Doctors on the Move: Physician Migration and Canadian Immigration History
Sasha Mullally and David Wright

Ed. Note: Sasha Mullally is Associate Professor of History at the University of New Brunswick. She is undertaking a social history of immigrant physicians to Canada from 1957 to 1976, during the inaugural period of the Medicare system. David Wright is Professor of History and Chair of the Department of History and Classical Studies, McGill University. He is also Principal Investigator on a project investigating the immigration of foreign-trained doctors to Canada after World War II.

In 2015, at the height of the European and Middle Eastern refugee crisis, the new Canadian government fast-tracked the acceptance of 25,000 Syrian refugees. In what was a signal event of his government, Prime Minister Justin Trudeau waited at Toronto’s Pearson airport to welcome personally the first planeload of refugees to the country. What was less reported is that on the plane, the exhausted and no doubt traumatized refugees were asked to wait temporarily before they disembarked, while political attachés selected the ideal representative for the inevitable photo-op. Many leading political figures in the United States, in the throes of campaigning for the primaries, had framed the Syrian refugees as potential perpetrators, rather than victims, of terror. As a consequence, advisers to the new prime minister were eager to put the most reassuring face on this newest wave of future Canadians. The selection was Kevork Jamkossian, a gynecologist, his wife Georgina Zires, and their 16-month-old daughter Madeleine.

“Welcome home,” Trudeau smiled, as he picked out parkas for the doctor and his tired but photogenic family.¹

It may have gone unnoticed by all but a very few historians, but the scene was strikingly reminiscent of 1972, when the civil servants of another prime minister named Trudeau organized a similar photo-op, attempting to assuage rising popular anxiety over the wave of immigrants flooding into the country. In that instance, the Department of Manpower and Immigration organized

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¹ In the same media coverage, however, the Jamkossians were described as Syrian refugees, while in fact, they were Armenian refugees who had come to Canada earlier. This misidentification would become a source of ongoing controversy.

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In Memoriam
a media event to celebrate the “10-millionth immigrant” How anyone could have possibly identified the actual 10-millionth immigrant was beyond anyone’s ken, but it seemed reasonable that someone, sometime during the calendar year 1972, would approximate the 10-millionth documented immigrant to Canada since Confederation. Civil servants were keen to put a positive face on the new era of immigration that had witnessed tens of thousands of immigrants from non-traditional countries. Out of a short list of several candidates, the bureaucrats selected another doctor, this time British-trained psychiatrist Doctor Richard Swinson, who landed first in Montreal airport with his wife Carolyn and three children before being escorted to Ottawa to be welcomed in person by Immigration Minister Bryce Mackasey. They were dubbed the “ideal family”, and their arrival was covered by several national newspapers as well as Time (Canada) magazine.\(^2\) When it comes to immigration reporting, the arrival of physicians evidently makes for good copy.

This conjuncture of immigration, public policy and medical practice appears less curious and coincidental when put into a broader historical context. Health-care practitioners have been at the heart of several debates over immigration in the post-WWII era. Indeed 1972, the very year the 10-millionth immigrant arrived, was also the year that the World Health Organization estimated that no fewer than 140,000 doctors were practising in a country other than the one in which they had been trained.\(^3\) This transnational migration of physicians was particularly pronounced in the English-speaking world, where doctors trained in Commonwealth countries, such as India, were migrating \textit{en masse} to Britain, Canada and the United States. Canada occupied an unusual position, being in the top ten “receiving” countries as well as the top ten “donor” countries (losing scores of doctors every year to the United States). And although there were hundreds of doctors moving from poorer to richer countries—a phenomenon dubbed then (as now) a “brain drain”—the flow of physicians was more complicated than such a unidirectional cliché would suggest. Hundreds of doctors were also migrating between and among industrialized jurisdictions, such as the many British-born and British-trained doctors who moved to Canada in the 1950s and 1960s.\(^4\)

Our multi-year project, funded principally by the Canada Research Chairs program, seeks to understand the transnational migration of physicians in the second half of the twentieth century, looking from Canada outwards to the world. It is our contention that the history of foreign-trained doctors has been under-researched and under-appreciated both in the history of Canadian medicine and, more particularly, in the history of Medicare. The struggle of Tommy Douglas and his Cooperative Commonwealth Federation (CCF) government to establish free hospitalization (and later medical services) in Saskatchewan is a deeply important historical narrative, reaching almost mythical status in this country. It is not a coincidence that Douglas was voted the “Greatest Canadian of All Time” in a CBC poll some 10 years ago. But Douglas was only the best-known actor in a much larger story. If one goes back to the 1960s, many of the principal proponents acknowledged that Medicare would have utterly collapsed if it were not for the influx of foreign-trained doctors and nurses. Indeed, were it not for the mass importation of mostly British physicians by Samuel Wolfe during the infamous 1962 Saskatchewan Doctors’ Strike, the Medicare dream would have died at the moment of its inception.\(^5\)

In the history of immigration to Canada (and elsewhere), medically trained migrants formed an important vanguard in the transformation from a “race-based” system of immigration to one that was judged, theoretically at least, on “merit”. As Karen Flynn has documented in her excellent study of the immigration of nurses to Britain and Canada, Caribbean nurses were permitted into Canada under the “exceptional merit clause” of the 1952 Immigration Act at a time when Afro-Caribbean applicants were largely denied entry.\(^6\) Similarly, the first generation of post-war South Asian immigrants to Canada and the United States most often included doctors (or engineers) desperately needed for the evolution and implementation of the post-war welfare state. This situation was reflected throughout the English-speaking world, as foreign-trained medical practitioners migrated from Cape Town to Canberra and from Lahore to Lancashire, for a multitude of professional, personal and political reasons.
Through an examination of contemporary sources, we are attempting to recreate the waves of foreign-trained doctors and their impact on health services in their adopted communities. Fortunately, many wonderful and rich primary sources exist. First, since licensed medical practitioners in Canada must be reported to provincial colleges of physicians and surgeons, a printed annual volume of ALL physicians for the country exists for the post-war years (the annual list became available in digitized form in the 1990s). In these census-like enumerations of medical practitioners, the place of medical practice and of undergraduate education is included, as well as the first year of licensure, providing an imperfect proxy for nation of origin and time of arrival. Annual reports of the Department of Citizenship and Immigration also append a table of the nation of origin of new immigrants as well as their “intended occupation” (“physicians and surgeons” being one category). In addition to this, provincial and Canadian medical associations published their own estimates of the in-flow of doctors to (and out-flow from) the country, often warning that the domestic supply of doctors was insufficient over the longer term and that medical school capacity needed to be urgently expanded.7

