



Editor's Note: The Canadian Immigration Historical Society's president, Dawn Edlund, recently asked CIHS members Brian Le Conte, John Baker and Lynda Joyce, whose parents or grandparents were British Home Children, to contribute pieces to the Bulletin. They wrote the following three articles based upon family history research into the immigration and subsequent settlement of these relatives. While the Year of the British Home Child in Canada was in 2010, research into this significant immigrant movement continues by families in Canada and elsewhere. Thank you to the three authors for telling their families' stories.

François Louis Le Conte: from Guernsey to Ontario's Lambton County

Brian Le Conte

Brian Le Conte joined the foreign service of Manpower and Immigration in 1972. From 1973 to retirement in 2008, he enjoyed postings and temporary assignments in the Caribbean, South America, West Africa, and South Asia as well as assignments at Immigration headquarters, many involving work on refugee-related issues. In retirement, Brian has kept busy scanning countless slides and photos and learning more about family history research. For the latter, he has found particularly useful the resources of the British Isles Family History Society of Greater Ottawa.

A Family Remembers

My paternal grandfather (whose birth name was anglicized to Francis when he was taken from Saint Peter Port on the Channel Island of Guernsey to England in 1897) died a month shy of his 89th birthday, on Christmas Eve 1975, while I was in Kingston, Jamaica. I had neither enough money nor enough time during my first overseas assignment to get home for his funeral but was grateful that I had seen him while on leave that summer. I loved my Grandpa Le Conte for his quiet gentle way, which he imparted to my father, Howard, his youngest and last surviving child. Howard passed away at 96 in Sarnia in May 2020. With that sad anniversary in mind, I am taking this opportunity to remember some of my ancestors.

The Grandfather I Knew

Like many of his contemporaries in that part of southwest Ontario, my grandfather was a subsistence farmer. He and his wife, a sturdy lass descended from second-generation Scottish settlers, wed in 1911 and struggled during the Depression to raise four boys and two girls. None had the chance to continue studies beyond the local one-room school, a healthy two-mile walk away; the two girls sought better prospects across the St. Clair River in Michigan. To supplement his meager farm income, Grandpa spent the early hours of his working day taking the mail from the nearby post office in Bridgen, Ontario (pop. 500) for delivery along one of the rural routes. Early on, he would have used a horse-drawn buggy

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At the farm in Lambton County, Ontario: Francis Le Conte and his grandson, the young Brian Le Conte (Courtesy of the author)

or cutter, according to the season; the job must have seemed somewhat easier when he was able to afford an old Ford Model A. When they sold their hardscrabble farm in 1955, they got just enough money to buy a little house in the village, where they lived in modest retirement. Grandma passed away in 1986 at the age of 95, just before I left for Abidjan.

I remember their old farm, especially the team of work horses they kept in equine retirement long after those services were needed. In the village, they continued their rural ways—early to bed, early to rise—and every summer until he died Grandpa toiled over an enormous garden, the fruits of which were shared with others. For a few years after his move, he continued the mail deliveries on RR #1, accompanied by my grandmother and occasionally me. As a young boy, I remember being fascinated at how my grandparents knew so many people on back roads. Often, folks came out to their mailbox to chat with Frank and Maggie and greet Howard's little boy. Some days, it seemed to take a long time to deliver the mail.

Grandpa said little about his past. Grandma said that he had come over from England alone as a young boy to work on a farm just outside Sarnia. He apparently had two sisters back in England with whom he corresponded occasionally but had not seen since coming to Canada. I was vaguely aware that he came from French stock but wasn't sure how. I do recall feeling a bit special knowing that, whereas most local people would say they were of Scottish origin, I was Scottish and French.

The farmer for whom he worked as a young man was named Johnson. The Johnsons had one son, whom they wished to educate, and so they needed

someone to help on the farm. My father recalled being taken to see the Johnsons, who were very nice and kind. They apparently kept in touch with Grandpa and his family for a number of years after he married and began farming on his own not far away. They even gave gifts to the children at Christmas.

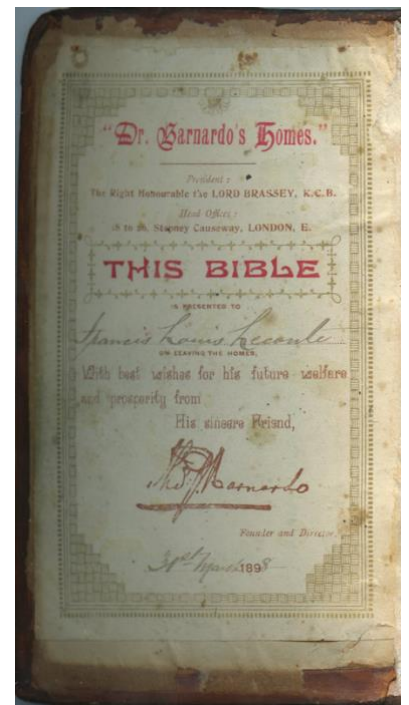
I saw my grandparents regularly, even after leaving for university in Toronto in 1966. Sarnia's Chemical Valley had the advantage of good-paying summer jobs, and so I returned for a couple of summers after that but basically left home for good in 1968. After that came travel, graduation, marriage, and in 1972, a job offer with Manpower and Immigration. By April 1973, I was on assignment in Kingston, Jamaica. In October 1974, my then wife and I were blessed with our first son, whose middle name is Francis in honour of my grandfather. Grandpa met his little namesake in the summer of 1975, six months before his death. I treasure these memories of him.

The Grandfather I Didn't Know

Grandpa did not leave much of an estate. My father received some small mementos, but it was only after his mother passed away that he inherited a small bible of Grandpa's. It had a history of its own: Grandpa left it behind in one of the churches he attended as a young farmhand. Many years later, someone who remembered him found it and returned it. When it came into my father's possession, he saw that a piece of paper covered the inscription page. On removing the paper, Dad read that the bible was given to Francis L. Le Conte on 31 March 1898 on leaving Dr. Barnardo's Homes. It was quite common for these little immigrants not to talk about their past. I expect that Grandpa's in-laws may not have been too keen on a Home Boy who was a Frenchman to boot! Hence, the cover-up.....

Barnardo boys arrived on local farms right up until the Depression. My father might not have been aware of his own father's link to Barnardo's Homes until he saw the bible, but then he tried to learn more about that institution. In 1991, he wrote to England, and the Barnardo's After Care section replied that Francis had entered into care in March 1897 and had been sent to Canada a year later. They included a numbered photo taken at intake but no other information.

The only other document the family had about Grandpa's origins was his birth record, and it came to Dad at the same time as the little bible—a copy of an Entry of Birth made in 1887 in the Parish of Saint Paul in the Island of Guernsey. It gave Grandpa's date of birth, his name (François Louis), and the name of his parents. That explained the French



Inscription page: Francis Le Conte's bible, given to him when he left Dr. Barnardo's Homes for departure to Canada (Courtesy of the author)

connection. The copy was dated 1952, the year Grandpa turned 65, and probably had been required to apply for a pension. So, nearly a hundred years after Grandpa's arrival in Canada, we knew where he came from and when and how he arrived. Dad gave each of his children a copy of the numbered photo as a memory of their grandfather and his newly discovered past (he sent mine to me in Buenos Aires).

In September 1994, I was in Ottawa and read in *The Ottawa Citizen* that some local descendants of British Home Children were holding a public meeting on the weekend and that a representative of Barnardo's Homes was visiting from the U.K. and would be a guest. Off I went to the meeting, carrying my copy of Grandpa's photo. When I got a chance to speak to the Barnardo person, she cautioned that their files were confidential but considering that I was an immigration officer and a family member seeking information on one of their little charges, she would see what she could find. A few weeks later, I received from England a thick envelope containing copies of various notes about Grandpa, as well as confirmation of when he had sailed and on what ship—a family history bonanza!

