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**Opening Closed Doors: Revisiting the Canadian
Immigration Record (1933–1945)[†]**

Since the publication of None is Too Many, it has been generally accepted that less than 5,000 Jews entered Canada from 1933 to 1945. This study examines statistical data compiled by Louis Rosenberg to demonstrate this heretofore accepted figure is incorrect. Additionally, it establishes that Jewish proportional representation amongst Canadian immigrant arrivals increased during the 1930s and into the early 1940s as Jews attempted to leave Nazi-occupied territories. These findings call for a reassessment of the accepted discourse concerning Canada's immigration activities during the Depression and the Second World War as they challenge the notion of a closed door policy.

Depuis la publication de None Is Too Many, il est généralement admis que seulement 5000 Juifs sont entrés au Canada entre 1933 et 1945. Cet article analyse les données statistiques compilées par Louis Rosenberg afin de réfuter ce chiffre. De plus, il démontre que la proportion de populations juives parmi les arrivées totales d'immigrants au Canada a augmenté pendant les années 1930 et le début des années 1940. Ces conclusions, qui remettent en question la notion de politique de la porte fermée, appellent donc à reconsidérer notre perception des activités du Canada en matière d'immigration pendant la Grande Dépression et la Seconde Guerre mondiale.

Since its initial publication in 1982, *None is Too Many* has shaped the way scholars as well as the general public have understood the Canadian government's response to the plight of Jewish refugees leading up to, and during, the Second World War. The work has had tremendous impact, first on the bestseller list and in numerous subsequent editions, and it is no exaggeration to say that it forms the basis of virtually every subsequent study of Canada and the Holocaust. In their groundbreaking work, Irving Abella and Harold Troper paint a damning portrait ranging from indifference to outright hostility on the part of the Canadian government to help rescue European Jews during the Holocaust. The work points to the antisemitism of government leaders and the Canadian public and an ineffectual organized Jewish community as the main reasons behind the very small numbers of Jews allowed into Canada during the Nazi era, when hundreds of thousands were seeking refuge. The final count brought forward by the authors speaks for itself: between 1933 and 1945 Canada allowed entry to fewer than 5,000 Jews, a record which Abella and Troper state is "arguably the worst of all possible refugee-receiving states."² This figure has been widely accepted to date.³ Through a careful analysis of the Louis Rosenberg Fonds, I will challenge the existing narrative that Canada's doors were shut by arguing that the original total brought forward in *None is Too Many* is incorrect.⁴ This study indicates that when including all Jewish arrivals to Canada from 1933 to 1945, the final count more than doubles the heretofore-accepted total.

While these findings mark a significant contribution to the existing discourse in and of themselves, I will make an additional assertion: although Jewish immigration to Canada was stymied from 1933 to 1945, Jews represented a higher proportion of immigrants during this time than they had during the preceding three decades.

In fact, whereas Jews accounted for 3.69% of all immigrant arrivals to Canada from 1901–1930, their representation spiked to 6.13% in the first three years of the Second World War (1939–1941). As I will show, the immigration statistics indicate that few Jews left Germany for Canada before 1938. After this date, as the situation for Jews in Nazi-occupied territories became increasingly dire, and the Canadian government became aware of the treatment of Jews, steps were taken to allow an increased number of Jewish refugees into Canada. Nevertheless, the outbreak of the Second World War in September 1939 and the ensuing Nazi prohibition on all Jewish emigration from the Reich in October 1941 created a situation that made the transportation of refugees increasingly difficult. The outbreak of the Second World War in September 1939 and the ensuing Nazi prohibition on all Jewish emigration from the Reich in October 1941 created a situation that made the transportation of refugees increasingly difficult. By 1941, Canada's door remained open only a crack. It was being pushed shut by Nazi policies and the course of the Second World War, however, not by a Canadian "unholy triumvirate" composed of the Immigration Branch, the Cabinet and the Department of External Affairs, as *None is Too Many* suggests.⁵ There is no doubt that with historical hindsight, Canada and the world's bystander nations could have done more to save European Jews. My findings call for a reassessment of the accepted discourse that Canada's immigration activities actually amounted to "none is too many."

Rosenberg and the Statistics of Jewish immigration from 1933–1945

Louis Rosenberg is best known for his socio-demographic work entitled *Canada's Jews: A Social and Economic Study of Jews in Canada* which studies Jewish life in Canada in the 1930s.⁶ A pioneering social statistician of Canadian Jewry, Rosenberg worked alone with little to no funding, to compile reliable data on various facets of the Jewish community in Canada through the use of census records and correspondence with the Dominion Bureau of Statistics (DBS).⁷ By way of this correspondence with the DBS, Rosenberg received accurate figures concerning the number of Jews arriving in Canada on both a monthly and yearly basis during the 1930s and 1940s. As concerns records of Jewish arrivals to Canada during the first half of the twentieth century, the data compiled by Rosenberg is arguably the most reliable resource available to historians.⁸ A comparison between the independent statistical compilations of Rosenberg's records of Jewish admissions to Canada for the period of 1931–1937 and those of Frederick Charles Blair, the Director of the Immigration Branch underlines the reliability of Rosenberg's data: they match perfectly for each year in question.⁹

While Abella and Troper do cite Rosenberg, they rely on other sources for their statistics. They described Rosenberg as a "widely respected demographer and authority on Jewish population change" and the Louis Rosenberg Papers are listed as a source used by the authors in *None is Too Many*.¹⁰ However, their final immigration figure

does not come from these files. Rather, the claim that Canada allowed entry to fewer than 5,000 Jews from 1933 to 1945 seems to stem from correspondence between F.C. Blair and Norman Robertson, the Undersecretary of State for External Affairs. In the document, dated March 22 1943, Blair outlines that Canada had accepted at least 4,500 Jewish refugees since 1933.¹¹ The use of this correspondence in order to reach conclusions concerning Canada's immigration record is problematic as it is written nearly two years before the conclusion of the Second World War. Furthermore, it is important to make a distinction regarding the document: Blair is speaking of refugees alone in this instance; the document does not take into account the number of Jewish immigrants arriving in Canada. The figure thus represents an incomplete summary of the Canadian immigration record from 1933 to 1945.

