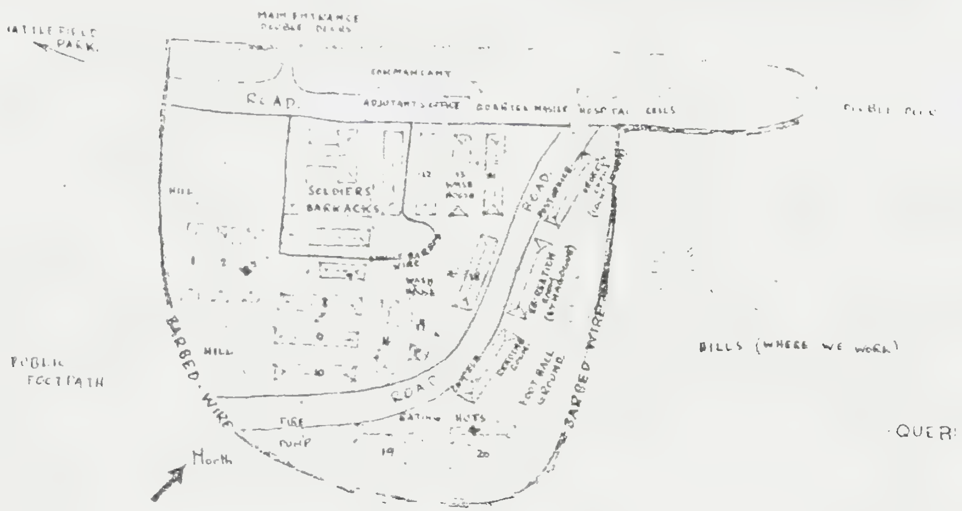


Figure 2
Sketch of Camp "I", from the diary of Harry Seidler

Figure 3 & 4
Camp "N" Sherbrooke, P.Q.
(photos by Marcell Seidler)

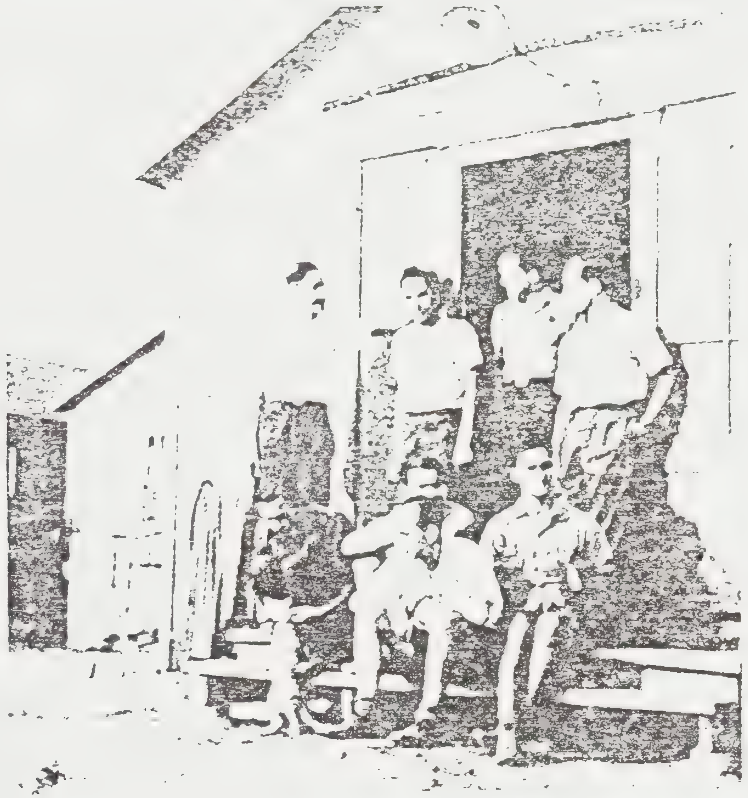
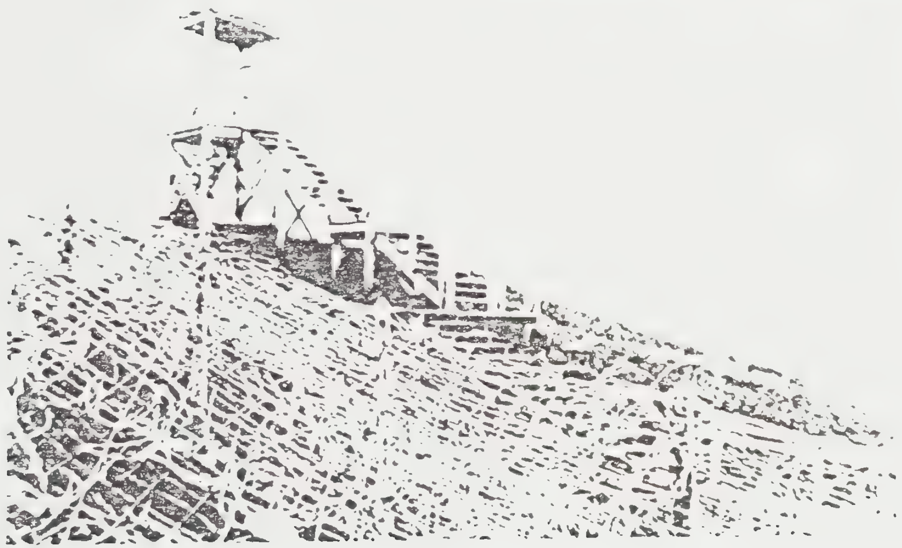