These quantitative sources can be supplemented by rich oral testimonies. The Royal Commission on Health Services (Hall Commission), which toured the country from 1961 to 1964, published transcripts of participants decrying the “doctor shortage” in many parts of the country. The witness evidence is compelling. Local hospital administrators and medical chiefs made it clear that the principal impediment to the establishment of universal health insurance in Canada was the insufficient supply and, equally important, geographical distribution of doctors and nurses. Individual Canadians appeared before the Commissioners to tell their stories about the absence of qualified medical practitioners in their home towns. These sources can be supplemented by oral histories of the foreign-trained doctors themselves that we have been compiling since 2008. Oral history provides historians with detailed life histories that, when aggregated, reveal important themes in the migration of highly skilled migrants. We determined fairly early on that there were significant differences between various national groups. For example, the reason for the migration of British-born doctors differed fundamentally from that of South African Jewish doctors under Apartheid, or Indian doctors in post-Partition India, or Ugandan-Asian doctors expelled by Idi Amin in 1972. To date, we have examined in detail the migration of South Asian physicians to Canada, National Health Service “refugees” from Britain, and U.S. Draft doctors. We have also observed clusters of foreign-trained doctors practising in company/industry towns from Sydney, Nova Scotia to Thompson, Manitoba. Some of these findings can be seen in a new book of collected essays, whose cover features fleeing Ugandan-Asians: Doctors Beyond Borders: the Transnational Migration of Physicians in the Twentieth Century (University of Toronto Press, 2016).

All medical historians appreciate that the globalization of health human resources has a history longer than the last third of the 20th century. Canada has received foreign-born doctors (often decommissioned army and navy surgeons) since the earliest generations arrived in New France.8 And in the 19th century, the migration of medical practitioners with foreign credentials posed a challenge to the organizing medical profession.9 We are particularly interested, however, in the contemporary period of 1957–1976. The first date is the year the Hospital Insurance and Diagnostic Services Act was passed, inaugurating federal co-funding of public provincial hospitals. The period includes the implementation of provincial health insurance in Saskatchewan, the aforementioned Saskatchewan Doctors’ Strike, the Hall Commission, the introduction of the points system in immigration, and the Medical Care Act, which would ultimately, with provincial enabling legislation, usher in universal health insurance (Medicare) for the whole country. The 1976 Immigration Act, the end-point of our study, is widely seen as the end of the “open door” policy for doctors, after which it became, for a quarter century, extremely difficult for foreign-trained doctors to become licensed in this country.

Indeed, with this in mind, one wonders if and when the Syrian refugee doctor Kevork Jamkossian will actually ever practise medicine in his new country. Prime Minister Trudeau asserted that Canada has long prided itself on opening its doors to asylum seekers, and in his welcome he emphasized the belief shared by many Canadians that Canada constitutes a liberal society open to newcomers: “[W]e define a Canadian....” he affirmed, “by a shared set of values, aspirations, hopes and dreams that not just Canadians but people around
the world share.” But aspirations, hopes and dreams have not been equally realized, as different generations of doctors have had strikingly different experiences practising medicine in Canada. The overwhelming majority of those who arrived in the formative Medicare years appear to have found gainful medical employment, even if it meant working in underserved areas for several years. Dr. Swinson, for example, would carve out a successful career as an academic psychiatrist, first at St. Michael’s Hospital in Toronto and later as Chair of the Department of Psychiatry at McMaster University in Hamilton. In contrast, those who arrived in the 1980s and 1990s were largely shut out of medical practice altogether. Balancing the rights of foreign doctors to practise, protecting the public from unsafe clinical practice, as well as controlling spiraling health care budgets, have made the licensing and accreditation of foreign-trained medical practitioners an ongoing emotive and vexing political challenge.

As a consequence, looking back at the intersection of the history of immigration and the advent of Medicare has obvious implications for health policy and health system management. The issues can be exceedingly complex, given the decentralized nature of the Canadian health care system and the fact that immigration, unlike health care, is predominantly a federal jurisdiction. National immigration policies sometimes aligned with, but more often complicated, provincial and municipal attempts to recruit and retain international medical graduates. As we indicate above, while physicians can be traced and “placed” among the provinces of Canada, oral histories and personal narratives allow us to understand them as human agents with their own individual, and often, remarkable stories. Our challenge, as historians, is to balance the local, the national and the global. And to remember the inherent irony of our historical project: that the creation of one of the most quintessentially Canadian projects—universal health insurance—was only achieved by bringing in health practitioners trained in other countries.

Notes:
10 “Canada welcomes in first group of 25,000 Syrian refugees”
I wrote this personal account in October 1968, about the Czechs who applied for refugee status at the Canadian Immigration office in New Delhi after the occupation of Czechoslovakia by Soviet troops.

Tuesday 1 October—I returned with High Commissioner James George from a few days of hiking to find a group of Czechs waiting for us. They came from Ranchi, Bihar, where they had been working for the Heavy Engineering Corporation (HEC). All were employees of Skoda, working in India on a foreign aid project.

Wednesday 2 October—They returned to the office for interviews. There were 21 people altogether, with seven heads of families. One chap had been at the office previously, so we had a pretty good idea of what was in store for us—though we did not foresee all the complications that would arise.

From the start, the Canadian government acknowledged that these people were refugees. On that Wednesday, they had medical examinations and then were interviewed by Fred Urquhart (RCMP Visa Control Officer), and by Gordon Whitehead or me. We had to read the policy files hurriedly to determine how we could process them. We sat in the office interviewing until 6:30 p.m. We finished worn out but feeling we had accomplished something, as the calibre of the applicants was impressive. In the background, our boss Al Campbell was making hurried trips to the high commission, sending urgent telexes to Ottawa, and meeting with the High Commissioner, who was in turn having consultations with the Indian authorities.

No one was sure what the Indian government might do. It had only “deplored” the action of the Soviet Union in occupying Czechoslovakia, not “condemned” it. In addition, there was the project in Ranchi. The sudden departure of seven highly trained personnel would have a detrimental effect on the project’s successful completion. If those seven managed to get to Canada successfully, what was to stop the rest of the Czechs trying to get out also? There were about 200 Czechs in Ranchi, including wives and families.

Thursday 3 October—We finished all the procedures. The Canadian Pacific representative booked 16 places for the next afternoon. The only things the Czechs now required were clearance from the Foreign Registration Office and tax clearance. [All foreigners who were not members of a Commonwealth country had to be registered with the regional Foreign Registration Office, and anyone other than a member of a diplomatic mission had to have an income tax certificate before being permitted to purchase a ticket.]