The date in his bible was the day he left Liverpool, 31 March 1898. Among the documents were copies of field notes briefly reporting on his progress in Canada from December 1898. The first note finds him living with a family at Lancelot, Ontario (a hamlet near Haliburton). He was in good health, very happy, and doing well at school. A year later, he continued to do well with "foster parents" (unnamed), presumably in the same area; however, by early 1901, he had started employment with Samuel Johnson, Moore Township. How he spent his early months after arrival or why he went to the Muskokas and then to southern Ontario is not clear. More research in the Home Children material at Library and Archives Canada (LAC) may offer some insights. In the meantime, LAC-held passenger lists confirm his ship's arrival in Halifax on 9 April 1898. Barely legible, his name is among 399 names on the list, 120 of them children aged one to fourteen.



Barnardo's registration photo of the author's grandfather Francis (misspelled here as Frances and anglicized from François) Le Conte (Courtesy of the author)

The field notes continued with at least some brief entries for most succeeding years, right up until 1921 (which seems quite late, given that reports generally were not required after age 18—perhaps an agent took a special interest in him and his family?). In any event, after living with the Johnsons, Grandpa worked on several other nearby farms. In 1913 it was noted that he was married, renting a farm, and had a little girl. On Dominion Day 1916, the farmhouse caught fire while the family was at a church picnic, and they lost almost everything (fortunately, they had insurance). They rented other farms in the following years, gradually rebuilding their lives until they bought their own farm in 1918.

Nothing here appeared to warrant the caution in Barnardo's letter to me that this was "a confidential document and must not be published or reproduced without our consent", but that opinion changed when I read his Guernsey case worker's notes. From a report dated 16 March 1897, we learned that a concerned citizen had contacted a rescue worker about a little boy living with his mother in a bad situation (think Edith Piaf living with her paternal grandmother in the film, *La vie en rose*, only worse.) The little boy's mother had been a widow since 1894; he had four sisters, of whom two had been sent to care in England and two to the mother's family in France; he was a Roman Catholic and had attended school on and off for four years; he could speak both French and English, but read French only. "He is small for his age, but is intelligent, and is medically certified to be apparently in good health". In signing over her little boy to Barnardo's Homes, the mother also signed the "Canada clause". This authorized Barnardo's to send him to Canada, and they did just over a year later.

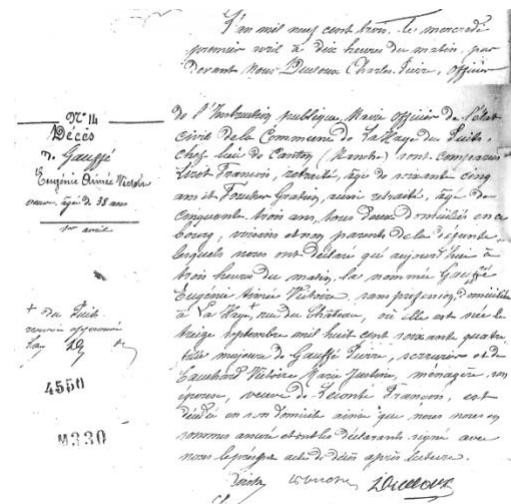
In the summer of 1998, I was able to visit Guernsey during our family's leave from New Delhi, to see where Grandpa came from and to look for more information. Our plans were to visit some of my wife's relatives in Devon, England, and then make our way across to St. Malo, France. But first we would stop in Saint Peter Port, Guernsey. By very good luck, the bed and breakfast we had reserved there was only a few doors from a small private library (the Priaux Library) on Candie Road. The next morning, I was its first visitor, and a very proficient librarian sprang into action. With the dates I gave her, she pulled out a few boxes of microfilm, turned on her microfilm reader, and took me quickly to some records of my Le Conte ancestors. First, she started with the 1891 census. It didn't take her long to pull up the entry for the Le Conte family on Rosemary Lane, Saint Peter Port. I recognized the names of my great-grandparents, as shown on Grandpa's birth record. Both were born in Manche, France; they had two older girls, Grandpa, and an infant girl. François Senior was a baker, aged 56; his wife was 26(!) and apparently blind.

There were two girls, aged 7 and 6; my grandfather (François); aged 4, and a baby girl of 1 month. The social worker's report from 1897 mentioned four daughters, and so it would appear that another girl must have been born between 1891 and 1894. The oldest daughter on the census would have been born 1883 or 1884, and so the librarian next checked local

marriages in that period. In Latin, from the registry of Sainte Marie’s Church, on 8 January 1883, there was an entry for the marriage of Grandpa’s parents, along with their places of birth in France—more family history gold! The Barnardo intake report mentioned that the widow’s husband had died in 1894 in Guernsey. A few more whirrs of the microfilm machine pulled up a copy of the “Registre Général des Décès dans l’Isle de Guernesey”, which confirmed the death on 26 August of François Paul Prudence Le Conte “de mort naturelle”. And, yet another bonus, it named his parents.

I had gathered all this information quite quickly, and it still being fairly early and Saint Peter Port not being very big, I did a brief walkabout to get a feel for where my grandfather might have walked. There were no longer any houses on Rosemary Lane, but nearby there was an old school with separate entrances for “filles” and “garçons”. Possibly, that is where he went to school. Next to the school was a Catholic church, perhaps the one where his parents were married. It was locked, and a lady coming out a side door informed me the church was closed until mass that evening. When I told her the

purpose of my visit, she said she was a Catholic sister from New Brunswick and that she would ask the priest to see me.



Death certificate of author’s paternal great-grandmother, Eugénie Aimée Gauffé (Courtesy of the author)

Father Lecluzé was an elderly French priest who had come from Normandy years before and continued to minister to his dwindling flock. I told him that my grandfather had had a hard childhood in Guernsey but had found a much better life in Canada. He had married and raised a family (“c’est bon”); he had lost his French through assimilation in English Canada (“c’est normal”); and, like his new family and friends, he had become a Protestant (“pauvre enfant”). In spite of this disappointment, father Lecluzé kindly agreed to say a short prayer for my grandfather and his family, after which I made a small donation and set off back to the bed and breakfast where my own family awaited.

As I walked back, I reflected on how Grandpa’s life would have been so much different had he not been taken by Barnardo’s, found such kindly people in Canada, and most importantly, fallen in love with my wonderful grandmother. I thought about the rest of his family—the sisters in England he knew of but never saw again, the sisters who disappeared in France, and especially his poor, poor mother. What could have become of a visually impaired and destitute young widow? In 2011, my wife and I found the answer when we visited France. We were in Basse Normandie just across

from the Channel Islands and stopped in the town where I knew my paternal great-grandmother had been born, La Haye du Puits, near the city of Coutance. We went to the town hall and asked to see their records. These were not digitized but we were welcome to go through the old registers stored in their library. After a couple of hours chatting with the curious but friendly staff as they brought us old registers of births and deaths, we found an entry from 1 April 1903 for the death of “Gauffé, Eugénie Aimée, âgée de 38 ans”. She had died there apparently alone and likely impoverished. If only she could have known that her gesture of giving up her son had made a world of difference to him and his descendants. Maybe she even could have smiled at the fact that Sarnia is the Latin name for Guernsey. “Que le monde est petit!” And may peace be upon them all.

William John Baker: Doctor Barnardo Boy

John Baker

John Baker is a former director general and immigration program manager with Citizenship and Immigration Canada. He was a foreign service officer and immigration program manager overseas in London, Belfast, Hong Kong, Singapore, Bridgetown, Nairobi, Bangkok, and New York. He is retired and now lives in downtown Toronto.

