Forced to flee and deemed suspect
Tracing life stories of interned refugees in Canada during and after the Second World War

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This paper is based on three case studies of men who fled to Britain from National Socialist Germany – specifically Vienna, Leipzig and Hamburg – and were subsequently deported to Canada as "enemy aliens" in 1940 and interned there for up to three years.[1] Of particular interest is whether and how these refugees were able to build new lives for themselves after their release from the Canadian internment, and in what ways factors such as age, education and agency influenced this process. In this context, a biographical approach seems appropriate,[2] especially to shed more light on the actions and decisions of the persons under investigation.

Agency defines the power of individuals to think for themselves, to make decisions and to act in a way that enables them to shape their experiences and life trajectories.

> The scope of agency is dependent on the "human capital" or personal resources and on the "social capital" or networks a person has been encouraged to develop in the process of socialisation and has augmented in adolescents and adult life. "Resources" refer to a person's pool of capabilities, and "capital" suggests a desire to invest such capabilities in achieving goals and life course projects.[3]

1 The research for this article was conducted in cooperation with the University of Graz and the city of Graz at the Ludwig Boltzmann Institute for Research on the Consequences of War, Graz – Vienna – Raabs, and was supported by the Future Fund of the Republic of Austria (project: "Flight, Deportation, Internment: Tracing Austrian Refugees from Nazism in Canada," P19-3632), the Provincial Government of Lower Austria and the Stiftung für Kanada-Studien.

2 See Volker Depkat, "Biographieforschung im Kontext transnationaler und globaler Geschichtsschreibung. Einleitung zum Schwerpunkt," in Bios. Zeitschrift für Biographieforschung, Oral History und Lebensverlaufsanalysen 28 (2015) 1, 2: 7–8.

3 Christiane Harzig and Dirk Hoerder, with Donna Gabaccia, What is Migration History? (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2009), 79.

Even though refugees' options for decision-making and action were limited, they are understood as "agents of their own lives."[4] During internment and afterwards, many refugees, including the three people studied here, used their human capital, such as professional skills and expertise, social skills and strategic competences (e.g. to establish a camp school for teenage refugees) as well as their ability to mobilise personal resources, to use structures and to form support networks to cope with and adapt to the new and unexpected social environment in exile and to develop strategies for building a new life in Canada that included utilising support networks (e.g. refugee organisations).

Internment policies in Great Britain and Canada

Great Britain declared war on Germany on 3 September 1939, following the latter's invasion of Poland. For Austrians and Germans living in the United Kingdom, many of whom were refugees with temporary residence permits,[5] this meant that they became "enemy aliens" and were compelled to register with the police. By March 1940, some 73,800 Germans and Austrians residing in the UK had been screened by alien tribunals with regard to possible internment. About 90 per cent (66,200) were deemed "harmless" (Category C) and remained at liberty. The vast majority of this group (55,460) were Jewish refugees or anti-National Socialist exiles who had sought refuge in Britain to escape further persecution in National Socialist Germany. Almost 7,000 of those screened became subject to certain restrictions (e.g. limits on movement and a ban on the ownership of cameras) and were kept under police observation (Category B).[6] About 1 per cent were classified as "dangerous enemy aliens" (Category A) and immediately interned in camps set up in Liverpool, Glasgow, London, on the Isle of Man and elsewhere.[7]

4 See Dirk Hoerder, "Individuals and Systems: Agency in Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Labour Migrations," in European Mobility: Internal, International, and Transatlantic Moves in the 19th and Early 20th Centuries, edited by Annemarie Steidl et al. (Göttingen: V&R unipress, 2009), 53–67, at 53.

5 British entry regulations were relaxed after the November pogrom, but the authorities gave preference to those refugees who were willing to migrate further within two years. See Gabriele Anderl, "Flucht und Vertreibung 1938–1945," in Auswanderungen aus Österreich. Von der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts bis zur Gegenwart, edited by Traude Horvath and Gerda Neyer (Wien – Köln – Weimar: Böhlau, 1996), 235–75, at 245.

6 See Peter Gillman and Leni Gillman, "Collar the Lot!" How Britain Interned and Expelled its Wartime Refugees (London – Melbourne – New York: Quartet Books, 1980), 44.

7 See ibid.; Francois Lafitte, The Internment of Aliens (London: Penguin, 1940), 36–7, 62; Ronald Stent, A Bespattered Page? The Internment of "His Majesty's Most Loyal Enemy Aliens" (London: André Deutsch, 1980), 30–41.

However, the British government's wartime policy on aliens changed a few months later, when the "speed at which France and the Low Countries fell […] created panic in Great Britain over the possible existence of 'Fifth Columnists'."[8] The right-wing press became increasingly hostile to the refugees around that time and started spreading rumours that German spies were hiding in Britain.[9] Eventually, the British government "gave way to those who argued that the refugees posed a threat to national security, as potential fifth columnists who might sabotage British defences."[10] At the end of May 1940, the new Churchill government instituted a mass internment policy and started to detain Category B and C males, as well as also Category B females, without distinguishing between refugees or non-refugees.[11] "This measure, to some extent a panic response to the extreme situation of national emergency prevailing in May/June 1940, ultimately caused the internment of some 27,000 enemy aliens, including some 4,000 women, most of whom were Jews who plainly posed no security risk whatsoever."[12]

Memories of arrest and internment show that this was a traumatic experience, especially for those who had been in concentration camps before fleeing. Many of the refugees felt betrayed, as Henry Kreisel, who was forced to flee Vienna at the age of sixteen, stated in his internment diary: "We regarded Britain as the country that had rescued us from Nazi tyranny. To be then incarcerated by our friends seemed almost incomprehensible, a kind of betrayal."[13]

In addition, after Italy's declaration of war on Britain and France on 10 June 1940, some 18,000 Italian residents of Britain had to register with the police and about 4,200 of them were arrested and interned.[14]

In order to relieve the pressure on their own internment system, the British sought to deport male internees to Canada and Australia. Following Canada's assent to a Home Office urgent request, "a bounty of 2,108 German or Austrian Category A, single male internees, including *circa* 1,700 enemy merchant seamen, an

8 Rachel Pistol, "Enemy Alien and Refugee: Conflicting Identities in Great Britain during the Second World War," University of Sussex Journal of Contemporary History 16 (2015): 37.

9 See David Cesarani, "An Alien Concept? The Continuity of Anti-alienism in British Society before 1940," in The Internment of Aliens in Twentieth Century Britain, edited by David Cesarani and Tony Kushner (London – Portland OR: Frank Cass, 1993), 24–52, at 45.

10 Anthony Grenville, Jewish Refugees from Germany and Austria in Britain, 1933–1970: Their Image in AJR Information (London: Vallentine Mitchell, 2010), 29.