By the afternoon the local registration office had issued clearances for the Czechs to leave. They had visited the local HEC office and been told that they were exempt from income tax, but the company would give them nothing in writing.

Friday 4 October—No further developments. The Czechs lost their first opportunity to leave, and it now appeared that it would be Monday before anything would happen. They were getting anxious: they were staying in the Lodhi Hotel, about a mile from our office, and their money was beginning to run out, and sooner or later the Czech embassy would get word of what was happening.

Our new boss, Cliff Shaw, and his wife Margaret arrived in the midst of the turmoil.

Saturday 5 October—Gordon came around in the evening for what was to be a “raid the fridge” dinner, but it never came off because Al Campbell appeared around 8:30 p.m. to ask us to work.

That afternoon two of the Czechs had turned up at the Campbells’ house, saying that two men from the Foreign Registration branch had come to their hotel to collect the clearance certificates and had made all of them sign statements that they would not leave Delhi. In addition, 50 police had been posted around the hotel...
to ensure that no one tried to escape. Al asked us to keep an eye on things at the hotel and report back if the police did anything suspicious. If they tried to remove the Czechs by force, we were to try to dissuade them, or at least stall them. What we could have done, I'm not sure, other than suggest that the Canadian government was seriously interested in the welfare of these people and it intended to pursue the matter with the Indian authorities at the highest level. In fact, I believe we had some restraining effect, merely by our presence. It was obvious that the police were nervous and would be only too happy if the matter were handled at a higher level.

Somehow two of the families got wind of what was happening. One couple and their two children took up residence in the Canadian high commission. Another chap's wife saw the police arriving as she was returning to the hotel. She and her husband managed to get away. As they still had their clearance certificates and had only been back from leave a short time, they did not require tax clearance. They purchased airline tickets at the BOAC office for the next morning and booked into a hotel in Old Delhi for the night. In their escape, they had to leave their luggage behind. It was not until 1:00 a.m. Sunday that the police realized they were missing, though we had known for hours.

Meanwhile Al had been spending most of the evening with the High Commissioner who, in turn, had been meeting with Indian officials most of the afternoon. He had arranged to see Morarji Desai, Deputy Prime Minister (under Indira Gandhi) as soon as he returned from the U.S. and London, and he had been assured by the Chief of Protocol at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs that no attempt would be made to remove the Czechs from the hotel. With this assurance, the family that had taken up residence in the high commission returned to the hotel.

Sunday 6 October—We enjoyed a rather late dinner at 1:30 a.m.

Al called Gordon and me back to the hotel at 10:00 a.m. to keep an eye on the situation and, through our presence, try to calm the Czechs, who were understandably very jumpy.

We recognized all the plainclothesmen by now. We kept an eye on them, and they on us. It was very James Bondish and at times quite amusing. We spent a lot of time talking with the Czechs, but occasionally we would get up and walk around the hotel to draw off one of the guards and lead him a merry chase. In one of these excursions I purposely attracted the attention of a policeman, then turned around, went around a corner and headed off down a long corridor. I stopped, turned around to look, and saw him peering from behind a pillar. He quickly withdrew his head. I waited, his head appeared again. Unable to resist the urge, I waved. He now came fully into the open and waved back. He obviously figured it was as much of a mug's game as I did!

Monday 7 October—the High Commissioner met with Mr. Desai and was advised that the Indian government had no plan to hold the Czechs and its only intention was to give the Czech embassy and HEC a chance to talk to the group. The embassy people were over on several occasions. They had consulted with Prague and were attempting to dissuade the Czechs from leaving, assuring them that they wouldn't be persecuted on their return home and that conditions were bound to improve in Czechoslovakia. They weren't very convincing for, at the same time, the newspapers were reporting the results of the latest Moscow talks and there was news that Dubcek was probably going to resign. The chief engineer on the project, a Czech, talked to the group also, but the irony of his appeal was not lost as they were aware that he had already got his daughter out to Britain. We strongly suspected he would shortly follow.

Wednesday 9 October—Al spent the day rushing around getting last-minute clearances for the Czechs and dodging newspaper reporters and photographers. After work, Gordon accompanied the Czechs to the airport to ensure that they got away without further delay or difficulties.

It was a week that neither the Czechs nor we are likely to forget. They were a wonderful bunch. We made some good friends among them in the hours of crisis and all of us were eager to see that they settled in well on arrival.
Hearts of Freedom Gala in Ottawa-Gatineau
Gerry Maffre

On 5 June, Ottawa-area Southeast Asian communities held a “Hearts of Freedom Gala” to mark the 30th anniversary of the awarding of the Nansen Medal to the people of Canada. Gathered in the Grand Hall of Canada’s Museum of History, guests included members of those communities, the three levels of government, the UNHCR, local settlement agencies, and CIHS members. Before the formal part of the evening, guests could look at informative banners from the participating organizations, enjoy Southeast Asian food, and reconnect with former colleagues who had been involved in Canada’s humanitarian response to the Indochinese.

The CIHS was well represented in the displays with a special banner and an information table where we were able to promote the Society, the Gunn Prize, and the forthcoming Running on Empty.

Several prominent speakers then preceded artistic presentations by community performers. They included former Immigration ministers Barbara McDougall and Ron Atkey, Museum of History CEO Mark O’Neil, the Immigration department’s then-deputy minister Anita Biguzs, UNHCR Representative to Canada Furio de Angelis, Senator Thanh Hai Ngo, Member of Parliament Anne Quach, Deputy Head of the Norwegian embassy Else Kveinen, Executive Director of Refugee 613 Louisa Taylor, Professor Howard Adelman, and CIHS President Michael Molloy. As well, Bill Janzen (Mennonite Central Committee), and Pat Marshall and Barbara Gamble (Ottawa’s Project 4000), talked about their professional and personal experiences in helping refugees settle in Ottawa.

A common theme in the speeches was Canada’s response to past refugee crises and the need to continue that tradition and responsibility. Speakers congratulated the former refugees for their contributions to Canada and mentioned the help many are now extending to Syrian refugees. The former ministers reflected on the terrific cooperation and drive they witnessed in officials in Canada and refugee camps of that time. Barbara McDougall was eloquent in praising Mike Molloy as the movement’s coordinator, inspiration, and hero.

For his part, Molloy pointed to the political leadership that made the work of officials much easier. In a video prepared for the event, he related some of the experiences he and his colleagues worked and lived through. Professor Adelman called on Canadians not to forget their response to human crises like the boat people and the Syrians: in his words, to forget is to reject—which is not the Canada we want.

