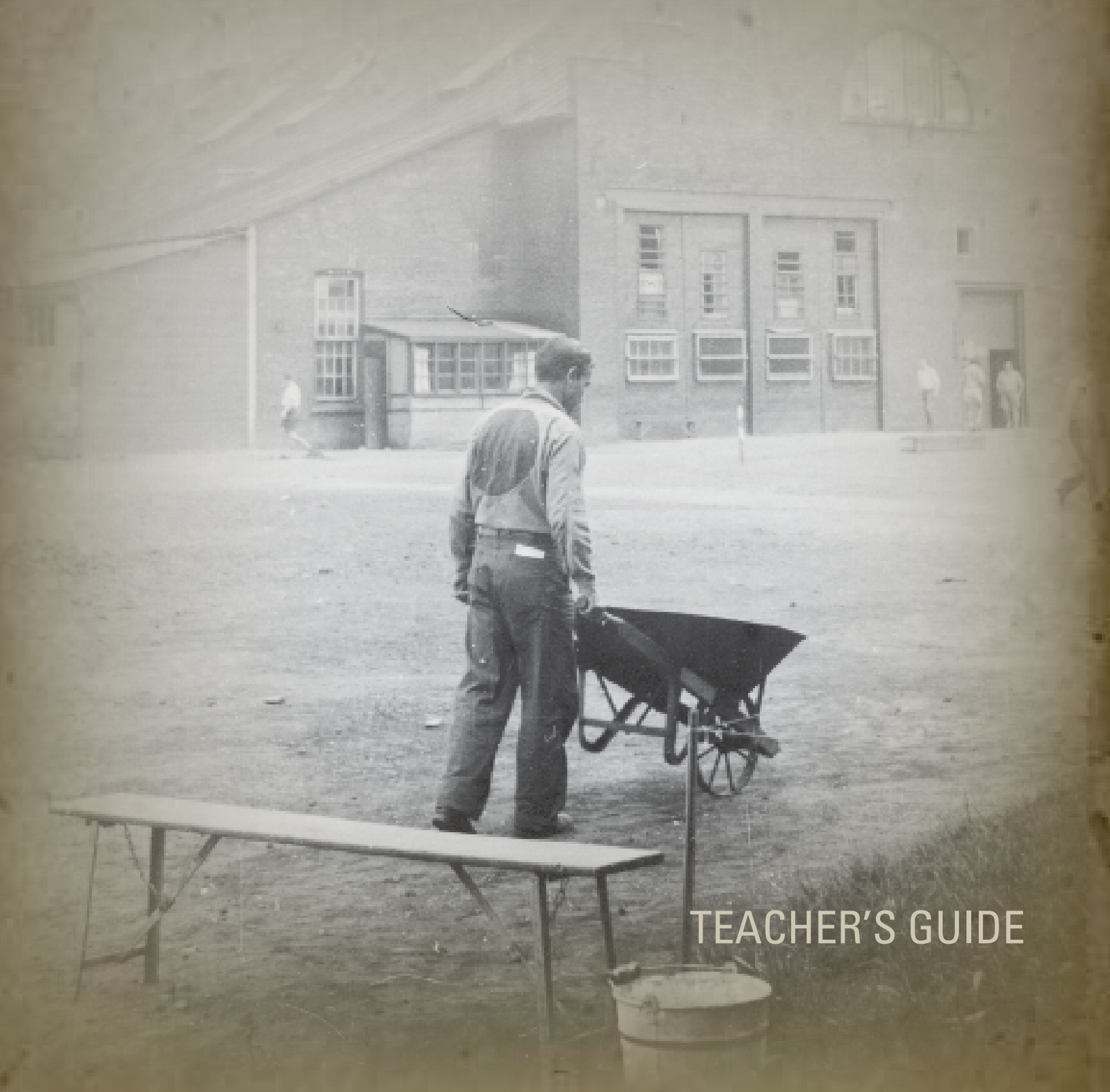


“Enemy Aliens”

THE INTERNMENT OF JEWISH REFUGEES IN CANADA, 1940-1943



TEACHER'S GUIDE

“ENEMY ALIENS”: The Internment of Jewish Refugees in Canada, 1940-1943

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Cover image: Photograph of an internee in a camp uniform, taken by internee Marcell Seidler, Camp N (Sherbrooke, Quebec), 1940-1942. Seidler secretly documented camp life using a handmade pinhole camera. – Courtesy Eric Koch / Library and Archives Canada / PA-143492

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The exhibit *Enemy Aliens: The Internment of Jewish Refugees in Canada, 1940 – 1943* was generously funded by the Community Historical Recognition Program of the Department of Citizenship, Immigration and Multiculturalism Canada.

With the generous support of:

Oasis Foundation

The Ben and Esther Dayson Charitable Foundation

The Kahn Family Foundation

Isaac and Sophie Waldman Endowment Fund of the Vancouver Foundation

Frank Koller

The Vancouver Holocaust Education Centre gratefully acknowledges the financial investment by the Department of Canadian Heritage in the creation of this online presentation for the Virtual Museum of Canada.

Teacher's Guide made possible through the generous support of the Mordehai and Hana Wosk Family Endowment Fund of the Vancouver Holocaust Centre Society.

With special thanks to the former internees and their families, who generously shared their experiences and artefacts in the creation of the exhibit.

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TEACHER'S GUIDE

This teaching resource facilitates student engagement with historical context, artefacts and testimonies featured in the “Enemy Aliens” exhibit. The activities are recommended for grades 8 through 12. An investigation of primary source material fosters historical and critical thinking skills in students. Lesson plan objectives correspond to six concepts outlined by the Historical Thinking Project. According to this initiative of the University of British Columbia’s Centre for the Study of Historical Consciousness, to think historically students need to be able to:

1. Establish historical significance
2. Use primary source evidence
3. Identify continuity and change
4. Analyze cause and consequence
5. Take historical perspectives
6. Understand the ethical dimension of history

For more information about these six concepts and the Historical Thinking Project, please visit: www.historicalthinking.ca.

Additional Holocaust education resources can be found on the VHEC’s website: www.vhec.org.



Germans pass by the broken shop window of a Jewish-owned business destroyed during Kristallnacht, Berlin, November 10, 1938. – *Courtesy United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, National Archives and Records Administration*

LESSON 1: LEAVING EUROPE

OBJECTIVES

Students learn about the Nazis' prewar policies of persecution and consider what eyewitness accounts reveal about the Nazi state.

LINKS TO HISTORICAL THINKING CONCEPTS:

Use Primary Source Evidence

Students respond to the prewar photographs of former internees and consider what they reveal about prewar Jewish life in Germany and Austria. Students also respond to former internees' testimony about the rise of Nazism and consider what these accounts reveal about changes to Jewish life during this time.

Establish Historical Significance

Students respond to the testimonies of former internees and consider the changes that the internees discuss during these recollections. What do these experiences reveal about the early stages of the Holocaust?

Analyze Cause & Consequence

Students consider how the Nazis' early persecution of Jews contributed to the Holocaust. How did these policies contribute to the former internees' decisions to flee Nazi Germany and Austria?

Analyze Continuity & Change

Students learn about how the rise of Nazism affected the Jewish communities in Germany and Austria.

Take Historical Perspective

Students consider the perspective of an individual trying to flee Nazism.

PAIR DISCUSSION: PREWAR PHOTOGRAPHS

Have students explore this page of the website or pre-assign [Reading: The Life That Was](#).

Explain to students that they are going to examine pre-Second World War photographs belonging to Jews who lived on Germany and Austria.

In pairs or small groups, students examine the photographs in [Dossier: The Life That Was](#) and respond to the following questions:

- When do you think these photographs were taken? What do you see in the pictures that might reveal when they were taken?
- What do the photographs reveal about the people depicted?
- How do these photos compare to your own family and school photographs? How are they similar and how are they different?
- How do the photographs relate to what you learned in your reading about prewar Jewish life in Germany and Austria? What do they convey about the prewar Jewish communities of Germany and Austria?
- What questions do these photographs raise?

CLASS DISCUSSION: THINKING ABOUT TESTIMONY

Explain that students will be viewing testimonies of people who were teenagers during the rise of Nazism in Germany and Austria.

As a class, lead a discussion about testimony, using the following questions as prompts:

- What is an eyewitness?
- What is a testimony?
- What forms does testimony take?
- Why would somebody leave a testimony?
- What can testimony tell us about a past event that other sources might not?
What are the limitations of testimony?
- Compare the value of testimony, artefacts (such as documents and photographs) and textbooks as sources for understanding the past.

VIDEO SCREENING: THE RISE OF NAZISM

Students work individually to summarize [Reading: The Nazi Racial State](#), noting the steps taken by the Nazis to persecute Jews after coming to power in 1933.

In pairs (or, as computer access permits, individually or in groups), students view [Video: Nazism in Germany & Austria](#), which features recollections of former internees about how life changed for them, their families and their communities after the Nazis' rise to power in Germany and Austria. Students should watch the video twice; on the first viewing, students watch and listen carefully, while on the second viewing, students should note the incidents of persecution as described by the interviewees.

As a class, students discuss their notes generated in response to the video.

- How did life change for the interviewees after the Nazis' rise to power?
- How did your understanding of the rise of Nazism change after viewing the video?
- What did the video testimony reveal that the reading did not? What did the reading reveal that the video did not?
- The videos offer recollections of individuals who were young at the time of the events described. How does this affect their accounts? How did this affect your response to these accounts?
- Based on the interviewee's comments, why would Jews seek to leave Germany and Austria during the 1930s? What were some of the obstacles to leaving?

WRITTEN REFLECTION: CANADA'S CLOSED DOORS

Students explore the section of the website titled "Emigration" and "Canada's Closed Doors." Using what they learned from their readings and the video, students write a letter from the perspective of one of the individuals featured in the video to the Canadian or British government asking to be granted admission.

LESSON: “WE HAD TO LEAVE”

READING: THE LIFE THAT WAS

Jews had lived in Germany and Austria since Roman times. By 1871, Jews were emancipated and granted most rights of citizenship. A period of assimilation, including intermarriage and conversion, followed. Jews made vital cultural and economic contributions and many served alongside their countrymen in the First World War.

By the 1930s, there were 566,000 Jews in Germany and 185,000 in Austria. Most Austrian Jews lived in the capital city of Vienna and contributed greatly to cultural, scientific and economic life. The community was divided between middle and upper class Central European Jews who adhered to Liberal/Reform observance and more recent immigrants from Eastern Europe who tended to be working class and Orthodox.

German Jews constituted less than one percent of the population. Historically prohibited from many professions, Jews were disproportionately represented in commerce, law, medicine, journalism, academia and the arts. Germany was also home to a vibrant Jewish culture, which included Jewish educational institutes, rabbinical seminaries, and Zionist and other youth groups.

During the interwar Weimar Republic, German Jews were able to advance in politics within the democratic and socialist parties. But economic and political instability in the 1930s contributed to the rise of fascism and a resurgence of antisemitism in Germany.

LESSON: LEAVING EUROPE

READING: THE NAZI RACIAL STATE

When Adolf Hitler became Chancellor of Germany in April 1933, he swiftly took over all mechanisms of government and functions of state, turning the fragile democracy into a dictatorship. The new regime targeted “racial enemies” and political opponents for persecution.

Antisemitism was a central tenet of Nazi ideology. From 1933 until the outbreak of war in 1939, the Nazis implemented more than 400 decrees and regulations that restricted all aspects of Jewish life. The first wave of legislation excluded Jews from professions, public organizations and educational institutions. The Nuremberg Laws of 1935 classified Germans with three or four Jewish grandparents as Jews, regardless of their religion, and deprived Jews of German citizenship.

Anschluss, the incorporation of Austria into Germany in March 1938, was followed by widespread antisemitic actions and political violence. On *Kristallnacht*, the “Night of Broken Glass” of November 9–10, 1938, Jewish homes, synagogues and institutions throughout Germany and Austria were attacked and 30,000 male Jews were arrested. Most were imprisoned in Dachau, Buchenwald, Sachsenhausen and other concentration camps. Hundreds of thousands were desperate for refuge. Some western countries relaxed their immigration policies; most looked the other way.

LESSON: LEAVING EUROPE

DOSSIER: THE LIFE THAT WAS



The Josephy family, Rostock, Germany, 1926.
– *Courtesy the Josephy family*

LESSON: LEAVING EUROPE

DOSSIER: THE LIFE THAT WAS



Fred Kaufman on his first day of school, Vienna, 1930.

– *Courtesy Fred Kaufman*

LESSON: LEAVING EUROPE

DOSSIER: THE LIFE THAT WAS



Gideon Rosenbluth (second from left) with brother Eli, parents Martin and Mizzi and sister Raja in Northern Germany, circa 1927.

– *Courtesy Gideon Rosenbluth and Vera Rosenbluth*

LESSON: LEAVING EUROPE

DOSSIER: THE LIFE THAT WAS



Gideon Rosenbluth (left), and his older brother Eli, Berlin, 1924.
– *Courtesy Gideon Rosenbluth and Vera Rosenbluth*

LESSON: LEAVING EUROPE

DOSSIER: THE LIFE THAT WAS



Wolfgang Gerson (third from left) with Rolf Duschenes (first on right), 1921.
Both Gerson and Duschenes would go on to be interned in Canada.

– *Courtesy the Gerson Family*

LESSON: LEAVING EUROPE

DOSSIER: THE LIFE THAT WAS



Peter Oberlander with his parents, Fritz and Margaret, Vienna, 1930.
– *Courtesy the Oberlander Family*

LESSON: LEAVING EUROPE

DOSSIER: THE LIFE THAT WAS



Jack Hahn's first day of school, Vienna, 1925.

– Courtesy Jack Hahn

LESSON: LEAVING EUROPE

DOSSIER: THE LIFE THAT WAS



Walter Kohn, his sister Minna, his mother Gittel and his father Salomon, Vienna, circa 1932. – *Courtesy Walter Kohn*



A guard behind barbed wire, Hutchinson Camp, Douglas, Isle of Man, 1940. – *Courtesy the Private Collection of Peter Daniel, son of the late Lt. Col Daniel. As its first commander, Captain H.O. Daniel opened Hutchinson Internment Camp in 1940*

LESSON 2: REFUGEES INTERNED

OBJECTIVES

Students will gain an understanding of the context in which German nationals living in Britain, including Jewish refugees from Nazism, were classified as “enemy aliens,” and gain insights about internment from the testimonies of former internees.

LINKS TO HISTORICAL THINKING CONCEPTS:

Use Primary Source Evidence

Students analyze documents relating to Britain’s policies regarding German nationals following the outbreak of the Second World War, as well as the testimonies of former internees.

Take Historical Perspective

Students consider the idea of classifying and interning “enemy aliens” from the perspective of the British in 1940.

Understand the Ethical Dimensions of History

Students reflect on Britain’s decision to arrest and intern all German nationals.

Identify Continuity and Change

Students research other groups that have been “enemy aliens” during Canada’s wars. Did the policies change? Did the thinking change?

REFLECTING ON REFUGEES

Introduce and discuss the term “refugee” as a class:

- What is a refugee?
- What circumstances might cause somebody to flee his or her home?
- What circumstances might prevent a person from doing so?
- What are examples of refugees from the present day?

Let students explore this page of the website or pre-assign [Reading: Fragile Roots](#).

Students independently read the document in the “Fragile Roots” dossier titled: [“Do’s and Don’ts for Refugees.”](#)

In pairs, students respond to the following questions:

- What does the document recommend refugees do? Don’t do?
- Who do you imagine produced and circulated the document?
- How do you imagine a refugee would respond to the document?
- What does the document reveal about the society in which it was produced?

DOCUMENT ANALYSIS: “ENEMY ALIENS”

Begin by introducing the term “enemy aliens.” As a class, students discuss what they think it might mean.

Introduce contextual information for the outbreak war, the perceived possibility of a German invasion, and anxieties about “fifth columnists,” or spies.

Let students explore this page of the website or pre-assign Reading: [“Enemy Aliens.”](#)

Copy and distribute copies of [Document: “Refugee from Nazi Oppression Certificate”](#) and [Document: “Application for Consideration by Joint Recruiting Board.”](#) Each student should have one document.

In journals, students reflect on what their document reveals about Britain’s treatment of “enemy aliens.” Use the following questions as prompts:

- What is the document’s function?
- Who do you think produced and circulated the document?
- How do you imagine the recipient would have responded to the document?
- What does the document reveal about the society in which it was produced?

Students work in pairs – each student with a different document – to discuss their journal entries.

As a class, debrief Britain’s policies toward “enemy aliens” as reflected by the documents.

VIDEO SCREENING: "COLLAR THE LOT"

In pairs (or, as computers access permits, individually or in groups), students view [Video: Collar the Lot](#), which features recollections of former internees about their sudden arrests as "enemy aliens" and internment in Britain. Students should watch the video twice; on the first viewing, students watch and listen carefully, while on the second viewing, students should note the incidents described by the interviewees.

As pairs or groups, students discuss their notes generated in response to the video and consider the following questions:

- How are the stories of arrest similar? Which one struck you most and why?
- How long did the individuals believe that they would be interned?
- How did the individuals respond to their internment?
- What were the conditions of the British internment camps?

As a follow up, students read the pages of the website titled "Calling on the Colonies" and Restricted Immigration to learn about how Canada came to accept the internees, and about Canadian policies toward Jewish refugees at the time.