My paternal grandfather, William John Baker, was born on 16 September 1876 in Plymouth, England. “Bill”—to his friends but “Will” to his wife—was the product of a second marriage of both parents: John Baker, a retired schoolmaster, born in 1812 and Thomasine Northey (née Down) born in 1834, both widowed. There were three half-siblings on the Baker side and five half-siblings on the Northey side. All but one of the half-siblings were adults in 1876.

Bill was six when his father died. Five years later, an “agent” in Plymouth reported him to the Barnardo organization essentially as a “child at risk”. Allegedly, his half-brother Thomas was a budding juvenile delinquent and his mother operated a news stand where she also sold “literature...of a sensational and unhealthy kind...and literary poison of a far worse kind still is vended there”. He was admitted to the Dr. Barnardo home in London in October 1887 and arrived in Canada on 8 April 1888 on the SS *Polynesia*. (I sincerely hope Granddad did not expect Polynesia to be his destination.)

Bill Baker was assigned to the Carr family at Furnace Falls in Haliburton, Ontario. Their farm was undoubtedly marginal, because as my dad used to say, "anybody who thinks they can farm in Haliburton is smoking dope". It is the essence of the Canadian Shield.

The Barnardo organization kept a diary of my grandfather from the date of his arrival until 1906. Until he turned 20, the diary reflects three to ten entries per year; some are only one line while others are quite detailed, up to ten lines. Entries after 1896 are few, and the last one notes that he was a locomotive fireman on the Grand Trunk Railway, married, and living in his own home in Lindsay. In the interim, the Carrs paid him off in 1896 with a 100-acre parcel of land in lieu of cash. My grandfather went on to work at the hotel in nearby Kinmount, driving a horse and carriage and as a bouncer. Later he worked at a sawmill and as a lumberjack before joining the Grand Trunk Railway. He met my grandmother, Elizabeth Scott, picking her and her father up at the train station. They married two years later.

My grandparents had four children. Only my father lived to adulthood; the others died tragically at different times. Bill eventually trained as a locomotive boilermaker and worked for the Grand Trunk Railway's successor, the Canadian National Railway, until retiring in 1940. Fortunate to have a job during the Depression, he used half his salary to send my father to the University of Toronto. My dad qualified as a teacher and subsequently became a high school principal and director of education.

I knew my grandparents well and spent about two weeks every summer alone with them in Lindsay. I was in awe of my grandfather, who could fix and grow anything. When my parents arrived to pick me up, we would often visit the Carr family farm and meet members of the family. The location is very picturesque, next to a series of small waterfalls and part of what is now a small provincial park.

In 1954, I attended my grandparents' golden wedding anniversary and Ontario premier Leslie Frost dropped in. Later that year, I accompanied my parents as Granddad received radiation treatment at Toronto General Hospital for his cancer. He passed away in 1956.

Finding Family

Lynda Joyce

Lynda Joyce is a retired immigration foreign service officer. She was posted to England, Trinidad and Tobago twice, and then to Hong Kong as a spouse with her medical officer husband, the late Dr. Aaron Bernstein. In Ottawa she worked on the seasonal agricultural worker program, the family reunification program in the Eastern Europe Division at Foreign Affairs, and then at Citizenship and Immigration Canada as a training officer. Her final HQ assignment dealt with foreign credentials recognition.

In the September 2010 issue of the Canadian Immigration Historical Society's Bulletin, I wrote an [extensive article](#) detailing the journey of my father and uncle in 1925 to Canada as British Home Children. I also explained the origins of this movement that sent at least 100,000 children to Canada as indentured farm labourers.

In 2011, my sister, Sandra Joyce, published *The Street Arab*, a work of historical fiction based upon our father's life. At the request of her readers, she followed it in 2014 with a sequel, *Belonging*. In 2015, she wrote a version of the *Street Arab* for young adults called *Rocks and Trees, Trees and Rocks*, complete with a discussion guide for teachers.

She and Karen Mahoney formed the organization [British Home Child Group International](#). One of many organizations involved in researching and disseminating information about the movement, this group also helped people to find the histories of their relatives. My sister gave over 200 lectures in cities and towns in Ontario and Nova Scotia, as well as in Calgary and Montreal. She also spoke to [Probus](#) groups, book clubs, museums (including Upper Canada Village), and historical and genealogical societies. She was interviewed a number of times on the radio and was featured in Eleanor McGrath's film *Forgotten*.

Save the Date for the Online CIHS Annual General Meeting

The 2021 CIHS Annual General Meeting will take place on Thursday, 21 October at 7 p.m. (Eastern Daylight Time), using Zoom.

Dawn Edlund has agreed to be our guest speaker and will talk about the work she and her colleagues have been doing to document Canada's response to the Syrian crisis.

Further information will follow in the September 2021 CIHS Bulletin and in members' newsletters.

In 2011 the Ontario parliament approved Bill 185, introduced by Jim Brownell, provincial member of parliament for Glengarry-Stormont, to have 28 September proclaimed British Home Child Day in Ontario. Mr. Brownell's mother had arrived in Canada on that date as a British Home Child.

In February 2017, a Private Member's Motion brought forward by Bloc Québécois member of parliament Luc Thériault, and supported by all parties, was passed. It called for the House of Commons to apologize to the families of British Home Children. Similar apologies had already been made in Britain and Australia. Gilles Duceppe, the former leader of the Bloc supported this bill after he learned that his grandfather had been sent from Ireland to Quebec as a British Home Child.

Sandra was the guest speaker at CIHS's 2017 annual general meeting.

On 26 March 2021, the 28th of September was proclaimed British Home Child Day in Canada. Bill M-133 was introduced by MP Guy Lauzon of the Conservative party. Unfortunately, my sister did not live to see this day. She died in February 2019.

On the family side, it took years of research, but we finally found and visited our four first cousins, the sons of my father's sister who had been left behind in Scotland. They knew nothing of their mother's tragic childhood or that their uncles had been sent to Canada as child farm workers. Through them, we found many second cousins, and their sons and daughters, including Moira Cameron, the first female Beefeater at the Tower of London. My sister spent an unforgettable trip staying with her in 2014 during the special commemoration of World War I war dead through a display at the Tower of thousands of red ceramic poppies.

We found another relative through the CIHS's 2010 *Bulletin* article. The grandchild of my grandfather from a liaison between marriages did a search for my grandfather's name and sent an email to the CIHS. Gerry Maffre, a board member, informed me. I replied to the enquiry, documents were exchanged, and the grandchild and his family visited us in 2018. We still keep in touch.

And so, the damage of a family broken up through war and poverty was resolved by reunification—imperfect, but still very special. May other families be so blessed.



L-R: Sandra Joyke and Lynda Joyke at the Tower of London, 2014 (Courtesy of the author)

National Essay Challenge: Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada

Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada (IRCC) has launched the 2021 National Essay Challenge (NEC) to support emerging scholars in Canadian universities in research related to IRCC policies and programs. The challenge encourages graduate students to learn more about immigration research and policy, and it raises awareness about the availability of immigration data and supporting resources. Further details about this challenge are available on the IRCC website ([English](#) and [French](#)).

The first step is for interested students in any discipline to email IRCC.NEC-CNE.IRCC@cic.gc.ca to access the 2021 NEC group on [GCCollab](#), where there is more information about the challenge requirements, including the initial deadline of 21 June 2021.

Coming to Amerika

Kurt F. Jensen

Kurt F. Jensen joined the foreign service in 1972 and worked in the immigration and political/economic streams during his career, with postings to Stockholm, Bonn, Port of Spain, and Boston. After retirement he spent some years teaching at Carleton University. He is a member of the CIHS board.

My childhood ended when I was ten and a half years old. It was a grey and drizzling day in Copenhagen in March 1957. The events which followed made me grow up rather quickly, though I did not fully understand the impact of what was about to happen.