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2016 marks the 30th anniversary of the awarding of the Nansen Medal to the people of Canada. The medal is the preeminent award given by the United Nations High Commission for Refugees for service to refugees.

Established in 1954, the award is named after Fridtjof Nansen, the first High Commissioner for Refugees for the League of Nations. It is bestowed on a person or group for outstanding work on behalf of the forcibly displaced. Since Eleanor Roosevelt first won it in 1954, more than 60 individuals, groups and organizations have been recognized for outstanding and dedicated work on behalf of displaced people.

In 1986, the UNHCR for the first, and so far the only, time honoured an entire country with the award.

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SAVE THE DATE!
Members are asked to mark Thursday, 20 October on their calendars: this is the date of the Society’s 30th Annual General Meeting—an important milestone. Details will follow closer to the event.
Dr. Frederick Montizambert and Public Health
The second of a planned series of articles on the role of health and medical screening in Canada’s immigration history
Brian Gushulak

Ed note: Dr. Brian Gushulak joined Immigration Medical Services of Health and Welfare in the early 1980s and held positions in both Health and Immigration departments. From 1996 to 2001, he was Director of Migration Health Services of the International Organization for Migration in Geneva, and then until 2004, he was Director General of the newly created Medical Services branch in the Canadian Department of Citizenship and Immigration. He has since been engaged in research and consulting in the area of health and population mobility.

I have always believed that if Frederick Montizambert had lived and worked in the United States, his life would have been documented in a movie and he would be as familiar to those interested in medicine as Wilder Penfield, William Osler, and Banting and Best. This should be particularly true in a globalized world, where the implications and challenges posed by diseases moving across borders are frequent news stories. However, as Montizambert spent almost all his professional life as a civil servant, where individual recognition at the operational level rarely became public, he is an almost-forgotten figure.

Some of this lack of presence mirrors the lack of importance of public health to the government institutions within which he worked at the time. Additionally, he could be a bit of a challenge to work with and manage, traits which reduced the chances increased recognition of his work. Bilson, in his biography, notes that which included analyses of the long and detailed that an Order in departmental reports to be limited departments’ work and not contain form of scientific discussion” was Near the end of his career he wrote day, Sir Robert Borden, to discuss package.

Yet a number of profound scientific, events at the end of the 19th and marked in his personal and lived and worked during modern Canada. From a medical was part of the shift in the centres to America. He experienced the advances, such as the germ theory of disease and recognition of the bacteriological causes of infections. In the context of globalization, he worked in a maritime environment that saw marine travel evolve from sail into steam. He had the ability to understand and apply the scientific and operational aspects of those changes to the practice of quarantine. For this he received international, if not domestic, recognition.

Finally, he was a part of the process that supported the science and practice of public health, both as a profession and as a national endeavor, and he was an important although quiet force in the organization and creation of a national health department to manage health matters of domestic interest.

Frederick Montizambert was born in Quebec City in 1843 to a family with roots that extended back to the 1640s. He was a direct descendant of Pierre Boucher, the founder and seigneur of Boucherville. His youth was spent in the pre-Confederation context of Upper and Lower Canada. He grew up in a privileged environment where public service was commonplace. His father was law clerk to the Legislative Council of Lower Canada and later the Senate. His mother’s father was chief justice of the Superior Court of Lower Canada. He was educated in Montreal and at Upper Canada College and returned to Laval to study medicine.
Until the middle of the 19th century, Europe was the centre of excellence for the science and practice of medicine in the western context. Most scientific and clinical advances were made there, where numerous medical colleges and schools had long histories of teaching and research. In America, institutions like Harvard and Johns Hopkins were just beginning to develop the capacities that would advance them to their present status. Like many new doctors in North America who wanted to specialize, Montizambert journeyed to Europe to continue his education. He studied surgery in Edinburgh, where he excelled at his studies and worked with some of the best surgeons of the day.

On his return to Quebec in 1864, he began private practice as a prominent, well-educated, well-connected physician. His sense of duty and public service was evident even then: he joined the militia and served during the Fenian raids as principal medical officer of the Quebec military district, receiving a medal for his service.

In a similar manner to the mobilizing of militias at times of crises, municipal or civic boards of health would be rapidly convened to manage public health emergencies, such as cholera epidemics [See Bulletin 76]. The boards were given emergency powers and resources. As the outbreaks of disease came under control, the powers and activities of the boards, and the responsibility for health, returned to local authorities at the municipal level. One cannot help wondering if Montizambert’s experience with the poorly coordinated provincial militias during those times, factors which advanced the process of Canadian confederation, prompted his later efforts to lobby for a national public health department.

Private practice proved less interesting to Montizambert than public health, but in the absence of epidemics and outbreak emergencies, there were only a few public health opportunities in Canada at the time. The only permanent public-health related positions were to be found at the quarantine stations and the lazaretto, or leprosy hospital, in Tracadie, Nova Scotia.

Montizambert set his sights on the quarantine station at Grosse Île and initially obtained a yearly appointment as an assistant medical superintendent. Getting the job required persistent lobbying and taking advantage of his family’s political connections (extending to the level of Sir John A. MacDonald). His quest was facilitated by the retirement of the incumbent director and the death of a competitor, and he was appointed medical director at Grosse Île in 1869. He was 26 years old.

The quarantine station that Montizambert inherited was a product of the cholera epidemics of the previous decades. The station and the practices that went with it reflected the age of sail and predated the germ theory of disease, when cholera was believed to result from miasma or bad air. The station was only open eight months a year, the best for sailing vessels to make the transatlantic run. Regulations to enforce quarantine were weak, and steam propulsion now allowed travel during winter. Vessels frequently steamed by the station without inspection. Better sanitation in Canada and the United Kingdom, improved accommodation, and shorter passages provided by steamship were diminishing the impact of cholera as a public health threat. The future of Grosse Île and quarantine was in question.

However, public health was becoming an important medical entity beyond periodic epidemics. Smallpox, which was a disease of epidemic potential but one for which effective vaccination was now available, assumed greater importance and attention in the 1870s and 1880s. At the provincial level, public health acts were passed in an attempt to regulate and offer legislative support for improving health and welfare at all times, not just during outbreaks. Universities with medical colleges began to offer courses in public health, and institutions dealing with public health were founded. The American Public Health Association, for example, was founded in 1872. Public health practitioners became more prevalent in Canada and abroad. The emerging science of epidemiology began to provide an empirical basis of measuring outcomes. At the international level,
attention began to turn towards systematic and standardized methods of dealing with the spread of diseases between nations and across oceans. The first International Sanitary Conference, which created a process that would eventually lead to the creation of the current International Health Regulations, was held in 1851. All of these changes and scientific advances were taking place while Canada expanded westwards and the need for, and volume of, immigration expanded dramatically.