11 See Gillman and Gillman, "Collar the Lot!," 141–5.

12 Grenville, Jewish Refugees from Germany and Austria, 29.

13 Henry Kreisel, "Diary of an Internment," in Another Country: Writings by and about Henry Kreisel, edited by Shirley C. Neuman (Edmonton: NeWest Press 1985), 18–44, at 20.

14 See Lucio Sponza, "The Internment of Italians in Britain," in Enemies within: Italian and Other Internees in Canada and Abroad, edited by Franca Iacovetta et al. (Toronto – Buffalo – London: University of Toronto Press, 2000), 256–79, at 259.

additional 2,290 Category B and C Germans and Austrians, 407 Italian civilian single male internees and 1,948 genuine prisoners of war"[15] arrived in the Dominion on three ships – the *Duchess of York*, *Ettrick* and *Sobieski*. On the basis of information from London, Canada had been expecting a delivery of dangerous "enemy aliens"; however, it turned out that about 85 per cent of the Austrian and German civilian deportees were refugees.[16] Moreover, about thirty of the 400 Italians were either Jewish or anti-Fascist political refugees.[17]

A fourth ship had set off for Canada, but tragically the *Arandora Star* had been torpedoed and sunk off the west coast of Ireland on 2 July 1940, one day after she had left Liverpool. Over 800 of those on board had lost their lives: two-thirds of about 730 Italians, one-third of about 500 Austrians and Germans, and 79 crew members and army guards.[18] The survivors – a group of about 450 men, including 200 Italian civilian internees, 100 German merchant seamen, German nationals who were known National Socialist sympathisers as well as refugees – were deported to Australia on the *Dunera* just ten days later, along with 2,050 other refugees from Austria, Germany and Czechoslovakia.[19]

Canada declared war on Germany on 10 September 1939. Thereafter, German-Canadians[20] who had immigrated after 1922 but not yet acquired Canadian citizenship were ordered to register with the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP), which at the time was responsible for the surveillance of individuals and groups

15 Ernest Robert Zimmermann, The Little Third Reich on Lake Superior: A History of Canadian Internment Camp R (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 2015), 180.

16 See ibid.

17 See Paula J. Draper, "The 'Camp Boys': Interned Refugees from Nazism," in Enemies within, edited by Iacovetta et al., 171–93, at 177.

18 See Gillman and Gillman, "Collar the Lot!," 190–96. There was some confusion over who had died as there was no embarkation list, but it was clear that most of the dead were Italians, and others were refugees from National Socialist Germany.

19 See Ken Inglis et al., Dunera Lives: A Visual History, Clayton (Victoria: Monash University Publishing, 2018), 44; Elisabeth Lebensaft and Christine Kanzler, "Auf der Dunera nach Down Under. Deportationen deutschsprachiger Flüchtlinge nach Australien," in Exil im Krieg 1939–1945, edited by Hiltrud Häntzschel et al. (Göttingen: V&R unipress, 2016), 67–75, at 67–8. Approximately 80 per cent of the refugees deported to Australia were Jewish.

20 The term "German-Canadians" encompasses emigrants from Germany before the First World War and during the interwar period, others from Eastern European countries, including the Tsarist Russia, where German-speaking minorities had settled for centuries prior to migrating to Canada, and yet more from Austria and Switzerland. See Robert H. Keyserlingk, "Breaking the Nazi Plot: Canadian Government Attitudes towards German Canadians, 1939–1945," in On Guard for Thee: War, Ethnicity and Canadian State, 1939–1945, edited by Norman Hillmer et al. (Ottawa: Canadian Government Publishing Centre, 1988), 53–69, at 55.

who were considered dangerous.[21] Out of half a million German-Canadians, about 16,000 were subject to registration, including a number of "refugees of Jewish, Austrian or Czech background."[22] Some 850 of these resident Germans were classified as "disloyal" and interned; a few of them had been members of the National Socialist Workers Party in Canada (NSDAP).[23] After Italy's entry into the war, Italian Fascist organisations and parties were banned, and some 600 Canadian-Italian Fascists were detained.[24] However, by far the largest group of civilian internees in Canada were Japanese-Canadians, who were declared "enemy aliens" after the bombing of Pearl Harbor; some 21,000 of them were deprived of their civil rights and detained in British Columbia alone.[25]

As mentioned above, German refugees who had arrived in Canada before the war had to register with the authorities, but they were not typically interned. Nevertheless, the Canadian government had to deal with the problem of interned refugees when it became apparent that most of the Austrian and German civilians deported from Britain in July 1940 were innocent escapees from National Socialist Germany.[26] Ottawa also had some concerns about the classification of refugees, as the British judgement varied from harmless to dangerous.[27] Since the refugees had arrived in Canada as "enemy aliens," it was decided to hold all of the deported refugees in internment camps in Ontario, Quebec and New Brunswick, and treat them as prisoners of war (POW) under the terms of the 1929 Geneva Convention, until a solution could be found. The Canadian government justified this decision

21 The legal basis was the Defence of Canada Regulations (DOCR), effective from 3 September 1939. These regulations entitled the Minister of Justice to arrest and intern without charge any person who was suspected of jeopardising public safety or the security of the state in any way, including Canadian citizens. See ibid., 53.

22 See ibid., 55.

23 There were three main pro-National Socialist organisations in Canada, including the National Socialist Workers Party in Canada, which was open only to German citizens and had approximately 250 members. See Robert H. Keyserlingk, "'Agents within the Gates': The Search for Nazi Subversives in Canada during World War II," in Canadian Historical Review 66 (1985) 2: 221.

24 See Luigi Bruti Liberates, "The Internment of Italian Canadians," in Enemies within, edited by Iacovetta et al., 76–98, at 84.

25 See Pamela Hickman and Masako Fukawa, Righting Canada's Wrongs: Japanese Internment in the Second World War (Toronto: James Lorimer & Company, 2011), 72–123. Overall, the Canadian government interned about 90 per cent of the Japanese-Canadian population.

26 See Draper, "The 'Camp Boys,'" 172; Zimmermann, The Little Third Reich on Lake Superior, 180.

27 Tribunal classifications were sometimes arbitrary and unjustified. For example, some tribunals automatically placed unemployed persons, including refugees, into Category B or applied a political interpretation to the clause "dubious character" and interned socialists and communists. In addition, some 170 Jewish refugees deported to Canada were classified as "pro-Nazi" (Category A). See ibid., 186–7; Gillman and Gillman, "Collar the Lot!," 44–5.

on the grounds that the refugees were still Britain's responsibility, so they could not simply be released on Canadian soil.