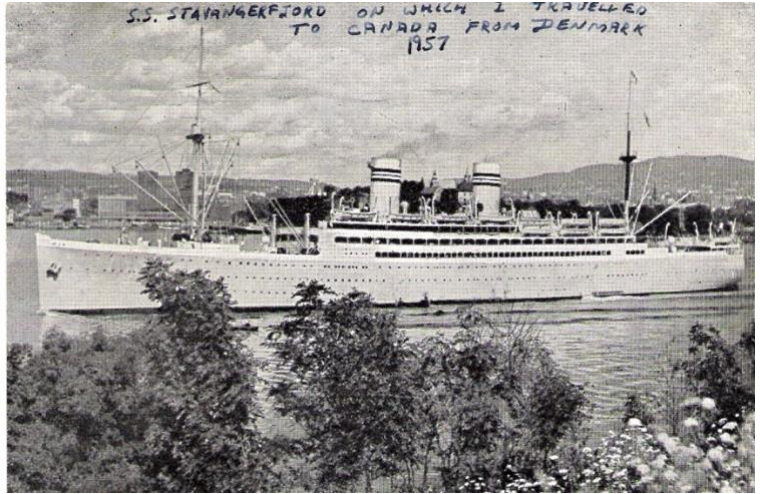
My family (parents, younger brother, and I) had left early that morning for the 80-kilometre drive to a quay in Copenhagen where we would board the SS *Stavangerfjord* of the Norwegian-America Line, a relatively small "immigrant" ship with a

carrying capacity of about 1,200 passengers, destined for Canada. Built in 1917 and soon to be scrapped, the 553-foot ship seemed huge to my young eyes.

There were tearful farewells with other family members as we prepared to board the ship. My older sister, Marion, who was 17, remained in Denmark to complete her education. (Marion and her fiancé, Steen, joined us in Edmonton two years later.) My grandparents, aunts, uncles, and cousins all bade us farewell. I imagine that there were many hugs, although I only remember those from my maternal grandparents. My grandmother had immigrated from Poland to Denmark as a young woman before World War I and I think the parting was most difficult for her. She, above all others, understood what our departure meant. Her farewells were made in the expectation that she would never see any of us again. That had been her prospect when she left her homeland many years before.

As I walked up the long gangplank to the ship that dark and dreary day, I had no idea what the future held or any understanding of how the events of that day would affect the rest of my life. As a child, I imagined encountering cowboys and indians (as they were called then) on the prairies. I had little concept of the impact of separation from familiar things and the uncertainty and fears of building a new life in a strange environment.

The difficulty of learning a new language had not even entered my mind. I was with my parents, who had always cared for me, and I expected that there would be little material change to my life, only the excitement of a new adventure.



Our family probably travelled in second class, since our cabin had only a small porthole window. There were two sets of bunkbeds. The bathroom was down the hall. The porthole proved useful when, shortly after sailing from Copenhagen, my father discovered that the key to our apartment was still in his pocket. The key was important, because my sister would be returning to the apartment with our grandfather to remove furniture and other belongings. My father opened the porthole and tossed the key into the North Sea with the comment “We won’t be needing this anymore”. In response to my mother’s shocked reaction, he reminded her that Steen, Marion’s boyfriend, had the skills from his apprenticeship to open the simple lock to our apartment.

The north Atlantic at that time of year was cold, grey, and scary. The waves were incredibly high. Sometimes, when the ship was in a trough, the approaching water would be higher than the ship’s funnel. Seasickness hit my mother and me. On 24 March 1957, after about a week at sea, the SS *Stavangerfjord* reached Halifax. Time-consuming immigration formalities followed at Pier 21, Canada’s immigration reception point, where more than a million immigrants passed between 1928 and 1971. We were each handed a single-portion box of cornflakes by the Red Cross. Adding a bottle of milk might have been helpful. Customs officials, I recall, took a provocative interest in my shoebox of toy soldiers.

The trip across Canada was a strain. After arriving and clearing admission to Canada, our family embarked on an “immigrant train” to Toronto, to stay with my aunt and her family for a few days. That train was composed of old, uncomfortable, and discontinued rail stock (for which full-fare tickets were required). It was repeatedly shunted to sidings to permit higher-priority transport the right of way. Passenger accommodations were poor, with few amenities and general overcrowding. At some of the interminable stops, I would be sent in search of food. Due to my unfamiliarity with the language and the “strange” culinary offerings, I invariably returned with hot dogs, the extent of my English vocabulary.

After a few days in Toronto, we continued across Canada to Edmonton. At that time of year, the prairies were huge, boring, desolate, and depressing. We passed countless small farmsteads, mostly subsistence acreages with houses in disrepair, being little more than rustic cabins for the tenants. Always there was a large car parked outside and what I came to recognize as a television aerial on the roof. There was little evidence of comfort, let alone of wealth. It was disconcerting, and not at all what I had been expecting.

Upon arriving in Edmonton, our family first stayed at an “immigrant” hotel which had been recommended by immigration officials—but was not free. There were no government opportunities to learn English, no financial support, no settlement support, and no employment assistance. Immigrants were largely left to their own devices, to survive or fail. Most immigrants arrived with only a little money because the cost of the passage had depleted savings. They immigrated because of their poor financial situation at home and their hope of better opportunities in Canada. Most were skilled tradespeople or farm labourers. Few were professionals of any kind, and if they were, their qualifications were not

recognized. All faced the challenge of seeking a job without Canadian experience, although most of the tradespeople had more proficient skills than their Canadian counterparts because of the apprenticeship programs in Europe. The pay when jobs were found was rock bottom.

Some of the arrivals did fail and borrowed money to return home, but they were usually in the minority. Most survived, and remained, even if the early days were harsh. One of my nephews still treasures a wooden orange crate that the family used as an end table during the first year in Canada. He found it in the garage when my mother sold her house.

After a week or two in the immigrant hotel, we moved to a basement apartment, where we stayed for nearly two years until the arrival of Marion and Steen in 1959. The basement apartment proved too small for the expanded family, and we moved to an older pre-war house, where we lived on the main floor; another Danish immigrant family lived upstairs, and the young owners lived in the basement. This was quite a normal arrangement at the time; it provided cheap accommodations for arriving immigrants and potential house-ownership for young Canadian families. Not long afterwards, we moved to a house that my parents rented. There we remained for several years until my parents built their own house in about 1964.

No one in the family spoke much English when we arrived. I was quickly enrolled in school and placed temporarily in Grade 1 or 2, where the teachers would strive to teach me English, which came surprisingly fast. With my newly acquired English, I became the family translator and representative in many respects, certainly for the first year and in some matters beyond that. This was not unusual in immigrant families, but it did vest considerable responsibility in children at a too-early age.

School was difficult for the first couple of years. The other children taunted me because of my “difference”, but it was not bullying in the sense of today’s meaning. I was different, my clothes were different (for about a week!), and I still had an accent even though my understanding of English was quite good after six months. (Young immigrant children seemed to take on average about six months to become competent in English.)

Discrimination against immigrants was not uncommon. During my first few months in the country, I thought that “DP” (Displaced Person, postwar refugee) was the English word for “immigrant”, since the term was often directed at me. A Hungarian schoolmate thought I had it easy because I was north European and looked “English”. There were other subtle and much less subtle forms of discrimination. We children simply accepted that this was how things were.

It was unpleasant but didn’t last long. Although some memories still hurt to this day, I also remember some small kindnesses. I still treasure a pair of pre-World War II, carved wooden bookends from Malaysia that my mother’s first employer gave to me because I liked books.