Montizambert began to apply the more modern aspects of public health on Grosse Île. He badgered his superiors for funds and resources. Under his direction, quarantine operations were extended, vaccination for smallpox was required, and regular inspections ensured compliance. He established a bacteriological laboratory capable of diagnosis to determine whether infections warranted quarantine. Following the identification and recognition of microbes as the cause of infectious diseases, sterilization and disinfection became routine practices. Steam sterilization replaced the simple washing of contaminated goods. The number of staff was increased, and record keeping improved.

Similar processes were under way in the United States, where the Public Health Service began to assume control of quarantine from the states after the passage of the 1878 National Quarantine Act. Many immigrants destined for the United States disembarked in Canada, and there were concerns about what would now be called the continental integrity of quarantine services. Montizambert worked closely with and visited his American counterparts. In addition, bilateral inspections by U.S. Public Health officials reduced American concerns that immigrants destined to the U.S. via the St. Lawrence posed health risks.

Service provision was standardized, streamlined and better administrated throughout the 1880s. New and better-designed buildings were constructed to make the experience at Grosse Île less challenging for both passengers and transport companies. Montizambert’s authority was increased, although not with what he considered sufficient salary or status. In 1894 he became the superintendent for all quarantine stations (Lawlor Island near Halifax, Partridge Island in New Brunswick, and William Head in British Columbia). He ensured that all of them took up the public health science-based practices in use at Grosse Île.

In 1899 he became Director General of Public Health and Sanitary Adviser to the Dominion Government, a role and rank comparable with what today would be a deputy minister. In this role, he also assumed responsibility for the leprosy hospitals at Tracadie and D’Arcy Island in British Columbia.

Montizambert was in charge of quarantine, which was a federal government responsibility, at the time when public health was becoming a true science. As such he was heavily involved with other nations and their quarantine services. He visited Europe and met with Louis Pasteur. He was elected president of the American Public Health Association in 1890. Many nations applied the principles developed at Grosse Île to their domestic quarantine services, and he provided input for several national and international processes to standardize quarantine practices. Domestically, in his role as Sanitary Adviser, Montizambert became involved in the management of leprosy, the control of tuberculosis, and matters as mundane as the control of disease on railways.

Responsibility for quarantine had resided in the departments of The Interior and of Agriculture for most of Montizambert’s career. At the dawn of the 20th century, there were calls for a federal health department. Realizing the benefits of a centralized administrative and regulatory approach to public health, he became one of many advocates for a true national health department. Modern medicine required accurate epidemiological statistics; immigrants arriving in one province quickly moved to others to settle; railways carried those with communicable diseases rapidly between jurisdictions; and growing international cooperation in disease control
required a central point of contact. Many believed that these needs would be best served by a unified department whose sole focus was the health and welfare of the nation.

Montizambert’s role as a government official precluded direct lobbying for a national health department, but he provided general advice and suggestions to organizations such as the Canadian Medical Association, which carried the demands to the government. Efforts were interrupted by World War I, but the return of thousands of soldiers with sexually transmitted diseases acquired abroad and the impact of the 1918 Influenza Pandemic lead to a Dominion and Provincial Conference in 1919 that supported the creation of a national department to deal with health. The new department would look after “all matters and questions relating to the promotion of health and social welfare of the people of Canada over which the Parliament of Canada has jurisdiction”.

Having devoted his life to the development of public health in Canada, Montizambert expected to play an important role in the new department. However, it was not to be. He had been a government official for 50 years and was now in his mid-seventies. While he was an unquestioned expert in quarantine and aspects of disease control, his experience in other aspects of metropolitan health and welfare was limited. The government thought that bringing in an outsider with few ties to the old bureaucracy would facilitate the reorganization required to build a new department. The Deputy Minister of the Department of National Health and Welfare was to be a younger man: Dr. John Amyot, a physician with academic, provincial and university experience in public health, who was also a medical officer during World War I.

Montizambert was disappointed but continued to work. Amyot created a Quarantine, Immigration and Marine division in the new department, and Montizambert assumed responsibility for Quarantine. It was clear that there would be conflict, but fate intervened when, in early 1920, Montizambert was injured by a streetcar. He recovered and returned to work, but Amyot initiated the process of his retirement. Montizambert retired after 54 years of government service and lived in Ottawa until his death in 1929.

While he never received the national recognition or reward that he deserved and perhaps craved, Frederick Montizambert was greatly appreciated at the international and scientific level. His work greatly influenced the evolution and practice of quarantine at the time. He was influential in the documenting, reporting and analysis of the international spread of disease, activities that became integral components of global health. He can be considered as one of the early Canadian giants of global public health, and his life and times reflect many aspects of the new Canadian nation.

Sources:
Ugandan-Asian Archive Vancouver Road Show and a Valuable Addition to the Collection

The previous Bulletin reported on Carleton University’s efforts to broaden awareness of the Ugandan-Asian online archive that was established with the assistance of the CIHS. In February a team from Carleton and the CIHS took a road show to Toronto to acquaint the Ugandan-Asian community there with the archive and its contents [See Bulletin 76]. A second roadshow took place at Vancouver’s beautiful Central Library on 2 April.

Carleton University has created The Uganda Collection to capture the memories and experiences of those expelled from Uganda in 1972. This unique collection contains rare artifacts and valuable information about their expulsion and subsequent resettlement in Canada.

The Vancouver event attracted 300 participants, who were able to handle documents from the collection and listen to some of the oral histories that have been collected. Guest speakers included Ugandan High Commissioner George Marino Abola; Senator Mobina Jaffer; John Halani, Uganda’s honorary consul in Vancouver; Nizar Fakirani, whose family’s donations have facilitated the preservation and presentation of the collection; and two successful businessmen who began life in Canada as refugees, Massadiq Umedali and Amar Gupta. Gupta, the grandson of one of Uganda’s Sikh pioneers, recounted how he was stripped of his Ugandan citizenship and kept his original “Affirmation for Visa” (signed by Larry Carroll), which he used to travel extensively in Europe after being landed in Canada and showed at this event.

Carleton’s Chief Librarian Wayne Jones and Archivist Patti Harper spoke about the importance that Carleton attaches to this collection of newspaper clippings, memoirs and original documentation.