Regarding the treatment of aliens and especially refugees, the sinking of the *Arandora Star* caused a shift in British public opinion. Criticism of the mass internment and deportation of refugees grew in both the British Parliament and wider society.[28] In response,

> the Cabinet agreed that the "internal management, though not the safeguarding", of the camps should be transferred from the War Office to the Home Office. Far more important, it concluded that "persons who were known to be actively hostile to the present régime in Germany or Italy, or whom for sufficient reasons it was undesirable to keep in internment, should be released".[29]

This change in Britain's interment policy was confirmed in a White Paper that defined the circumstances under which civilian internees of enemy nationality – including those who had been deported overseas – could apply for release.[30]

However, the cases of all the deported refugees in Canada had to be reviewed before they could apply for a return to the United Kingdom. In light of this, Ottawa requested the physical presence of a British representative "who could help to sort the imported mess of the hapless internees, victims of fear, hysteria and panic."[31] The criminal lawyer and prison reformer Alexander Paterson (1884–1947) duly arrived in Canada and executed his assignment with much foresight and great empathy for the interned refugees' problems. The civilian internees' cases were reviewed in close cooperation with the Canadian authorities to determine whether they posed a security risk, and Paterson then decided which of the criteria outlined in the White Paper might apply if they wished to return to the United Kingdom. Quite a few wanted to remain in Canadian internment for the time being because they had valid visas for the United States. However, these refugees' hopes of direct immigration were soon dashed as Paterson's negotiations with the US State Department failed in the spring of 1941.[32] The Canadian historian Paula J. Draper points out:

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28 See House of Commons debates on internment camps, treatment of alien refugees, deportation of refugees and release options and procedures: HC Deb 18 July 1940, vol 363, col 408, col 377, col 392, col 435W; HC Deb 22 August 1940, vol 364, cc1475.

29 Gillman and Gillman, "Collar the Lot!," 222.

30 In July 1940, the Home Office presented a first version of the White Paper with eighteen release categories. Another four were added after complaints that many refugees would be unable to apply under the original categories. See Home Office, "Civilian Internees of Enemy Nationality: Categories of Persons Eligible for Release from Internment and Procedure to be Followed in Applying for Release," July 1940, Cmd. 6217; October 1940, Cmd. 6223.

31 Zimmermann, The Little Third Reich on Lake Superior, 187.

32 See Gillman and Gillman, "Collar the Lot!," 267–73.

> Not only did internment place a stigma on the refugees which proved impossible to erase, but most were Jews and this did not endear them to US immigration authorities any more than it did to Canadian. Anti-refugee lobbies sprang into action in Washington [DC] and a series of bills were passed expressly to block entrance of the internees. By refusing to release refugees from the camps until the US agreed to accept them, the Canadian government played right into their hands. The CJC [Canadian Jewish Congress] now had to look more closely at pushing government towards wholesale release in Canada.[33]

Canadian Jewish and non-Jewish refugee organisations[34] worked with Paterson to increase the pressure on the Canadian government to release interned refugees and grant them residence in the country, if they so desired. Eventually, in July 1941, the government recognised interned refugees as "friendly aliens" and thereby also accepted the principle of release in Canada.[35]

Characteristics of the group of interned refugees and remarks on how they coped with internment

The group of interned refugees consisted of about two-thirds of expellees from Germany, while about one-third had fled Austria. The majority of them were of Jewish background (according to National Socialist racial definitions), and some of them had fled on political grounds (e.g. social democrats, communists and other opponents of National Socialism). About 90 per cent of the interned refugees who were deported to Canada from the UK in July 1940 were unmarried, and most were young: about a quarter were aged between 16 and 19, two-thirds were younger than 29, and only slightly more than a quarter of the deportees were between 30 and 65. Their social backgrounds were heterogeneous: some were lower or working class, but a larger proportion were (educated) middle class and a few belonged to upper-class families. In terms of religion, many of the interned refugees were of the Jewish faith

33 See Paula J. Draper, "Fragmented Loyalties: Canadian Jewry, the King Government and the Refugee Dilemma," in On Guard for Thee, edited by Norman Hillmer et al., 151–77, at 160–61.

34 These were the United Jewish Refugee and War Relief Agencies (UJRA) and the Canadian National Committee on Refugees (CNCR), a non-denominational organisation founded in 1938 that helped interned refugees to find sponsors, places to study and jobs, and compiled individual case files to facilitate the release of internees in Canada. See Valerie Knowles, Strangers at our Gates: Canadian Immigration and Immigration Policy, 1540–2006 (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 2007 rev. ed.), 147–9.

35 See Draper, "The 'Camp Boys,'" 185–9.

(a few were Jewish Orthodox), while others were Protestant, Catholic or non-denominational.[36]

The internment experience imposed a significant psychological burden and considerable mental stress on many refugees. The camps, which were in remote regions of New Brunswick, Ontario and Quebec, were initially under the control of the Canadian army and surrounded by barbed wire. At first, most of the camps housed Jewish refugees, anti-National Socialist political refugees and National Socialist sympathisers together, which inevitably led to conflicts and violence. As a temporary solution, some camps divided their sites into sectors separated by barbed-wire fences, but by October 1940 the Canadian army had reorganised the whole camp system so that almost all of the Jewish and political refugees were now housed in just three locations: Camp N, near Sherbrooke (Quebec); Camp I, Île aux Noix (Quebec); and Camp B, Ripples, near Fredericton (New Brunswick).[37] Living conditions were rudimentary at first: some of the camps were close to derelict and had to be repaired by the refugees themselves before they were habitable. For example, Camp N consisted of just two large sheds – former railway repair workshops that were full of soot, with broken windows and leaking roofs. The federal government had acquired the site just ten days before the arrival of some 700 refugees on 15 October 1940. The refugees complained about the intolerable conditions and even went on hunger strike. However, following negotiations with the camp commander and official representatives of the Canadian government, they agreed to make the camp habitable and winter-proof in return for 20 cents per day per man.[38]

Uncertainty about their own futures and those of relatives left in Europe was a major burden for many of the internees, and depression and neurasthenia were commonplace.[39] A strict daily routine prevailed in all of the camps. Besides compulsory maintenance work, from January 1941 interned refugees could volunteer for

36 These are preliminary findings of the ongoing analysis of the personal data of 1,800 deported refugees. See also Andrea Strutz, "Interned as 'Enemy Aliens': Jewish Refugees from Austria, Germany and Italy in Canada," in Refugees from Nazi-occupied Europe in British Overseas Territories: The Yearbook of the Research Centre for German and Austrian Exile Studies 20, edited by Swen Steinberg and Anthony Grenville (Leiden – Amsterdam: Brill | Rodopi, 2020), 46–67.

37 See Draper, "The 'Camp Boys,'" 173–6; Zimmermann, The Little Third Reich on Lake Superior, 110–14.

38 See Eric Koch, Deemed Suspect: A Wartime Blunder (Toronto – New York – London – Sydney: Methuen, 1980), 126–9. Over time, with great help from several aid organisations, camp life became more pleasant: sports were organised; some of the refugees were able to play music; and lessons were scheduled for the young refugees.