A table created by Rosenberg looking at the number of Jewish arrivals to Canada from 1900 to 1951 shows that a total of 8,787 Jewish immigrants entered from 1933 to 1945.¹² Of that number, 5,160 had arrived by ocean port, and the remaining 3,627 arrived by way of the United States. Rosenberg's figures also include 2,340 interned Jewish refugees who arrived in Canada in 1940. These refugees were allowed to remain in Canada following their release and, when included in the final count, they raise the number of Jewish arrivals in Canada up to 11,127 for the period of 1933 to 1945.¹³ This figure is more than double Abella and Troper's total of 5,000. A portion of Rosenberg's table is reproduced below:

Jewish Immigrant Arrivals to Canada by Fiscal Year from 1923 to 1948¹⁴				
Year	Total of Jewish Immigrants	Arriving Via Ocean Ports	Arriving Via United States ¹⁵	Percentage of Total Immigrants
1923	3,209	2,793	416*	5.49
1924	4,671	4,255	416*	3.32
1925	4,876	4,459	417*	4.67
1926	4,014	3,587	427	4.17
1927	4,863	4,471	392	3.38
1928	4,766	4,296	470	3.14
1929	3,848	3,301	547	2.29
1930	4,164	3,544	620	2.55
1931	3,421	2,908	513	3.88
1932	649	202	447	2.52
1933	772	346	426	3.90
1934	943	599	344	6.78
1935	624	335	289	5.14

1936	880	655	225	7.93
1937	619	391	228	5.15
1938	584	317	267	3.73
1939	890	621	269	5.19
1940	3,963**	3,661**	302	10.01
1941	626	284	342	5.44
1942	388	111	277	4.37
1943	270	31	239	3.63
1944	238	56	182	2.63
1945	330	93	237	2.16
1946	1,713	1,345	368	5.51
1947	1,205	605	600	1.81
1948	4,454	3,922	532	5.62

*Estimates **Including 2,340 interned refugees

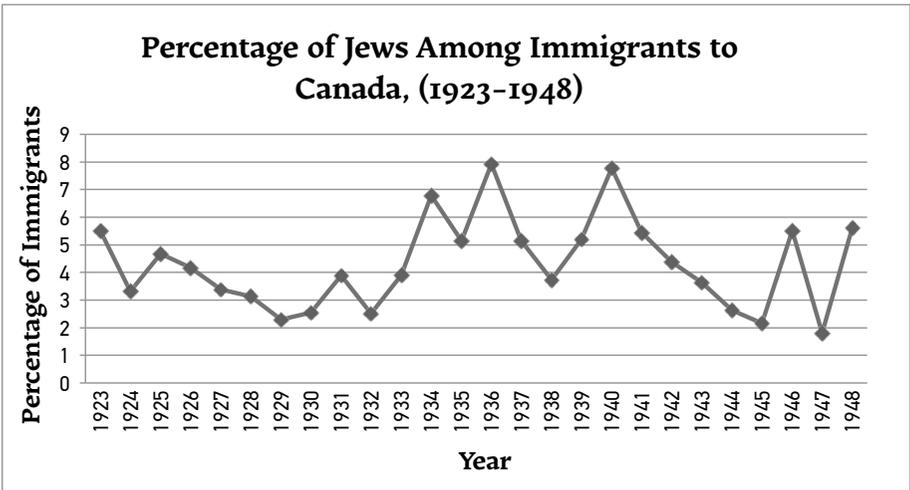
An analysis of the statistical data indicates that the relative number of Jews allowed into Canada from 1933–1945 increased rather than decreased. From 1923 to 1932, 38,481 Jews arrived in Canada, which stands in stark contrast to the 8,787 non-interned Jewish immigrant arrivals from 1933 to 1945.¹⁶ Canadian immigration policy for the 1930s was limited by Order-in-Council, P.C. 695. Put into effect by the government of R.B. Bennett in 1931, P.C. 695 was directly influenced by the conditions brought about by the Depression and has been described as the “tightest immigration admissions policy in Canadian history.”¹⁷ Open admission to Canada was limited to three groups: (1) British subjects and citizens of the United States with sufficient means to maintain themselves until securing employment, (2) agriculturalists with sufficient means to farm in Canada, (3) and wives and unmarried children less than 18 years of age of any legally admitted resident in a position to support them. In addition to these stringent new policies, potential immigrants also had to deal with administrative regulations that had been applied since 1923. Though never publicized, these guidelines divided immigrants into three distinct groups based on their supposed likelihood of being assimilated and their racial characteristics: the “preferred immigrants,” the “non-preferred group,” and the “special permit” group.

The “preferred immigrants” were citizens of Iceland, Norway, Germany, Holland, Denmark, Sweden, Finland, Belgium, Luxemburg, and Switzerland. Immigrants from these countries were thought to have similar racial characteristics to the British; other than having to undergo testing at the point of embarkation, individuals from these countries were admitted under the same conditions as British subjects. The “non-preferred” group consisted of individuals from Austria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Poland, Romania, Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia. Unlike

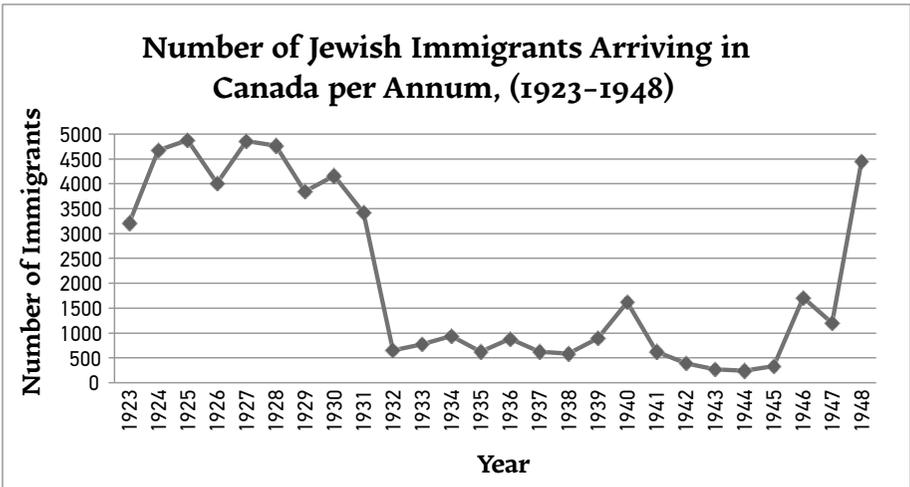
the “preferred immigrants”, citizens of these countries had to fall within the regulations of P.C. 695 in order to immigrate to Canada; cases were reviewed individually for those who did not meet the criteria.¹⁸ The “special permit” group included all citizens of Greece, Turkey, Armenia, Syria, and Italy. Immigrants in this group were evaluated on a case-by-case basis. All Jews born outside of the United States and the British Empire fell into the “special permit” group as well. In this respect, all Jews not of British or American descent were evaluated on a case-by-case basis, and required an Order-in-Council to be admitted into Canada.¹⁹

While it might appear that Canada tightened already existing restrictions to bar entry to Jewish immigrants during the 1930s and 1940s, their statistical representation in relation to all other arrivals from 1923 to 1932 and 1933 to 1945 indicates other factors were at play. From 1923 to 1932, 3.54% of all Canadian immigrants were Jews, whereas this number increased to 4.91% between 1933 and 1945; when including the 2,340 interned refugees, the number jumps to 5.16%.²⁰ Such a jump in proportional representation is not demonstrative of increasingly tightening immigration regulations barring entry to Canada for Jews. The percentages become even more striking when examining immigration records during the exodus of Russian Jews to Canada following the failed revolution of 1905, a period which saw Jewish immigrants come to Canada *en masse* until the First World War, and which predates the regulatory frameworks implemented in 1923.²¹ While the actual number of Jewish arrivals was far larger during this peak period of Jewish immigration, the absolute percentage of Jews in the total number of immigrants was smaller. Between 1906 and 1915, 98,067 Jews arrived in Canada, a number which dwarfs the 8,787 non-interned Jewish immigrants that came between 1933 and 1945. And yet, Jews represented only 3.71% of all immigrant arrivals, compared to almost 5% from 1933-1945. Such a striking increase in proportional representation discredits Abella and Troper’s assertion that “By the onset of the Great Depression, when Canada’s doors slammed shut on almost all immigrants, Jews had already been locked out.”²²