The highlight of the event was a presentation by Milton and Val Carrasco of an important artifact of the Ugandan movement. When Val Carrasco and her sister, from Uganda’s Goan community, arrived in Canada as teenagers, Chief Warrant Officer Randall, who was supervising the arrival process, gave them his card and asked them to stay in touch. Over time Randall and his wife took the girls under their wings. Before he died he gave them a black ledger and asked them to find a good home for it. The ledger was used as a logbook and contains the dates, flights, names, and ultimate destinations of every Ugandan-Asian who arrived in the airlifter charted by the Government of Canada between September and November 1972. The Longue Pointe Logbook constitutes an addition to the Carleton collection of exceptional historical value.

A team from Carleton will travel to Toronto and Vancouver this summer to collect additional oral histories from people who arrived from Uganda in 1972 and 1973.

The Canadian Southeast Asia Research Project: Hearts of Freedom

This three-year research project, led by Carleton University, has partners and advisers from the Vietnamese, Cambodian and Laotian ethnic communities, as well as from Canadian museums, museum and historical associations, and the CIHS. Its goal is to preserve the historical memory of Southeast Asian refugees, their sponsors, and Canadian officials, military and airline personnel involved in the Southeast Asian refugee movement to this country. The plan is to produce a book and short film, in addition to 200 oral history interviews and their transcriptions in a bilingual format. The CIHS is represented as a partner in the project through the active participation of Mike Molloy, Anne Arnott, Charlene Elgee and Peter Duschinsky.

Financing for the project will, in principle, be provided through a Heritage Canada grant and by “in kind” contributions from Carleton University. In the past two months, Carleton emeritus professors Colleen Lundy
and Allan Moscovitch have chaired a series of meetings to prepare the project proposal and its budget for submission, and they have met with Heritage Canada about it. As well, there has been a meeting with Patti Harper, Carleton University's head archivist, to ensure that the oral histories, their transcriptions and artifacts would have a place in a newly established Southeast Asian collection at the Carleton Archives and Research Collections, based on the model of Carleton's Uganda Collection.

The project submission and the budget are now close to being finalized. It is hoped that the project will be approved and started later this fiscal year.

**Update: Running on Empty**
Mike Molloy

The writing and editorial team worked hard all spring to get the manuscript of *Running on Empty: Canada and the Indochinese Refugees 1975-1980* ready to submit to McGill Queen's University Press (MQUP) by 31 May. It was a big job because it is a big book—approximately 200,000 words.

We passed the mandatory academic peer review with flying colours. We have added, at one reviewer's suggestion, a short but powerful section on the longer-term settlement challenges faced by the refugees based on a number of studies that were done about a decade after the refugees arrived.

Given current interest in the refugee issue, both the Society and MQUP are optimistic about sales. I have only one regret: that the book was not ready early enough to be of use to the people who just brought 25,000 Syrians to Canada. The legislation, corporate culture, and above all the astonishing technology at the disposal of the Immigration department are very different from the ballpoint pen and carbon-paper days of 1979 and 1980, but a lot of enduring home truths are embedded in the history and stories we have recorded that would have reassured our successors. The hard-headed compassion, organizational smarts, and steely determination we record in the book were alive and well in Lebanon, Jordan and Turkey this past year.

MQUP's editors will no doubt work the text over again, and that is going to take some time, but we will provide updates as we get them.

Reviewed by Charlene Elgee

*Reviewer's Note:* Valerie Knowles is an Ottawa-based historian and writer with degrees from Smith College (BA Honours History), McGill University (MA History) and Carleton University (Bachelor of Journalism). In addition to the previous editions of *Strangers at our Gates*, Knowles has also published *First Person: A Biography of Cairine Wilson, Canada’s First Woman Senator*; the award-winning *William C. Van Horne: Railway Titan*; and two volumes of *Capital Lives: Profiles of 32 Leading Ottawa Personalities*; several local Ottawa history titles; and numerous newspaper and magazine articles.

Not every fourth edition of a book merits its own review, but *Strangers at our Gates* by Valerie Knowles deserves that kind of attention. Previous editions are on essential reading lists of history and social diversity courses in universities and colleges across the country.

Impeccably researched and clearly written, *Strangers at our Gates* presents a comprehensive history of the many waves of migrants coming to our shores, starting in prehistoric times. Knowles tells this story across the centuries with the good, the bad and the ugly all exposed but without personal judgement. It is a fascinating catalogue of who came, when they arrived, the problems they faced, and the issues that arose as the nation grew in population and diversity.

The fourth edition brings the story up to the present from 2006 (where the third edition ended), with the Syrian refugee crisis as the latest addition. This update coincides exactly with the years of the Stephen Harper
government, which was faced with such challenges as large backlogs of applicants, economic downturns in the midst of record-high intakes of immigrants, faltering success rates among new immigrants, struggles with recognition of foreign credentials, refugee issues around health care and dubious claimants, stumbles with the Temporary Foreign Workers Program, changes to citizenship definitions, and the challenges of the terrorist issue. The last chapter looks to the future and presents food for thought. Knowles stays above the fray, presenting both sides of every issue and giving the reader an intellectual foundation along with sources for further research. The decision not to include any photos and illustrations in the new sections, however, is a disappointing one.

This reviewer has felt for some time that Strangers at our Gates should be required reading for every Canadian, but, failing that, it should at least be part of the tool kit of all those who work to create our policy frameworks at the federal, provincial and municipal levels of government. And certainly an understanding of where we come from, and therefore who we are as a nation must begin with the knowledge of our history as immigrants, whether we are students of Canadian history or just interested in understanding our country. Knowles’s unpretentious and accessible writing style makes the learning process easy. Read this book!

West Coast Reunion

While on the west coast this winter, CIHS President Mike Molloy met with a number of members and former colleagues. These included Lloyd Champoux; Donald Cameron (and Sandra); John McEachern, former Nairobi Immigration Program Officer; Shahira Tejpar (and Zul); and former Security Liaison Officer Jack Rae (and Betty). In Victoria, Mike and wife Jo spent time with Ron and Margot Button, and had a highly enjoyable lunch with the Buttons, Bill Sheppitt, Audrey Tomick, and Gordon and Ginny Whitehead. Travelling up the island, Mike and Jo caught up with Dr. Brian and Mrs. Gushulak, and with Mr. and Mrs. Nestor Gayowsky. Many an immigration tall tale was told in the course of these encounters: the older we get, the better we used to be!

The Threat from Within by Phil Gurski. Rowman & Littlefield, 2015. 181 pages
Reviewed by Kurt F. Jensen

Myths, uncertainties, and ideologically tainted views surround the question of what constitutes radicalization and terrorism in the West. Phil Gurski, a recently retired intelligence analyst with CSIS specializing in homegrown al-Qaeda-inspired terrorists, has written a book which seeks to clarify the confusion.