39 See Patrick Farges, Bindestrich-Identitäten. Sudetendeutsche Sozialdemokraten und deutsche Juden als Exilanten in Kanada (Bremen: edition lumiere, 2015), 128.

other tasks (e.g. felling trees, growing vegetables and producing knitwear, camouflage nets or wood products) for which they received a small payment.[40] Some of these cheap but skilled workers were even employed by a private company: for instance, the government granted permission for fifteen draughtsmen to work for a shipbuilding firm in a hut outside Camp A in Farnheim, Quebec.[41] Meanwhile, the workshops within the camps proved quite profitable:

> The Ordinance Branch of the Department of the National Defence was very pleased with them, and by June 1941 approximately nine hundred men in four camps were making nets, doing woodwork, sewing, knitting, farming, drafting, shoe-repairing, and manufacturing various wood products including ammunition boxes, kit bags, hold-alls and pillow cases. Profit on sales was $8,036.41. The entire initial investment in these workshops had been written off.[42]

The refugees' participation in such workshops also relieved a little of the monotony and boredom of camp life. Nevertheless, the detainees still had to cope with the stress of separation from their families and friends in an all-male microcosm with no idea of when they might be released.[43]

After Alexander Paterson had completed his reassessment of the refugees' cases, and the US State Department had blocked all onward migration to the United States, more than half of the detainees opted to return to the UK. Meanwhile, about 970 refugees were finally released from internment in Canada between mid-1941 and the end of 1943.[44]

40 Earnings and the money that relatives and friends sent to the refugees were deposited in an individual account for each internee and then issued as canteen tickets. In the canteen, which was mostly run by an older internee with some accounting experience, refugees could buy goods such as fresh fruit, cigarettes, toiletries, clothing, magazines and newspapers. See Christine Whitehouse, "'You'll Get Used to It!' The Internment of Jewish Refugees in Canada, 1940–43," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Carleton University, Ottawa, 2016, 78–80.

41 See Koch, Deemed Suspect, 240–41.

42 Ibid., 219.

43 See Farges, Bindestrich-Identitäten, 126–32.

44 See Draper, "The 'Camp Boys,'" 189; Strutz, "Interned as 'Enemy Aliens,'" 62. In 1941, some thirty refugees were also released to Cuba and Latin American countries; it was hoped that especially those who were released to Cuba and possessed a valid visa for the United States would be able to enter the country from there.

Building a new life after deportation and internment[45]

Joachim (Jim) Lambek (1922–2014) was released from internment relatively early.[46] According to biographical information on his British alien index card, his Jewish family had roots in Austria-Hungary, but Joachim himself and his younger sister were both born and raised in Leipzig. His mother Charlotte Lambek, née Rosenfeld, was born in Brody (in today's Ukraine) in 1893, while his father Oscar (Osias) Lambek was born in Siary, Gorlice County, southern Poland, in 1890.[47] It is not known when they moved to Leipzig, but the local address book indicates that they were residents of the city by 1914/15; Oscar Lambek was a timber trader.[48] Joachim Lambek attended the local grammar school until he was forced to flee. He and his sister were saved by a *Kindertransport* from Leipzig to England in February 1939; their parents also managed to flee to England some months later.[49] Seventeen-year-old Joachim Lambek and his father were both interned in June 1940. Oscar Lambek was released just two months later, on 23 August 1940,[50] but by then his son had already been deported

45 The life histories are presented in sequence according to the dates when certain groups of internees were released; those accepted as students by the Canadian authorities were among the first.

46 The life histories in this chapter were reconstructed primarily on the basis of information gleaned from Canadian and British archives (e.g. files of aid organisations and files of Canadian and British authorities involved in deportation, internment and release), literature, biographical entries, newspaper articles and obituaries. At the time of the research, no comprehensive life history memories were known or accessible. Erich Koch's book (see note 37, above) represents a sort of collective biography that incorporates the experiences and memories of a number of interned refugees. In additions, some diaries, memoirs and autobiographies have been published: for example, those of Henry Kreisel (see note 12) and Josef Eisinger (see note 51) as well as Hans Reichenfeld, On the Fringe: A Sort of Autobiography (Ottawa: Marquardt Printing, 2006).

47 See Home Office (HO) 396/51 and 396/183, *HO 396 WW2 Internees (Aliens) Index Cards 1939–47*, National Archives of the UK [TNA].

48 The first entry for Oscar Lambek appears in the Leipziger Adressbuch, 1915, Vol. 94, part I.

49 See minutes of meeting of the Faculty of Science, McGill University, 21 October 2014, "Resolution on the Death of Emeritus Professor Joachim (Jim) Lambek, Department of Mathematics & Statistics, 2" <https://www.mcgill.ca/science/files/science/facultyagendadocuments-december_2_2014-_one_file_combined_0.pdf> (17 May 2021); Bernie Lambek, "The Way I See It: The Prison Camp, Part 1," The Bridge, 7 April 2021 <https://montpelierbridge.org/2021/04/the-way-i-see-it-the-prison-camp-part-1/> (18 May 2021). Berni Lambek, Joachim Lambek's son, published some essays on the internet about his father's memories and experiences as an interned refugee.

50 HO 396/183, TNA.

as "enemy alien" to Canada on the prison ship *Sobieski* with another 980 civilian internees (Categories B and C) and about 550 German POWs.[51]

Joachim Lambek would spend the next twenty months in Canadian internment until his release on 20 February 1942. Like most of the teenage refugees, he had been unable to finish his schooling because of the racist persecution in and their forced flight from National Socialist Germany. Consequently, some of their fellow-internees – including former teachers and university scholars – worked with external committees and Canadian aid organisations to establish camp schools and vocational training courses in technical professions and agriculture with the intention of preparing their younger counterparts for higher education or careers in essential trades. The students learned mathematics, geometry, chemistry, physics, engineering, agriculture, English language and Latin but also the likes of music and art history. Junior and senior matriculation classes prepared the teenage refugees for the final stages of secondary education and university entrance exams.[52] In addition to participating in voluntary workshops and working as a lumberjack, Lambek attended one of these matriculation classes in Camp B and passed McGill Junior Matriculation in the autumn of 1941.[53] One of his tutors was Fritz Rothberger from Vienna, who gave inspiring lectures in mathematics. These lessons were pivotal for Lambek, as he remembered many years later:

> He also taught advanced mathematics in the camp school, and I took all his courses for about two years. I remember him drawing circles in the sand to illustrate some theorem in analysis. I can safely say that, had it not been for Fritz Rothberger's teaching and friendship at that time, I would never have become a mathematician or entered academia.[54]

It was eventually agreed that refugees "could be released to study at universities if they were sponsored by Canadian families, farmers could request internees to help them, and skilled workers could be released for war work,"[55] but this scheme was laggardly and continued until the end of 1943. The main reason for this was that the director of immigration Frederick Charles Blair – who had the final say over all releases – repeatedly obstructed the process. Furthermore, in this process also age mattered, it was especially difficult for the older men to secure their release in

51 Lambek, "The Way I See It"; Koch, Deemed Suspect, 46–50, 262. The Sobieski left England on 4 July and docked at Quebec City eleven days later.