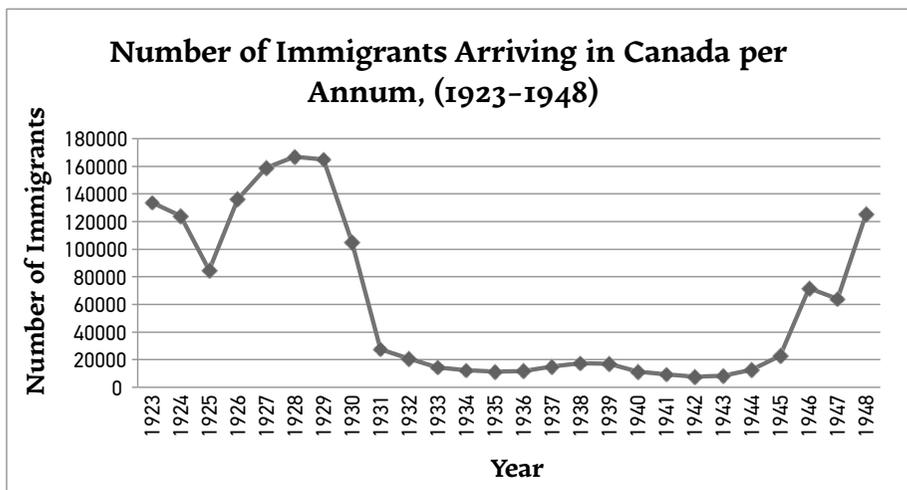
Although Jews who were not British subjects or citizens of the United States required a special permit for entry to Canada, they continued to land in significant numbers compared with other immigrant groups. In fact, Rosenberg’s tabulations record that from 1937 to 1943, Jews represented 5.76% of all immigrants. During that time, the only ethnic groups with higher representation amongst immigrants were: British (5.02%), Ukrainian/Russian (7.02%), French (6.53%) and German (6.23%). When looking at groups of the “special permit” class, of which Jews were a part, one finds: Italian (1.79%), Greek (0.62%), Japanese (0.35%), Syrian/Turk/Arab (0.14%), Bulgarian (0.10%), East Indian (0.06%), and Armenian (0.03%). When including the “non-preferred” groups the top four are: Czechoslovakian (5.52%), Polish (2.57%), Hungarian (2.19%) and Yugoslavian (1.75%).²³ Although Canadian immigration policies undoubtedly did not support large-scale Jewish immigration, Jews consistently represented a significant proportion of Canadian immigrant arrivals throughout the 1930s and 1940s.



Comartin, "Humanitarian Ambitions – International Barriers" 40.



Ibid.



Department of Manpower and Immigration/Immigration Division, *Immigration Statistics*, (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1966), 4.

Factors Behind European Immigration to Canada

The graphs above demonstrate that the 1930s saw a steep decline in immigration overall. This was due, in large part, to the effects of the Great Depression; whereas only 3% of Canadians were out of work in 1929, by 1933 the number had increased to 26%.²⁴ As has been well documented, the impact of the Depression led to a subsequent rise in nativist and xenophobic sentiment among large segments of the population as Canadians sought answers to the unprecedented social and economic dislocation of the era.²⁵ Anti-Jewish sentiment gained momentum during this period as any group identifiable as an ethnic "other" became a target of nativist vitriol.²⁶ For most Canadians however, anti-Semitism was not an obsession as much as a simple extension of broader nativist thought and discriminatory behavior.²⁷

The assertion that the increased tensions of the 1930s led to the implementation of strict immigration laws that closed Canada's doors to refugees from Hitler's rise to power until the end of the Second World War is problematic on several levels. It implies there was a mass emigration of Jews from Germany once Hitler became chancellor in 1933 that continued unabated throughout the 1930s. In actuality, the factors that pushed European Jews to emigrate were far more complex. As indicated by the above graphs, there were spikes in the number of Jewish immigrants to Canada for 1934, 1936 and 1939-1941. These spikes were caused due to specific events in Germany which heightened levels of fear among European Jews at particular points in the 1930s and 1940s.

Total Number of Jewish Emigrants from Germany (1933-1940)²⁸		
Year	Total Number of Emigrants	Difference
1933	37,000	
1934	23,000	-14,000
1935	21,000	-2,000
1936	25,000	+4,000
1937	23,000	-2,000
1938	40,000	+17,000
1939	78,000	+38,000
1940	15,000	-63,000

It is estimated that 525,000 Jews lived in Germany in January of 1933.²⁹ German census records from June of the same year show 499,682 Jews living in Germany. 400,935 (80.2%) of these were German nationals and the remaining 98,747 (19.8%) were stateless Jews or citizens of other countries.³⁰ Once Hitler took office as chancellor of Germany on January 30 1933, there was a slight increase in emigration; 37,000 Jews emigrated from Germany in that year. This first group of Jews was comprised mostly of intellectuals who had been politically active in the main German Left-Wing parties, who were now viewed as enemies of the new regime and consequently feared imprisonment. Documents compiled by the Ministry of the Interior tabulate 26,789 individuals held in “protective custody” in July of 1933, denoting interned political opponents.³¹ During this early period there was no mass emigration. Reports from the Jewish and the German emigration bureaux show an increase in applicants requesting information on the possibilities of emigrating, but they had not begun the actual emigration process. Although there was a slight increase in emigration at the time, the prevalent belief among German Jews was that the situation in Germany would remain tolerable. The number of departures from the Reich receded in 1934 (23,000) and 1935 (21,000) and many Jews who had emigrated in 1933 returned to Germany.³² There was a slight increase in 1936 (25,000), which has been attributed to the promulgation of the Nuremberg Laws, but numbers dropped once again in 1937 to 23,000. The events of *Kristallnacht* led to a final noticeable increase in emigration numbers for 1938 (40,000), which continued into 1939 (78,000), and abated in 1940 (15,000).³³

The changing situation in Germany had a direct effect on the number of emigrants at any given point, and an examination of the statistical pattern shows three main periods of increased emigration: (1) 1933, (2) 1935-1936, and (3) 1938-1940. The first phase consists of Hitler’s initial rise to power in January of 1933, and the second incorporates the promulgation of the Nuremberg Laws. These initial phases are note-

worthy in the fact that they were short-lived. In each instance there is a noticeable increase in emigration followed by a period of decreased activity. The third and final phase began following *Kristallnacht* in November of 1938. *Kristallnacht* was a defining moment for German Jews as any hope they had of a future on German soil was extinguished for good.³⁴ In her discussion of why there was no continuous emigration from Germany in the 1930s, Doris Bergen notes, "Incidents that in hindsight appear as ominous steps on the road to destruction could seem like aberrations at the time."³⁵