Gurski suggests that there is no set of criteria with which to identify the next homegrown Canadian terrorist. Any attempt to generalize may give comfort to the uninformed but will not aid those seriously seeking to understand this issue.

The media have put forward various factors and influencers as important drivers of terrorist-linked violence—including gender, age, poverty, alienation, criminal background, lack of education and unemployment. These elements may be present in some cases and absent in others. Gurski concludes that the terrorist threats which Canada and other nations face cannot be resolved by identifying common characteristics. He says that “people who are radicalized to violence are average Canadians and Westerners.” Rather, he believes one has to determine “what violent radicalization looks like rather than extend the debate over drivers and root causes.”

Common indicators that people are starting on this path include: sudden increases in intolerant religiosity, rejection of different interpretations of Islam, rejection of non-Muslims, rejection of Western ways, rejection of Western policies, association with like-minded people, obsession with Jihadi and violent-extremist sites and social media, obsession with the narrative (a set of beliefs verging on conspiracy theories), desire to travel to conflict zones, obsession with Jihadi, obsession with martyrdom, and obsession with End-Times (the coming of the end of the world).
The presence of some, or many, of these indicators is reason for concern but does not necessarily make someone a terrorist. Until now these indicators have usually been identified in those engaged in terrorist behaviour after the fact. Gurski makes the point that family, friends, religious leaders, and others may notice these indicators and seek assistance to effect an intervention and divert the person from terrorism before he or she comes to the attention of security and law enforcement.

Gurski’s book will not give comfort to its readers. The book has few answers, and that makes it more credible than many others. In a world confronted by the fear of terrorism, this is a sobering book that brings a sense of reality to a complex issue.

### Montréal en histoire

An unusual history of Montreal, including its immigrant communities, comes alive on the website of **Radio Canada's local radio station**. In preparation for the city’s 375th anniversary next year, the station is running a series about lesser-known facts of Montreal's past. The site includes reports, with illustrations, on: the Jewish population in the early to mid-1900s; the Syrian population and its presence in cinema ownership; and the Turkish tunneling engineer whose family introduced the city to cycling and gave us the opera singers Louis Quilico and his son, Gino. The series can be found on-line by searching for “radio canada, en route vers le 375”.

### Updates

#### Annual Membership Fees

The CIHS has decided to change the annual membership year, because most members pay their fees at the AGM in late October. Instead of covering a calendar year, annual membership will now extend from 1 November to 31 October of the following year. A renewal reminder will be sent out before the AGM.

#### The Gunn Prize

The Gunn Prize has been getting wider exposure. New Canadian Media, which is a prime source of copy for newspapers in smaller communities, recently published an article by Danica Samuel based on interviews with the Society’s Gerry Van Kessel and Gunn Prize winner Geoffrey Cameron.

#### Web Site

The CIHS’s website has promoted awareness of the Society and attracted requests for research assistance and help in reconnecting with former Immigration personnel. Visitor traffic has been decent over time, but it is showing its age.

We know people search the internet from a variety of communications devices. Our site is now really only compatible for those working from computers. It's not user friendly for those on pads and smart phones.

So our webmaster, Winnerjit Rathor, is re-engineering the site to make it more attractive to a wider variety of devices and visitors, enhancing the prospects that web searches will lead people to our site. Essentially, the new site will be the same to visitors from PCs or more portable devices. Either through the Bulletin or your visits to the site, we’ll keep you informed of the changes.

#### Brockville Refugee Sponsorship Campaign

On 24 April, CIHS President Mike Molloy gave a talk to drum up support for a plan to settle 10 Syrian refugee families in Brockville, Ontario. He explained how Canada’s record of refugee resettlement since World War II mirrors evolving Canadian values and has helped to define Canada’s place in the world. You can find it on YouTube.
In Memoriam

Wilf Greaves

Remembered by Will Greaves, his grandson (Taken from The Globe and Mail)

Born on 12 August 1922 in England, Wilf Greaves died peacefully on 27 March, in Sault Ste. Marie. Born to a distinguished family with little money, Wilf was the youngest child of Alfred Greaves, an Oxford-educated farmer and Anglican minister, and Margaret Massey. Soon after his birth, the family left England for Ontario, where Alfred homesteaded before being assigned to a parish on the Garden River First Nation.

Wilf and his three siblings were the only non-native children in the community, and the experience fuelled his curiosity and respect for other cultures. For the rest of his life, he would fondly recall life on the reserve, especially singing Ojibway hymns during Sunday services.

Wilf was a teenager when his father died, and he left school to help support his family, working as a bank teller. During the Second World War he served as a navigator in the Royal Canadian Air Force, flying on aircraft out of Newfoundland, and then in the Royal Canadian Navy, with overseas service in England. He later joined the army reserve, making him a member of all three services of the Canadian military. After the war, he worked stints as a cab driver, miner, and steel worker before being hired as an immigration officer at the ferry dock in Sault Ste. Marie.

He saw Peggy Perreault waiting at a bus stop; he proposed 28 days after their first date. She found his proposal a bit quick, and neither family approved of the match between a divorced, French-Canadian, Roman Catholic woman and a never-married English-Canadian, Anglican man. However, they married in 1949 and remained together for 60 years. They had three children (Eric, Sherry and Guy).

Becoming an immigration officer marked the start of Wilf’s 35-year career in the Canadian foreign service. His postings included Glasgow, Cologne, Copenhagen, Cairo, Bangkok, Jamaica, Barbados, New York, Buffalo (where he was consul-general), Oslo, Buenos Aires, Islamabad, Bonn, Rome, Seoul, Damascus, Kampala, Kuwait, Riyadh and London.

After Peggy’s death, he returned to the Soo, moving to a retirement home built on the same spot as his old high school. Although his health and mobility gradually declined, he never lost his sense of humour or his joie de vivre. He died on Easter Sunday with his eldest son by his side.

Remembered by Ernest Bergbusch

Wilf was a good friend and an excellent colleague. We served together in Cologne for only two years (1966-1968) but remained friends for life. I was impressed by his calm temperament, his genial sense of humour, and his ability to lower the temperature when things got hot. He and Peggy enjoyed entertaining and were kind and generous hosts. He took the lead in organizing and leading a variety of excursions and activities. In particular, I remember dinners at his home, wine tastings on the Moselle, a trip to the Kuekenhof Gardens in Holland, and annual Cologne carnival activities. In his later years, Wilf served in a number of shorter assignments at various locations abroad. His experience, equanimity, and adaptability earned him respect and a welcome wherever he went.