At first my father had difficulty in finding employment. The story circulated in the immigrant community that all the new arrivals had misunderstood Canadian immigration officers when they spoke of “thousands of jobs for every man”, when, clearly, the newcomers saw every day that they must have meant “thousands of men for every job”.

My mother was more successful, quickly finding work as a cleaning woman, work which became the “normal” profession of many immigrant women arriving in Canada at the time. She was a strong and determined woman, clearly the one who had formed the decision to emigrate. She was and remains (at 99 years of age) proud of what she did for her family.

My father had several short-term jobs until he eventually found a good fit at a prefabricated construction company, where he stayed for years, eventually becoming the plant foreman. Later in life he started his own small business, which he operated until he retired.

After an initial period of hardship, most who embarked on this immigrant journey in the 1950s and 1960s were successful. My sister, a hairdresser, and my brother-in-law, a welder, turned his hobby into a profitable business—he sold and raced motorcycles very successfully. He was very proud when, at one time, his Canada Revenue-approved business car was a Ferrari. The quest of success is still the driving force for immigrants.

Similarly, pursuit of education was, and remains, a trait among first- and second-generation Canadians. While my sister did not go to university, her apprenticeship training helped her understand business practices, which she and her husband exploited with such excellent results. My brother and I, arriving in Canada at school age, each attained several university degrees. It was simply expected that we would study hard (probably made easier by our own inclination in such direction).

Many years after arriving in Canada, upon finishing university, I applied for a job in Canada’s foreign service. I was newly married at the time. The selection process was intensive and included a selection board of four persons representing the

various foreign service streams and the Public Service. I recall returning home from the interview to tell my wife that I had blown it. The immigration officer on the selection board had asked me what I thought of Canada's immigration selection system. Unwisely, I told her. The other board members turned to her to ask if she agreed. She did. But I did not think my candour had done anything to improve my prospects. Somewhat to my surprise, a couple of months later, I received an offer of employment with the immigration foreign service. I spent more than 30 years as a Canadian diplomat—a good number of them as an immigration selection officer overseas.

Although government support of the immigration settlement process has improved significantly from the one my family experienced, I believe that we still have a long way to go. The Canadian economy is built on the concept of immigration. In a sense Canada capitalises on the skills paid for by other countries but seems reluctant to invest a bit more to help newcomers get established earlier and more easily. The immigration system, it seems to one who went through it, has not yet recognized that more investment in those we welcome to Canada would enhance their success and benefit Canada. Assistance to immigrants has been slow to evolve and remains largely a half measure today. Moderate improvements could easily boost more successful settlement.

Call for Participants in Study: The Historical Evolution of Immigration Case Processing

Nicholas Lee-Scott

Nicholas Lee-Scott is a graduate student in the Immigration and Settlement Studies Program at Ryerson University.

I am conducting research for my major research paper, which examines the evolution of Canadian immigration officers' decision-making abilities from the 1960s to the present, as well as those officers' use of computer-based processing systems, such as CAIPS, FOSS, and GCMS. For this purpose, I should like to interview five to ten retired visa officers and am specifically interested in officers who worked in that period and who processed economic immigration applications (as opposed to refugee, spousal, and family reunification applications).

Many accounts describe the historical evolution of Canadian immigration policy, most notably Valerie Knowles's *Strangers at the Gates* (2016) and Ninette Kelley and Michael Trebilcock's *The Making of the Mosaic* (2010). These books describe the implementation of immigration policy from a top-down approach, emphasizing the role that political and bureaucratic leaders played in effecting change. My paper will consider what the evolution of immigration policies looked like to officers and managers who operationalized policies and directives at the "street level" in their everyday interactions with immigration applicants to Canada.

CIHS members may be familiar with Vic Satzewich's book *Points of Entry: How Canada's Immigration Officers Decide Who Gets In* (2016), for which the author conducted 128 interviews with visa officers, managers, and locally engaged staff spread across 11 visa offices. Indeed, Society members were among those interviewed, as Satzewich was able to contact them through his connection with former CIHS president Michael Molloy.

I became interested in the experiences of immigration officers after studying the life and career of William Charles Hopkinson, who worked as an immigration officer in British Columbia in the early twentieth century. In reading Satzewich's work, I was impressed by how greatly case processing seems to have changed and become regularized since then. In large part, I am seeking to build on Satzewich's work, bringing together historical and contemporary perspectives by asking the question: "How have Canadian immigration officers' case-processing practices and decision-making abilities changed over time?"

This is a timely research project with practical implications for academic and policy communities alike. Canadian immigration history is a vibrant field of study, yet it lacks a consideration of the historical evolution of immigration operations. In addition, case processing continues to evolve with the introduction of artificial intelligence and modernized digital processing systems. This past year, the Canadian government announced that it would be modernizing the Global Case Management System and replacing paper-based processing with completely digital-based processing. In addition, since 2014, Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada has been piloting an artificial intelligence system that is capable of triaging temporary residence applications from China and India into high, medium, and low-complexity cases, and of making positive decisions in low-complexity cases. These developments are often positioned as radical breaks from past practices, but I am interested in how officers' past uses and relationships of trust with digital systems were factored into the development of these technological approaches. In addition, I believe that former officers' perspectives could inform the new digital processing systems' designs and implementation.

My research will rely predominantly on oral interviews with former visa officers; in order to have a baseline level of familiarity with the context in which participants worked, I shall also undertake a secondary literature review of Canadian immigration policies from the 1960s to present.

Your participation would involve being interviewed in one or two phone calls or virtual calls via Zoom or Google Meets at a time of your convenience. If you would prefer to have a virtual call but require assistance to get set up, I am happy to assist. Depending on your preference and availability, we can conduct either one interview of up to 90 minutes or two shorter interviews of approximately 45 minutes each.

If you would like to participate in this study, or for more information about the study and the interview process, please contact me through my email at nleescott@ryerson.ca.

If you have questions about your rights as a research participant, you may contact the Research Ethics Board at rebchair@ryerson.ca, whose reference ID is REB-2021-144. This research is being funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council and the Canada Excellence Research Chair in Migration and Integration at Ryerson University.

Canada's Imposition of a Visitor Visa Requirement on Haitians: the First in the Western Hemisphere

Rob Vineberg

In late 1978, while I was posted to our embassy in Haiti, Air Canada launched a direct flight between Montreal and Port-au-Prince. While it was wonderful to have a direct flight to Canada, it posed problems at work. At that time, Canada had no visa requirements for any country in the western hemisphere. Prior to the direct flight, Haitians wishing to go to Canada had to obtain a transit visa from the U.S. in order to change planes in Miami or New York. As a result, the Americans essentially did our admissibility screening for us, and there were few Haitians who managed to get to Canada and overstay.

Once the Air Canada flights started, thousands of Haitians flew to Montreal to make refugee claims. Air Canada's DC-8s sometimes flew to Montreal with over 200 aboard but only a handful on the flights back to Port-au-Prince. Canada indeed had a problem. Legitimate Haitian travelers also had a problem. Those who would qualify for a visitor visa, if one were in place, could not obtain them and they also were subjected to extra scrutiny on arrival in Canada. They asked us to issue them visitor visas but we had no authority to do so. Once I returned to headquarters after my posting, I was fortunate to be in a position to help resolve the situation. I asked for and received an assignment to the Immigration Intelligence Unit.

Getting approval for my idea to impose a visitor visa requirement on citizens of Haiti was going to be a challenge. On the one hand, the increasing number of refugee claims was creating a huge problem but on the other, Canada had a long tradition of visa-free travel within the western hemisphere. Nevertheless, I was determined to do what I could to help my colleagues in Haiti and Montreal to get the movement of people from Haiti under control. I informally met with Joe Bissett, Director General of the Immigration Foreign Branch, and John Hucker, Director General of the Immigration Enforcement Branch. Both agreed to support my proposal; I then drafted a memorandum to Assistant Deputy Minister Cal Best, to be signed by both Bissett and Hucker. Best was fully supportive, but given the potential impact of a visa imposition on Canada's trade and foreign relations with Haiti, we needed interdepartmental approval of the proposal before seeking an order-in-council to implement the visa requirement.