Figure 5
Quebec City
playing with
pianist John
ark Photo by
ell Seidler)



, Quebec
te the guard
d barbed
e Photo by
Seidler)

scarcely eleven days of voyage we get ashore in Canada. On the vessel were real prisoners of war, too. Some comrades of ours sleep together with them on the same deck. One evening the prisoners of war sing "Wir fahren gegen Engeland". (i.e.: We go against England) whereupon one of us strikingly remarks: "Then, gentlement, you must change! Because you are going in the wrong direction."[81]

Among the refugees on the S.S. Ettrick was Count Frederick von Lingen, prince of Prussia and grandson of the Kaiser. To the amazement of his companions, who shared the baggage compartment with him, he organized toilet fatigues to clean up the refuse resulting from widespread illness. After ten days of discomfort, the ships reached their destination: Quebec City.

On arrival they were treated as if they were prisoners of war. For reasons unknown, the authorities had chosen to disregard the information relayed by Massey. For the refugees it was a rude shock. The British Liason officer whom the U.K. had sent to handle the treatment of these men had been saved from the Arandora Star. He was not to arrive until later. Thus this odd collection of male refugees was given an enemy's welcome in Quebec.

Some people probably, it will never get out of their minds. We received a reception as German spies. On the boat where we were we had I don't know how many German navy and Luftwaffe officers and a couple thousand Italian civilians. When our boat docked in Quebec the first . . . allowed to get off the boat were the German officers. We watched how the Canadian soldiers were carrying the suitcases of the German officers. The German officers walked down the plank just with their coats over their arms. They were treated like supermen which made us feel already rotten. Then when we were let down the plank we were put into army lorries and in all the corners, and in front of us and behind us were motorbikes with loaded machine guns. And we were herded in like cattle into the trucks. It doesn't give us a good feeling.[82]

It was unforgettable . . . We arrived and as we came from the boat and there were soldiers in shorts and brown and tanned knees at the gangplank and had their guns sort of pointing at us and we thought it was wonderful. And we went . . . and we were searched all the time and everything was taken from us . . .[83]

We got mixed reception. After we disembarked there were some

> "Heil Hitler's" and some waved their fists at us "You bloody . . ."[84]
> When we arrived for example in Quebec - it was usually just arrival time were the worst things - because when we arrived in Quebec I remember a soldier saying: "These people seem to speak English very well" so the other guy said: "Oh, those are the most dangerous ones." But we just laughed about that one because it meant that they didn't have the slightest conception of the difference between fifth columnists and Jewish refugees.[85]
> People lined the streets and kept threatening us, even spitting on us because we were German prisoners.[86]

The first evening of their stay in Canada the internees were relieved of their remaining riches.