CLASS DEBATE

In early 1940, the British Cabinet debated about whether to intern German "enemy aliens," including refugees from Nazism.

Stage a debate in the classroom, as a "4 Corners Debate." Students are to engage in the debate as if it is the spring of 1940, when the threat of a German invasion of Britain seemed likely.

Present students with the statement: Britain should intern all German nationals, including refugees of Nazism.

Ask students if they agree or disagree, and to write a paragraph or list of points explaining their opinion. In the meantime, post four signs around the room: Strongly Agree, Agree, Disagree and Strongly Disagree.

Ask students to stand under the sign that describes their opinion. Allow for debate; encourage students to justify and explain their position; students are able to move between positions.

Debrief the process. Consider how the debate would be different if argued from the perspective of the present day. In the post-debate discussion, consider how shifting historical perspectives affects understanding of the issues.

EXTENSION: WARTIME PANICS

In March 1940, British Home Secretary Sir John Anderson stated:

“The newspapers are working up feelings about aliens. I shall have to do something about it, or we will be stampeded into an unnecessarily oppressive policy. It is very easy in war time to start a scare.”

Students write a journal response to this statement. They then research other historical or contemporary moments where wartime panic led to the persecution of a particular group. Students describe the perceived threat and the policies or actions undertaken as a response, and formulate a written response defending or arguing against the policies.

LESSON: REFUGEES INTERNED

READING: FRAGILE ROOTS

Walter Igersheimer was among the first German Jewish students to arrive in England in 1933. By 1940, he had “begun to feel so at home [he] could not imagine wanting to live or practice medicine in any other country.”

Refugees lived in agricultural training centres, boarding schools, private homes and hostels across Great Britain. After *Kristallnacht*, Britain granted entry to 5,000 male refugees between the ages of 18 and 45 who had been released from concentration camps under the provision that they would emigrate from Germany. They were housed in Kitchener Camp, a deserted First World War army camp.

Refugees were aided by relatives and well-meaning individuals, as well as Jewish, Christian and non-denominational agencies. Many of the young refugees came from affluent families and were unaccustomed to the living conditions in British working class homes. Feeling unwelcome, some tried to assimilate quickly by hiding their Jewish roots and perfecting their English.

The refugees banded together to maintain a semblance of home and many tried to further their education and careers while awaiting an uncertain future. While creating self-help organizations to support each other financially as well as emotionally, the young men desperately tried to find escape routes for their family and friends still in Europe.

LESSON: REFUGEES INTERNED

READING: "ENEMY ALIENS"

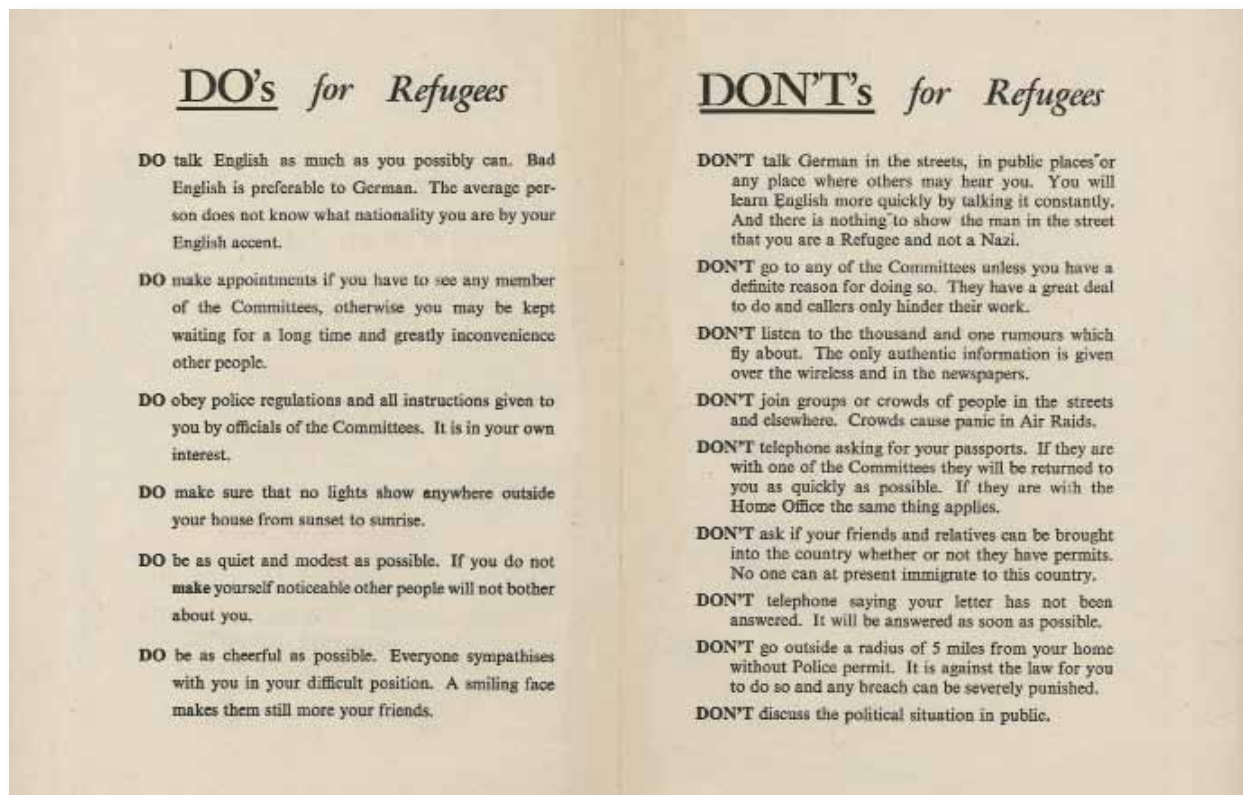
Following the outbreak of the Second World War in September 1939, the British government established tribunals to determine which German and Austrian nationals over the age of 16 posed a threat to national security. Meanwhile, the press fueled anxieties about "fifth columnists" (enemy spies) among the populace.

The tribunals, generally presided over by a county court judge or King's Counsel, heard 73,000 cases. Only 569 were deemed "Category A" – a "significant risk" – and immediately incarcerated. The 6,700 classified as "Category B" were designated as "friendly enemy aliens" and a "slight risk." They were restricted to travelling no more than five miles from their homes and were forbidden to own cameras and bicycles. Approximately 66,000 were classified as "Category C" and judged to pose no risk to national security. Within this group, 55,000-60,000 were Jewish and declared to be "refugees from Nazi Oppression."

The tribunals were hastily convened and informal affairs that used arbitrary guidelines, prompting criticism from many. In his 1940 book, *The Internment of Aliens*, François Lafitte argued: "We [should] discriminate not between Britons and aliens or 'enemy aliens' and 'friendly aliens' but between those who stand for freedom and those who stand for tyranny in every country. ... The real 'aliens' are the 'Nazis of the soul' of all countries including our own."

LESSON: REFUGEES INTERNED

DOCUMENT: "DO'S AND DON'TS FOR REFUGEES"



An advisory published by the Bloomsbury House outlining to German refugees the "DO's and DON'T's" of living in Britain during the war.

– Photo: The Wiener Library, Published by the Central Office for Refugees in Bloomsbury House

LESSON: REFUGEES INTERNED

DOCUMENT: "REFUGEE FROM NAZI OPRESSION" CERTIFICATE



Walter Igersheimer's "Refugee from Nazi Oppression" certificate, London, 1940.

– Courtesy Walter W. Igersheimer

LESSON: REFUGEES INTERNED

DOCUMENT: "APPLICATION FOR CONSIDERATION" BY JOINT RECRUITING BOARD

28 19/1/40

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY
JOINT RECRUITING BOARD

APPLICATION FOR CONSIDERATION BY JOINT RECRUITING BOARD

1. Surname KOCH Christian Names OTTO ERICH ALFRED

2. Address 2, Richmond Terrace, Cambridge. 3. Date of Birth 31.8.1919.

4. Nationality German, i.e. "Refugee from Nazi Oppression", (fully exempted from special restrictions applicable to enemy aliens)

5. If you have been registered under the Military Training Act, give the registration number on your registration certificate (M.R.2) and the address of the Employment Exchange given on that certificate.

Registration Number _____ Address of Employment Exchange _____

6. Have you already been dealt with by a Joint Recruiting Board? If so, state when and by what Board. I had an interview with the Cambridge Joint Recruiting Board on October 27th, 1939.

7. Name of University or University College. Cambridge University, St. John's Coll

8. Period of residence or attendance. 1937-1940

9. Course of study taken. Degrees, I obtained Second Class Honours in the Economics Tripos, Part 1., and
Diplomas, Prizes, etc., which you have am now reading for the Law Tripos, Part 2.
gained or are now studying for. If still studying, give date of final examination.

10. What is your occupation (if you have one).

11. Positions of leadership held at School House Prefect. (Cranbrook School, Kent)
or College.

12. Whether served in O.T.C.? Whether in possession of Certificate "A" or "B" or the Officers' Qualification Certificate, giving, in the case of Certificate "B", the arm of the Service and date that the Certificate was obtained.

13. State any special interests or additional qualifications, e.g., nautical, Complete knowledge of German, good knowledge of French.
aeronautical, linguistic.

14. State the Service or Branch of Service (if any) for which you have a preference, stating any special qualifications.

Date: February 16th 1940 Signature: O. E. A. Koch

DECISION OF JOINT RECRUITING BOARD

The candidate is suitable for the following forms of Service:

(1) in officer in the Infantry

(2) _____

(3) _____

Remarks: _____

Date: _____ (Signed) C.W. Crawley
Chairman

Misc. 22
D 40327-1 20,000 D/2 6072 10/39 R P

Eric Koch's "Application for Consideration by Joint Recruiting Board," February 16, 1940. Koch is classified as a "refugee from Nazi oppression" by the government rather than an "enemy alien" on his application to become an officer in the British infantry. – Courtesy Eric Koch



A cartoon from Eric Koch's internment scrapbook of a Sergeant-General yelling at four trembling internees, artist unknown. – Courtesy Eric Koch. Source: Library and Archives Canada/Artist Unknown/Eric Koch Fonds/e010939544

LESSON 3: ACCIDENTAL IMMIGRANTS

OBJECTIVES

Students learn about how the “enemy aliens” journeyed to Canada and, through former internee testimony, about how they were received upon their arrival in Canada.

LINKS TO HISTORICAL THINKING CONCEPTS:

Use Primary Source Evidence

Students consider what eyewitness testimony reveals about the internees’ arrival in Canada.

Take Historical Perspective

Students consider how Canadians viewed the internees arriving on their shores in 1940.

Understand the Ethical Dimensions of History

Students take a perspective on whether the Canadian government should take responsibility for belongings taken from the internees upon their arrival in Canada.

DIARY REFLECTION: A PERILOUS JOURNEY

Have students explore this page of the website or pre-assign [Reading: Perilous Voyage](#).

Students work independently to write a diary entry from the perspective of one of the refugees aboard the *S.S. Duchess of York*, *S.S. Ettrick* or the *S.S. Sobieksi*. The journal should describe conditions on the ship, memories about their lives in Europe and feelings about an uncertain future.

Students share the journal entries with a classmate.

VIDEO SCREENING: AN ENEMY'S WELCOME

In pairs (or, as computer access permits, individually or in groups), students view [Video: An Enemy's Welcome](#), which features internees recalling their arrival in Canada. Students should watch the video twice; on the first viewing, students watch and listen carefully, while on the second viewing, students should note the incidents described by the former internees.

As pairs or groups, students discuss:

- How did the Canadian military receive the internees?
- How do the internees describe their experiences of being robbed?
- What are your thoughts about the irony of refugees of Nazism being received as Nazis?

As a class, discuss:

- Do students think the refugees should be compensated for their stolen belongings? Why or why not?
- The Canadian government has issued apologies and, on occasion, provided restitution and compensation for victims of historical injustice. Such actions have taken place with regard to the denial of Sikh immigrants aboard the Kamagata Maru, the internment of Japanese Canadians during the Second World War and to First Nations victims of the residential school system. Introduce concepts of redress and restitution to students and guide a discussion about the following statement. "It is important that governments acknowledge and redress past injustices."

EXTENSION: THE DUNERA

Students explore the web page about the *HMT Dunera* and research the experiences of the refugees aboard this ship, comparing the policies of Canada and Australia vis-à-vis the interned refugees.

LESSON: ACCIDENTAL IMMIGRANTS

READING: PERILOUS VOYAGE

As the Battle of the Atlantic waged on, three ships carrying refugees set sail to Canada in June and July of 1940. While German U-boats posed grave risks from the sea, refugees onboard the *S.S. Duchess of York* endured harassment and threats from Nazis on board. Clive Teddern, a German Jew and only 16 years old at the time, remembered: “It wasn’t the submarines we were worried about. It was the danger from the people we were with.” The refugees feared being thrown overboard or that the ship would be commandeered by the Nazis and re-routed to Germany.

Conditions on the *S.S. Ettrick* were so crowded that the refugees, unprotected by the Geneva Convention that applied to Nazi prisoners of war, were consigned to the bowels of the ship. Surrounded by barbed wire, they nicknamed their quarters “Torpedo Class.”

The *S.S. Sobieski* offered safer passage. Escorted by destroyers, it was one of five vessels involved in the largest overseas transfer of wealth ever seen – 450 million pounds sterling in gold and securities. In contrast to the other ships, conditions on the *Sobieski* were tolerable, the refugees had the run of the ship, and food was sufficient.

LESSON: ACCIDENTAL IMMIGRANTS

READING: AN ENEMY'S WELCOME

Canadian military officials at the docks in Québec City were armed and prepared for the arrival of dangerous parachutists and spies. Instead, they were baffled by the sight of teenagers and religious Jews that disembarked among the civilian internees.

Once the ships had sailed, Britain had informed Canada that the majority of civilians on board were refugees from Nazism. As the ships entered Canadian waters, the men hoped their long and dangerous journey was over. They soon discovered that Canada was unprepared to deal with them, and that they were to be considered guilty until proven innocent.

The *Duchess of York* refugees were immediately sent by train to Camp R in northern Ontario. Eugene Spier, a German Jewish financier, described how they were met by “vigilant soldiers with rifles and fixed bayonets ready to charge at us at any moment.” These refugees remained unprotected from the Nazis in the camp for several months.

Refugees arriving on the *Ettrick* and *Sobieski* were shocked by the hostility of their reception. Many had their belongings “confiscated” by Canadian soldiers. When nothing was returned, they filed official complaints that eventually led to several court-martials.

In the hastily organized Canadian internment camps, refugees soon realized that officials expected them to be interned for the duration of the war. Neither refugees nor Canadian personnel were prepared for what was in store for them.



Barbed wire fence and tower surrounding the parameter of Camp L (Quebec City, Quebec).

– Courtesy Marcell Seidler/Library and Archives Canada/PA-143488

LESSON 4: “CAMP BOYS”

OBJECTIVES

Through internee testimony, students learn about the conditions of internment in Canada, and explore a variety of primary sources relating to the responses of the “camp boys” to internment.

LINKS TO HISTORICAL THINKING CONCEPTS:

Establish Historical Significance

Students reflect on the significance of a variety of cultural responses to internment – writing, art, learning and religious observance – and what these reveal about the period.

Use Primary Source Evidence

Students consider what eyewitness testimony revealed about the conditions of Canadian internment camps, and about the varied responses of the internees to internment.

Take Historical Perspective

Students consider how internees with an uncertain future viewed their internment, and the broader context of war.

THE CAMP SYSTEM

Let students explore this page of the website or pre-assign [Reading: Internment in Canada](#). Students also study the corresponding [Map](#).

In pairs (or, as computers permit, individually or in groups), students view [Video: Internment in Canada](#), which features internees speaking about the administration and conditions of the Canadian internment camps. Students should watch the video twice; on the first viewing, students watch and listen carefully, while on the second viewing, students should note the anecdotes described by the interviewees.

Students discuss their notes in pairs or small groups, commenting on what they found most interesting or surprising.

GROUP ACTIVITY: RESPONSES TO INTERNMENT

Divide the class into at least four groups. Assign at least one group to each of the four topics, representing a section on the website. Groups can double-up on one topic:

Education

Writing

The Arts

Religion

Working in their group, students explore the webpage, dossier and, if applicable, video related to their topic.

The group develops a presentation about their theme for the class.

The presentation should highlight:

- At least two artefacts or documents of interest: what does each source reveal about the internees' response to internment?
- At least one anecdote of interest from the companion video testimony or another primary source.

Each group presents to the class. Encourage students to ask questions of each group.

After each group has presented, the class discusses how each theme contributes to their understanding of internment. Prompting question: How do the sources featured (i.e. diary entries, drawings, attempts to observe one's religious beliefs) relate to modes of expression in your own life? How does the meaning of relatively simple forms of expression change in the context of internment?

CLASS DISCUSSION: MORALE

In pairs (or, as computers permit, individually or in groups), students view [Video: Morale](#), which features internees speaking about the effects of internment on their morale. As a class, discuss:

- How do the internees speak about the experiences of younger versus older internees? Point out to students that the interview subjects represent the younger internees, as most of the older men are no longer alive.
- How do the internees speak about their internment experiences compared to the experiences of their families still in Europe?

EXTENSION: BASEBALL & THE INTERNMENT OF JAPANESE CANADIANS

Students research and develop a paper or presentation about the Vancouver-based Asahi Baseball Club, reflecting on baseball as a cultural response of Japanese Canadians interned during the Second World War.