The Department of External Affairs hosted the interdepartmental meeting as it had ultimate responsibility for the Canada-Haiti relationship. Attending the meeting were representatives from External Affairs, Trade and Commerce, the RCMP, the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) and Immigration. The meeting was chaired by the undersecretary of state for the Caribbean and Latin America. Joe Bissett was the Immigration representative and brought me along to the meeting, which I really appreciated. Ostensibly I was there to assist Joe but he didn't need my help as he laid out the circumstances and the need for Canada to impose this visa requirement. It was a great learning opportunity for me. Following his presentation and questions from others, the assistant undersecretary asked for departmental opinions. The Trade and Commerce representative noted that legitimate Haitian businesspeople were being annoyed by the close questioning on arrival in Canada, as all Haitians were under suspicion. He said that his department would welcome a visa requirement. The CIDA representative echoed the comments of the Trade representative. The RCMP representative was concerned about the potential criminal and security issues and felt a visa requirement would reduce the threat enormously. The final person to comment was the External Affairs officer responsible for Haiti who, while acknowledging the potential benefits for Canada, asked if we had considered the possibility that Haiti might retaliate. As we knew that Haitian officials would welcome the visa requirement for the reasons referred to above, Joe responded in his usual fashion, opining that Haiti might react by declining to accept the millions of dollars of foreign aid they were receiving from

Canada. Joe's intervention hit the mark. Haiti really had no bargaining power and would not want to jeopardize the foreign aid it was receiving. Accordingly, the proposal received interdepartmental sanction.

It was still necessary to obtain Cabinet approval to change the immigration regulations, but this process went quite smoothly. It set a precedent. Future visa imposition decisions would no longer be based on countries' historic categories or traditions—such as the fact it was in the western hemisphere, Soviet bloc, or Commonwealth—but instead would be based on actual data respecting overstays and refugee claims related to the visitor movement from particular countries. Thus, when it came time to impose visas on many other nationalities, it was much easier to argue the case in favour of doing so.

CIHS Molloy Bursary Fund Gets Off to a Great Start

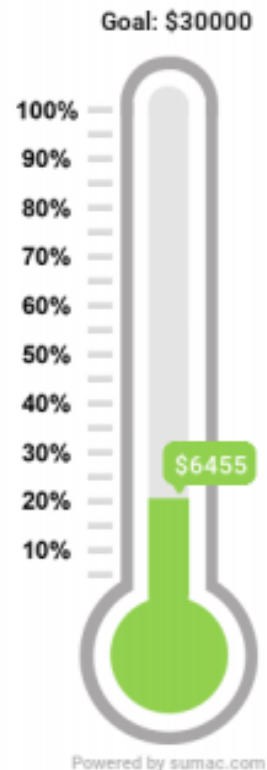
Charlene Elgee

This new bursary fund, which Dawn Edlund announced at the CIHS annual general meeting in October 2020, is off to a great start, thanks to our members and their generous donations. The first CIHS Molloy bursary will be awarded to a Canadian (citizen or permanent resident) university student pursuing studies in Canadian history. The bursary will be for \$1000.

Our current fundraising total stands at **\$6455**, and we have our first Star Donors.

Please keep those donations coming in. A fully sustainable bursary fund is our objective because it will allow us to help highly qualified students for many years to come.

Your tax-deductible donation can be made by direct e-transfer to Info@cihs-shic.ca or by cheque mailed to: **Canadian Immigration Historical Society, Treasurer, PO Box 9502 Station T, Ottawa K1G 3V2**. Just be sure and indicate on the e-transfer or on your cheque that you want the donation to go to the CIHS Molloy Bursary Fund.



Star Donors (as of June 2021)

Silver donors (\$1000): Jolène Beaupré, Larry Carroll, Roy Christensen
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Bronze donors (\$500): Randy Orr and Anonymous (2 donors)

The Tibetan Refugee Movement 1970-1971

Donald Cameron

Donald Cameron is a retired immigration foreign service officer and member of the Canadian Immigration Historical Society. Between 1967 and 1996 he served as a visa officer in Glasgow, London, New Delhi, Hong Kong and Singapore and as the immigration program manager in Tel Aviv, Nairobi, Mexico City, and Seattle.

Ed. note: for further reading on this topic, please refer to the article by Jan Raska, "Tibetan Immigration to Canada" on the Canadian Museum of Immigration at Pier 21's website.

When I arrived on posting as a visa officer in New Delhi in November 1970, the selection of 240 Tibetans in India for resettlement in Canada had already begun. Cliff Shaw, the immigration officer in charge, had finished some of the selection interviews. He had also met with the Dalai Lama and with the Indian Ministry of Home Affairs officials who were responsible for issuing travel documents (Indian Certificates of Identity) and exit permits to the selected Tibetans. Cliff was assisted by Chris Parsons, a Tibetan Buddhist monk from a lamasery in Stirling, Scotland.

I have no firsthand knowledge of the genesis of this movement, but I recall that High Commissioner James George and his wife, Carol, were deeply involved. Chris Parsons lived with the Georges at the high commissioner's residence. Tom and Sonja Bata were also interested parties. By the time Cliff's posting in India ended in the summer of 1971, he had completed all the selection interviews and overseen the departure of some of the Tibetans to Canada. He asked me to complete the processing of the remaining selected applicants and arrange for their respective relocations.

The program involved selecting 60 Tibetans from each of four sects of Tibetan Buddhism, with a lama for each sect. Chris Parsons told me that some Tibetans did not know to which sect they belonged and were happy to claim adherence to whichever sect that the rumours swirling among potential applicants said was in highest demand by Canadian officials. In any case, they were not resettled in Canada in a way that would have kept members of each sect together. Their destinations were determined by immigration resettlement officials in consultation with provincial governments, so the resettled Tibetans were widely dispersed among the receiving provinces.

Some of the selected Tibetans I met in India had been living in or near New Delhi, and some spoke English. The fact that there were Tibetans in New Delhi was not a surprise to any of us who lived there, because there were (and still are) several Tibetan shops on Janpath near Connaught Place, which is the central shopping area of the city.

I recall overseeing what must have been the departure of the last group of Tibetans that Cliff Shaw had selected. When I met them at the airport, I found an excited group with the women wearing traditional Tibetan dress. They were carrying what seemed to be gallons of Tibetan tea to sustain them on the long journey. As the representative of the government that was resettling them, I was presented with a number of scarves and shared a number of glasses of Tibetan tea (which has melted butter floating on top—an acquired taste). One of the lamas asked if he could open the door of the aircraft in flight so he could bless the ocean as they crossed it and, sadly, I had to disappoint him.

Some of the Tibetans were resettled in Belleville, Ontario, and were employed in the Bata Shoe factory in nearby Batawa. I returned to Ottawa in 1972, and later when visiting my parents in Belleville, I saw a Tibetan boy dressed for hockey walking along the street with his skates draped over the hockey stick on his shoulder. What a perfect Canadian image!