> On the night of our arrival the Canadian troops detailed to search us robbed us of everything except our virtue. The searches were conducted in two shifts. During the first all our valuables were taken away and receipts issued. During the second search they just took the receipt.[87]

Watches and typewriters were about the most costly of the articles confiscated. These men had nothing else worth stealing. (After the internment some of the internees recouped their losses through the waging of successful court cases against the Canadian Provost Corps.) Such was the reception of the interned refugees.

THE PRISONER OF WAR CAMPS

These refugees, who had begun their collective journey from the Isle of Man, were separated on their arrival into four groups. Of those who had journeyed on the Ettrick, 500 were placed in trains and sent to Camp "Q" in Monteith Ontario (near Timmins). Ninety-five percent of these men were Jews.[88] Another 808 refugees were taken to Cove Fields in Quebec City, Camp "L", which already quartered prisoners of war. From the Sobieski 722 refugees went to Camp "T" at Trois Rivieres and 260 went to a new camp, Camp "I" on the Ile aux Noix, near Montreal. In Camps "T" and "L" refugees were for the first time thrown together with Nazis and prisoners of war. The military detachments were dumbfounded when violent confrontations ensued as a result. The two groups were quickly partitioned. Despite the ardent protests of the refugees, the commandants of the internment camps refused to treat them any differently than prisoners. They had not received any orders to do so. The prisoners were German and Germany was the enemy. The persecution of the Jews of

Germany and the problem of political refugees were subjects about w
they neither knew nor cared. Their job was to defend Canada by guard
her enemies and no amount of protest was going to dissillusion th
about the importance of their job.

Why the government either did not realize, or did not want to rea
that these people were not enemies has not been sufficiently explained.
their treatment could have been worse. A lady in Winnipeg wrote
government about her scheme for German prisoners. She proposed t
be sent to:

> Some of the rock grit uninhabited islands of the South Pacific . .
> Give to each group the regulation medicines and medical kit, th
> necessary clothing, food for four or five months and enough see
> grain and vegetable seeds for each group to plant in order to grow
> food to maintain themselves for the remainder of the war . . . (Book
> should be sent stressing) the worth of freedom, liberty, truth an
> righteousness . . . One small vessel equipped with a good radio an
> manned by a small crew should be able to guard all the prisoners . .
> Only when the war was over would they again be permitted t
> mingle with the rest of the world.[8]

Fortunately the refugees were not interned on desert isles. Rather
found themselves only miles away from their long-awaited goal,
United States.

CANADA AND THE INTERNED REFUGEES: POLICY, JULY
OCTOBER 1940

By the end of July the Canadian government could no longer ignore
problem. On July 26th a Member brought to the attention of the Hou
letter he had received from a refugee organization in England.

> Mr. Coldwell . . . They implore me to press for discrimination a
> between the Nazi prisoners and quite a different kind of refugee c
> Sudetan, Czech, Austrian and German anti-Nazi sentiments. Wi
> the government give immediate attention to this matter?
> Hon. P.F. Casgrain (Secretary of State) . . . amongst the people wh
> came here from England recently there would appear to be som
> people in the category of which my honourable friend has spoke
> . . . I am given to believe that some liason officer of the Britis
> government will be coming soon to Canada and the matter will b
> submitted to him upon arrival.[90]

As early as July 16th Skelton had cabled Massey regarding petition

had received from the refugees. At Camp "R", as elsewhere, men had written their autobiographies and had submitted them to the authorities. Skelton sent eight such statements as well as one from the British officer who had made the journey with them. Skelton concluded that: "It would appear from the statements and from Captain Bierne's letter that an injustice might have been done to these men in sending them to Canada."[91] Camp commandants flooded the Defence Ministry with queries about their unusual prisoners. Finally, on August 3rd, the Liason officer arrived from Britain. Major G.A.I. Dury was immediately questioned by the Director of Internment Operations, E. de B. Panet.