LESSON: “CAMP BOYS”

READING: INTERNMENT IN CANADA

Upon arrival in Canada, the refugees were spread out in makeshift prisoner of war camps in New Brunswick, Quebec and Ontario. While some commandants and guards displayed tolerance – if not sympathy – for their prisoners, others combined anti-German and anti-Jewish attitudes when dealing with them. After a visit to Camp N in Sherbrooke, a military observer noted “strictness arbitrarily applied,...rude and appalling language and indulgence in antisemitic remarks [which] are particularly objectionable.”

Meanwhile, refugees interned in England were quickly gaining release and most were soon engaged in the war effort. The British, admitting their error, informed Canada that the refugees could be returned to freedom in Britain, although made it clear that they preferred that they be released into the safety of Canada. But Canada had resisted pressures in the past to grant admission to Jewish refugees, and officials were determined not to let Jews gain entry through the “back door” of internment.

Those who wished to join the British Pioneer Corps (a non-fighting unit) were soon able to return to Britain. Also released were scientists who had been working on top-secret military intelligence technology, and a few others needed for war-related work. The rest languished behind barbed wire in Canadian camps; some would stay there for as long as three years. They called themselves the “camp boys.”

LESSON: “CAMP BOYS”

READING: MORALE

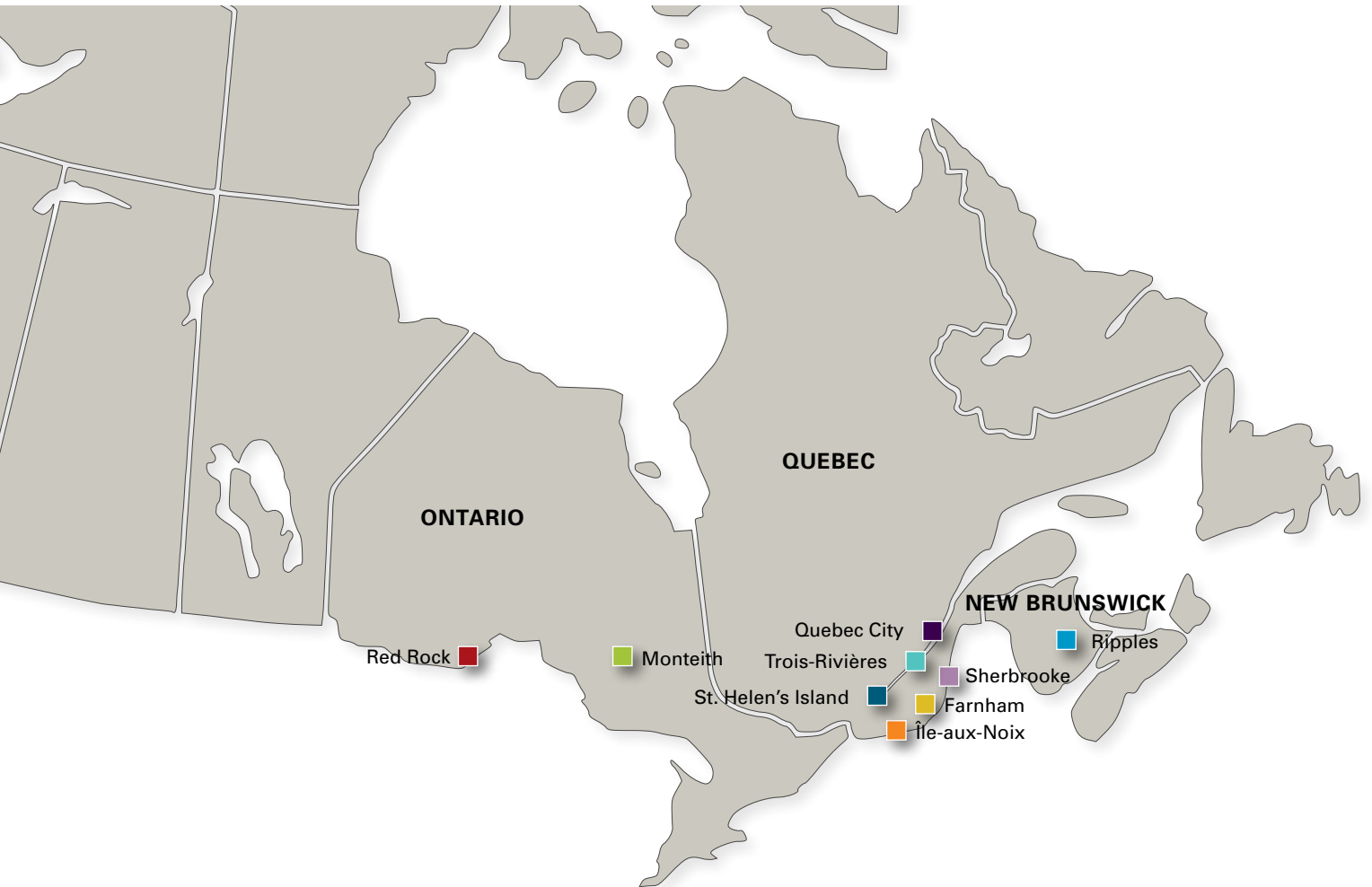
The refugees suffered the effects of persecution, displacement, and anxiety for family left behind in Nazi-occupied Europe. To some, it seemed that they had escaped one antisemitic world only to be locked away in another.










Many interactions were shaped by rumours, gossip and bickering. Some maintained their sanity by resigning themselves to the seemingly endless wait for release. “I tried to kill my time,” recalled Julius Pfeiffer, the camp joker, “in order to forget that I was in the camp and didn’t know what to do with my life. I didn’t know where my wife was, whether she was alive – my two children, my parents – so I made jokes.” After the war he found his wife and children; they had survived Bergen-Belsen.

The young men were particularly preoccupied with the absence of women. Some found female pen pals. One internee recalls the pipe dreams of a rather shady character who began digging a tunnel, not to escape, but to smuggle in prostitutes. For some internees, homosexual encounters and relationships were also part of the camp experience. Sexuality was considered a natural part of these men’s lives and its private expression was tolerated by most.

LESSON: "CAMP BOYS"

DOCUMENT: MAP



- | | |
|---|---|
|  CAMP A (Farnham, Quebec) |  CAMP R (Red Rock, Ontario) |
|  CAMP B (Ripples, New Brunswick) |  CAMP S (St. Helen's Island, Montreal, Quebec) |
|  CAMP I (Île-aux-Noix, Quebec) |  CAMP L (Quebec City, Quebec) |
|  CAMP N (Sherbrooke, Quebec) |  CAMP T (Trois-Rivières, Quebec) |
|  CAMP Q (Monteith, Ontario) | |

DOSSIER: EDUCATION



42

LESSON: "CAMP BOYS"

DOSSIER: EDUCATION



A notebook that Walter Josephy used while interned in Camp I (Île-aux-Noix, Quebec), circa 1941. Inside, Josephy recorded notes from physics lectures delivered by other internees in the camp "university." – *Courtesy the Josephy family*

LESSON: "CAMP BOYS"

DOSSIER: EDUCATION



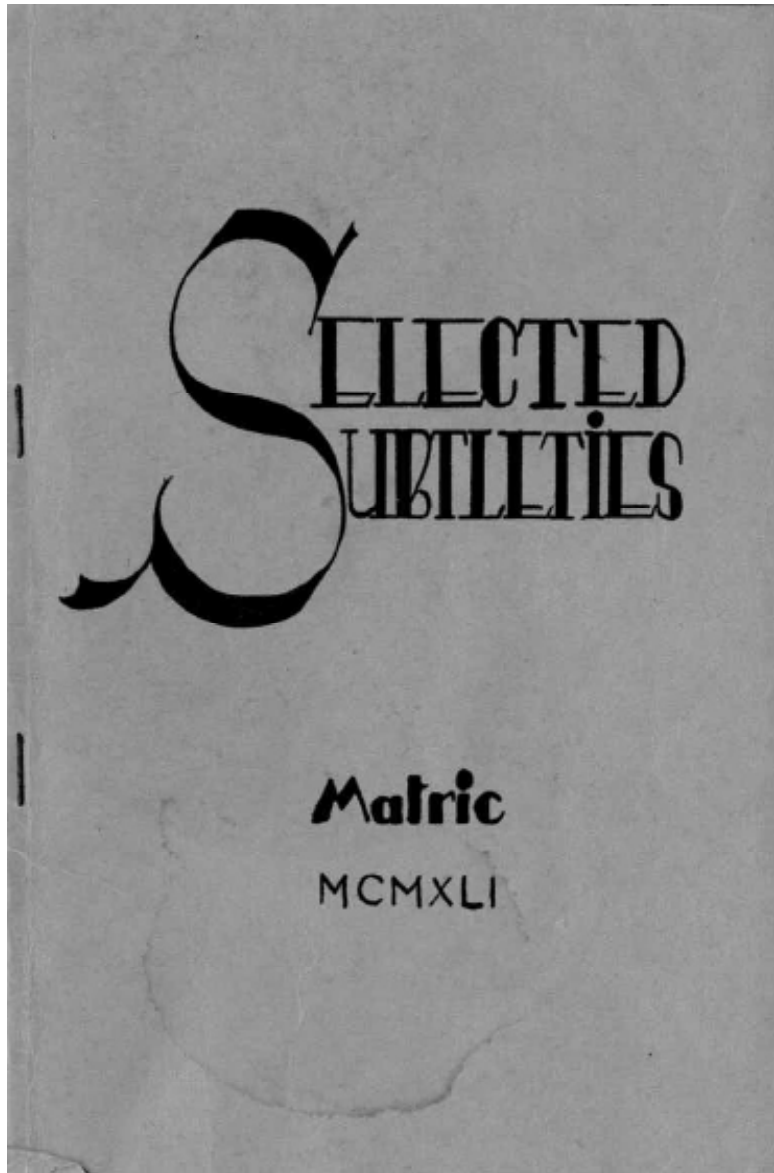
Camp A (Farnham, Quebec) school matriculation photo with instructors, 1941. Internees in several camps organized lectures and classes such as this one, attended by Gunter Bardeleben.

Back row, left to right: Fred (David) Hoeniger, Ulrich Steinfeld, Peter Harisch, Dr. Einsiedeln, Helmut Jakobi, Peter Fokschaner, Peter Zappler, Carl Amberg, Rudi Meyer, Peter Neurath, Kurt Haiblen, Gerd (Gregory) Baum, Walter Hitschfeld, Dr. von Harrer

(Front row, left to right: Heinz Matzdorff, Schneider, Goetz Weiss, Werner Bruck (Vernon Brooks), Dr. Philipp Koller, Georg Liebl, Dr. Willy Heckscher, Alois Zoechling, Charles Kahn, Ulrich Weil, Sturm, Paul Mandl, Pater Hartmann, Pater Haring, Rudolf Hirsch. – *Courtesy Frank Koller*

LESSON: "CAMP BOYS"

DOSSIER: EDUCATION



Philipp Koller's camp matric pamphlet, *Selected Subtleties*, which Koller and other teachers created in Camp N (Sherbrooke, Quebec) to prepare students for high school matriculation, circa 1940-1942.
– *Courtesy Frank Koller*

LESSON: “CAMP BOYS”

DOSSIER: EDUCATION



A collection of Peter Oberlander’s school notebooks on various subjects, kept during his internment in Camp T (Trois-Rivières, Quebec), Camp B (Ripples, New Brunswick) and Camp I (Île-aux-Noix, Quebec), circa 1940-1941. – *Courtesy the Oberlander family*

LESSON: "CAMP BOYS"

DOSSIER: EDUCATION

Refugee Camp
Sherbrooke, P.Q.
27th October 1941.

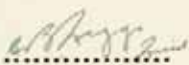
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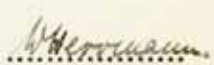
Mr. Gerd WALDSTEIN

has been regularly attending classes at this camp in preparation for the Junior Matriculation Examination of McGill University, Montreal, over a period of nearly three months.

His subjects for the complete examination were English, European History, Elementary Mathematics, German, French and Physics.

Mr. Waldstein's work and co-operation have been entirely satisfactory, and his voluntary attendance of all the classes required deserves recognition in view of the difficult circumstances of a camp.


.....
(C.D. Legge, Lect.
Assist. Adjutant &
Paymaster)


.....
(W. Herrmann, B.A.,
Cambridge Certificate
in Education)
For Camp School.

Letter confirming that Gerry Waldston (Gerd Waldstein) voluntarily attended classes in Camp N (Sherbrooke, Quebec), October 27, 1941. – *Courtesy Gerry Waldston*

LESSON: “CAMP BOYS”

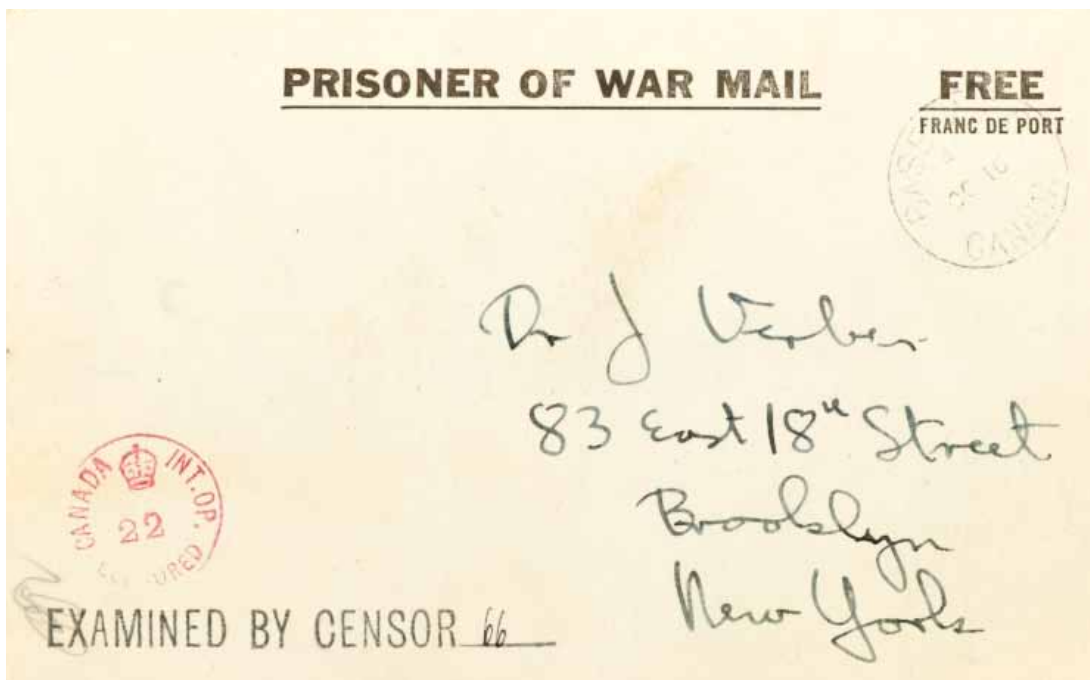
DOSSIER: WRITING



Bundles of correspondence from Gideon Rosenbluth's internment in Camp L (Quebec City, Quebec), and Camp N (Sherbrooke, Quebec). – *Courtesy Gideon Rosenbluth and Vera Rosenbluth*

LESSON: "CAMP BOYS"

DOSSIER: WRITING

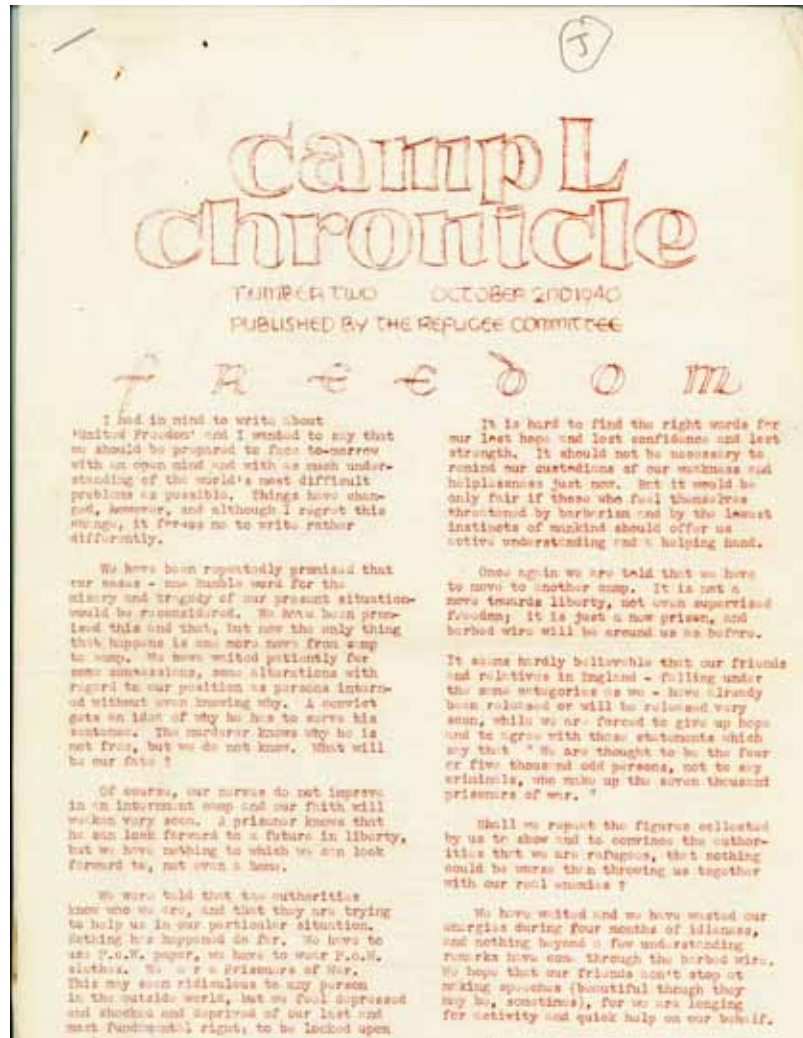


A censored POW mail postcard sent by Gideon Rosenbluth to Dr. J. Verbers, November 2, 1940. Rosenbluth asks about the location of his family and comments on the public perception of the internees, remarking on how many people think they are all Nazis.