Until 1938, there was no mass emigration of Jews from Germany. During Hitler's first five years in power (1933-1937), 129,000 Jews emigrated from Germany. Beginning in late 1938, there was a period of mass evacuation of German Jewry; between 1938 and 1939 118,000 Jews emigrated from Germany. The average number of Jewish emigrants during this two year period was 59,000; almost double that of the previous five year window, which stood at 25,800 annually. German Jews came to realize the necessity of emigration at a time when other European Jewish populations were being brought under Nazi occupation. The annexation of Austria in March of 1938 brought an additional 185,000 Jews into the Reich.³⁶ Subsequently, Czechoslovakia, which lost the Sudetenland in 1938, was fully occupied by March of 1939 with roughly 357,000 Jews.³⁷

When examining the country of birth for Jewish immigrants to Canada from 1932 to 1941, there is no significant change in the number of German arrivals between 1932 and 1938. There are slight increases in 1934 and 1936, but these are negligible in comparison to the significant increase seen in 1939, where 156 German-born emigrants arrived compared to 23 the year prior. This increase is also seen in the number of Jews arriving in Canada from Czechoslovakia and Austria in 1939 as well as 1940, and is followed by a decrease of all emigrants in 1941. This drop was likely due in part to the intensification of the Battle of the Atlantic and the increase in German U-boat activity, which made the transport of refugees increasingly dangerous.³⁸ More concretely, beginning in May 1941, a series of successive German-imposed bans forbidding Jews to emigrate from Nazi controlled territories effectively paralyzed Jewish emigration from Europe by October of 1941.³⁹

The case of Polish born Jews is unique among Jewish arrivals to Canada. Throughout the 1930s, the number of Polish-born Jews arriving in Canada remains fairly stable. There are noticeable jumps in 1934 and 1936, dates which coincide roughly with Hitler's chancellorship and the Nuremburg Laws. I suggest that this indicates Polish-born Jews were affected by early events taking place in Germany more so than Jews born in Austria, Czechoslovakia, and even Germany. The increase in arrivals of Polish-born Jews in 1934 and 1936 can be explained by looking at the makeup of Germany's Jewish population in the 1930s. As stated previously, in June 1933 there were 98,747 Jews in Germany who were either stateless or not of German descent. The majority of these were recent immigrants of Polish nationality and individuals

who had stayed in Germany following the end of the First World War. Some had lost their Russian citizenship at the conclusion of the First World War and never clarified their status.⁴⁰ A study of refugees in the Netherlands found that “non-German Jews were over-represented in the first two years of immigration.”⁴¹ It would seem this statement holds true for Canada as well. One cannot determine with certainty the number of Polish born Jews who resided in Germany prior to their arrival in Canada. Even so, given the evidence, Polish-born Jews living in Germany seemingly represented a significant stratum of Jewish emigrant arrivals to Canada early on.

Nationality	Total Foreign Jews (1933)	Total Foreign Jews (1939)
Poland	56,480	10,000
Austria	4,647	–
Czechoslovakia	4,275	500
Hungary	2,280	800
Romania	2,210	500
USSR	1,650	100
Latvia	1,730	100
Other	5,515	600
Stateless	19,746	13,000
No Information	214	200

It appears that a majority of Polish-born Jews residing in Germany who were willing and able to emigrate had left by the second half of the 1930s.⁴³ Consequently, the majority of Polish-born Jewish arrivals in Canada after the mid-1930s were likely arriving directly from Poland. As residents of Poland, these Jews would not have been affected by *Kristallnacht*, thus explaining why there was no upswing in Polish-born Jewish arrivals following the event. The slight rise in numbers in 1940 can be explained by the German invasion of Poland in the fall of 1939; the subsequent drop in 1941 would have been caused by the Nazi prohibition of all Jewish emigration from the General Government implemented in October of 1940.⁴⁴

Country of Birth of Jewish Immigrants to Canada by Fiscal Year, 1932 to 1936⁴⁵						
Country of Birth	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	Total
Poland	168	292	533	278	566	1,837
U.S.A.	254	251	214	185	127	1,031
Russia	90	81	78	61	55	365
Great Britain	49	34	25	35	17	160
Romania	26	32	25	21	29	133
Lithuania	18	30	9	7	21	85
Germany	4	3	15	7	18	47
Austria	5	11	4	7	5	32
Latvia	3	7	6	4	7	27
Czechoslovakia	9	1	2	3	9	24

Country of Birth of Jewish Immigrants to Canada by Fiscal Year, 1937-1941⁴⁶						
Country of Birth	1937	1938	1939	1940	1941	Total
Poland	297	228	228	340	65	1,158
U.S.A.	155	179	185	193	196	908
Germany	19	23	156	412	81	691
Czechoslovakia	-	2	58	259	46	365
Great Britain	27	37	58	74	51	247
Russia	42	52	45	47	53	239
Romania	25	11	45	66	20	167
Lithuania	24	14	20	44	15	117
Hungary	4	4	12	59	20	99
Austria	6	5	25	35	17	88

The above tables rank countries based on the number of Jewish immigrants who listed each one as their country of birth in two periods: (1) 1932-1936 and (2) 1937-1941. The placement of Germany, Austria, as well as Czechoslovakia, and their corresponding totals are significant as they evince a clear jump in immigrants from the first period to the second. From 1932 to 1936, 47 German-born immigrants arrived, along with 32 Austrian-born, and 24 Czechoslovakian-born. In contrast, from 1937 to 1941, German arrivals soared to 691 (+644), Czechoslovakians rose to 365 (+341), and Austrians increased slightly, totalling 88 (+56). What makes these numbers all the more intriguing is the fact that the surges in the numbers of immigrants from Germany, Austria and Czechoslovakia are present even when comparing years with

substantial differences in the total number of arrivals.⁴⁷ Clearly, sociopolitical factors in Germany, Austria and Czechoslovakia in the late 1930s led Jews from these areas to seek refuge with increasing urgency.



Library and Archives Canada, *Louis Rosenberg Fonds* (MG 30 C199 vol. 31)

As shown in the table above, Jews in Nazi-occupied areas did not begin to urgently seek asylum until late 1938. An internal memorandum prepared by Adolf Eichmann for Heinrich Himmler in December of 1940 stated that 315,642 Jews remained in the Greater Reich at that time.⁴⁸ In June of 1941, mobile killing squads (*Einsatzgruppen*) followed the German army during the invasion of the Soviet Union, murdering hundreds of thousands of Jews. Then, on October 23 1941, all emigration from the Reich was halted, and subsequently, in December of the same year, gassings began in Chelmno. Though lacking many of the features commonly associated with the death camps, and primitive in its use of gas vans, it has been suggested “Chelmno broke a psychological barrier by actually establishing an extermination camp and provided a structural template on which the other camps could build.”⁴⁹ When emigration from the Reich was closed in October 1941, mass murders in Eastern Europe had just begun, the first extermination camp had yet to become operational, the Second World War was in full swing, and travel to Canada—including immigration—was limited as a whole.