52 See Josef Eisinger, Flight and Refuge: Reminiscences of a Motley Youth (New York: self-published, 2016), 74; Koch, Deemed Suspect, 147–53.

53 See minutes of meeting of the Faculty of Science, McGill University, 21 October 2014, 2.

54 Joachim Lambek, "Reminiscences of Fritz Rothberger," CMS NOTES de la SMC – Canadian Mathematical Society 32 (2000) 5: 29.

55 Draper, "The 'Camp Boys,'" 188–9.

Canada; physically and mentally impaired men were usually sent back to the UK.[56] Lambek, though, was one of the fortunate few who met all the criteria for a student release: he was under twenty-one, had been accepted by McGill University, and a businessman from Montreal and his wife – who were also from Leipzig – had agreed to sponsor him.[57] Consequently, his request was granted, so he was able to enrol at McGill in February 1942 and graduated with an honours degree in mathematics three years later. He acquired a master's degree the following year and immediately started his career as a lecturer in mathematics. McGill was in great need of highly qualified teaching staff like Lambek in these early post-war years as it "had to expand rapidly to make room for returning veterans and one way it dealt with the problem was by opening a satellite campus in St. Jean."[58] Lambek worked on his dissertation under the supervision of Hans Zassenhaus (1912–91) and obtained his Ph.D. in 1950 (the first Ph.D. in mathematics ever awarded by McGill). Following promotion to assistant professor, he became a full professor in 1963. In the course of a remarkable academic career, Lambek made a valuable contribution to the development of computer science both within Canada and internationally in addition to his work as an eminent mathematician. He officially retired in 1992 but remained actively involved with McGill's Mathematics Department until a year before his death in 2014.[59]

Initially at least, interned refugees who were released into Canadian society were granted only temporary residency and lived in limbo as the government was still reluctant to admit and grant them immigrant status. It was only in October 1945 that they were finally permitted to apply for citizenship, when "revelations of the enormity of the Holocaust and growing criticism of Canada's narrow immigration policy tied their hands. The 'camp boys' had become Canadians. They had married, worked hard to contribute to the war effort, and begun to rebuild their lives."[60] Joachim Lambek received his Canadian citizenship in 1947,[61] married Hannah Weiss – who was from a Jewish German-speaking family from Brno (former

56 See ibid., 189.

57 See Bernie Lambek, "The Way I See It: The Prison Camp, Part 2," The Bridge, 28 April 2021, <https://montpelierbridge.org/2021/04/the-way-i-see-it-the-prison-camp-part-2/> (18 May 2021).

58 Michael Barr, "An Appreciation of Jim Lambek at McGill: A Talk Given on the Occasion of Jim Lambek's 75th Birthday," Theory and Applications of Categories 6 (1999): 2–4 <http://eudml.org/doc/120199> (19 May 2021).

59 See minutes of meeting of the Faculty of Science, 2.

60 Draper, "The 'Camp Boys,'" 189.

61 See Canada Gazette, 3 April 1948, 1365. Due to his parents' citizenship, Joachim Lambek held Austrian citizenship prior to his expulsion from Leipzig.

Czechoslovakia) – and started a family with her in a Montreal suburb.[62] Meanwhile, his parents and sister were still in London. Oscar and Charlotte Lambek became British citizens in August 1948,[63] which suggests that they planned to stay in the UK. However, the situation changed just six months later when Oscar Lambek died at the age of fifty-eight. By then, Joachim sister was into her second year of marriage to an American whom she had met while studying at the London School of Economics.[64] The couple relocated to Connecticut at the end of the 1940s, and the recently widowed Charlotte Lambek went with them.

The history of these two generations of the Lambek family is characterised by geographical and cultural displacement and transnational experiences. However, Charlotte Lambek and her daughter's immigration to the United States in the post-war period gave the family an opportunity to rebuild social ties that had been interrupted by their flight from National Socialist Germany and especially by Joachim Lambek's deportation to Canada.

Despite the trauma he endured at an early age, Joachim Lambek was able to start a family and to build a personal life as well as a successful career in Canada. This was due in no small part to the education he received in the camp school, which enabled him and many other detainees of his generation to qualify for higher education, start their lives anew and not only integrate within but make valuable contributions to Canadian society in a wide variety of fields.

Fritz (Friedrich) Rothberger (1902–2000) was born in Vienna to Ella and Heinrich Rothberger; his brother Jakob Johann (Hans) Rothberger (1899–1987)[65] was two years older. The Rothbergers were an assimilated, upper-middle-class Viennese Jewish family. Heinrich Rothberger and two of his brothers managed a textile company and a department store on the Stephansplatz in the city centre; he was also an important collector of porcelain art.[66] After high school, Jakob Rothberger

62 See Patrick Farges, "Transnational Yekkishkeit from a Canadian Perspective," in Refugees from Nazi-occupied Europe, edited by Steinberg and Grenville, 21–45, at 37; Lambek, "The Way I See It: Part 2."

63 See London Gazette, 19 October 1948, 5542.

64 See Elizabeth Stauderman, "Biography of Joseph Goldstein," Yale Law & Policy Review 19 (2000) 1: 2.

65 The spelling of his first name(s) varies in Austrian, British and Canadian historical sources (Jakob, Jacob, Johann, Hans). For consistency, "Jakob" is used throughout this article.

66 Heinrich Rothberger was born in Vienna in 1868 and, like his father, the founder of the Warenhaus Jacob Rothberger, was a trained men's tailor and merchant by profession. His wife, Ella Rothberger, née Burchardt, born in 1878, was also from Vienna. For the family history, see Ulrike Nimeth and Leonhard Weidinger, "Die Familia Rothberger vom Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts bis 1938," in schneidern und sammeln: die Wiener Familie Rothberger, edited by Christina Gschiel et al. (Wien – Köln –Weimar: Böhlau, 2010), 49–59.

studied at the Vienna Commercial University, trained in men's tailoring, and joined the family business in 1918.[67]

Fritz Rothberger chose a very different career path. He attended the *Akademische Gymnasium*, enrolled at the University of Vienna to study mathematics (major), zoology and philosophy, earned his Ph.D. in 1927, and then lived and worked as an independent scholar in Vienna for the next ten years. He moved to Warsaw in 1937 in order to continue his research in the field of combinatorial set theory, as there was an excellent school of mathematics at the city's university.[68] Following the "Anschluss" of March 1938, Fritz Rothberger decided against returning to Austria and instead sought refuge in the UK: "I arrived in England in June 1939 (coming from Sweden). I obtained my visa through the Society for the Protection of Science and Learning. In autumn of 1939 I went to Oxford, and in January 1940, I settled in Cambridge, where I stayed until May 1940 when I was interned."[69]