The Resettlement of Displaced Persons in Canada (1947-1952): Lobbying, Humanitarianism, and Enlightened Self-Interest (Part 2)

Robert J. Shalka

*Robert Shalka joined the immigration foreign service in 1974 and retired in 2010 after 36 years that included three headquarters assignments and eight overseas postings, one of which involved the Indochinese Refugee Program in Thailand. He is a member of the CIHS board and co-author of *Running on Empty*. He has a BA (Honours) and MA in History from the University of Alberta and a PhD in Modern European History from the University of Wisconsin – Madison.*

*Ed. Note: Part 1 of this article (published in the *Bulletin's* March 2021 issue) discussed the situation faced by displaced persons from Eastern Europe following the end of World War II, as well as how Canadians became aware of their plight, in significant part because community organizations providing them with assistance and lobbying on their behalf for resettlement in Canada, also publicized their qualities as desirable immigrants. Part 2 covers the Canadian government's response.*

Official Awareness

Canadian officials learned, even before the German capitulation, that significant numbers of displaced Eastern Europeans did not wish to return to their countries of origin. As early as 26 February 1945, the U.K. Dominions Secretary in London informed Canada's Secretary of State for External Affairs that, according to Lieutenant-General Wladyslaw Anders, Commander-in-Chief of the Polish Fighting Forces, and the Polish Government in Exile, up to 100,000 soldiers and others were unwilling or unable to return to Poland.¹ Responding to the suggestion that some Poles might be resettled in Canada, the secretary of state (at the time Prime Minister Mackenzie King held both offices) stated that "any question of settlement in this country would depend upon compliance with the Immigration Act and Regulations".² A year earlier, the Prime Minister's diary reflected the same position, referring to a conversation with Émile Ludwig, the author and public intellectual: "I thought that until our own forces were immobilized [sic] and re-established, the country could not stand for much immigration. That for a government to adopt any policy of open door would only cause the other parties to take the opposite stand and gain thereby in a general election".³

External Affairs officials also discussed this issue and raised imperatives for resettlement. In a memorandum dated 3 January 1946, the head of its Second Political Division (R.G. Ridell) noted that:

It is difficult ... to foresee the problem which will eventually be created by permanent refugees in Europe, but there are already clear indications that certain groups will have to be provided with new homes. Ukrainians and Poles are the most numerous of these.

Members of the foreign language groups in Canada, who have so far concerned themselves largely with the problem of relief for displaced persons, will begin to ask permission to bring large numbers of their friends and relatives to Canada. Some representations have already been received to this effect.⁴

In these early days, the sole official government announcement came in a reply on 18 December 1945 from J. Allison Glen—the minister of the Department of Mines and Resources, who was also responsible for immigration—to a question in the House of Commons about the government's immigration policy. The minister could only state that “there can be no announcement at this time for any long-range immigration policy.... The first duty of the Government is the repatriation of our service personnel with their dependants as well as their reestablishment”.⁵ This statement remained the government's public position for the next 18 months, despite it realizing the need to formulate and publicize an immigration policy.

The Official Response—Limitations

Groups eager to resettle Eastern European displaced persons were critical of the Canadian government's hesitancy to announce a long-term immigration policy and appropriate action. In particular, they accused the government of acting with inordinate slowness in assisting persons in need. That said, the government did face significant obstacles in the 18 months following the end of hostilities in Europe: priority repatriation of service personnel and their dependants; scarcity of transatlantic shipping; uncertainty about the postwar economy; unclear direction of an international response to the refugee crisis; and the challenge of rebuilding a hollowed-out immigration service and overseas infrastructure.

Canada had made a major contribution to the defeat of Nazi Germany. Of the nearly one million Canadians who served in the Canadian armed forces during World War II, some 282,000 were in the United Kingdom and continental Europe in May 1945.⁶ Repatriation was the first priority, and over 238,000 servicemen and women returned to Canada by the end of February 1946. The final group of 900 arrived in Halifax only on 1 February 1947. Over the same period, about 65,000 dependants—war brides and children—were brought to Canada. Moving these groups to Canada ensured that shipping space—already in short supply due to war losses—was fully occupied.⁷ It also kept busy the small immigration team that had remained in London throughout the war.

Economic uncertainty also precluded increased immigration in the immediate postwar period. Scaling down wartime production and the need to reintegrate veterans gave rise to fears of an economic slump and unemployment. The Great Depression, with its widespread unemployment, mass poverty, and sectors of the population surviving on “public relief” was a recent memory. Government was cautious, especially when civilian integration of returning service personnel was a priority that the political sphere could ignore at its peril. Only by late 1946 and early 1947 would labour shortages in sectors such as domestic work, logging, mining, and agriculture become evident, with immigration seen as a ready source of needed workers.

The resettlement of European displaced persons was also constrained, at least well into 1947, by the lack of a clear policy at the international or multilateral level. Repatriation to places of origin was the official policy of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA), supported by the U.S.S.R. and its new client regimes, and it held priority over resettlement. The breakdown of the wartime Grand Alliance (U.K., U.S.A., France and the U.S.S.R.) saw aggressive Soviet activities in the Occupied Areas and the start of the Cold War. It was also evident that a large population of displaced persons refused repatriation and that local integration into the German and Austrian economies was not considered practicable. The Western Allies, through the newly constituted UN, would examine other durable solutions, including resettlement outside Europe. The result was the creation of a new international agency, the International Refugee Organization (IRO), which replaced UNRRA in mid 1947. The IRO mandate included third-country resettlement and was supported by large financial contributions from the U.S.A., U.K., Canada, and other countries. The U.S.S.R. and its clients remained opposed to resettlement and refused to accept “opposition to a government in power” as a legitimate reason to refuse repatriation. They chose not to join the new agency and, therefore, could not object to IRO resettlement efforts. The IRO also developed a definition of “refugee” that reflected on individual circumstances and which largely remains to this day in the United Nations' 1951 *Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees* and, eventually, Canada's 1976 *Immigration Act*.⁸ With the beginning of the Cold War, Eastern European displaced persons, by then known for their hostility to Communism, were positioned for more favourable resettlement consideration than before. By the second half of 1947, a number of large migration programs were initiated, with Canada an early player, acting ahead of other settlement countries.⁹

In the meantime, any plan to launch Canada's resettlement and immigration programs had to wait for the rebuilding of an immigration service hollowed out after a decade of Depression and six years of war. By 1945, examinations at ports of

entry, inland investigations, and enforcement were the service's primary focus. Overseas operations were limited to an office in London that remained open during the war. Former offices in Paris and Hong Kong closed with the German and Japanese occupations. From 594 employees (33 overseas) at the end of 1945, the branch would grow to 1,089 by February 1948, with 77 persons overseas.¹⁰ Most of the new employees were war veterans and would form the backbone of the service into the 1970s.

In 1945, the Immigration Branch functioned under regulations dating from the onset of the Great Depression intended to keep immigration numbers as low as possible. The operative order-in-council (P.C. 695) of 31 March 1931 limited the classes of immigrants admissible to Canada to: (1) British subjects born or naturalized in Great Britain or Ireland, Newfoundland, Australia, New Zealand, and the Union of South Africa; (2) U.S. citizens; (3) wives, unmarried children under 18, and fiancé(e)s of legal residents, and; (4) "agriculturists having sufficient means to farm in Canada".¹¹ The sole significant exemption came in a Cabinet decision on 25 October 1945 to admit as permanent residents some 3,500 refugees allowed into Canada on temporary status during the war.¹² It was reported that 60 percent intended to apply for permanent residence and, eventually, naturalization. They were described as "an asset to Canada".¹³ Cabinet also confirmed that there should be no change to the "present policy" until conditions changed. That said, the minister of Mines and Resources noted that immigration would have to "resume progressively" in Canada, the U.K., and Europe. Matters could be reviewed in several months. Meanwhile, members of parliament and the Immigration Branch were receiving mounting queries from residents seeking to assist relatives abroad in coming to Canada.

The Official Response—Action

By late 1945, Cabinet understood that immigration would assume greater significance and require new policies. It established the Cabinet Committee on Immigration comprising the Minister of Mines and Resources (J. Allison Glen), the Secretary of State for External Affairs (Louis St. Laurent) and the Secretary of State (Paul Martin). An interdepartmental committee on immigration policy of senior public servants was also formed in March 1946 to provide advice and recommendations.