This timeline of events illustrates there was a three year window from November 1938 to October 1941 during which Jews actively attempted to emigrate from the Reich, and where emigration remained a possibility. The end date is significant as it predates the systematic and industrialized extermination of European Jewry that began with the death camps in 1942. By December of 1942, when the Allies were informed of Nazi atrocities taking place in occupied Poland, emigration from the Reich had already been closed for a year.⁵⁰

Canadian Immigration Policies

The following section will examine the Canadian immigration record in further detail and challenge Abella and Troper's narrative that, "Canada's door was closed by 1933 and opened only slightly in 1948 – and, for Jews, only by a crack."⁵¹ I will show that although Jews often did not meet the requirements of the immigration policies, they nonetheless represented a significant number of immigrant approvals through special Orders-in-Council regardless of intended occupation. Jews represented roughly 55% of all such Orders at times during the period under discussion. Furthermore, changes to Canadian immigration policy less than a month following *Kristallnacht* lifted significant impediments to Jewish immigration as refugees became an admissible class.

Racial generalizations permeated Canadian immigration policy throughout the 1930s and 1940s, with Jews generally viewed as unassimilable. A Privy Council Office document entitled *Assimilation as a Factor to be Considered in Immigration Policy*, published in 1942, explains immigration policy must take into account the ease with which different ethnic groups can be assimilated. In order to help in determining whether a group was readily assimilable, the document suggested determining "the ability of the group to speak one of the official languages", "the percentage within the group who have applied for naturalization", "the numbers from the group who served in the Canadian armed forces", "the membership within the group in national organizations designed to promote citizenship", and "the percentage within the group who are sufficiently public-spirited to exercise their franchise." The document then warns: "It is possible [...] that certain ethnic groups may display one or more of these 'symptoms' of assimilation but suffer from distinct handicaps of a physical, religious or prejudicial nature. It is obviously more difficult to assimilate a Chinese than it is a Dutchman; a Jew than a German."⁵² Three years later, a memorandum on immigration added:

The claim is sometimes made that Canada's immigration laws reflect class and race discrimination: they do, and necessarily so. Some form of discrimination cannot be avoided if immigration is to be effectively controlled. In order to prevent the creation in Canada of expanding non assimilable racial groups, the prohibiting of entry of immigrants of non assimilable races is necessary.⁵³

Abella and Troper are correct in their assertion that: "Canadian immigration policy had always been as ethnically selective as it was self-serving."⁵⁴ Nevertheless, the policies in question must be understood within their time. It bears noting that Canadian immigration policies were demonstrative of prevailing attitudes dating from the turn of the twentieth century into the interwar period in much of the Western World. The term race had a much wider meaning than at the present and was con-

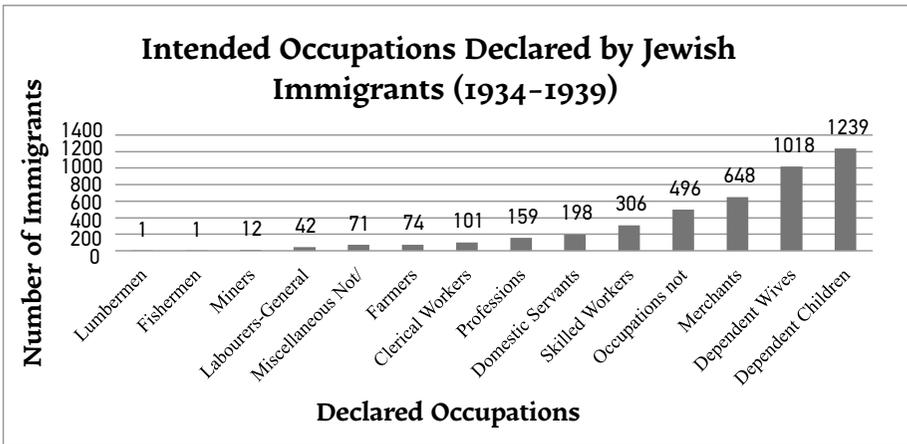
sidered a legitimate branch of scientific study; a racial hierarchy, with “white races” at the top, was viewed as a matter of fact, not of prejudice, and deemed relevant to socio-political study.⁵⁵ Among many social commentators it was believed that race could, and should, be improved.⁵⁶ Canadian doctors and medical journals supported such restrictive immigration policies and maintained that a homogenous population was necessary for public health;⁵⁷ some went as far as suggesting that unrestrictive immigration policies could lead to the destruction of Canada itself.⁵⁸ Such attitudes concerning questions of race did not change until the end of the Second World War. As Triadafilos Triadafilopoulos has put it in *Becoming Multicultural*, “The group-centered racism of the prewar period gave way to an individualist ethic, holding that all persons were endowed with fundamental human rights regardless of their race, ethnicity, or nationality.”⁵⁹

Although racial generalizations undoubtedly influenced Canadian immigration policy throughout the 1930s and 1940s, in December of 1938, only a month after *Kristallnacht*, changes were made to immigration regulations. The provisions of P.C. 695 remained in play, but there were significant additions to the list of admissible immigrants. In addition to agriculturalists, Canada would admit:

- (b) Refugees joining first degree relatives resident in Canada in a position to receive and care for them. First degree relatives will consist of parents, sons, daughters, brothers and sisters, and the wives and children of those that may be married. The term “refugee” will include not only those who must leave Greater Germany or Italy because of racial, political or religious views, but also those who have already left these countries and are temporarily residing elsewhere.
- (c) Persons having sufficient capital (not less than \$15,000) to establish themselves and provide their own employment and maintenance.
- (d) Professional and technical persons when their labour or service would be of advantage to Canada.
- (e) Persons coming to establish new industries such as the manufacture of high grade glass and porcelain, when capital is available for that purpose.
- (f) Refugee orphan children under fourteen for adoption and education, by families resident in Canada who are able and willing to provide suitable homes.
- (g) Male fiancés when the Departmental investigation shows that settlement arrangements are satisfactory; this to apply only to applications already filed in by the Department.⁶⁰

The document also stipulated that where possible, the separation of families abroad would be discouraged. In addition, it was reiterated that Canada was not to be a waiting-room for those wishing to go to another country. This stemmed from an agreement between Canada and the United States in the 1920s in which both countries agreed not to accept immigrants whose ultimate goal was immigration into the other. In other words, immigrants arriving in Canada were expected to stay in Canada.⁶¹ In theory, after 1938 Canada became more open to immigration, including Jewish immigration.

Although Canadian immigration policy generally sought farmers, a summary overview of intended occupations of Jewish immigrants upon arrival to Canada from 1934-1939, shows that the doors were not closed to those who did not meet that criterion. Of a total 4,540 immigrants, 2,283 were workers and 2,257 were dependents. Of the dependents, 1,018 were wives and 1,239 were children. Among workers, only 74 identified as farmers; representing merely 1.63% of all Jewish immigrant arrivals, or 3.24% of all workers. The largest group among workers were the 648 merchants; 14.27% of arrivals fell into this category, or 28.38% of the workers.⁶²



Library and Archives Canada, Louis Rosenberg Fonds (MG 30 C199 vol. 31)

Jews were among those permitted into Canada under existing immigration policies of the 1930s and 1940s. In contrast to the impression created by *None is Too Many* and other works, a large segment of immigrant arrivals who did not meet the criteria set out by P.C. 695 were allowed into Canada via special Orders-in-Council. On July 9, 1943, speaking on the issue of refugees in the House of Commons, Prime Minister Mackenzie King stated nine thousand individuals had been admitted as immigrants to Canada by such orders between 1933 and 1942, and that most of these were European refugees.⁶³ No study exists giving an exact percentage represented by Jews amongst admissions to Canada via Orders-in-Council. What is known however

is that all “non-preferred” immigrants who were not agriculturists, all individuals from “special permit” countries, and all non-American and non-British Jews could not land in Canada without an Order-in-Council which explicitly granted them entry.