– *Courtesy Gideon Rosenbluth and Vera Rosenbluth*

LESSON: "CAMP BOYS"

DOSSIER: WRITING



The Camp L Chronicle, published by the Refugee Committee of Camp L (Quebec City, Quebec), October 2, 1940. The front-page article provides insight into the internees' frustrations and fears regarding their internment, the uncertainties of their future freedom, and their classification as prisoners of war by the Canadian government. – *Courtesy Gideon Rosenbluth and Vera Rosenbluth*

"It is hard to find the right words for our lost hope and lost confidence and lost strength."

LESSON: "CAMP BOYS"

DOSSIER: WRITING

Anderson

Heinrich Kreisel
Internment Camp "B"
Canada.
26. 3. 1941.

The Commandant
Internment Camp "B".

Sir,

I am taking the liberty of writing to you, bothering you with a private affair of my little self, although you are probably busy attending to much more important ones.

I am eighteen years of age, a fact that does not bear anything unique in it, and at a very early age already I have found interest and devoted myself - of all things - to writing.

While being here, I have written quite a lot of stories, but don't be afraid, not one of them deals with internment.

And now, at long last, I am coming to what I have to say: is there a possibility of sending stories from here to papers or magazines?

I am afraid I have written a very long introduction to such short question. But please, Sir, please don't be angry.

Awaiting your reply, and thanking you in anticipation,

I am, Sir,
Yours obediently,
Heinrich Kreisel
(No. 355. Group 5.)

*Hans Dr. Rosenburg
took these notes.*

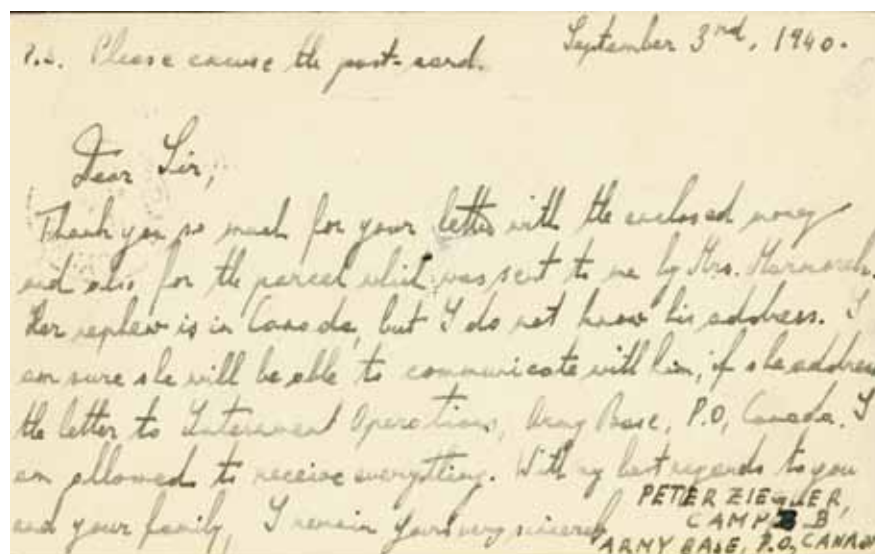
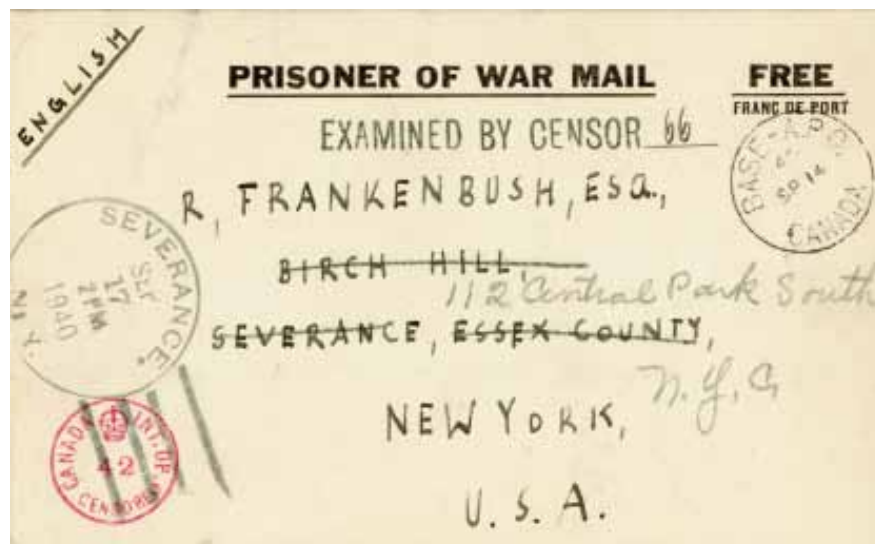
G.

A letter from Henry Kreisel to Commandant, Camp B (Ripples, New Brunswick), March 26, 1941. Kreisel, who had just turned eighteen, describes his interest in creative writing and requests that the Commandant allow him to send short stories to be published outside of the camp. In the years after his release from camp, Kreisel went on to publish his internment diary, and two novels and short stories that dealt with issues surrounding the war and Canadian immigration.

– Courtesy University of Manitoba Archives & Special Collections, Henry Kreisel fonds, MSS 59, PC 79, TC 50, Box 1, Folder 1

LESSON: "CAMP BOYS"

DOSSIER: WRITING



Peter Ziegler's "prisoner of war" postcard sent to R. Frankenbush in New York from Camp B (Little River, New Brunswick), September 3, 1940.

– Courtesy Peter Ziegler, VHEC Collection

LESSON: "CAMP BOYS"

DOSSIER: ARTS



A sketch by Gerry Waldston of the exterior of a building at Camp Q (Monteith, Ontario), July 14 to October 17, 1940. – *Courtesy Gerry Waldston*

LESSON: "CAMP BOYS"

DOSSIER: ARTS



A sketch by Gerry Waldston of a man seated in a chair holding a broom, turning the dial on the radio, Camp B (Ripples, New Brunswick), February 22, 1941. The image is captioned as "(5 minute sketch) Drawn because it just happened." – Courtesy Gerry Waldston

LESSON: "CAMP BOYS"

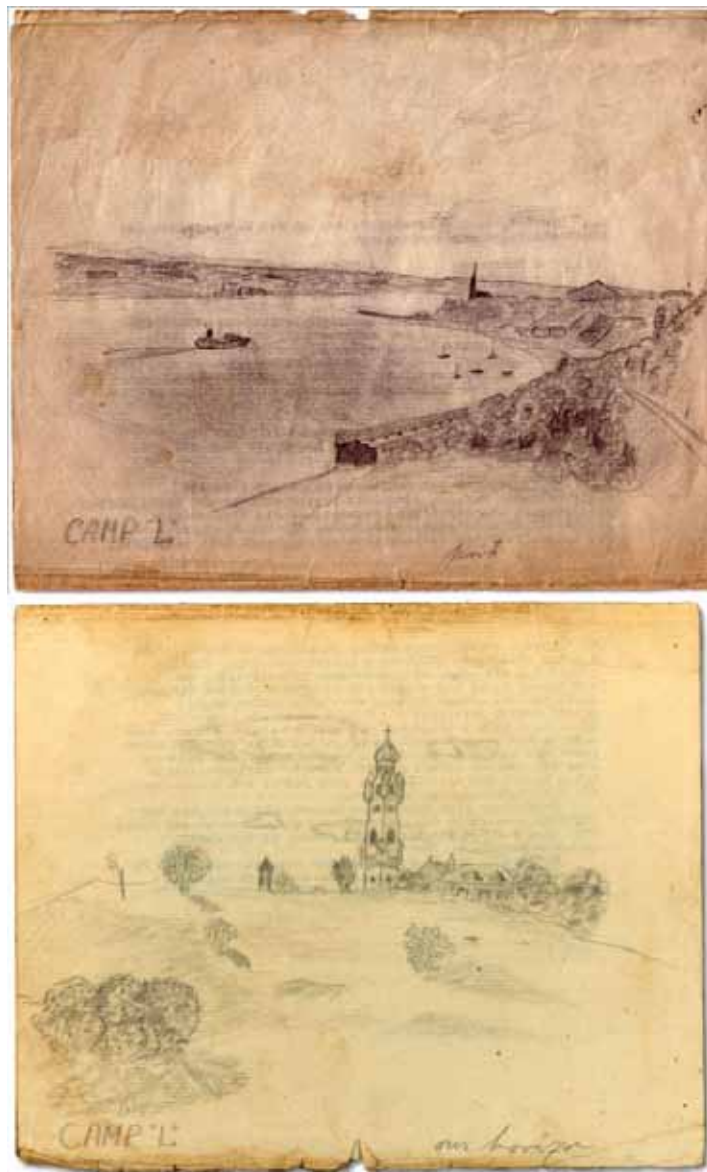
DOSSIER: ARTS



A linoprint self-portrait created by Robert Langstadt during internment.
– Courtesy Gunter Bardeleben, VHEC Collection

LESSON: "CAMP BOYS"

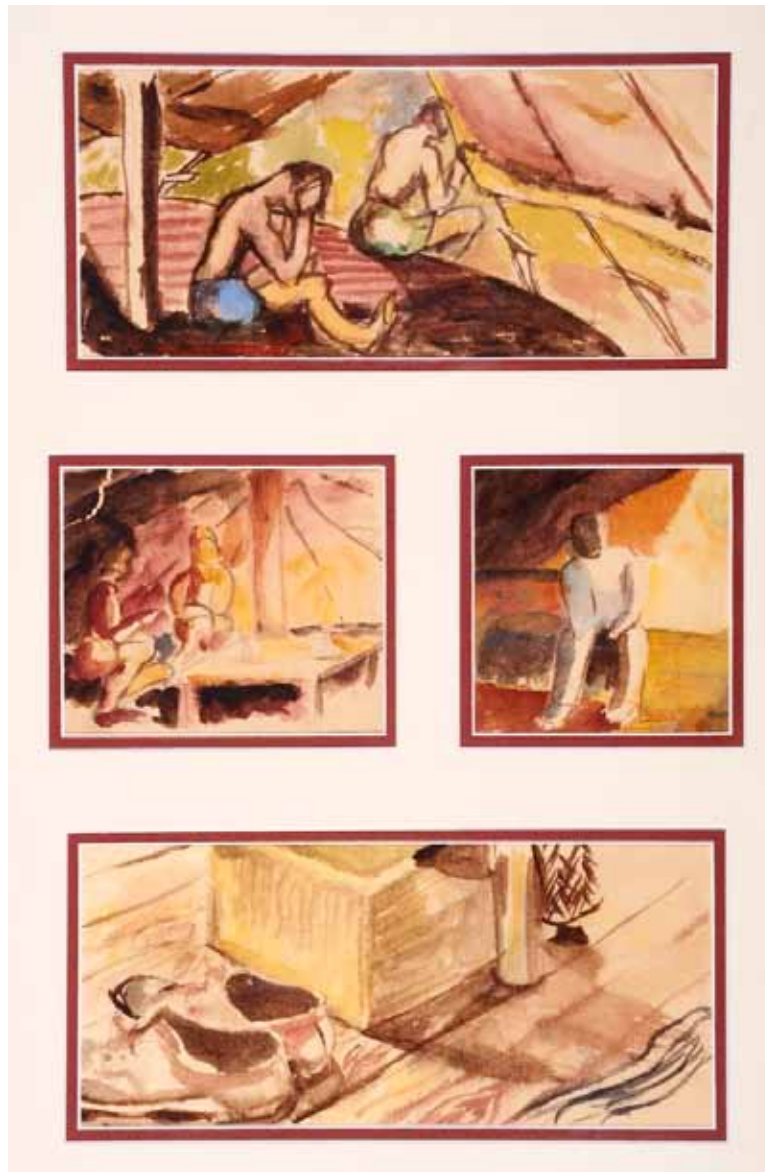
DOSSIER: ARTS



A drawing of the St. Lawrence coastline by Hans Falk, Camp L (Quebec City, Quebec), circa July – October 1940. A pencil sketch of the Plains of Abraham by Hans Falk, Camp L (Quebec City, Quebec), circa July – October 1940. – *Courtesy of the family of Hans L. Falk of NC, PA, and WA*

LESSON: "CAMP BOYS"

DOSSIER: ARTS



"Beach Scenes" by Wolfgang Gerson, water colour on toilet paper, Camp N (Sherbrooke, Quebec), circa 1940-1942. – *Courtesy the Gerson family*

LESSON: "CAMP BOYS"

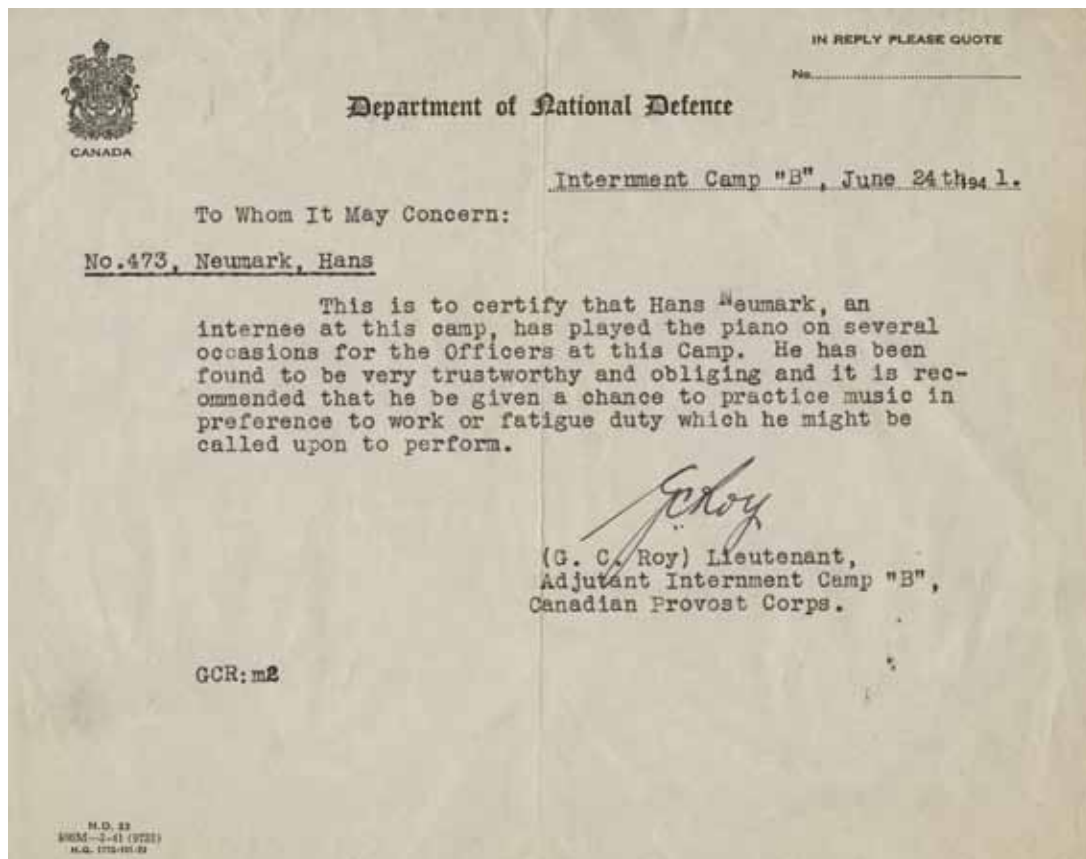
DOSSIER: ARTS



Jewish internee and artist Gunter Weymann sketching in a Canadian internment camp, circa 1940-1942. – *Courtesy Jewish Public Library Archives, Montreal*

LESSON: "CAMP BOYS"