> Attention is drawn to the fact that, while Canada agreed to accept prisoners of war and dangerous enemy alien internees requiring close scrutiny there has been sent to this country a very large number of Jewish and other refugees, Norwegian, Dutch, and Spanish citizens, also a large number of refugees who had applied for permission to enter the United States and whose names were on the various quota lists . . . Approximately 2250, including 401 Italian internees whose cases have never been reviewed or examined by the Tribunals, are of the refugee type and include a large number of school boys, college undergraduates, priests, rabbis, etc. The Canadian arrangements are such that these 2250 persons cannot be suitably accommodated or administered under existing conditions and it is very questionable whether it is desirable to set up special arrangements for enemy aliens in Canada. It is considered that those people should not have been sent out to Canada and that it would be much better if they were replaced by a similar number of prisoners of war or dangerous enemy alien internees.[92]

In other words, Canada wanted these people shipped back to England Refugees were not her responsibility. Dury agreed. Meanwhile conditions in the Camps were not improving.

Aware that their incarceration was to be lengthy, the interned refugees adopted positive attitudes which were to preserve their sanity. For those who had been incarcerated in Germany and Austria it was the most difficult. But for the young, the situation was more frustrating than anything else.

> Many were very enraged. We wanted to participate in the war effort and we couldn't. Others, like myself, took it as an unbelievable adventure. I mean its foolish.[93]

There were those, though, who found the irony of their dilemma too much to handle. The Medical Officer in Camp "L" was amazed to find that

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some of these supposedly tough prisoners of war were suffering f emotional disturbances.[94]

> I think a lot of boys had (psychological difficulties). For instanc everybody would grab food as if it was the last time . . . Because w had been hungry so many times and we never knew when we wou (be again) . . . With some people I don't know if it was willful, or they just lost their guts to live . . . You have to keep your morale u this is the main thing I figured. And some people would be terrib sloppy. They wouldn't wash, they would let everything go. And t group that I associated with, we made sure that we dressed neatl our clothing was always clean . . . We would never let ourselves g . . . Anything that would be demoralizing I would just stay awa from . . . You didn't want to talk about unpleasant things. You tr keep your morale up, to talk about the future and the pleasant thi and you try to keep as busy as possible.[95]

The first few months in Canada were the most difficult psychologic The majority found that activity - mental as well as physical - was th to survival.

> It was up to each individual . . If he didn't organize himself a brooded that he had to stay behind barbed wire . . . If he was bothe ing himself constantly with this kind of question, he was maki himself sick, and more miserable. But if he was active! . . . As lo as I was active I got a little bit tired . . . I was occupied . . . Whe was tired I could sleep. When I wasn't tired the night was long

As the internment became longer and more permanent these depre lessened. Apart from the incidence of sexual problems, one interne tor was able to note that there were remarkably few people serious turbed in the camps he was in.[96] Certainly the internment itself was the lesser worries of most of these men, but it was the major obsta their lives. They therefore focused all their energies towards overc it, emotionally and physically.

INTERNMENT OPERATIONS AND GOVERNMENT POLIC
JULY 1941

Despite the information available to them, the administrators of I ment Operations refused to make any concessions to the refugees. I the first few months these internees had no one to represent them. the Swiss consul, who represented Germany, called upon them on A 6th, in Camp "T", as in the other Camps, the refugees refused t

anything to do with him."[98] Thus they were stateless men, and not covered by the Geneva Convention. The Jewish community was informed of their presence in mid-July. Rabbi Maurice Eisendrath of Holy Blossom Temple in Toronto, received a letter from a Jew in Camp "R" which was forwarded to Saul Hayes, President of the Canadian Jewish Congress. Inquiries began immediately. Bloomsbury House, the Jewish refugee organization in London, sent the information they had to the Canadian Jewish Congress. The government refused to recognize the validity of Jewish representation for the internees. On August 23rd, a representation was made by sixty young members of the Hechalutz (pioneer) Movement that visitors from Jewish organizations be allowed into Camp "B". (Camp "B" was located in Little River, New Brunswick, near Fredericton. The refugees from Camp "T" had been relocated there on August 12th.) The reply from Colonel Stethem, the new Director of Internment Operations, was emphatically negative "because the number of persons permitted to visit these camps must be restricted."[99] Stethem stood fast in his view of the refugees.