Several groups which fell within the “non-preferred” and “special permit” categorization, urgently sought to leave their countries of origin at different times during the 1930s and 1940s. The period in question saw successive waves of individuals leave: Spaniards due to their civil war (1936–1939),⁶⁴ Czechoslovakians and Austrians following the German takeover of their respective countries, Serbs who were persecuted under the Croatian Ustasha regime, and small groups of Italians during the 1930s.⁶⁵ It is also well known that in addition to Jews, the Germans targeted and killed up to 220,000 Roma (Gypsies) and 1.9 million Poles during the war.⁶⁶ An in depth examination of the Canadian immigration record concerning the following groups is beyond the scope of this article; however, they are subjects which warrant further examination. A study of what the Canadian government and public knew about other “non-preferred” and “special permit” refugees, and whether efforts were made to help such groups, would undoubtedly be beneficial in attempting to better understand Canada’s refugee policy.

As concerns Jewish immigration to Canada, correspondence between F.C. Blair and William R. Little, the Commissioner of European Emigration, dated June 6 1938, indicates between 1933 and 1937 there were 4,514 immigrants admitted by Order-in-Council;⁶⁷ of these 1,795 were Jewish, representing 39.77% of the Orders-in-Council passed during that timespan. Furthermore, a letter from O.D. Skelton to Prime Minister Mackenzie King dated June 9 1939 notes 1,200 immigrants had been admitted by Order-in-Council since January of that year. Skelton highlights “while no publicity has been given, it is a fact that Jews represented 60 per cent of their list.”⁶⁸ Likewise, a memorandum by Hume Wrong, Assistant Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, in January 1943 explains the total number of Orders-in-Council between 1930 to the end of 1942 was 10,234 and that “Approximately one half of those were of the Jewish race.”⁶⁹ Finally, records from the *Hansard* (the official transcripts of the Canadian Parliamentary debates) refer to 932 special permits having been issued in 1943 and more than 90% having gone to “Hebrews.”⁷⁰ Jews almost certainly did not represent 90% of Orders-in-Council during the period under scrutiny. It is however safe to suggest, given the documentary evidence, that Jews represented somewhere between 50% and 60% of such orders from *Kristallnacht* onward.

Total of Special Orders-in-Council Passed from 1933 to 1937⁷¹			
Year	Total	Jewish	Proportion of Jewish to Non-Jewish Authorizations
1933	1,357	637	46.94
1934	520	152	29.23
1935	1,059	525	49.58
1936	819	284	34.68
1937	759	197	25.96
	4,514	1,795	39.77

The Canadian government never implemented a concise policy with the goal of fully opening Canada's doors to refugees. As Abella and Troper note, "Even the outbreak of war and the mounting evidence of an ongoing Nazi program for the total annihilation of European Jewry did not move Canada. Its response remained legalistic and cold."⁷² Donald Avery, in his monograph *Reluctant Host: Canada's Response to Immigrant Workers, 1896-1994* examines the security dimension of the Canadian response to European refugees. In direct response to Abella and Troper's statement, Avery wrote: "No doubt, the country's refugee policies between 1939 and 1945 were *legalistic and cold*,⁷³ but these policies must be understood within the context of total war, which does not encourage fine distinctions."⁷⁴ This broader contextualization is crucial to any attempt to fully comprehend the historical issues at play that directed the Canadian government response to refugees. As the war progressed and government officials became aware of events unfolding in Europe, there were calls to allow entry to more refugees. Such actions did not, however, gain strong support. House of Commons debates point to fears that any Canadian program whose intended goal was to receive large numbers of refugees from Axis territories would be used by the Nazis to steal spies and secret agents, posing as refugees, into Canada; the surest way to help the refugees was to win the war, and, it was argued, any efforts to aid, even if aid was feasible, would only prolong their agony if it led to prolonging the war effort.⁷⁵ Even with government fear of enemy spies and saboteurs entering Canada as refugees, the number of Jewish arrivals jumped in both 1939 and 1940. In 1940 alone, when not counting the 2,340 interned refugees, 1,643 Jews reached Canada, representing 7.77% of all arrivals. By October of 1941, as mentioned, all Jewish emigration from German controlled territory had been prohibited by the Nazis. Following the Allied invasion of Normandy in June 1944, and the subsequent push inland, refugees that were not in enemy held territories were no longer viewed as being in danger of persecution or death. During 1944 and 1945, questions concerning immigration were put on hold as attention began to focus on the Allied victory and how to best manage the imminent return and reintegration of the men and women of the Canadian Armed Forces, the post-war economy, and a return to peace-time production.⁷⁶

Michael Marrus's seminal work *The Holocaust in History* criticizes historical studies for focusing on bystanders, for concentrating on what did not happen, and for condemning those deemed responsible. He has termed this the "historians' form of hubris" that occurs when historians "apply to subjects the standards and value systems, and vantage point of the present, rather than those of the period being discussed. We believe that people should have acted otherwise, and we set out to show they did not."⁷⁷ This assertion can be applied to the analysis of international bystanders as well. Abella and Troper state the subject of *None is Too Many* is "why Canada was closed to the Jews of Europe."⁷⁸ As proof of this closed door, the authors assert fewer than 5,000 Jews were allowed entry to Canada from 1933 to 1945. Yet, the statistical evidence compiled by Louis Rosenberg and the timeline of events in Europe do not support the image of Canada as an inaccessible haven. All immigration to Canada was reduced between 1933 and 1945 due to the Depression, and subsequently by the Second World War. Even so, 8,787 Jews landed in Canada from 1933 to 1945; this number increases to 11,127 when including interned refugees.

The era in question cannot be understood in absolute figures. I have shown that Jewish proportional representation amongst immigrant arrivals to Canada increased during the 1930s and into the early 1940s. Furthermore, I have demonstrated that jumps in Jewish immigrant numbers tended to coincide with significant events taking place in Germany and other Nazi-occupied areas later on. These findings imply that Canadian immigration standards were not unbending, but adapted to increased numbers of Jewish requests for entry. The Canadian government, like European Jews, did not have the gift of foresight to appreciate the gravity of events as they were unfolding before them. As my article has explained, a general Jewish mass emigration from Germany began in November of 1938; this left roughly a three year window for Jews to seek refuge outside of Europe. This period also corresponded with a spike in Jewish proportional representation among immigrant arrivals in Canada.