The National Socialist regime in Austria forced the Rothberger family to hand over their property, finally the company was "Aryanised" in November 1938 and Heinrich Rothberger's art collection was seized.[70] To increase pressure on the family, Jakob Rothberger was arrested and sent as *Schutzhäftling* to Dachau concentration camp on 31 May 1938, then transferred to Buchenwald on 23 September 1938, where he remained until his release on 14 February 1939.[71] He immediately set about arranging his emigration, which included paying around 27,000 Reichsmarks in *Reichsfluchtsteuer* (Reich Flight Tax).[72] He was issued with a passport in April, and was deregistered as a resident of Vienna on 17 May 1939,[73] so he probably arrived in London later that month, just a few days before his brother Fritz made his own way to England. Shortly after the outbreak of the war, the two brothers were screened by alien tribunals, although the outcomes were different: while a London tribunal classified Jakob Rothberger as Category C, Fritz Rothberger, who was living in a

67 See index card for Jakob Johann Rothberger, UJRA Collection "Interned Refugees," Box 6, Alex Dworkin Canadian Jewish Archives [ADCJA].

68 See "Curriculum Vitae," May 1942, Canadian National Committee on Refugees Collection, MG 28-V43, Vol. 2, File 23, Rothberger, Fritz 1942–1943 [Rothberger, File 23], Library and Archives Canada [LAC].

69 Ibid.

70 See Christina Gschiel et al., "Die Familie Rothberger in der NS-Zeit – eine Chronologie," in schneidern und sammeln, edited by Gschiel et al., 167–81, at 168–73.

71 See Häftlingsuntersuchungsbogen/1.1.6/Doc-ID 10271837; Effektenkarte/1.1.5.3/ Doc-ID 6959015/ITS Digital Archive, Arolsen Archives.

72 This sum of 27,000 Reichsmarks in 1939 corresponds to about € 159,000 today. See Historischer Währungsrechner <https://www.eurologisch.at/docroot/waehrungsrechner/#/> (27 September 2021).

73 See index card for Jakob Johann Rothberger, ADJCA; Gschiel et al., "Die Familie Rothberger in der NS-Zeit," 176.

village in Dorset at the time, was classified as Category B.[74] Nevertheless, in May 1940, both were arrested and interned, then, in July, deported as enemy aliens to Canada on the *Sobieski*.

At this point, the brothers' parents were still in Vienna. They were able to flee Austria only on 2 November 1941, by which time the deportation of Jews to ghettos and concentration camps had already begun.[75] According to a surviving family member, the couple intended to travel via Spain and Cuba to Florida.[76] Recently viewed sources show that the escape of Heinrich and Ella Rothberger was organised by the Jewish Transmigration Bureau[77] of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (JDC) and that they arrived in Lisbon on or around 12 November 1941 together with nineteen other emigrants.[78] Apparently, the couple had to wait for several weeks in Lisbon, and it was 8 January 1942 before they finally set sail for Cuba on the SS *Guine*.[79] The ship duly docked in Havana a few days later, but of course the United States was now a combatant in the war, which meant the Rothbergers were unable to complete the final leg of their transcontinental migration to Florida. Instead, they were forced to remain in tropical Cuba until the end of the war.[80]

Meanwhile, in Canada's Camp B, in addition to teaching mathematics in the camp school and working as a lumberjack,[81] their son Fritz was a member of an "elite work party that originally specialized in the hardest jobs like digging post holes and trenches in the solidly frozen ground and later was promoted to perform carpentry work."[82] Nothing is known about his brother Jakob's internment activities, but he was released after nearly two and a half years of internment to Montreal on 22 Oc-

74 See HO 396/112; HO 396/138 TNA.

75 See Gschiel et al., "Die Familie Rothberger in der NS-Zeit," 179.

76 See "Interview mit der Tochter von Carl Julius und Leopoldine Rothberger," in schneidern und sammeln, edited by Gschiel et al., 285–92, at 290.

77 The Transmigration Bureau was established by the JDC to help refugees emigrate from Germany, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Holland, Belgium and Luxembourg, primarily to the United States but also to other destinations.

78 See "Incoming Cable Lisbon," 11 November 1941, Immigration, 1941, Dominican Republic Settlement Association Records, 1939–1977, American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee Archives [JDC Archives). It is not possible to reconstruct the escape route from Vienna to Lisbon from the information given in the document.

79 See Jewish Transmigration Bureau Deposit Cards, 1939–1954, Roll 01-Cases 14100–15786, JDC Archives.

80 The Rothbergers were among some 12,000 refugees from National Socialism who arrived in Cuba between 1938 and 1944. See Robert M. Levine, Tropical Diaspora: The Jewish Experience in Cuba (Princeton, NJ: Markus Wieners Publishers, 2010), 79–101, 150–88.

81 See Lambek, "Reminiscences of Fritz Rothberger," 29.

82 Eisinger, Flight and Refuge, 74

tober 1942 because of his professional qualifications as a men's tailor for work at the Earl Clothing Company.[83]

Fritz Rothberger's release was rather more complicated as he was a highly qualified academic, but too old to be released under the student scheme or as a sponsored researcher. Therefore, the Immigration Department would not allow him to leave internment until he had found a job. The Canadian National Committee on Refugees (CNCR) contacted several Canadian universities and individual sponsors on his behalf, but even though both Toronto University and McGill University were impressed by his previous work,[84] no post could be found for him until January 1943. With the help of individual sponsors, CNCR managed to raise some money to support Rothberger financially and additionally, the committee assisted for getting him accepted as a mathematics instructor at Acadia University in Wolfville, Nova Scotia. But Fritz Rothberger's possible release was far from straightforward, because a number of questions had to be clarified as a letter from CNCR to the president of the university shows:

> I think you know that we have been promised $800.00 for Dr. Rothberger's assistance. If a Carnegie grant should not be forthcoming our Committee would be prepared to make provision for a second year. It would be necessary to advise Mr. Blair [the director of immigration] that there is an opening on the staff at Acadia for Dr. Rothberger and I hope that on this financial basis you will be willing to offer such an appointment.[85]

Eventually an application for release was submitted and granted. After more than three years in internment, Fritz Rothberger was finally released on 2 July 1943. He spent a few days with his brother in Montreal before proceeding to Wolfville,[86] where it seems he adjusted quickly to the new environment and his new career. In letters to the CNCR, he describes Wolfville as a charming little town and suggests that he is finding teaching elementary mathematics rather interesting. He integrated well at the university and was promoted to assistant professor a few years later.[87]

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83 See "Releases by Date – Farmers & Others 1941–1943," UJRA Collection "Interned Refugees," Box 4, ADCJA.

84 See recommendation letter for Fritz Rothberger from Leopold Infeld, Professor of Applied Mathematics, Toronto University, 6 March 1942, Rothberger, File 23, LAC. Infeld, who did not know Rothberger in person, recommended him on the basis of his publications.