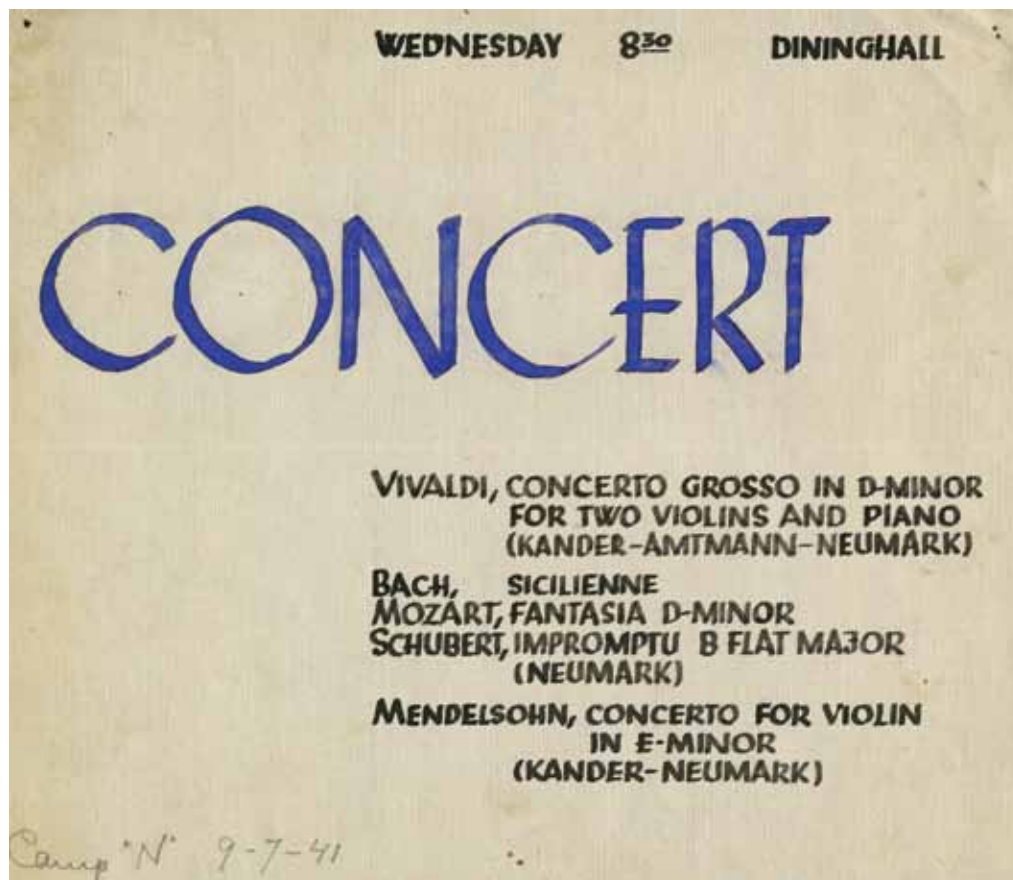
DOSSIER: ARTS



A letter written by Lieutenant G.C. Roy on behalf of the Department of National Defence certifying that John Newmark (né Hans Neumark) played the piano for the Officers of Camp B (Ripples, New Brunswick), June 24, 1941. – © Government of Canada. Source: Library and Archives Canada/G.C. Roy/Eric Koch Fonds/e010939538

LESSON: "CAMP BOYS"

DOSSIER: ARTS



An advert for a concert in the dining hall of Camp N (Sherbrooke, Quebec), circa 1941.
– Courtesy Eric Koch. Source: Library and Archives Canada/Author Unknown/Eric Koch Fonds /e010939539

LESSON: “CAMP BOYS”

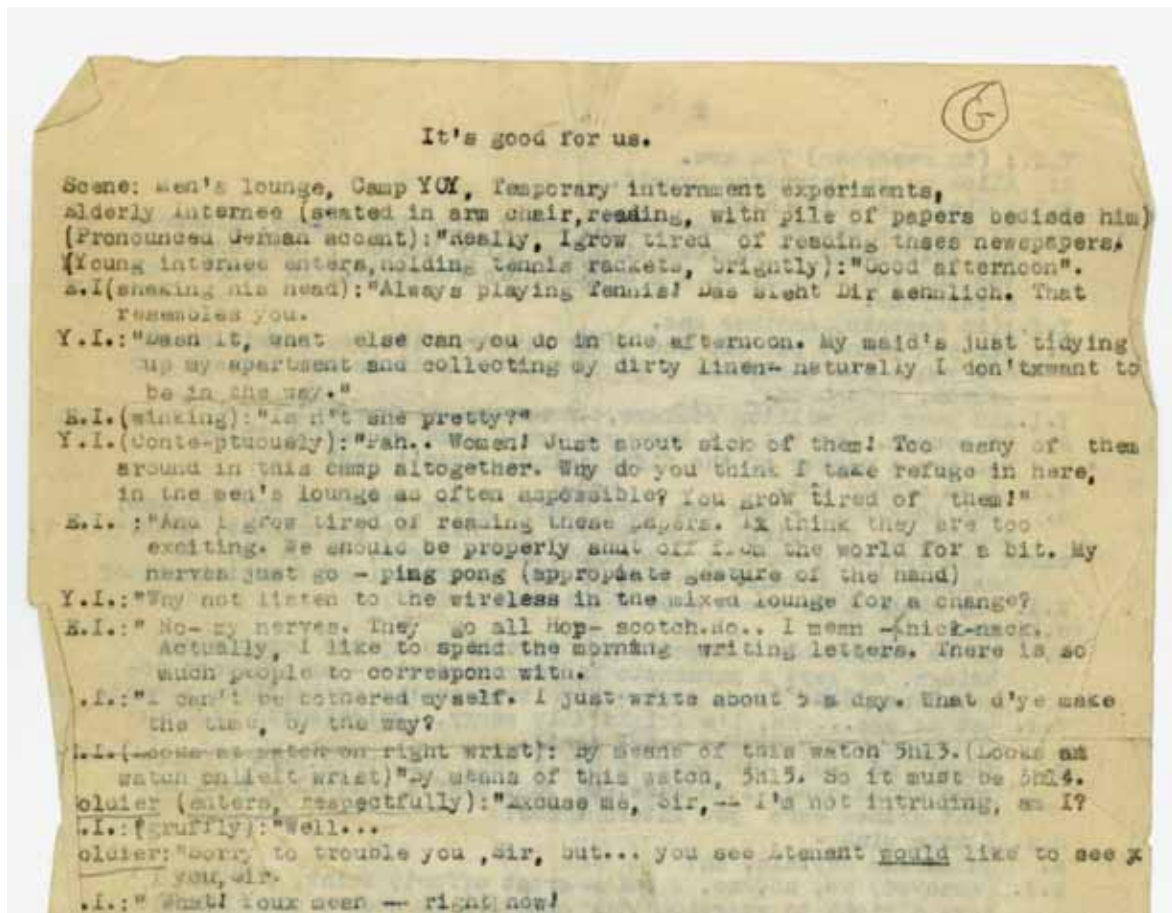
DOSSIER: ARTS



Remnants of an exhibition, Camp N (Sherbrooke, Quebec), circa 1940-1943. The internees created this exhibition with an accompanying sign: “Refugees from Nazi Oppression Transferred from England Interned in Canada.” – *Courtesy Eric Koch / Library and Archives Canada / PA-188345*

LESSON: "CAMP BOYS"

DOSSIER: ARTS



A satirical play entitled "It's Good For Us" about a group of internees interned in a camp where they are treated so well that they do not want to leave, circa 1940-1942.

– Courtesy Gideon Rosenbluth and Vera Rosenbluth

LESSON: "CAMP BOYS"

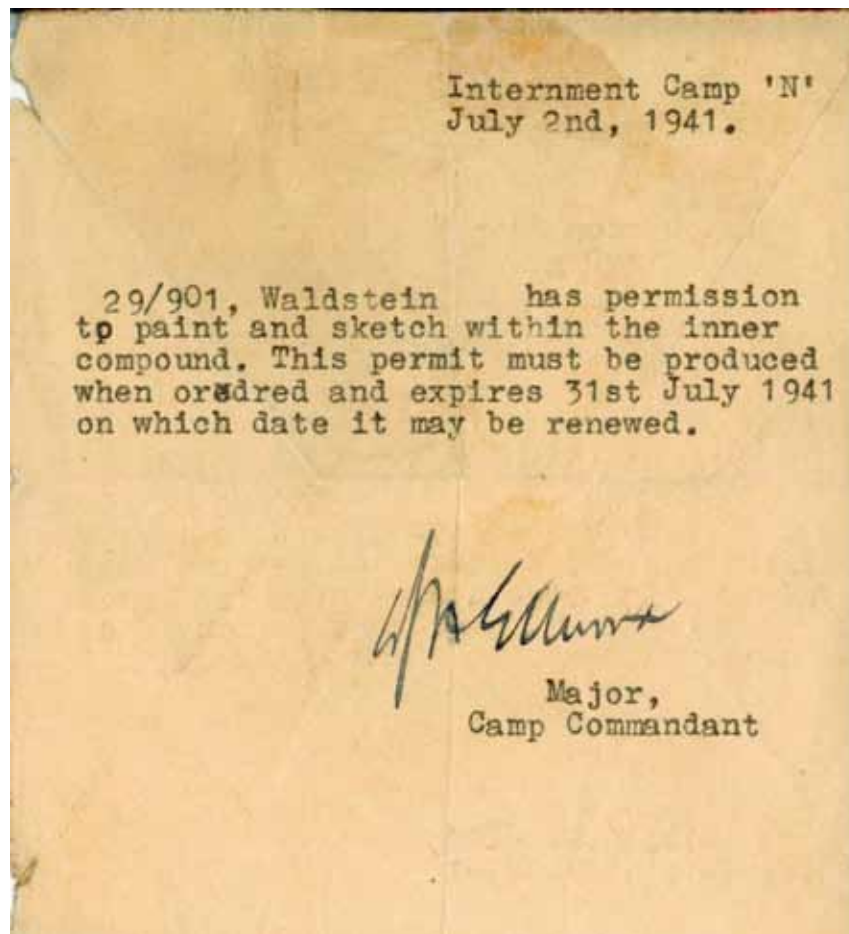
DOSSIER: ARTS



A drawing by Gerry Waldston entitled "End of Summer," October 1940. – Courtesy Gerry Waldston

LESSON: "CAMP BOYS"

DOSSIER: ARTS



Permission issued by the Commandant of Camp N (Sherbrooke, Quebec) allowing Gerry Waldston (Gerd Waldstein) permission to sketch within the compound, July 2, 1941.

– Courtesy Gerry Waldston

LESSON: "CAMP BOYS"

DOSSIER: ARTS



A small watercolour by Oscar Cahén painted during his internment in Canada. After his release, Cahén went on to be a prominent figure in Canadian art, and a founding member of Painters Eleven. – © *The Cahén Archives™*

LESSON: "CAMP BOYS"

DOSSIER: RELIGION

Refugee Camp "41"
Île aux Noix, Que.

_____ 19__

I am unwilling to work on Saturdays under any circumstances, as it is against my religious convictions as a member of the Orthodox Jewish Faith.

Signature .

Refugee Camp "41"
Île aux Noix, Que.

_____ 19__

I am willing to work on Saturdays if required to do so.

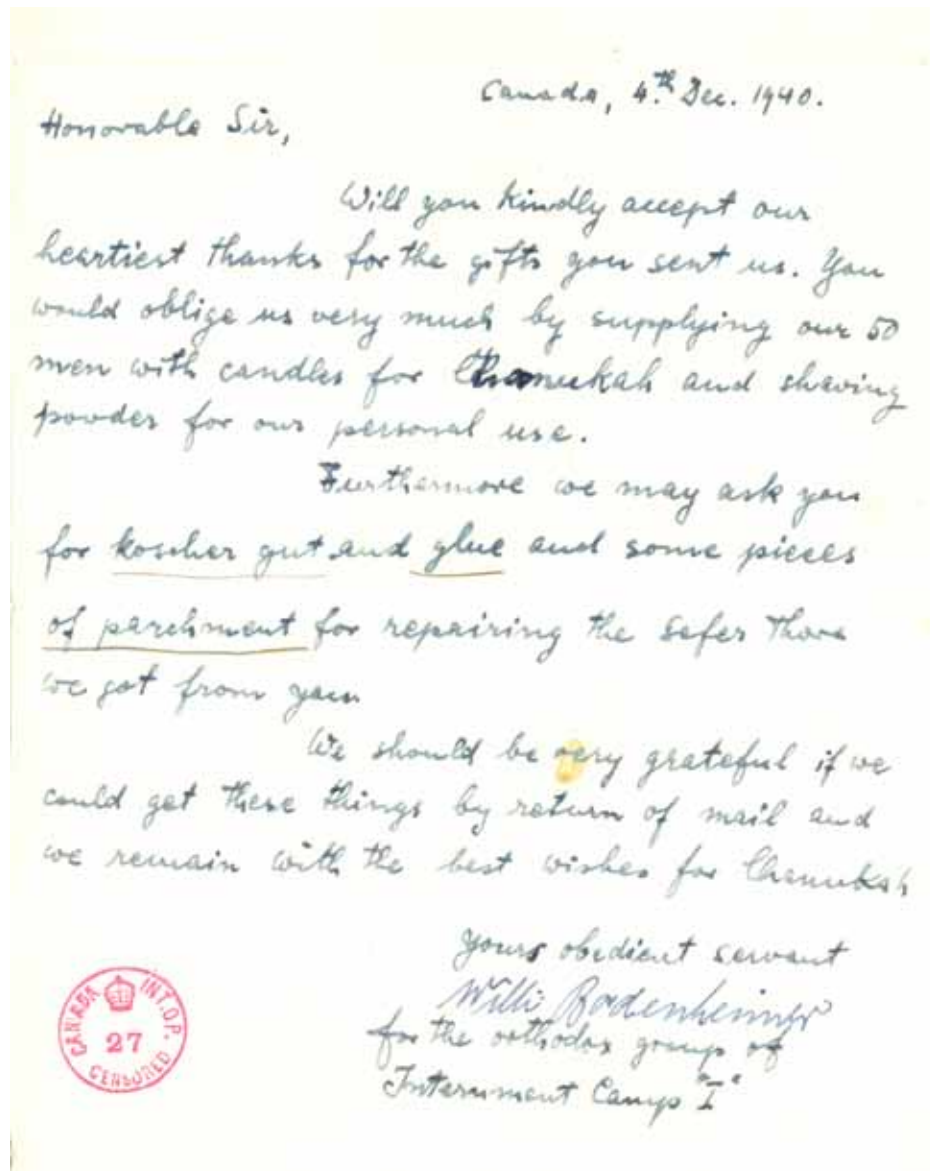
Signature

A form distributed to the internees of Camp I (Île-aux-Noix, Quebec) asking them if working on Saturdays went against their religious convictions, circa 1940-1943.

– Courtesy Canadian Jewish Congress Charities Committee National Archives

LESSON: "CAMP BOYS"

DOSSIER: RELIGION



A letter written by internee Willi Bodenheimer to Chief Rabbi Cohen, December 4, 1940. A member of the "orthodox group of Internment Camp I," Bodenheimer thanks the Rabbi for sending gifts to the camp and requests other religious supplies including Chanukah candles, shaving powder, and kosher gut and glue to repair the camp's Sefer Torah. – Canadian Jewish Congress Charities Committee National Archives

LESSON: "CAMP BOYS"

DOSSIER: RELIGION

8-12-1940


Dear Sir,

I am very glad to inform you that we have received kosher meat from the Internment Operations and I am very much obliged to you for your help which I may assume. I thoroughly trust in the Internment Operations and have no doubt that this meat was delivered by a Jewish butcher. But you know that kosher meat must be put into water no later than three days after slaughtering. I should be very grateful to you if you were able to manage that the meat should be dispatched already soaked. It would very much ease my mind to learn from you, Dear Sir, whether the butcher will satisfy all our orthodox demands.

I should be very pleased with your early reply and thank you ever so much for your kindness in anticipation.

I am, Dear Sir,

Your obedient servant
Adolf Kantorowicz



A letter written by internee Adolf Kantorwicz to Chief Rabbi Cohen, December 8, 1940. Writing on behalf of the orthodox Jews of Camp A (Farnham, Quebec), Kantorwicz thanks the Rabbi for his assistance in sending kosher meat to the camp, and requests that the Internment Operations soak the meat before it is delivered. – Courtesy Canadian Jewish Congress Charities Committee National Archives

LESSON: "CAMP BOYS"

DOSSIER: RELIGION



Notice of a Christmas Eve service for the Protestant community in Camp A (Farnham, Quebec), signed by Richard Hoff and the Camp Leader, December 24, 1940.

– Courtesy Henry Graupner, Guelph, Ontario

LESSON: "CAMP BOYS"

DOSSIER: RELIGION

JEWISH COMMUNITY

Refugee Camp 42
Sherbrooke, P.Q.
August 13th 1942

Dr. Richard Hoff
Protestant Camp Community
Refugee Camp
Sherbrooke, P.Q.

Dear Dr. Hoff,

We feel a real urge to express to you
and the members of your community our high appreciation
of your having joined us in our Fast commemorating
the horrible persecution of Jews in Europe.

We are deeply grateful for such token
of a genuine fellow-feeling.

Very sincerely yours

(For the JEWISH COMMUNITY)

M. Saalheimer *S. Orgel*
(Dr. M. Saalheimer) (Dr. S. Orgel)
H. Theilheimer
(H. Theilheimer)

A letter sent to Richard Hoff and the Protestant camp community from the Jewish camp community of Camp N (Sherbrooke, Quebec), August 13, 1942. The writers thank Hoff for participating in their fast to commemorate the persecution of the Jews in Europe.

– Courtesy Henry Graupner, Guelph, Ontario

LESSON: "CAMP BOYS"

DOSSIER: RELIGION



A Jewish internee sitting beside his cupboard made out of packing cases, location unknown, circa 1940-43. Visible within are socks, tins of goods, books and a menorah.