The enormity of the Holocaust was not known during the Second World War; by the time the Canadian government received information concerning the extermination of European Jewry, in late 1942, it was too late. Canada never put into effect a comprehensive plan to save the Jews of Europe. Even so, it must be emphasized the Canadian government also never administratively shut Canada's doors to Jewish refugees: emigration restrictions implemented by the Nazis were completely out of the Canadian government's control. What could be controlled, however, was the war effort: all available resources were put towards winning the war, and, by extension, saving what remained of European Jewry. These revisions to the accepted narrative of *None is Too Many* are essential in the attempt to paint a clear and balanced portrait of Canadian immigration policy regarding Jewish refugees from 1933-1945, and to come to terms with the place of Canada and other bystander nations during this time.

1
This article is based largely on unpublished material found in the author's MA thesis; Justin Comartin, "Humanitarian Ambitions – International Barriers: Canadian Governmental Response to the Plight of the Jewish Refugees (1933-1945)," (MA diss., University of Ottawa, 2013).

2
Irving Abella and Harold Troper, *None is Too Many: Canada and the Jews of Europe 1933-1945* (Toronto: Key Porter Books, 2000), xxii.

3
Ninette Kelley and Michael Trebilcock. *The Making of the Mosaic: A History of Canadian Immigration Policy* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998) 256; Donna Ryan, *The Holocaust and the Jews of Marseille: The Enforcement of Anti-Semitic Policies in Vichy France* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1996), p.135; "Brief History of Canada's Response to Refugees," Canadian Council for Refugees, last modified April 2009, <http://ccrweb.ca/en/brief-history-canadas-responses-refugees>

4
The Louis Rosenberg Fonds are housed at Library and Archives Canada located in Ottawa, Ontario.

5
Abella and Troper, *None is Too Many*, 50.

6
Originally published in 1939, the monograph has been republished by Morton Weinfeld in 1993 under the title *Canada's Jews: A Social and Economic Study of Jews in Canada in the 1930s* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993).

7
The Dominion Bureau of Statistics was replaced by Statistics Canada in 1971.

8
In his introduction to Rosenberg's monograph, *Canada's Jews*, republished in 1993, Morton Weinfeld wrote: "It is hoped that the republication of Canada's Jews will help liberate this work from its ethnic and intellectual ghetto. It deserves a recognized place in the historical development of the demographic and sociological study of Canadian ethnic groups. It remains a model of a socio-demographic

portrait of an ethnic group and also serves as an invaluable source for an understanding of Jewish life, and indeed the life of other immigrant/ethnic groups, in the Canada of the 1930s."

9
Both the Blair letter and the Rosenberg Fonds show 3,421 Jews admitted to Canada in 1931, 649 in 1932, 772 in 1933, 943 in 1934, 624 in 1935, 880 in 1936 and 619 in 1937. F.C Blair, *Letter from F.C. Blair to William R. Little*. In, Department of External Affairs, *Documents on Canadian External Relations*, vol. 6, 796-800. Library and Archives Canada, *Louis Rosenberg Fonds* (MG 30 C199 vol. 31)

10
Abella and Troper, *None is Too Many*, 230; 292.

11
Ibid, 135

12
Library and Archives Canada, *Louis Rosenberg Fonds* (MG 30 C199 vol. 31)

13
Nearly half of the refugees returned to Great-Britain during the war. See Paula J. Draper, "The Accidental Immigrants: Canada and the Interned Refugees," Part 1, *Canadian Jewish Historical Society Journal* 2.1 (1978) 1-38; "The Accidental Immigrants: Canada and the Interned Refugees," Part 2, *Canadian Jewish Historical Society Journal* 2.2 (1979) 80-112; "The Accidental Immigrants: Canada and the Interned Refugees," (PhD diss., University of Toronto, 1983)

14
Comartin, "Humanitarian Ambitions – International Barriers" 39.

15
It is unknown whether this category represented only American-born Jews, or whether European-born Jews arriving in Canada via the United States were included in this category as well.

16
This time period was chosen because it represents a ten year window prior to the period studied in *None is Too Many*.

17

Kelley and Trebilcock. *The Making of the Mo-saic*, 216.

18

A letter from W.J. Egan, Deputy Minister of Immigration, to O.D. Skelton, Under-Secretary of State for External affairs, dated November 6 1933 reads: "The admission of any immigrants not holding a proper passport or not belonging to the two classes mentioned involves an Order-in-Council authorizing admission" W.J. Egan, *Letter from W.J. Egan to O.D. Skelton*, In, Department of External Affairs, Documents on Canadian External Relations, vol. 5, 846-847 p.697.

19

For a full breakdown of each group, see: Rosenberg, *Canada's Jews* 127-128.

20

Comartin, "Humanitarian Ambitions – International Barriers" 41. It should be noted that nearly half of the interned refugees decided to return to Great-Britain during the war. See Draper, "The Accidental Immigrants".

21

For more on Russian Jewish emigration following the revolution of 1905, see: Rebecca Kobrin, "The Russian Revolution Abroad: Mass Migration, Russian Jewish Liberalism, and American Jewry, 1903-1914" In: Stefani Hoffman and Ezra Mendelsohn, *The Revolution of 1905 and Russia's Jews* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008)

22

Abella and Troper, *None is Too Many*, xxiii

23

Comparative Immigration to Canada By Ethnic Group, By Six Year Periods 1919-1943, Library and Archives Canada, *Louis Rosenberg Fonds* (MG 30 C199 vol. 31)

24

Freda Hawkins, *Critical Years in Immigration* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2008) 30.

25

For in depth analyses on the subject of nativism in Canada see: Martin Robin. *Shades of Right*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992); Howard Palmer, *Patterns of Prejudice* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1982);

26

See Lita-Rose Betcherman, *The Swastika and the Maple Leaf* (Toronto: Fitzhenry & Whiteside, 1975); Comartin "Humanitarian Ambitions – International Barriers"; David Rome, *Clouds in the Thirties: On Antisemitism in Canada, 1929-1939* (Montreal: Canadian Jewish Congress, 1977-1981).

27

Franklin Bialystok, *Delayed Impact* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2000) 22.

29

Herbert Strauss, "Jewish Emigration from Germany: Nazi Policies and Jewish Responses (I)," *Leo Baeck Institute Yearbook* 25.1 (1980) 316.

28

Comartin, "Humanitarian Ambitions – International Barriers" 45.

30

Frank Caestecker and Bob Moore, *Refugees from Nazi Germany and the Liberal European States* (New York: Bergahn Books, 2010) 207. In their work, Caestecker and Moore note that "19.2% or 98,747 were either citizens of other countries [...] or de facto stateless." The figure of 19.2% seems to be a typographical error however as the authors state that 80.2% of Jews in Germany were German nationals. 19.2% + 80.2% does not give a total of 100%. When taking the figure given by the authors (98,747) however, and dividing it by the number of Jews in Germany (499,682), the percentage given is 19.8%, which gives the required total of 100%.

31

Strauss, "Jewish Emigration from Germany," 330.

32

Caestecker and Moore, *Refugees from Nazi Germany and the Liberal European States*, 227.

33

Strauss, "Jewish Emigration from Germany," 326.

34

Shulamit Volkov, *Germans, Jews, and Antisemitism: Trials in Emancipation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006) p.47-49.