> They were transferred to Canada as interned enemy aliens, and until such time as discussions now under way between the governments concerned are concluded, they will continue to be treated as such while being afforded as kindly treatment as circumstances permit.[100]

Hayes persisted in a polite manner. "It is only because of our convictions that the Jewish internees of classes "B" and "C" really have a clean bill of health that our intervention has at any time been made" (August 29th).[101] While Jewish organizations were barred from the camps, Christian ones were not. On August 28th the International Red Cross, and on September 9th, three men from the Y.M.C.A. were permitted to visit the camps. While there was no doubt among the authorities, notably Panet and Stethem, that these were Jewish refugees, they persistently refused to recognize Jewish interests. A letter from the spokesman at Camp "B" to the Prime Minister was not delivered because, according to Panet,

> These internees have not the right or privilege to communicate with the P.M. They have not passed the necessary immigration requirements for entry into Canada and it is not desirable that there should be any mass immigration of enemy aliens to Canada, category C or otherwise, under present conditions, nor is there any reason why these persons should be given a temporary refuge in Canada, which is not available to the hundred to British subjects in England.[102]

The mentality which pervaded the newspapers was the same one that determined the actions of the government and the military. While the facts of Nazi persecutions were pressed upon these authorities by the internees and the Canadian Jewish Congress, they were not to be moved. Saul Hayes interprets the stance of Colonel Stethem to be the result of the exigencies of war.

> Col. Stethem was so close to the picture and so intoxicated by the fear of imminent Nazi uprisings it would not be fair to attribute his attitudes to an inhumane point of view but rather to the ignorance of the military mind.[103]

These attitudes were transmitted to the camp authorities.

On July 16th, just three days after his arrival in Camp "L", Erns Scheinberg was "shot by sentry on guard duty while attempting to escap from the guard room."[104] For some unknown reason he had tried to g outside his hut one evening, after the curfew. The treatment which ha marked the reception of these refugees in Canada was particularly dis turbing for many, especially those who had experienced the concentratio camps. Scheinberg died because his captors were zealous soldiers unde the command of men whose instincts refused to allow them to realize th these boys in short pants, and men with long beards who refused to e meat, were not dangerous enemies. On July 23rd, a military inspect reported to Internment Headquarters the following information about th inmates of Camp "T".[105]

> Refugees: racial 610, religious 11, political 54, others who won't return to Germany 41.
> Jews: 515 (124 Orthodox)
> Catholics: 66, Protestants: 106, others: 29
> Dutch: 1 others: 11 stateless: 15
> Imprisoned by the Nazis: 231
> British Naturalization applied for: 74
> Registered with Refugee Committees: 610
> 16-18 years old: 280
> 19-20 years old: 145
> Students: 220
> Visas to U.S.A. or neutral countries: 317
> Relatives in Allied Forces: 198 (including 109 U.K.)
> Artisans: 179, Farmers: 171, Professionals: 236
> British Education: 175
> Holders of U.K. labour permits: 373
> Resident in the U.K. to 1 year: 180

Resident in the U.K. to 2 years: 385
Resident in the U.K. to 3 years: 34
Resident in the U.K. to 4 years: 33
Resident in the U.K. to 5 years: 26
Resident in the U.K. to more than 6 years: 41

With this information available to him Colonel H.N. Watson visited the camp for inspection on August 3rd. He commented on the physical plan of the camp in a spirit which indicates that he was unable to believe that such enemies of the Nazis could be on his side of the war.

> It will thus be seen that it would be possible to seize the Commandant and all his staff . . . and confine them in their office building.[106]

This same inspector had previously visited Camp "L" on July 22nd, where he had found the most illustrious of the internees - Prince Frederick of Prussia. His greatest fear was to be exchanged to Germany for prisoners of war.

> Count Lingen, a nephew of one in high places (the Governor-General) is acting as the representative of the prisoners, and is apparently given a considerable amount of authority, and is treated with a certain amount of deference by the staff of the camp, which he himself is being careful not to take advantage of, but a situation, like this, is not very good for the general discipline of the camp.[107]

Further problems at Camp "L" were being caused by Captain G.S. Barrass, a British officer who had been with the refugees since Kitchener Camp. Inspectors complained that he had gained too much authority over the Commandant who was "rather handicapped by the fact that he has a non-descript group of refugees, practically all of whom are Jews, and he is not exactly sure how to treat them."[108] The British officer insisted that they were anti-Nazi refugees and "undoubtedly influenced the officers and staff of the Camp to think along the same lines.[109] Watson's other criticisms were mainly in regards to the lack of respect the internees showed to officers. Cleanliness was another major issue. Of Camp "T", Watson reported:

> The question of kosher meat was also an acute one in this camp, but it is being dealt with by feeding the Orthodox fish or letting them go without. This type of Jew seem to be people of very unclean habits, and are difficult to discipline and deal with. They have no idea of cleanliness within their kitchens, and the Commandant is experiencing difficulty in dealing with them.[110]

In such a large group of single men the effects of years of persecution

and flight, separation from wives, children and parents, thousands o miles away, and the anxiety and fears about friends and relatives caught in the Nazi web, left few untouched. The behaviour of disciplined prisoners was far beyond the ken of men who rightly felt their situation to be unjust Having fled the Nazis because they were considered less than human, they had been incarcerated by those who claimed to be fighting the same ideals from which they had escaped. That most were Jews made the problems twice as complex. Not only did they need to overcome the ironies of their flight from one type of persecution to another, the inbred anti-Semitism of the Canadian mentality created a situation in which they could not present themselves as ordinary men. They were not men who were arrogant, or disrespectful or unclean. They were arrogant, disrespectful and unclean Jews.

Changes pressed by public opinion in the United Kingdom were the only influence strong enough to alter the treatment of the refugee internees. On August 6th it was announced in the British Commons that

> Arrangements will be made to bring back to this country any person whose release is authorized unless the Dominion government concerned is prepared to allow him to be at large in the Dominion and he himself desires to stay there.[111]

On September 26th, the Canadian government received copies of the White Paper regarding the release of interned aliens,[112] category "C". The directions involved the same stipulations as for those in English camps with some major exceptions. All of these dealt with release in Canada The British expected that invalids and the ill should be treated outside th camps, and that those eligible for release to join auxiliary military corp (for example, a labour battalion) should be allowed to do so in the Cana dian Forces. Most significant was the stipulation that some internee should be allowed to be released for residence in Canada, especially to d war work or to pursue studies. All category "B" aliens would have to hav their cases reviewed by the Home Office before release would b authorized. Appended to this notice was the comment: "It is clear on th face of it that they ("B" and "C" internees) should be treated on a differe basis."[113] With all of this information the Canadian government remaine unconvinced. As long as there was the slightest chance that even one these men was an enemy sympathizer, the government would use it as a excuse to deep her doors shut. The Secretary of State replied to Britain

> While it is understood that "B" and "C" category internees shoul

> not generally be considered anti-Nazi in views, it appears . . . that this cannot be said to apply to all the internees in these categories . . . As far as the Canadian government knows there may still be a substantial minority of "B" and "C" internees who are not refugees from Nazi oppression. . .
>
> The Canadian authorities, therefore, do not consider that any action can be taken to apply "a system of less rigid custodial treatment" . . . solely on the basis of the present categories . . . The Canadian government do not feel in a position to take the responsibility of relaxing custodial restrictions without the definite participation and direction of some authorized representative of the United Kingdom.[114]

The possibility that Canada might release some of these men for residence was not touched upon. Enemy alien registration of Canadian residents had shown that only a very small percentage were not trustworthy. The Minister of Justice had clearly stated that "there were many, who while technically enemy aliens . . . did not adhere in sympathy to the cause of the enemy."[115] Either the government did not believe its own rhetoric or else the Jewish, leftist and numerical aspects of the refugee problem played an overwhelming role.

Nevertheless the authorities did find it necessary to create two new camps, in addition to Camp "I", which were just to house refugee internees. As they prepared to move to new locations in mid-October, the refugees believed their request for better treatment had been met. But in the pamphlet that the inmates of Camp "L" published for themselves, this belief was put in question.

> We have been repeatedly promised that our cases - one humble word for the misery and tragedy of our present situation - would be reconsidered. We have been promised this and that, but now the only thing that happens is one more move from camp to camp. We have waited patiently for some concessions, some alterations with regard to our positions as persons interned without even knowing why. A convict gets an idea of why he has to serve his sentence. The murderer knows why he is not free, but we do not know. What will be our fate? . . . Once again we are told that we have to move to another camp. It is not a move towards liberty, not even supervised freedom; it is just a new prison, and barbed wire will be around us as before.[116]

For some there was an ominous note, as non-Jews were told they would be

divided from the others. For the Jews this was an upsetting

their immediate pasts.