– Courtesy Jewish Public Library Archives, Montreal

LESSON: "CAMP BOYS"

DOSSIER: RELIGION



Jewish internees reading in the camp synagogue with the Torah ark visible between two long tables with benches, circa 1940-1943. – *Courtesy Jewish Public Library Archives, Montreal*

LESSON: "CAMP BOYS"

DOSSIER: RELIGION

October; 11th, 1940

The Commandant,
Camp B

Sir,

There is one day in the year, when God is
atoning the sins of men. (Third Book of Moses, Chapter 10, 33).
It is then, that all the Jews are praying for forgiveness of
their sins and that, so we are sure, God receives their Prayers.
This day will start tonight.

Regarding the extraordinariness of this day, may I
ask you, Sir, to be merciful and to grant the internee

Gustav Bauer, 10. years old,
who was sent to the jail today, to be present at the prayers.
I am sure, God will reward you for this.

I am, Sir, Yours

Most obedient

Rabbi.

A letter from a rabbi to the Commander of Camp B (Ripples, New Brunswick) requesting that Gustav Bauer be released from the camp prison for Yom Kippur, October 11, 1940.

– Courtesy Montreal Holocaust Memorial Centre, Montreal



Constance Hayward worked alongside Saul Hayes as Executive Secretary of the CNCR. Photograph by Yousuf Karsh, Ottawa, circa 1940-1950. – *Courtesy Esther Clark Wright Archives, Acadia University and Yousuf Karsh*



Sir Ernest MacMillan, Toronto, 1926.
– *Courtesy University of Toronto Archives*



Saul Hayes, Director of the UJRA of the Canadian Jewish Congress, Montreal, date unknown. – *Courtesy Canadian Jewish Congress Charities Committee National Archives*



Cairine Wilson, Senator and Chairperson of the CNCR, New York, circa 1940-1950. – *Courtesy Shelburne Studios/Library and Archives Canada/C-0052280*

LESSON 5: ADVOCACY

OBJECTIVES

Students learn about the advocacy efforts of individuals and groups - both Jewish and non-Jewish - on behalf of the internees.

LINKS TO HISTORICAL THINKING CONCEPTS:

Establish Historical Significance

Students consider how the actions of refugee advocates changed Canada's policies toward the interned refugees.

Use Primary Source Evidence

Students analyze documents relating to the advocacy efforts on behalf of the internees.

Analyze Cause and Consequence

Students consider the effects of activism on changing government policies about internment.

THINKING ABOUT ADVOCACY

As a class, discuss the meaning of "advocacy."

What are examples of advocacy in students' own lives?

GROUP ACTIVITY: INTERNEE ADVOCATES

Divide the class into at least four groups. Assign at least one group to each of the four topics, representing a page on the website. Groups can double-up on one topic:

- The Paterson Mission
- United Jewish Refugee and War Relief Agencies
- Refugee Committees
- Other Advocates

Working in their groups, students explore the webpage and dossier related to their topic.

The group develops a presentation about their theme for the class. The presentation should highlight:

- The key person or people involved in the initiative.
- The activities of the initiative.
- At least one document or anecdote of interest. What does it reveal about the advocate or advocacy group's response to internment?

Each group presents to the class. Encourage students to ask questions of each group.

After each group has presented, the class discusses how each theme contributes to their understanding of advocacy in response to internment.

Summarize the contents of the "Canadian Policy" page on the website for students, informing them about how advocacy eventually affected policy change.

EXTENSION: ISSUES IN CONTEMPORARY ADVOCACY

Social media and websites such as *YouTube* offer groups advocating for social justice issues unprecedented means of communicating with global audiences. Students select an advocacy group of interest to them and write a response to their activities, highlighting:

- What is the message of the group?
- What are the strategies used for communicating that message?
- What other sources would you consult for information about the issues at stake?

LESSON: ADVOCACY

DOSSIER: THE PATERSON MISSION

“Although there has been in the last twelve months no evidence of a single attempt to escape, the security precautions are more than adequate. There is a wealth of wire, three banks thick, with machine-guns, pass-words and fixed bayonets to discourage the bespectacled professor and the perky schoolboy from showing any violence.”

- Alexander Paterson

Report on Civilian Internees Sent from the United Kingdom to Canada During the Unusually Fine Summer of 1940

Within weeks of the internees' arrival, Britain asked Canada to provide a “system of less rigid custodial treatment” for the refugees. When Canada requested assistance to distinguish between “Category A,” “B” and “C” internees, the British sent Alexander Paterson, His Majesty's Commissioner of Prisons and a renowned social reformer.

Chaim Raphael, who joined Paterson on his mission after working with refugees in England, explained that the British did not expect Canadians to resist Paterson's authority: “[We] assumed that once Paterson came, he was a very famous man, there would be no problem. We'll send him out for a week or so just to appease the Canadians on the diplomatic level. No one dreamed that the Canadians would refuse.”

Paterson stayed in Canada for over eight months in order to clear the refugees individually. Hundreds seized the opportunity he offered to return to Britain by joining the Pioneer Corps, an unarmed unit of the British army largely assigned to public works. By 1943, fewer than one thousand of the refugees remained in Canada.

Infuriated by what he witnessed, Paterson unleashed a volley of criticism at the Canadian government. He recommended the creation of “Refugee Camps” removed from military control. On May 2, 1941, Cabinet approved Paterson's proposal.

Paterson also worked with refugee advocates pursuing a program of release in Canada. If interned refugees were reluctantly released in Canada, it was largely through the spadework of Alexander Paterson.

LESSON: ADVOCACY

DOSSIER: REFUGEE AGENCIES

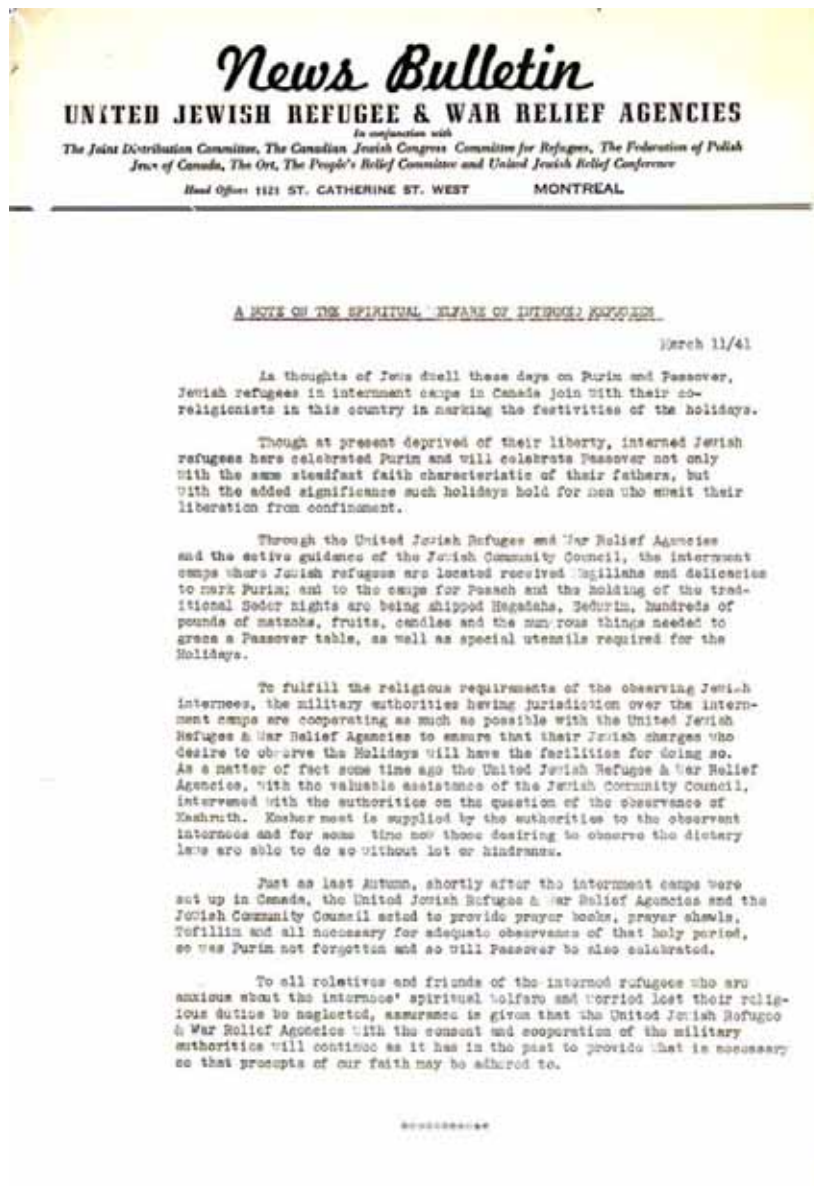
While the refugees confronted the Canadian government with petitions, letters and strikes, voluntary organizations worked outside the barbed wire to improve their conditions, and to gain their release. The leader of Canadian Jewry's efforts was a young Montreal lawyer, Saul Hayes, who served as director of the United Jewish Refugee and War Relief Agencies (UJRA) of the Canadian Jewish Congress (CJC).

During the first years of the Second World War, Canadian Jews focused on aiding and rescuing European Jewry. The plight of the Jewish internees, officially labelled as dangerous spies, presented them with a public relations dilemma. Until the refugees were cleared of suspicion, the UJRA tread lightly. They provided communication, kosher food, religious items and other material to improve everyday life for the internees.

Securing release into Canada for the interned refugees was an enormous challenge. The UJRA knew that during the Holocaust era the term "refugee" was synonymous with "Jew." In Canada, where antisemitism permeated the political and social landscape, Jews were regarded as unassimilable immigrants. At first, the UJRA focused its efforts on gaining entry for the internees into the United States. When that scheme failed, Hayes worked with Alexander Paterson, quietly lobbying to secure release into Canada.

LESSON: ADVOCACY

DOSSIER: REFUGEE AGENCIES



A bulletin written by the UJRA to the Jewish Community and relatives of the internees, March 11, 1941. The letter describes the religious observance in the camps and the ways in which the UJRA and the Jewish Community Council assisted the internees by sending supplies.

– Canadian Jewish Congress Charities Committee National Archives

LESSON: ADVOCACY

DOSSIER: REFUGEE AGENCIES



Saul Hayes, Director of the UJRA of the Canadian Jewish Congress, Montreal, date unknown.
– *Courtesy Canadian Jewish Congress Charities Committee National Archives*

LESSON: ADVOCACY

DOSSIER: REFUGEE AGENCIES



A painting of an internee trying to get to the United States, with the Statue of Liberty and American flag beyond barbed wire, artist unknown (first name René), circa 1940-1943.

– Courtesy Eric Koch. Source: Library and Archives Canada/Artist Unknown/Eric Koch Fonds/e010939543

LESSON: ADVOCACY

DOSSIER: REFUGEE COMMITTEES

The United Jewish Relief Agency needed to show that the interned refugees were a humanitarian rather than a Jewish cause. To this end, it joined forces with the Canadian National Committee on Refugees (CNCR), formed in 1938 to focus public attention on the plight of refugees.

The CNCR was composed of prominent non Jews who felt morally obliged to aid victims of fascism, and included church leaders and wives of Senators. The Chairperson was Canada's first female Senator, Cairine Wilson, a staunch Liberal and friend of Prime Minister Mackenzie King. On the issue of the internees, the CNCR became, in essence, a non sectarian front for the United Jewish Refugee and War Relief Agencies. Its major impetus and funding was provided by the UJRA.

In January 1941, the two organizations joined to form the Central Committee for Interned Refugees (CCIR). The CCIR compiled individual case files that would facilitate release of internees in Canada. Stanley Goldner was appointed Liaison Officer and became a lifeline between the camps and the Committee.

The CCIR worked with Paterson, pressuring government for an alteration of status from internee to refugee, and for eventual release into Canada. CCIR members were confident they would have succeeded without Paterson. But it is likely that without Paterson's work, which affirmed the innocence of the refugees, progress would have been far slower.

LESSON: ADVOCACY

DOSSIER: REFUGEE COMMITTEES



Constance Hayward worked alongside Saul Hayes as Executive Secretary of the CNCR. Photograph by Yousuf Karsh, Ottawa, circa 1940-1950.

– *Courtesy Esther Clark Wright Archives, Acadia University and Yousuf Karsh*

LESSON: ADVOCACY

DOSSIER: REFUGEE COMMITTEES

Philipp A. Koller

Camp "N"
Sherbrooke P.Q.
February 12, 1942

Senator Cairine R. Wilson
The Senate
Ottawa

Dear Madam :

It was a short time ago only that I had the opportunity of reading those very friendly passages of your speech held before Montreal Rotarians in which you have been referring to my particular case.

I felt rather ashamed by your having considered my fate as worthy of being mentioned on such an occasion and I should like to assure you of my sincere thankfulness for that. The more so as by acting in this way you may have strengthened the interest my Rotary friends are taking in my personal problem.

I feel entitled to say that my thanks are going together with admiration of the work you are doing on our behalf the result of which is clearly visible in the present policy of the Canadian authorities towards all of us.

Finally I should like to extend my thanks to the kind attention you keep giving to my intellectual needs by having sent to me those various publications, maps etc.

In the meantime we arrived in this Camp where I learned that part of the economic publications offered with your kind letter of Nov. 21 have arrived giving much satisfaction to those interested in economic subjects. It would, however, be very nice if you would help those students of economics (including myself) in getting some recent copies of the Economist, not arrived as yet, and similar U.S. or Canadian periodicals.

Apologizing for counting anew on your friendly help I remain,

Sincerely yours,

A letter from Philipp Koller to Senator Cairine Wilson, Camp N (Sherbrooke, Quebec), February 12, 1942. Koller thanks Wilson for her work on behalf of the internees and for sending economic publications to the camp. – *Courtesy Frank Koller*

LESSON: ADVOCACY

DOSSIER: REFUGEE COMMITTEES



Cairine Wilson, Senator and Chairperson of the CNCR, New York, 1940-1950.
– Courtesy Shelburne Studios/Library and Archives Canada/C-0052280

DOSSIER: REFUGEE COMMITTEES

A Canadian National Committee on Refugees (CNCR) petition urging the Government of Canada to offer sanctuary to refugees of Nazi terror, to take immediate action to facilitate their entry, and to make changes to immigration policy. – *Source: Library and Archives Canada/Canadian National Committee on Refugees collection/Vol. 2, file 16*

LESSON: ADVOCACY

DOSSIER: OTHER ADVOCATES

Small Jewish communities near the camps sent their rabbis to offer support and help fill the religious needs of the refugees. The Jewish Community Council of Montreal sent Passover goods to the internees, although the orthodox Jews in Camp B were not satisfied and pooled their funds in order to obtain separate dishes and kitchen utensils for the holiday.

The War Prisoners Aid Committee of the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA), chaired by Sir Ernest MacMillan, Principal of the Toronto Conservatory of Music, also worked on behalf of the interned refugees. The YMCA program began in August 1940, prompted by their British counterpart, which had worked with the internees before their deportations.

YMCA activities covered all internment camps; Nazis, prisoners of war and refugees received the same treatment. Representatives of the World Student Christian Federation and the European Student Relief Fund, Robert Mackie and Dale Brown, worked under the YMCA umbrella. Funds for the program – which provided recreational equipment, books, films, art supplies, musical instruments and Christian religious items – often came from the United Jewish Refugee and War Relief Agencies.

LESSON: ADVOCACY

DOSSIER: OTHER ADVOCATES

42, Staverton Road,
London N.W.2.
August 5th, 1940.

The Under Secretary of State
Home Office (Aliens Department)
Postbox 100
Paddington District Office,
W.1.

Sir,

Home Office No. O 4282.

May I most earnestly ask for your advice in the following matter:

My son, Heinz Peter Oberlander, aged 17, (date of birth Nov. 29, 1922) was at school in Folkestone and was interned during the first roundup of aliens on May 12th. I have since heard that he has been deported to Canada. My wife, my other son and myself have a visa appointment with the American Consulate on August 8th and we do not know what to do about our emigration. Would you please be so kind as to tell me how I can arrange for him to rejoin us in the United States. The grant of his visa is dependant upon an affidavit of support given for the whole family and, of course, this is lodged with the American Consulate in London. I do not know whether to go to the United States or to wait here. Will my son be allowed to go to an American Consulate in Canada if his file could be transferred to that country?

We are Austrian Jews, enemies of Hitler and England was our only hope and protection. I offered my services on the first day that the War broke out.

I know you are overwhelmed with work, but I do beg you to give your advice because I do not know what to do and I am terribly afraid lest my son can never rejoin me.

Thanking you in anticipation, I am,

Your Obedient Servant

For many internees, including Peter Oberlander, their family members were their most vocal advocates. This letter is one of many written by Fritz Oberlander on behalf of his son urgently requesting information on Peter's status and assistance in securing his release.