85 Letter to Dr F. W. Patterson, 12 February 1943, ibid.

86 See letter to Constance Hayward, 3 July 1943, Canadian National Committee on Refugees Collection, MG 28-V43, Vol. 2, File 24, Rothberger, Fritz 1943–1947, 1977, Library and Archives Canada [Rothberger, File 24, LAC].

87 See letters to Constance Hayward, 15 July 1943 and 24 March 1944, ibid.

In 1946, in addition to applying for their own Canadian citizenship,[88] Fritz and Jakob Rothberger started the laborious process of arranging their parents' immigration to Canada from Cuba. For instance, the brothers had to provide proof that they could support them financially so that they would not become a burden on the state.[89] After a year of form-filling and letter-writing, and almost a decade of separation, sixty-eight-year-old Ella and seventy-eight-year-old Heinrich Rothberger were finally reunited with their sons in May 1947. They set up home in Montreal and lived a very modest life, having lost all of their personal possessions. Several pieces from Heinrich Rothberger's looted art collection were returned to him under the auspices of the post-war restitution process in 1947/8, but due to his financial situation he could no longer collect art and sold them.[90] Heinrich Rothberger passed away in 1953 and his wife Ella died in 1964.

Very little is known about Jakob Rothberger's life in Canada. He worked as an office clerk for the Wartime Prices and Trade Board (WPTB)[91] between 1943 and 1946/7, but thereafter there is no record of what he did for a living. However, we do know that he never married, and that he continued to live in and around Montreal for the rest of his life. For instance, he spent his retirement years in Greenfield Park, a small suburb to the southwest of the city centre.[92] He passed away at the age of eighty-eight in 1987, and, like his parents, was buried at Montreal's Baron de Hirsch Cemetery.[93]

Although Fritz Rothberger was already over forty by the time he secured his first job in Canada, he was able to build an impressive academic career in the field of mathematics. He continued to teach at Acadia University until 1949, then transferred to the University of New Brunswick at Fredericton to take up a professorship. Later, between 1955 and 1966, he was a professor of mathematics at the Université Laval in Quebec City. He joined the Mathematics Department at the University of Windsor, Ontario, as a full professor in 1967 and remained there until his retirement

88 Fritz and Jakob Rothberger received Canadian citizenship in January and February 1947, respectively. See Canada Gazette, 1947, 411 and 416.

89 See admission to Canada application form, 17 July 1946 (copy) and letter from 15 May 1947 to Constance Hayward, Canadian National Committee on Refugees Collection, MG28-V43, Vol. 2, File 24, LAC.

90 For the restitution process, see Christina Gschiel et al., "Rückstellungen nach 1945. Objekte aus der Sammlung Heinrich Rothberger," in schneidern und sammeln, edited by Gschiel et al., 225–40.

91 See Letter to Constance Hayward, 4 July 1946, Rothberger, File 24, LAC.

92 See "Voters Lists 1972 and 1974, Federal Elections, 1935–1980," RG113-B, LAC.

93 See Baron de Hirsch Cemetery, "Find a Grave" <https://barondehirsch.com/en/find-a-grave/?ln=rothberger> (28 May 2021).

three years later.[94] However, his academic career was far from over. He returned to Wolfville, a place he apparently adored because of its scenic beauty,[95] and specifically Acadia University, where he continued to teach mathematics as an Honorary Distinguished Professor and Senior Research Fellow until 1981.[96] He had joined the Canadian Mathematical Society (CMS) in the year of its foundation – 1945 – and was an active participant in several influential academic networks, both within Canada and internationally.[97] The importance of his pioneering research into combinatorial set theory was "recognized in 1977 when a symposium was held in his honour at the University of Toronto."[98] He kept in touch with many of his former students, including Joachim Lambek, whom he often met when visiting his parents and brother in Montreal. Students and colleagues alike remembered him as "an outstanding teacher with an inimitable style of lecturing […] [who] instilled a love for mathematics in numerous young people."[99] For instance, he inspired the future Nobel laureate Walter Kohn, another pupil in Fritz Rothberger's mathematics classes at the camp school: "Rothberger normally taught us out-of-doors where he wore shorts and boots and nothing else. He used a stick and a sandy area as a blackboard to teach us about the different types of infinities […] He was a most kind and unassuming man whose love for the intrinsic depth and beauty of mathematics was gradually absorbed by his students."[100] In 2000, Fritz Rothberger died at the age of ninety-eight in his beloved Wolfville. Like his brother, he had never married, so his death marked the end of the direct line of descendants of Heinrich and Ella Rothberger in transatlantic exile.

Gustav Reinhold Jacoby (1875–1965) was born in Mödling, near Vienna, to German-Jewish parents of Protestant faith, so he was one of the oldest interned

94 See "Obituary / Avis de décès," CMS NOTES de la SMC – Canadian Mathematical Society 32 (2000) 5: 29.

95 For example, David Poole recalled that Rothberger enjoyed cross-country skiing. See ibid., 31.

96 See ibid., 29.

97 See "Fritz Rothberger," Acadia Archives <https://archives.acadiau.ca/islandora/object/collection%3Afrothberger> (28 May 2021).

98 See "Obituary / Avis de décès," 29.

99 Lambek, "Reminiscences of Fritz Rothberger," 29.

100 Andrew Zangwill, "The Education of Walter Kohn and the Creation of Density Functional Theory," Archive for History of Exact Sciences 68 (2014) 6: 6. Walter Kohn (1923–2016) was saved by a Kindertransport from Vienna to England in 1939. After his release from Canadian internment, he studied physics and mathematics at the University of Toronto and earned a Ph.D. in physics from Harvard University in 1948. Forty years later, he received the Noble Prize in Chemistry for his work on density functional theory, and mentioned the importance of Rothberger for his education in the camp in his biographical sketch for that prize. See "Walter Kohn – Facts" <https://www.nobelprize.org/prizes/chemistry/1998/kohn/facts/> (6 June 2021).

refugees in Canada.[101] His father Louis Jacoby (1828–1918) was a copperplate engraver and became a professor at the Academy of Fine Arts, Vienna, in 1863.[102] The family moved back to Germany in 1882 and settled in Berlin, where Gustav Jacoby attended the *Joachimsthaler Gymnasium* before going on to study civil engineering at the technical universities of Berlin and Munich. He married Marie Jacoby, née Echte, a Gentile, in 1905. In the course of his career as a government *Regierungsbaumeister* (master builder), he designed, constructed and supervised countless maritime and hydraulic construction projects (e.g. coastal defences, harbours, piers, river crossings and canals) in various parts of Germany, such as Schleswig-Holstein, East and North Frisia and Silesia. He retired in 1934, after thirty-four years of service, and devoted the next four years of his life in Hamburg to researching and publishing articles on the history of engineering and cartography.