> Our community will be dissolved and probably split up again in different camps. There is no doubt that the overwhelming majority of the camp desires to be separated from Nazi sympathizers. The Jewish and "Gentile" racial and political refugees decline to be separated according to Hitler's racial laws and wish to be transferred as a body to the new camp. We know each other by now, we have lived, suffered, laughed and worked together. We have built up a sound and efficient community. This moral asset should by no means be destroyed.[117]

Nevertheless, division along religious lines did take place. The n organization of camps was as follows: Six hundred Jews remained Camp "B". At Farnham, Quebec, Camp "A", there were 58 Jews am 211 Protestants, 111 Roman Catholics, 18 Anglicans and 10 ur filiated.[118] In Camp "N" at Sherbrooke, all but 75 of the 721 men th were Jews.[119] To Camp "I" went all those who required kosher food they joined the 273 men already there.[120] When they arrived in the camps the internees expected to find vastly better conditions. Things had especially resented: wearing prisoner of war clothing and the ba wire, were still to be their lot. They also found that nothing was read them. In Camp "A" the beds had not arrived. Those who had s months beautifying Camp "L" with gardens, and making it livable ha leave their handiwork behind for Nazis to enjoy. Instead, on their ar at Sherbrooke all they found were railway repair shops in whic vestiges of recently departed trains were in filthy evidence. There only a few toilets and little cooking or washing facilities for the 72

> In the beginning the toilet facilities were such that when you fin doing what you had to do, you lined up again.[121]

Car pits were not even boarded over. For two nights they had to sle the greasy floors.

> When we got there it was just like if the crew who used to rep locomotives had just moved out and we moved in. It was quite an e perience. I slept on a plank, it was leaned against the wall . . didn't want to sleep on the concrete floor so I slept on that plank don't know how I slept that whole night. I didn't fall off . . . In time one of the halls contained eight hundred people. It was bedroom with eight hundred people.[122]

If the refugees had been prisoners of war, Canada would have bee

to prosecution under the Geneva Convention.

The refugees immediately went on a hunger strike in protest.

> The only time was when we were shipped from Quebec City to Sherbrooke and we decided that we have just not been told the truth all along as far as our camp is concerned, and we decided to go on a hunger strike. We went on the strike for two days or three days, then some of the boys became rather sick and the authorities stepped in then . . . We were being pushed around, we had no law on our side, and the conditions were absolutely horrible.[123]

Since the hunger strike had little tangible effect, the "camp boys", as they still call themselves, focused in on more disruptive tactics.

> The Sergeant-Major, Mr. MacIntosh, called us together one time and said: "Well boys, this is where you're going to live. This will be your home for many years. The war is going to last a long time . . . The first thing you have to do is sleep on the concerete floors until we get the beds and the mattresses. . ." And this created a tremendous amount of ill-feeling in camp and we had all kinds of meetings and it was decided that we should go on - like a slowdown. In other words, whatever requests are being made of us we should take at least ten times as long to carry it out as you normally would. When the mattresses finally did arrive, for instance, and my group was ordered to go outside and bring the mattresses in, it would have been easy for one man to carry six to ten mattresses, but he collapsed under the weight of one . . . And the Sergeant-Major was very much annoyed with our behaviour. But these things got eventually straightened out.[124]

The government officials decided to find out just what was going on in Camp "N". Less than a week later, another inspector came to report on the situation. He became known by the internees there as Major "Balls". As the first official representative of the Canadian government who had spoken to the refugees, he made quite an impression. All of the internees interviewed recall his speech to them. Climbing onto a table in the middle of the courtyard he asked:

> "Most of you are Jews, aren't you?"
>
> We said yes.
>
> "Nevertheless, you have to keep clean."[125]

The circumstances of where the dirt had come from had been clearly noted in his inspection report.[126] But his attitude was obvious.