– Courtesy the Oberlander family

LESSON: ADVOCACY

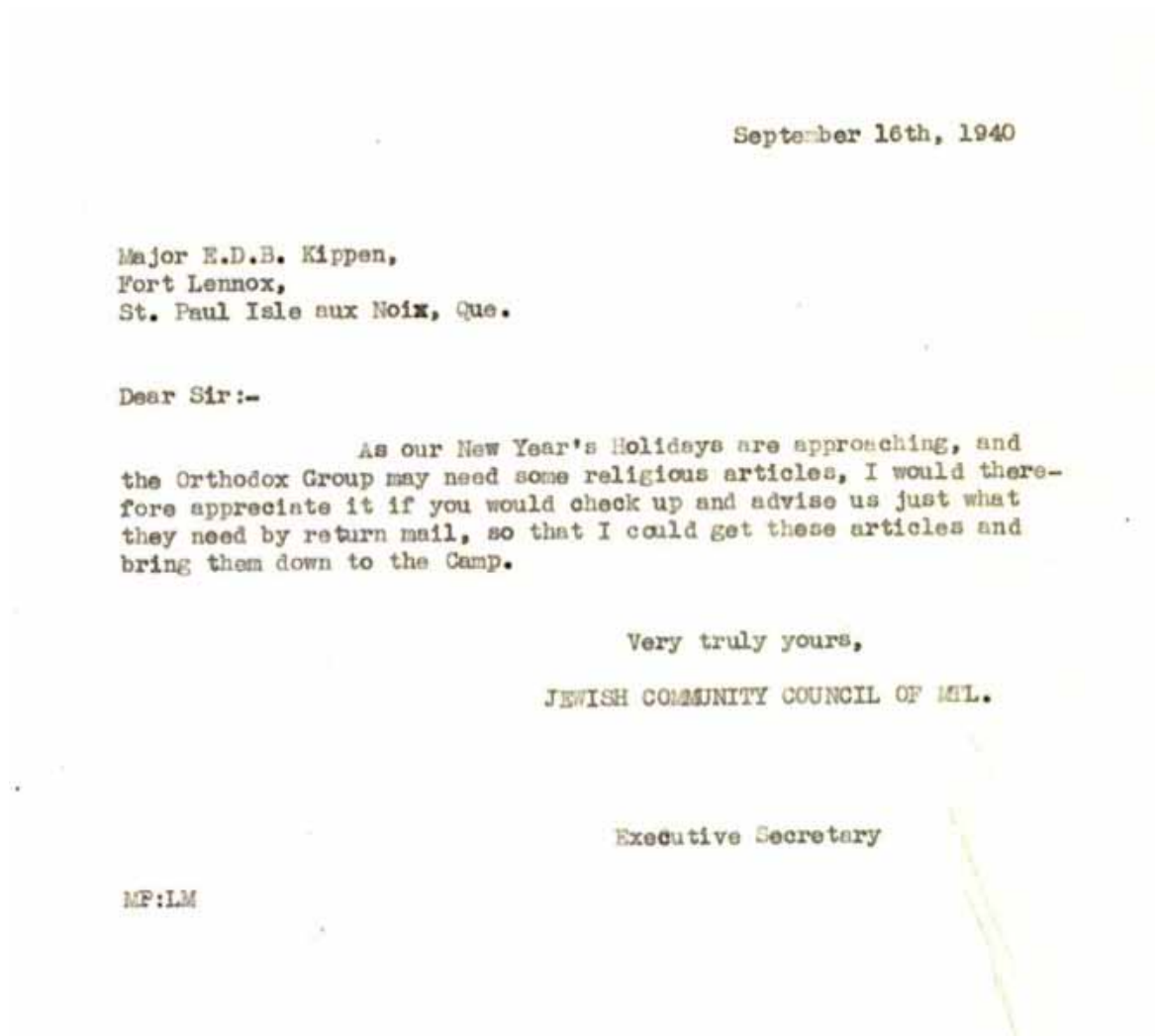
DOSSIER: OTHER ADVOCATES



Sir Ernest MacMillan, Toronto, 1926. – *Courtesy University of Toronto Archives*

LESSON: ADVOCACY

DOSSIER: OTHER ADVOCATES



A letter sent by the Jewish Community Council of Montreal to Major E.D.B. Kippen, September 16, 1940. – *Courtesy Canadian Jewish Congress Charities Committee National Archives*



Camp I (Île-aux-Noix, Quebec), circa 1940-1943. – *Courtesy Jewish Public Library Archives, Montreal*

LESSON 6: NEW LIVES

OBJECTIVES

Students learn about the internees release from internment, their subsequent contributions to Canada and, through video, their perspectives on internment today.

LINKS TO HISTORICAL THINKING CONCEPTS:

Use Primary Source Evidence

Students analyze documents related to the release of individual internees, and video of former internees reflecting on the significance of their internment.

Take Historical Perspective

Students consider how internees view their wartime experiences today.

Understand the Ethical Dimensions of History

Students consider whether Canada's wartime internment of refugees was justified.

RELEASE DOCUMENTS

Let students explore this page of the website or pre-assign [Reading: Release](#).

Students examine the documents in [Dossier: Release](#). In pairs or small groups, examine one of the documents closely and respond to the following questions:

- Who created the document
- Who is the document about? What information about the individual does it provide?
- What insights about the conditions of release does the document provide?

Allow students to browse, or briefly summarize for them, the content on the following web pages: "Publicity," "The War Years" and Legacies.

VIDEO SCREENING: POSTSCRIPT

Let students explore this page of the website or pre-assign [Reading: Achievements](#).

In pairs (or, as computers permit, individually or in groups), students view [Video: Postscript](#), which features four chapters in which internees discuss the following themes:

- Justice
- Identity
- Legacies
- The Holocaust

Students can watch all four themes, or focus on a single theme. Groups then present on one theme to their classmates, responding to the following questions:

- What are the key points or ideas expressed by the former internees?
- What comment struck you most and why?
- What question of your own would you ask the former internees?

The class debriefs about the internees' reflections as a whole, using the questions above as a guide. Additional prompts for each chapter include:

- Justice: Do you think Canada's wartime internment of refugees was justified?
- Identity: How do the former internees' comments about their identities, Canadian and otherwise, relate to your own feelings of identity?
- Legacies: How were the individuals affected by their internment experiences?
- The Holocaust: What are your thoughts about the individuals' comments on the relationship between internment and the Holocaust?

RESEARCH PROJECT: INTERNEES TODAY

Students select one of the internees featured in the videos on this website and write a biographical sketch, highlighting their postwar accomplishments.

EXTENSION: OTHER HISTORIES OF INTERNMENT

Students write a research paper about another episode of Canadian internment. Second World War examples include: the internment of Japanese Canadians, the internment of Italian Canadians and the internment of German Canadians. An example from the First World War: the internment of Ukrainian-Canadians, refugees from the Austro-Hungarian Empire who were interned as “enemy aliens.”

LESSON: NEW LIVES

READING: RELEASE

Release from internment proceeded slowly. On February 18, 1941, eight refugees with parents or siblings in Canada were released. Eventually, schemes were devised whereby Canadian families could sponsor students, farmers could request internees to help them, and skilled workers could be released for war work.

F.C. Blair had the final authority on every release and often used his power to obstruct the process. The Canadian Committee for Interned Refugees fought a seemingly endless battle, cautiously but persistently widening the cracks in Blair's formidable barriers. Just as Blair often predicted, each release became a precedent for his "Jewish friends" to squeeze more refugees into Canada "by hook or by crook."

Over the next two years, approximately 950 refugees were released and permitted to remain in Canada temporarily. Their legal status was clouded by confusion and ambiguity. Not only were refugees constantly reminded that they could be re-interned and deported to Britain, but as temporary residents in Canada they were subject to likely repatriation back to Europe at the end of the war.

LESSON: NEW LIVES

READING: ACHIEVEMENTS

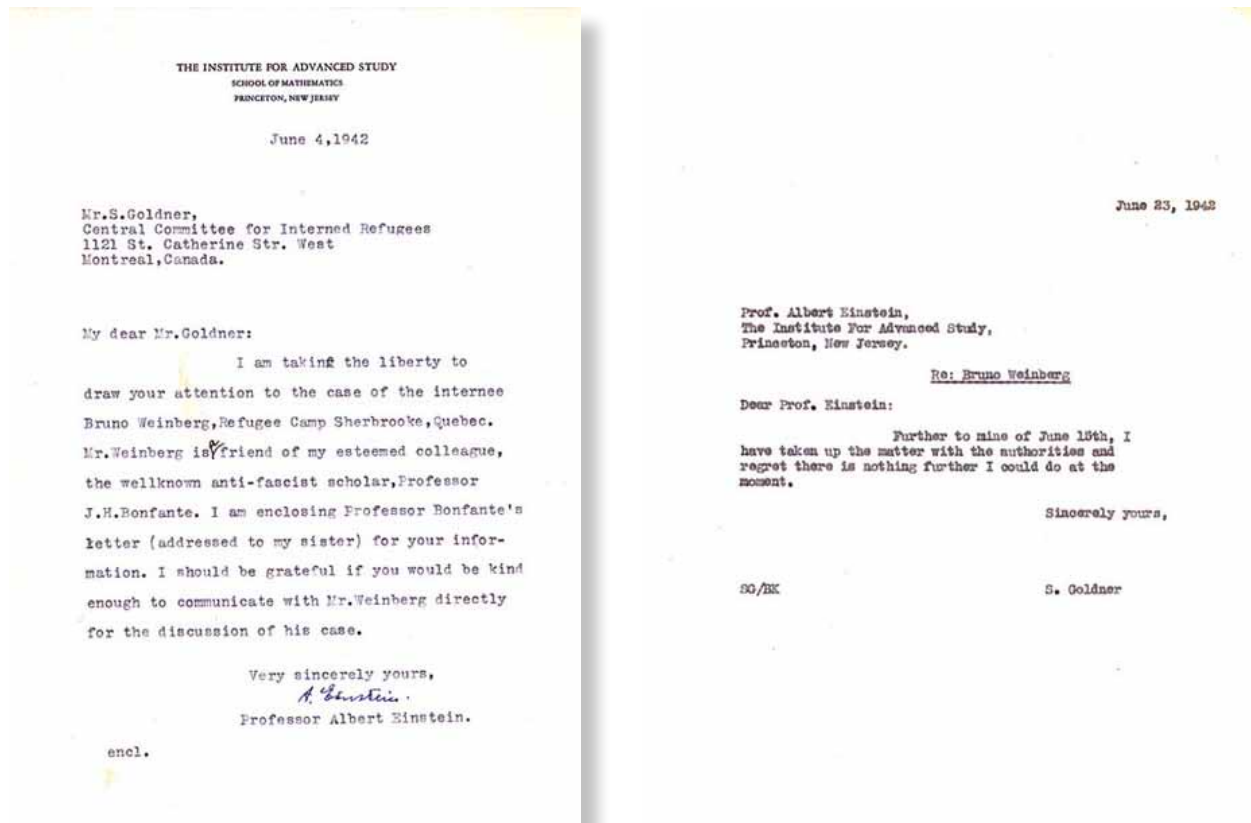
The “camp boys” never forgot their internment. It marked their lives. Many found comfort in retaining their camp friends. Gerry Waldston explained: “This was my family. These were the people I was closest to. These were the people I understood.” Others chose to leave the stigma of their time as prisoners behind them.

With time, and a perspective on the enormity of the Holocaust, most former internees eased into their places within the communities in which they settled. “Naturally you lost several years of your life,” Heinz Warschauer observed. “My whole life didn’t develop the way I wanted it to. But these are romantic dreams. ...You make things do.” They realized that internment, unjust as it was, may have saved their lives and opened new horizons. There were those who never recovered from the experience of incarceration and the losses inflicted by the Holocaust. For others, imprisonment and the resulting hardships fuelled their motivation to succeed. As they reflected on their lives, the irony of their internment served to intensify their pride in their achievements.

Many of the former internees went on to positions of prominence in academia, business and the arts. Among them are Members of the Order of Canada and two Nobel Laureates. The remarkable achievements of the interned refugees belied the arguments of the government officials who opposed their settlement in Canada. Their contributions highlight the lost potential of the fragment of European Jewry that Canada might have saved during the Holocaust.

LESSON: NEW LIVES

DOSSIER: RELEASE

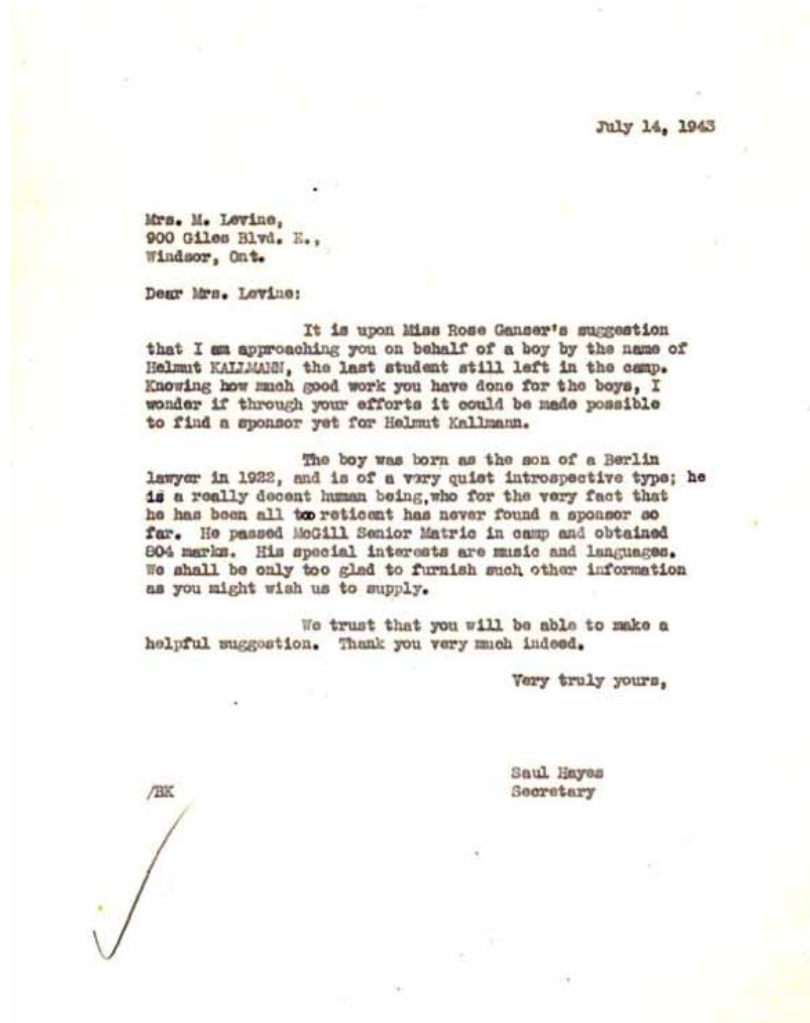


Correspondence between Albert Einstein and Sam Goldner of the Central Committee for Interned Refugees, June 4 and June 23, 1942.

Einstein requests Goldner's assistance with the case of Bruno Weinberg, an "esteemed colleague" and internee at Camp N (Sherbrooke, Quebec). Goldner replies that he has alerted the authorities of Weinberg's case. – *Courtesy Canadian Jewish Congress Charities Committee National Archives*

LESSON: NEW LIVES

DOSSIER: RELEASE

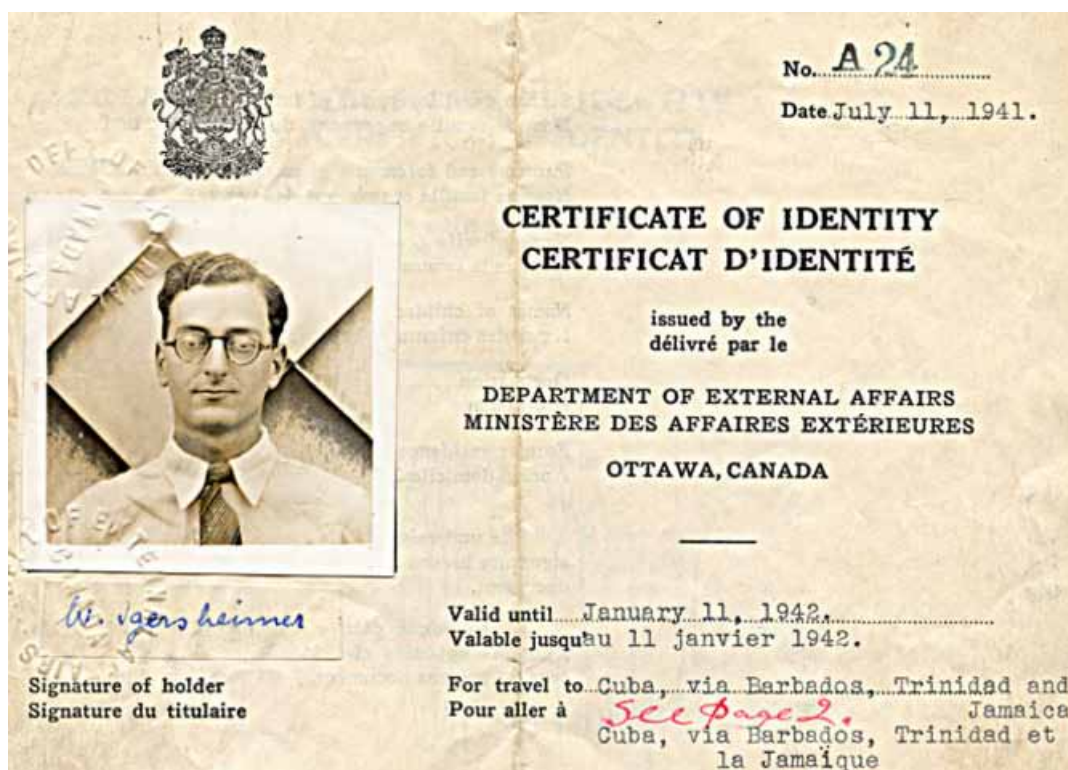


A letter from Saul Hayes to Mrs. M. Levine requesting the sponsorship of Helmut Kallmann, "the last student still left in the camp," July 14, 1943. After his release, Kallmann went on to co-found and chair the Canadian Music Library Association, become the director of the Music division of the National Library of Canada and publish numerous books on Canadian musical history.