Remembered by John Baker

I first met Wilf and Peggy in 1967 when visiting Cologne as part of our training program—otherwise known as the free European tour. From that first meeting, I knew that Wilf was special: he was friendly, kind, humorous and loved by his staff. The Greaves had us all over for dinner, and we were blown away by their lovely house on the banks of the Rhine. What a view! With that experience, I knew that I had chosen the right career. Over 25 years later, I was posted to Bangkok, and whom did I replace? Wilf Greaves! Of course, he and Peggy hosted a reception at our hotel so that we could meet all the staff socially first. What a fine gentleman, and what an interesting life he led.
Remembered by Susan Burrows

When I arrived in New York City for my training, I was met at the airport by the Immigration program manager, Wilf Greaves. He not only looked like Santa Claus, he acted like him, putting me at ease right away and treating me like a valued member of the team, something not all program managers did back in the late 1970s. Wilf and Peggy were wonderful to their staff and treated them with respect and care. I believe Wilf continued to play Santa Claus on a few other occasions, one notably on the back of an elephant in Thailand. I am sure he will play the role in heaven as well.

Jack Lavoie

We are sad to report the passing of Jack Lavoie on 20 May. Jack is survived by his wife Shirley, who also had a career in the immigration foreign service. There will be more about Jack and his career in the next Bulletin and we welcome reminiscences from former colleagues.

Ellery Hugh Post

Remembered by Bill O’Connor

Ellery Hugh Post, born on Christmas Day 1924 in Winnipeg, died on Monday, 23 May 2016 in Calgary at the age of 91. Ellery began his career with Canada Immigration in 1947 in Emerson, Manitoba and worked in numerous locations in the prairies, including Winnipeg, Churchill, Brandon, North Portal, Regina and finally Calgary, where he was manager for many years. He retired in 1981 after 34 years of service to CIC.

Ellery was a WWII veteran, having joined the Royal Canadian Navy in 1942 and served on the destroyer HMCS Huron protecting Allied supply convoys on the Murmansk run. He was a member of the Royal Canadian Legion for 73 years, and served his community in the Masons, the Scottish Rite, the Shriners, the Royal Order of Jesters, and on the board of directors of the Calgary Stampede and the Calgary Stampeder Football Club.

Within the Immigration program Ellery was well known and respected for his knowledge and leadership. His contributions to the Immigration program, his staff, and the public cannot be understated. Ellery was a man of principle and will be remembered for his love of family, his strong work ethic, sense of humour, love of sports, and his common sense approach in doing the right thing. We all have fond and lasting memories of Ellery and are better people for having known him. He will be missed.

Remembered by Rob Ferguson

I will always be indebted to Mr. Post for my career with Canada Immigration. He hired me as a summer student in 1975, allowing me to get my foot in the door on the way to a 35-year career with the department. I was able to work in my dream job as Manager of CIC Calgary for 15 years. This was Mr. Post’s last position before he retired in 1981. I was honoured that Mr. and Mrs. Post were able to attend my retirement celebration in 2013.

Mr. Post had many qualities, but one of his lasting legacies was hiring and developing good staff. He always made his staff available for opportunities. I could easily name 20 people who worked for him and went on to management positions, such as Bill O’Connor (Manager CIC Lethbridge), Mike Fitzpatrick (Manager CIC Saskatoon), Rudy Wiens (Manager CIC Calgary Airport), Lloyd Phillips (Manager CIC Coutts), Debra Allen (Manager CIC Edmonton), Ron Bierns (Manager CIC Winnipeg), Bryce Gurney (Manager CIC Prince George), Fred Furlong (Manager CIC Calgary Airport), and Hugh English (Manager CIC Edmonton Airport). Now that’s the sign of a great leader.

Remembered by Mike Molloy

Ellery was Officer in Charge at Emerson when I was sent, still pretty green, to open a visa office in Minneapolis. He was someone I could always turn to for advice at a time when we were tightening up on immigration applications from the U.S. He was tough but compassionate.
I called him one day after interviewing a young guy from Emerson who appeared at the consulate with his American fiancée. It seemed like a pretty straightforward case until I discovered he had been born in the U.S. His immigrant parents had popped across the border when he was due because the hospital was better on the American side and then driven home to Canada with the new baby without thinking to register his birth. I asked Ellery if he knew the young man. Ellery replied that “the kid” used to chase his cows. I explained the situation, and without a pause Ellery replied, “He belongs to us, send him home, we’ll fix him up”. What about the fiancée? I asked. “Send her too. A good woman will settle the little brat down”.

George Reynolds

Born in 1916, George Reynolds obtained a BSc (Agriculture) from the University of Guelph in 1941 and joined the Canadian army in 1942. After a distinguished war-time career, he joined the Immigration department in 1945. George received his training in the Western region and then worked a brief stint in London, England in 1946. He served as an Immigration officer in Ottawa from 1947 to 1951 and then moved to Settlement, where he rose to the position of acting chief of the division. From 1964 to 1966, he was acting chief of Counselling. He was then posted abroad to London (1966-69) and Cologne (1969-72). Back in Ottawa, he held senior posts in Selection and Processing and Technical Operations. In the 1970s, he served abroad again, managing Immigration operations in New Delhi, Nairobi and Manila.

Remembered by Don Cameron

George got his nickname “Spike” in WWII. His artillery gun position being overrun by German infantry, he picked up a gun spike (a long steel pole used to move artillery guns so that the barrel faced the target) and beat them off.

Although it has been almost 50 years since I worked for him at the Canadian high commission in London, my memories of him are vivid. Initially I was in awe of him because of his high army rank and his war record. Moreover, he had risen high in the public service and held the most prestigious position in the Immigration foreign service in London. As I got to know him, my admiration continued to grow for the man whose sterling qualities inspired the respect and loyalty of all those he directed. George was a great man and a great representative of Canada abroad. It has been decades since we last met, but I have never forgotten him.

Remembered by Joe Bissett

I recall meeting a Canadian visitor to London at a high commissioner’s reception in the early 1970s. When he found out I was an Immigration officer, he asked if I knew “Spike” Reynolds. He told me he had nightmares about Spike, because in his university days at Queen’s he played middle line backer and dreaded facing Spike, who played fullback for the Guelph team. He told me that, when Spike came through the line, he didn’t try to avoid the opposing linebackers but deliberately went straight for them and ran over them. He said nothing hit harder than Spike Reynolds. George also won the army light heavyweight boxing championship during his military career. He was one of the few in the early years after World War II when the department was set up who strongly believed the government had a responsibility to help immigrants get established in their new country. He played an important role in ensuring that “settlement” remained an important part of the new department.