> The internees in this camp are all Jews, and they definitely need

> severe disciplining. They are disposed to be sullen and uncooperative as well as thoroughly dir

This visit was a depressing one for the refugees

> If I ever saw an anti-Semite, that guy was it . . . Canada wasn't going to put out the red carpet for us, and why should they, there was a war on. We understood all this. But we wanted our dignity . . . it was not too much to ask.[128]

That evening the two rabbis in camp were called in to see Major "Balls"

> because he'd been told - some kind of primitive notion - that clergymen, even if they're Jewish, you can talk to them.[19]

The rabbis explained their situation to him, noting that many had been concentration camps, and stating that their main complaint was not abou the food, or the accommodations, but about their treatment as prisoner Major "Balls" replied:

> "You've been in camp before? Then you know how to behave in the presence of an officer. Kindly stand at attention!"[130]

This inspector's final recommendation to the internees earned him h nickname. Thus, the representative of the Canadian government offer this solution to the refugees.

> "If you play ball with us, we'll play ball with you."[131]

While the interned refugees had little initial success in convincing t authorities that they should be released, there was one group with wh they found it easy to deal - their guards. The following story illustrates t degree of friendliness which characterized some of the prisoner-gua relationships.

In January of 1941 it was discovered by the authorities that a guar Barney Henson, who had been with the refugees since Camp "L", was volved in illicit mail dealings in Camp "N".[132] His daughter, Winnifr was corresponding with three internees in the camp and he was transm ting the letters. A careful examination of correspondence found:

> Miss Hensen, it would appear, is the daughter of ______ who is referred to in the letter as "Dad", and also presumably as "Barney" . . . She is referred in the correspondence as "Winkie".[133]

It had all begun when Hensen had given a photograph to an artist inter in order to receive a sketch of his daughter. Then three internees be writing her. They included requests that she write their friends, relat and girlfriends in the United States, as well as internees in the o camps. (Internees could receive unlimited amounts of mail, but could o write two, censored, letters a week). A military investigation of this

dent reviewed the diary of one of the guilty internees.

> We also got very friendly with a few soldiers, especially with Barney Hensen, our corporal, who often brought us food from his kitchen. He was a special pal of ours . . . and did a lot for us. So once he brought us a bottle of Rum, once a few bottles of beer.[134]

As a result the authorities intercepted all mail to the Hensens, and decided to arrest Winkie. To their surprise they discovered she was only sixteen years old. Using Winkie as a witness they then proceeded to prosecute her father. He had violated the *Defence of Canada Regulations* prohibiting the "illicit transmission of messages into or out of Internment Camps". Unfortunately, the results of this case are not available. This incident reflects the fact that the military brass had not altered their perceptions of the interned refugees one iota, while the authorities in daily contact with them had.

For the interned refugees activity meant sanity and freedom from worry, and they knew it. That their plight was a difficult one to bear was known to all but the authorities. Another example of this was the censorship of a Christmas letter sent by Senator Carine Wilson and Constance Hayward, both representing the National Committee on Refugees. This committee had been created in December 1938 by representatives of the Presbyterian Church, the United Church, the Church of England, the Catholic Women's League, the National Council of Women and the Y.M. and Y.W.C.A.s. The letter stated:

> We would like them to know that our thoughts go out to all those who are making great sacrifices for the cause of freedom. We would like them to know that we understand how the exigencies of war have required of them, in particular, an unusual form of sacrifice. We pray that right will triumph and that all who are maligned will be vindicated.[135]

This passage was deleted from the letter by Colonel Stethem, who angrily retorted that:

> The majority of persons in the camps will go to have no interest in the present life and death struggle in which we are engaged. They are self-centred and would not turn a hand to help along a British victory, and the claim that they are refugees from Nazi oppression has, they feel, placed them in a position where they can do or demand anything. Encouraging this feeling is extremely harmful to them as it prevents them from trying to help themselves. This does not of course, apply to all, but it does to the majority.[136]

Thus, with little moral reinforcement, the refugees were kept in ar isolated position for their first year in Canada.

Canada would have preferred to ignore the refugees. But they, and their friends, made trouble. This minor appeasement of moving them into fou easily monitored camps was not to work for long. Blaming the Britis government could no longer hold up once it became clear that it wa Canada that was standing in the way of release. For a year the government was able to play this game, but for no longer.

FOOTNOTES

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