However, Jacoby's life dramatically changed on 9–10 November 1938 (the night of the November Pogrom) when he was arrested and imprisoned in the Sachsenhausen concentration camp on account of his Jewish heritage. He was released on 30 November[103] but subsequently expelled from Germany, whereas his wife had to remain in Hamburg. He fled to the UK and eventually arrived in Canterbury in mid-August 1939. Although Jacoby was clearly a refugee from National Socialist Germany, on 5 October 1939 an alien tribunal in Canterbury, Kent, classified him as Category A, which meant immediate internment. The following June, just a month before he turned sixty-five, he was deported to Canada on the *Duchess of York*.[104]

Alexander Paterson reclassified Jacoby as Category C in the course of his case reviews, but Jacoby insisted that he did not want to return to the UK. As soon as his release became feasible in 1941, he started to contact many institutions and individuals in the hope of finding work as a civil engineer, technical assistant, teacher (e.g. German, mathematics, engineering) or even librarian. In addition, he requested support from refugee and welfare organisations such as the CNCR and the Society of Friends. Of course, he was highly qualified and experienced, but his advanced age proved to be a problem. As a result, despite much support from the CNCR, he remained in internment until 23 March 1943, when he was finally released for work

101 Personal data, information on education, expertise, persecution and flight were collected from curricula vitae, a Society of Friends questionnaire, a letter to Constance Hayward, 14 November 1941, Canadian National Committee on Refugees Collection, MG 28-V43, Vol. 2, File 11, Jacoby, Gustav 1941–1947 [Jacoby, File 11], LAC.

102 See Hans Vollmer (ed.), Allgemeines Lexikon der Bildenden Künstler von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart (Leipzig: E. A. Seemann 1925), Vol. 18: 260–61.

103 Information on a former prisoner of Sachsenhausen concentration camp, Stiftung Brandenburgische Gedenkstätten / Gedenkstätte und Museum Sachsenhausen, e-mail to the author, 25 June 2021: "Häftlingskategorie: Jude, Meldung: [zu entlassen] am: 30.11.1938, Quellenart: Anweisung der Politischen Abteilung."

104 See HO 396/110, TNA.

as a postal censor in the Dominion Censorship Office in Ottawa. However, this was war-related employment, and Jacoby was made redundant in September 1945 and became unemployed.[105] Shortly thereafter, after a long struggle, he obtained Canadian citizenship[106] in the hope that this would give him a better chance of finding work and might even enable him to bring his wife to Canada.[107] He contacted numerous governmental and technical institutions and told them that he would accept any job offer, anywhere in Canada, but once again his age counted against him and his search proved fruitless.

In the spring of 1946, Jacoby decided on a – from his perspective – temporary return to Great Britain, where his daughter lived. Also, his wife Marie made arrangements for a visit to the UK to meet her daughter and husband again after seven years of separation.[108] His sincere hope was that he and Marie would then be able to travel back to Canada as a couple. However, he was prepared to return on his own, if need be, as he explained in one of several letters he wrote to the CNCR from England, in which he also expressed his opinion about returning to Germany:

> I admire and love Canada and want to be loyal. Thus I would not like to live forever in England (losing the Canadian right [Canadian citizenship]). […] I have been asked regarding return to Germany, but according to my thoughts and feelings I consider this idea as impossible. Thus in due course I shall go back to Canada maybe within 3 months or one year even if my wife should follow later after I should be settled.[109]

Jacoby diligently continued his search for a job in – and therefore a return to – Canada for more than a year. However, by June 1947, he was close to admitting defeat, as his final letter to the CNCR demonstrates:

> I am between clouds and earth continuing my attempts (fruitless for 15 months) to find in Canada a home, hostel, family, Welfare Association, who might send to me, very soon if possible, a kind invitation for a first accommodation, also small town, countryside, until I might have real work. Did you hear of any chance since your last kind letter about a place throughout Canada? It is so depressing realizing that Canada with space and work for millions of willing people should not help me, a Canadian citizen, a victim of Hitlerism, to grant a modest living.[110]

105 See "Releases," UJRA Collection "Interned Refugees," Box 4, ADCJA; letter to Constance Hayward, 7 September 1945, Jacoby, File 11, LAC.

106 See Canadian Gazette, 1945, 4355.

107 See letter to Constance Hayward, 5 January 1946, Jacoby, File 11, LAC.

108 See letter to Constance Hayward, 27 July 1946, ibid. Jacoby mentioned that he had a daughter living in England for the first time in this letter.

109 Letter to Constance Hayward, 26 August 1946, ibid.

110 Letter to Senator Wilson, 23 June 1947, ibid.

In the end, given that he wished to remain with his wife and needed some income, Gustav Jacoby finally had to accept that they had only one option: he would have to move back to Germany, where at least he was entitled to a pension, even though this had been unthinkable for him for a long time because of the persecution he had endured. Following his return to Hamburg, Gustav Jacoby resumed his scientific research and published further articles in the fields of cartography, geography, coastal structures and dyke construction. He passed away at the age of ninety on 12 May 1965 in Hamburg-Blankenese, just one day after his and Marie's diamond wedding anniversary.[111]

Conclusion

The three case studies examined here demonstrate that factors such as age, education (either pre-existing, acquired during internment or afterwards) and individual agency could have a significant impact on an individual's ability to build a new life in Canada following release from internment. For instance, young adults like Joachim Lambek were able to complete their high school education within the camp school system, gain their freedom under the student release scheme and make the most of opportunities for further education that were subsequently translated into often highly successful lives. Similarly, even though Fritz Rothberger was in middle age by the time he arrived in Canada, his understanding of mathematics and natural aptitude as a teacher, coupled with invaluable support from the CNCR, enabled him to forge an impressive academic career. By contrast, Gustav Jacoby's advanced age was the central reason why he failed to establish a new life for himself in Canada, despite his expertise as a maritime and hydraulic engineer, great personal commitment and individual agency and a willingness to accept any job opportunity. Unfortunately, a lack of information on other elderly detainees means it is currently impossible to judge whether Jacoby's fate was typical for members of his age group or not.

Irrespective of how their lives and careers developed, though, the experience of expulsion, deportation and internment was deeply inscribed into every refugee's biography as a lifelong traumatic burden. "In the years that have passed since internment, none of the refugees have forgotten their experiences. It marked their lives and determined the progress of their adjustment to the Canadian and Jewish communities."[112]

111 See Goslar Carstens, "Gustav Jacoby [Zum Gedenken]," in Nordfriesisches Jahrbuch NF 1 (1965): 20–21; Wilhelm Bonacker, "Obituary Notice: Gustav Jacoby," International Journal for the History of Cartography 19 (1965) 1: 117.

112 Paula J. Draper, "The Adjustment of Jewish Refugees from Nazism to Canadian Life," Refuge: Canada's Journal on Refugees 5 (1985) 2: 17.