– Courtesy Canadian Jewish Congress Charities Committee National Archives

LESSON: NEW LIVES

DOSSIER: RELEASE



Walter Igersheimer's "Certificate of Identity," July 11, 1941. Upon his release from Camp N (Sherbrooke, Quebec) on July 11, 1941, Igersheimer was not given a passport, but rather this "Certificate of Identity" restricting his travel to one destination: Cuba. The British Home Office had confiscated his German passport when he was imprisoned in 1940.

– Courtesy Walter W. Igersheimer

LESSON: NEW LIVES

DOSSIER: RELEASE



Fred Kaufman with his sponsor family, the Mittlemans, Katevale, Quebec, 1942.
– *Courtesy Fred Kaufman*

LESSON: NEW LIVES

DOSSIER: RELEASE



Former internees Gerry Waldston and Edgar Lion at McGill Cosmopolitan Club Dance, 1943. Waldston is third from left; Lion is in middle with a black hat. – *Courtesy Edgar Lion*



A pencil sketch of a guard tower at Camp Q (Monteith, Quebec), artist unknown, September 1940.

– *Courtesy Canadian Jewish Congress Charities Committee National Archives*

APPENDIX: TIMELINE

1933

JANUARY 30

Adolf Hitler appointed Chancellor of Germany by President von Hindenburg.

MARCH 22

Dachau, the first concentration camp, opens. Political opponents of the Nazis are detained.

APRIL 1

The first state-directed boycott of Jewish shops and businesses in Germany.

APRIL 7

The first Nazi laws excluding Jews from Civil Service, medical professions and the Arts are enacted. Schools and universities are Aryanized. Jewish children have restricted access to public education.

JULY 14

Law permitting the forced sterilization of Gypsies, the mentally and physically disabled, African-Germans and others considered "unfit." East European Jewish immigrants stripped of German citizenship.

1934

JANUARY

Canadian Jewish Congress reconvenes after several years of dormancy in response to antisemitism within Canada and abroad.

AUGUST 2

Hitler proclaims himself Führer und Reichskanzler (Leader and Reich Chancellor). Armed Forces must now swear allegiance to him.

1935

SEPTEMBER 15

"Nuremberg Laws," anti-Jewish racial laws enacted; Jews lose the right to German citizenship and to marry Aryans. Sexual relations between Jews and non-Jews forbidden. Aryan women under age 45 cannot work in Jewish homes.

1938

MARCH 12 - 13

Austria is peacefully annexed (Anschluss) by Germany. All anti-Semitic decrees immediately applied in Austria.

JULY 6 - 15

Representatives from thirty-two countries meet at the Evian Conference in France. Most countries refuse to admit Jewish refugees.

NOVEMBER 9 – 10

Kristallnacht (Night of Broken Glass): First state-organized riot in Germany and Austria directed against Jews and Jewish businesses. Hundreds of synagogues destroyed; Jewish homes and shops looted; nearly 30,000 Jewish men sent to concentration camps. Jews were later forced to pay for the damages.

OCTOBER

The Canadian National Committee on Refugees (CNCR) is formed.

NOVEMBER 12

Decree forcing all Jews to transfer retail businesses into Aryan hands.

NOVEMBER 1

All Jewish pupils are expelled from German public schools and universities.

DECEMBER 1

The first *Kindertransport* leaves Berlin. 10,000 children will seek refuge in Britain during the war.

1939

MARCH 15

Germans invade Czechoslovakia.

JUNE

Cuba, the United States and Canada refuse to admit Jewish refugees aboard the *S.S. St. Louis*, which is forced to return to Europe.

SEPTEMBER 1

Germany invades Poland; Second World War begins.

The British government establishes tribunals to classify refugee “enemy aliens” in one of three categories based on their supposed threat to national security.

SEPTEMBER 10

Canada declares war on Germany.

OCTOBER 12

Germany begins deportation of Austrian and Czech Jews to Poland.

1940

APRIL – JUNE

Germany invades Denmark, Norway, Belgium, Luxembourg, Holland and France.

MAY – JUNE

The British government begins arresting all “enemy aliens” between the ages of 16 and 60 and relocating them to “protected areas” along the South and East coasts.

MAY 20

The first prisoners arrive at Auschwitz concentration camp, established at Oswiecim, Poland.

MAY 24

Prime Minister Winston Churchill declares to his War Cabinet that he is “strongly in favour of removing all internees out of the UK.”

JUNE 17

A conference is held at the British Dominions Office to outline the deportation policy of internees.

JUNE 20

The *Duchess of York*, leaves from Liverpool and arrives in Canada on June 29.

JULY 1

The *Arandora Star* leaves Liverpool. The following day it is torpedoed by a German submarine, and sinks with 805 lives lost.

The first internees arrive in Camp R (Red Rock, Ontario) along with Nazi Prisoners of War and German merchant seamen.

JULY 3

The *S.S. Ettrick* leaves from Liverpool and arrives in Canada on July 13.

JULY 4

The *S.S. Sobieski* leaves Greenock and arrives in Canada on July 15.

JULY 10

Survivors from the *Arandora Star* are boarded on the *HMT Dunera*, and arrive in Sydney, Australia fifty-seven days later.

AUGUST

The YMCA begins sending aid to internees.

NOVEMBER 25

British Home Office representative Alexander Paterson arrives in Canada and begins working to obtain internee release.

1941

JANUARY

The Canadian Committee on Refugees (CNCR) and the United Jewish Relief Agency (UJRA) join to form the Central Committee for Interned Refugees (CCIR)

JUNE 25

A Canadian Order in Council creates a Commissioner of Refugee and Camps and moves internment camp jurisdiction from the military's control to the Secretary of State.

JULY

Alexander Paterson submits his report on the conditions of internment to the British Home Secretary.

July 10

The release of Arturo Vivante sets a precedent, which enables the release of all internees under 21 who have Canadian sponsors.

JULY 31

Hermann Göring appoints Reinhard Heydrich to implement the "Final Solution."

DECEMBER 7

Japan attacks Pearl Harbour.

1942

JANUARY 20

Wannsee conference in Berlin; Nazi leaders meet to discuss "the Final Solution," the plan to exterminate the Jews of Europe.

1943

NOVEMBER 4

The last interned refugees depart from Camp I (Île-aux-Noix, Quebec) and return to Britain.

1944

JUNE 6

D-Day: Allied invasion at Normandy, France

1945

MAY 8

Germany surrenders, the war ends in Europe.

AUGUST 6 & 9

The U.S. bombs Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Japan.

SEPTEMBER 2

Japan surrenders, end of Second World War.

OCTOBER

3,500 wartime refugees living in Canada become landed immigrants under a new order-in-council.

NOVEMBER 1945 - OCTOBER 1946

International Military War Crimes Tribunal held in Nuremberg, Germany.

1947

JUNE 27

The *Canadian Citizenship Act* is enacted making Canada the first Commonwealth country to create citizenship separate from Britain. The act conferred citizenship to all Canadians regardless of whether they were born within or outside of Canada.

APPENDIX: RESOURCES

HISTORICAL OVERVIEWS

Bartrop, Paul R. and Gabrielle Eisen, eds. *The Dunera Affair: A Documentary Resource Book*. South Yarra and Melbourne: The Jewish Museum of Australia and Schwartz & Wilkinson, 1990.

A study of one of the most notorious events in British maritime history: the 1940 sailing of the *HMT Dunera*, which transported 2,732 prisoners, most of whom were refugees of Nazism, on a 57-day voyage to Australia.

Cesarani, David, and Tony Kushner, eds. *The Internment of Aliens in Twentieth Century Britain*. London: Frank Cass and Company Ltd., 1993.

Commissioned in response to a conference entitled “Internment Remembered,” this collection of essays focuses on the British phase of internment. The contributing writers discuss the historic precedents of anti-alienism in Great Britain, analyze the British State and internment policies, and address the individual experiences of Italian, German, and female internees. The editors question why there is little discussion of the legitimacy of the internment program, and instead a greater focus on the post-war achievements of former internees.

Cresswell, Yvonne M., ed. *Living with the Wire: Civilian Internment in the Isle of Man during the Two World Wars*. Douglas, Isle of Man: Manx National Heritage, 2010.

Published by Manx National Heritage following their exhibit entitled “Living with the Wire,” this catalogue chronicles the internment that took place on the Isle of Man during the First and Second World Wars and provides a brief summary of the contemporary political context. This image-heavy book draws on the many internment photographs held in the Manx National Heritage collection to illustrate aspects of daily life in the camps.

Draper, Paula. “The Accidental Immigrant: Canada and the Interned Refugees.” PhD diss. University of Toronto, 1983.

A study of the internment of German and Austrian Jewish refugees interned in Canada from 1940 to 1944. Paula Draper examined aspects of daily life in the camps, and the impacts of Canadian immigration policy and the Canadian Jewish community on internment and refugees from Nazism.

Draper, Paula and Harold Troper, eds. ***National Archives of Canada, Ottawa, Canadian Jewish Congress Archives***, Montreal. Vol. 15 of Archives of the Holocaust: ***An International Collection of Selected Documents***. New York and London: Garland Publishing Inc., 1991.

A volume of primary documents relating to the Holocaust drawn from the National Archives of Canada and the Archives of the Canadian Jewish Congress. The documents and images relate to various aspects of the Holocaust, refugee crises and post-war Canadian immigration policy.

Jones, Ted. ***Both Sides of the Wire: The Fredericton Internment Camp***. Vol. 1. Fredericton: New Ireland Press, 1988.

This text discusses the broader context of governmental policies of internment and immigration as they relate to Camp B (Ripples, New Brunswick). Ted Jones provides detailed information of the camp's day-to-day social history and inner dynamics.

Koch, Eric. ***Deemed Suspect: A Wartime Blunder***. Agincourt, ON: Methuen Publications, 1980.

One of the major historical overviews of the internment of refugees in Canada, Eric Koch draws on his own experiences as an internee, oral testimony and archival research to create a historical-journalistic study that spans from internment in Britain to the release of internees in Canada.

Lafitte, François. ***The Internment of Aliens***. 2nd ed. London: Libris, 1988.

First published in 1940, François Lafitte's book was the first study of British internment during the Second World War. His work, which included the first-hand accounts of many internees, was responsible for informing the public of the realities of internment and the fact that the "enemy aliens" were in most cases not "fifth-columnists," but rather civilian refugees of Nazism.

Patkin, Benzion. ***The Dunera Internees***. Stanmore, N.S.W.: Cassell Australia Limited, 1979.

An historical overview of the internees who were deported to Australia onboard the *HMT Dunera*. While Benzion Patkin provides the historical context, the majority of the book is told through the first hand accounts of former internees. Unlike many journalistic accounts of the Australian and Canadian internees, Patkin chooses not to include any post-internment biographies that chronicle their later careers, but rather focus on the "material and spiritual dimensions of their experience."

Pearl, Cyril. *The Dunera Scandal*. Sydney and Melbourne: Angus & Robertson Publishers, 1983.

Published by journalist Cyril Pearl, *The Dunera Scandal* was one of the first mainstream publications that detailed the circumstances faced by the refugees who were transported to Australia onboard the *HMT Dunera*.

ARTICLES AND SELECTED CHAPTERS

Abella, Irving, and Harold Troper. “‘The Line Must be Drawn Somewhere’: Canada and Jewish Refugees, 1933-1939” *Canadian Historical Review* 2 (1979): 178-209.

This article provides an overview of the international immigration policies that denied entry to Jewish refugees during the Holocaust. The authors highlight Canada’s inaction and the antisemitic policies and attitudes that shaped immigration policies. The article provides a detailed study of the Canadian pre-wartime political landscape and the interactions between government bodies, and religious and secular organizations over the issue of refugee immigration.

Keyserlingk, Robert H. “Breaking the Nazi Plot: Canadian Government Attitudes Towards German Canadians, 1939-1945.” In *On Guard for Thee: War, Ethnicity, and the Canadian State, 1939-1945*, edited by Norman Hillmer, Bohdan Kordan and Lubomyr Luciuk, 151-177. Ottawa: Canadian Committee for the History of the Second World War, 1988.

Keyserlingk’s article examines Canada’s treatment of German Canadians during the Second World War under the authority of the Defence of Canada Regulations (DOCR). These regulations increased the government’s domestic powers, which ultimately resulted in the internment of many German Canadians. He argues that the government’s actions were not motivated by a belief that they were searching for Nazi fifth-columnists, but rather a need to appease public fears of fifth-columnists.

Moon, Barbara. “The Welcome Aliens.” *Macleans*, February 10, 1962.

In addition to discussing the bureaucratic problems surrounding internment, and providing a chronological overview of the internment process, Moon’s article emphasizes the post-war contributions that former internees have made to Canadian society.

Sinclair, Sonja. "No Ordinary Campers," *Macleans*, May 15, 2000.

This article provides an introduction to the post-war achievements of many former internees, including Alfred Bader.

Weitz, Rochel. "Fresh Off the Boat... "Enemy Aliens? I think not!," *Iraynu*, Toronto.

Published in the monthly Orthodox Toronto magazine *Iraynu*, this article features the experiences of former internee Rabbi Erwin Schild as well as the challenges faced by the Orthodox Jews interned in Camps T and B when internment made religious observance difficult.

MEMOIRS AND BIOGRAPHIES

Bader, Alfred. *Alfred Bader: Adventures of a Chemist Collector*. London: George Weidenfeld and Nicolson Limited, 1995.

Alfred Bader, a long time leader in the chemical industry and the art history community, describes events from his pre-war childhood in Vienna to his present-day career. In the second chapter he discusses his internment, which he marks as the end of his childhood.

Igersheimer, Walter W. *Blatant Injustice: The Story of a Jewish Refugee from Nazi Germany Imprisoned in Britain and Canada during World War II*. Edited by Ian Darragh. Montreal and Toronto: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005.

Walter Igersheimer's autobiography is focused on the events surrounding his internment in Britain and Canada. Editor Ian Darragh notes that at times it is "a howl of rage and frustration," while at other moments Igersheimer "dispassionately analyzes his own emotions and the psychological state of his fellow prisoners."

Kaufman, Fred. *Searching for Justice: An Autobiography*. Toronto: Key Porter Books, 2005.

Fred Kaufman's autobiography details his pre-war life in Vienna, his arrival in Britain and later Canada, and his professional career as a lawyer and judge. He directly addresses issues of internment in chapters four and five.

Kreisel, Henry. "Diary of an Internment." *In Another Country: Writings by and about Henry Kreisel*, edited by Shirley Neuman. Edmonton: NeWest Press, 1985.

A collection of documents relating to the life of writer Henry Kreisel, this book includes the diary that Kreisel kept while in British and Canadian camps. Also included are short stories and poems written during and following his internment and provide insight into his own emotional and psychological response to his status as a refugee, internee, and later, a Canadian citizen. In addition, scholarly articles analyze Kreisel's work in the socio-political context of the Holocaust and Canadian immigration.

The Almost Meeting and Other Stories. Edmonton: NeWest Press, 1981.

A collection of Henry Kreisel's short stories. While they are fictional, many of the stories contain biographical elements from Kreisel's his wartime feelings and experiences.

Schild, Rabbi Erwin. ***The Very Narrow Bridge: A Memoir of an Uncertain Passage.*** Toronto: Adath Israel/Malcolm Lester, 2001.

Rabbi Erwin Schild's autobiography details his pre-war life in Köln-Mülheim, Germany, his internment in Britain and Canada, as well as his years following his release and post-war work. He addresses his internment in part four, chapter two to six.

Seidler, Harry. ***Internment: The Diaries of Harry Seidler***, May 1940-October 1941. Edited by Janis Wilton. Translated by Judith Winternitz. Sydney: Allen and Unwin Australia Pty Ltd., 1986.

An edited version of Harry Seidler's diary, which he kept from the age of sixteen to eighteen, that details his internment in Britain and Canada. The book also includes a transcribed oral account of his pre-internment childhood in Vienna.

Spier, Eugen. ***The Protecting Power.*** London: Skeffington and Sons Ltd., 1951.

Eugen Spier's book is informed not only by his experiences in Britain and Canada, but also by his own research, which he uses to place his account of internment within the larger political context of the war.

Spigelman, Alice. ***Almost Full Circle: Harry Seidler.*** Rose Bay, NSW: Brandl and Schlesinger Pty Ltd., 2001.

A biography of Harry Seidler that ranges from his childhood in Vienna to his career as an architect in Australia. Spigelman addresses Seidler's British and Canadian internment in chapters three and four.

FILMS

Rasky, Harry. 1981. *The Spies Who Never Were*. Toronto: Canadian Broadcasting Corporation.

Livingston, Neal. 1993. *Both Sides of the Wire*. Black River Productions LTD.

WEBSITES

<http://www.cbc.ca/landandsea/2010/05/ripples-internment-camp.html>

A section of the Land and Sea website that includes video testimonies that relate to Camp B (Ripples, New Brunswick) from former internees Gerry Waldston and Fred Kaufman.

<http://dornsife.usc.edu/vhi/>

The website of the USC Shoah Foundation which holds the testimonies and biographical information of several former internees.

<http://oscarcahen.com/index.shtml>

The gallery website for former internee and artist Oscar Cahén which includes biographical information and selections of his work.

<http://www.youtube.com/eokoch>

The *YouTube* channel of former internee Eric Koch, who dedicates several videos to his internment experiences.