35

Doris Bergen, "Social Death and International Isolation: Jews in Nazi Germany, 1933-1939" In. Ruth Klein, *Nazi Germany, Canadian Responses: Confronting Antisemitism in the Shadow of War* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2012) 6.

36

Bruce Pauley, *From Prejudice to Persecution: A History of Austrian Anti-Semitism*, (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1992) 209.

37

This number is based off of calculation from 1930 which give an official number of 356,830 Jews in Czechoslovakia. See: Ezra Mendelsohn, *The Jews of Eastern Europe Between the World Wars* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press) 142.

38

See Comartin, "Humanitarian Ambitions – International Barriers"

39

See William Rubinstein, *The Myth of Rescue: Why the democracies could not have saved more Jews from the Nazis*, (New York: Routledge, 2005) p.82-83: "In May 1941 the emigration of Jews from France and Belgium was forbidden [...] In mid-1941 Heinrich Himmler placed a blanket ban on the legal emigration of Jews throughout newly conquered Nazi territory [...] On 23 October 1941, Heinrich Müller, the head of the Gestapo, banned further emigration from Germany itself. Legal emigration of Jews to the United States and elsewhere had continued until that date, but thereafter only 'extremely limited' numbers of Jews could legally leave."

40

Bob Moore, "Jewish refugees in the Netherlands 1933-1940: The Structure and Pattern of Immigration from Nazi Germany," *Leo Baeck Institute Yearbook* 29.1 (1984) 86.

41

Ibid, 87.

42

Strauss, "Jewish Emigration from Germany," 322.

43

Strauss's figures show that of 185,100 Jews

living in Germany in 1939, 58,700 were aged 60 and over (31.7%) and 76,600 were aged between 40 and 59 years old (41.38%). Together, they represented 73.08% of German Jewry compared to 47.78% in 1933. Commenting on this, Strauss noted: "The age composition of émigrés [...] was weighed towards the young and the productive middle-aged cohorts, as would be expected." Ibid, p.327

44

Saul Friedlander, *The Years of Extermination*, (Toronto: Harper Perennial, 2008) 83.

45

Comartin, "Humanitarian Ambitions – International Barriers" 46.

46

Ibid.

47

In 1936, 880 Jews arrived in Canada, compared to 626 in 1941, representing a difference of 254. Nonetheless, German-born arrivals rose from 18 to 81; Austrian born increased from 5 to 17; Czechoslovakian born grew from 9 to 46; and overall representation of the three countries jumped from 32 to 144.

48

Friedlander, *The Years of Extermination*, 92.

49

Patrick Montague, *Chełmno and the Holocaust: The History of Hitler's First Death Camp* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012) p.1-8.

50

In December of 1942, the Polish government-in-exile published *The Mass Extermination of Jews in German Occupied Poland*, which was addressed to the governments of the United Nations on December 10, 1942.

51

Abella and Troper, *None is Too Many*, 230; 292.

52

Assimilation as a Factor to be Considered in Immigration Policy, Library and Archives Canada, RG2-B-2 Vol.82.

53

Memorandum Re Immigration, Library and Archives Canada, RG2-B-2 Vol.82.

54Abella and Troper, *None is Too Many*, 5.**55**Elazar Barkan, *The Retreat of Scientific Racism: Changing Concepts of Race in Britain and the United States Between the World Wars* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 2; Triadafilos Triadafilopoulos, *Becoming Multicultural: Immigration and the Politics of Membership in Canada and Germany* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2012)21.**56**For in depth analysis of the situation in the Canadian context, see. Angus McLaren, *Our Own Master Race: Eugenics in Canada, 1885-1945* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2014).**57**Zlada Godler, "Doctors and the New Immigrants," *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, 9 (1977) 6-17.**58**James W. St. G. Walker, "Race," *rights and the law in the Supreme Court of Canada: Historical Case Studies* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1997) 250.**59**Triadafilos Triadafilopoulos, *Becoming Multicultural*, 8.**60**

Memorandum, December 8, 1938. In, Department of External Affairs, Documents on Canadian External Relations, vol. 6, 846-847.

61Ibid; Also see, N.A. Robertson, *Memorandum: Canada and the Refugee Problem*, In, Department of External Affairs, Documents on Canadian External Relations, vol. 6, 841-843.**62***Intended Occupations Declared by Jewish Immigrants Upon Arrival in Canada Via Ocean Ports & From the U.S.A. in the Six-Year Periods before and after the War of 1939-1945*, Library and Archives Canada, *Louis Rosenberg Fonds* (MG 30 C199 vol. 31)**63**Canada, *House of Commons Debates*, July 9, 1943, 4560-4561.**64**See Tony Kushner and Katherine Knox, *Refugees in an Age of Genocide: Global, National and Local Perspectives in the Twentieth Century* (London: Frank Cass, 2005); Sharif Gemie, Fiona Reid and Laure Humbert, *Outcast Europe: Refugees and Relief Workers in an Era of Total War 1936-1948* (New York: Continuum, 2012).**65**Gerald Dirks, *Canada's Refugee Policy* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1977) 47-48.**66**"Mosaic of Victims: An Overview," United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, last modified January, 2016 <https://www.ushmm.org/wlc/en/article.php?ModuleId=10005149>; "Genocide of European Roma (Gypsies), 1939-1945," United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, last modified January, 2016 <https://www.ushmm.org/wlc/en/article.php?ModuleId=10005219>**67**F.C. Blair, *Letter from F.C. Blair to William R. Little*. 697.**68**O.D. Skelton, *Letter from O.D. Skelton to William Lyon Mackenzie King*, Library and Archives Canada, MG26 J1 vol.280**69**Hume Wrong, *Memorandum from Assistant Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs to Undersecretary of State for External Affairs*, In. Department of External Affairs, *Documents on Canadian External Relations*, vol. 9, 534-536.**70**Canada, *House of Commons Debates*, June 29, 1944, 4369-4370.**71**F. C. Blair, *Letter from F.C. Blair to William R. Little*. 697.**72**Abella and Troper, *None is Too Many*, 281.**73**

Italics added by author.

74

Donald Avery, *Reluctant Host: Canada's Response to Immigrant Worker, 1896-1994* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart Inc, 1995) 143; The chapter in question draws largely on conclusions previously published in: Donald Avery. "Canada's Response to European Refugees, 1939-1945" In. *On Guard for Thee*, ed. Norman Hilmer, Bohdan Kordan and Lubomyr Luciuk (Ottawa: Canadian Committee for the History of the Second World War, 1988) 205.

75

Canada, *House of Commons Debates*, July 9, 1943, 4559-4560.

76

See Hume Wrong, Hume. *Letter from Hume Wrong to Vincent Massey*, In, Department of External Affairs, Documents on Canadian External Relations, vol. 10, 1264-1265; King, William Lyon Mackenzie, *Migration*, In, Department of External Affairs, Documents on Canadian External Relations, vol. 11, 1224-1228 .

77

Michael Marrus, *The Holocaust in History* (Toronto: Lester and Orpen Dennys, 1987) p.157.

78

Abella and Troper, *None is Too Many*, xxi.