The interdepartmental committee presented its *Preliminary Report to the Cabinet Committee* on 4 April 1946.¹⁴ Acknowledging the continuing shortage of shipping, the report noted the interest to immigrate among "people of continental origin who are either displaced persons or refugees or who are anxious to leave their homes because of the unsatisfactory nature of post war conditions". The committee proposed an increased immigration movement and formulation of policies governing the "selection of desirable immigrants". In the short term, to assuage mounting pressure from within Canada, the committee proposed measures to facilitate the movement of persons (including displaced persons) to join relatives prepared to care for them upon arrival.

Action to implement the committee's principal recommendation proceeded quickly.¹⁵ A new regulation (P.C. 2071 of 9 April 1946) allowed legal residents of Canada to "sponsor" a wider range of European relatives for admission: (1) parents; (2) unmarried children, 18 years of age and older; (3) unmarried siblings; and (4) orphaned nephews and nieces under age 16. These categories were further expanded some months later (P.C. 371 of 30 January 1947) to include: (1) widowed daughters and sisters, along with their unmarried children under age 18; and (2) an increase in the age limit for orphaned nephews and nieces to 18 from 16. This order-in-council also provided for the admission of agriculturists who intended to farm and destined to a relative engaged in agriculture and able to establish the relative on a farm.¹⁶ Finally, it provided for the admission of farm labourers and others experienced in mining, lumbering, and logging. All required "assured employment" through a process vetted by the National Employment Service (NES).

While these widened admissibility categories set the pattern for the future, the lack of processing facilities in Europe—Occupied Germany and Austria in particular—and the scarcity of passenger shipping, meant that these changes barely affected the number of Ukrainian and other displaced persons arriving in Canada. Only on 7 November 1946 would the prime minister announce that the government would send inspection teams of immigration, medical, and RCMP security officers to Germany and Austria to examine displaced persons for whom applications had been made by relatives in Canada.¹⁷ Before inspection teams could begin work, arrangements had to be made with the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees (IGCR) to locate, identify, and assemble persons from Immigration Branch lists. After candidates were examined by the inspection teams and passed immigration requirements (including health, character, and security), they would be given visas. The IGRC would make arrangements for transport to Canada and would also collect transportation expenses, where possible, from the relatives in Canada.

The first two Canadian immigration inspection teams arrived in Germany in March 1947.¹⁸ Initially, their work was confined to displaced persons admissible under the "close relative scheme". Processing proved to be slow. For instance, the IGCR often had difficulty locating named individuals. Once located, some were hesitant to move to Canada while awaiting the arrival of other relatives.¹⁹ Finally, the teams faced considerable logistical difficulties. Germany and Austria were still under military occupation, and travel, which was limited and difficult to obtain, required approval. Accommodation in the war-

ravaged zones was scarce and often primitive. In spite of these obstacles, the first group of 52 relatives arrived in Halifax on the *Aquitania* on 4 April 1947.

These early arrivals brought little satisfaction to those advocating on behalf of Ukrainian displaced persons, who could not fail to notice the small numbers being admitted. According to official statistics, only 152 “Ruthenians (i.e., Ukrainians)” arrived in Canada in fiscal year 1946/1947.²⁰ The same statistics reported the arrival of 1,205 “Hebrews” and 499 Poles. Ukrainian Canadian members of parliament Hlynka and Zaplityn criticized the small number of Ukrainians. This situation is partially explained by the refusal of UNRRA officials to allow “Ukrainian” as an identifier in documentation. At least some of the “Poles” would have been Ukrainians. This situation would change when the IRO took over the process, as it allowed “Ukrainian” to be used as a designator.

The first immigration offices in Europe—Paris, Brussels, and The Hague—opened in November 1946 but did not cover the displaced persons camps. More offices would open over the next few years, such as Rome, Karlsruhe, Copenhagen, and Stockholm. These new continental offices assumed responsibility for processing the expanded categories of close relatives noted above, as well as new special movements for Maltese workers, Dutch farmers, and others.

At the international level, the Canadian government supported the formation of the IRO and its resettlement mandate for displaced persons and refugees. Nevertheless, Canada chose to adopt its own approach to resettlement and assign its own priorities (as had already been demonstrated in its initial focus on uniting displaced persons with relatives prepared to assist). Admission by regulation was a key element of the Canadian approach, as summarized in an aide memoire dated 19 August 1946 from H.H. Wrong, acting Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, and shared with the Minister of Mines and Resources. The document had been presented originally to the British high commissioner in Ottawa in response to a request dated 26 July 1946 that Canada commit to accepting a specified number of displaced persons, including Jews, as a means of overcoming Arab opposition to the admission of Jews to Palestine. Although supportive of a broad international plan for resolving the problems of displaced persons and refugees, Wrong noted that Canada could not be bound by quotas:

The long-established method of regulating immigration to Canada is by the definition of the categories of persons admissible for permanent residence, without the imposition of numerical limitations. This method cannot readily be adopted to provide for the admission of specified quotas.

Whatever may be the immediate public effect of declarations of readiness by governments to receive substantial quotas of refugees, it is believed that in the long run, at any rate so far as candidates are concerned, a more effective contribution can be made by the modification of existing immigration regulations. Experienced results seemed to show that efforts to secure from a number of countries undertakings to admit specified numbers of persons will not have very productive results²¹

According to the aide memoire, Canada had done, and would continue to do, “its bit”, citing the permanent admission of wartime refugees already in Canada, changes to the regulations in favour of expanded categories of relatives which would favour displaced persons and others, and the 1946 decision to admit up to 4,000 Polish veterans for agricultural work. In so doing, Canada acted ahead of others.

Meanwhile, after months of deliberation within government and faced with continued lobbying from interested groups, on 1-May 1947,²² Prime Minister William Lyon Mackenzie King made a major statement on Canadian immigration policy in the House of Commons in the context of upcoming legislation to repeal the *Chinese Immigration Act*. Today, the statement is chiefly remembered for expressing the view that Canadians did not:

... wish, as a result of mass migration, to make a fundamental alteration in the character of our population. Large scale immigration from the Orient would change the fundamental composition of the Canadian population. Any considerable Oriental immigration would, moreover, be certain to give rise to social and economic problems of a character that might lead to serious difficulties in the field of international relations. The government, therefore, has no thought of making any change in immigration regulations which would have consequences of that kind.

On a more positive tone, Mackenzie King also stated:

The policy of the government is to foster the growth of the population of Canada by the encouragement of immigration. The government will seek by legislation, regulation, and vigorous administration, to ensure the careful selection and permanent settlement of such numbers of immigrants as can be advantageously absorbed in our national economy.

Addressing the issue of resettlement in Canada by refugees and displaced persons from Eastern Europe, the Prime Minister stated that:

The resettlement of refugees and displaced persons constitutes a special problem. In the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees, and in the discussions in the United Nations leading to the establishment of an International Refugee Organization, Canada has taken an active part. In this connection, the government has taken measures respecting the admission of refugees and displaced persons, and also of Polish ex-soldiers. These measures, though not of wide scope, are practical steps within the present physical limitations imposed by transportation.

Canada is not obliged, as a result of membership in the United Nations or under the constitution of the International Refugee Organization, to accept any number of refugees. For displaced persons we have, nevertheless, a moral obligation to assist in meeting the problem and this obligation we are prepared to recognize.

As an immediate and practical measure, the Prime Minister informed the House of Commons that the government was sending additional officers from the Immigration Branch and Department of Labour to investigate conditions among the refugees and take steps toward early admission of "thousands...of persons who can be readily absorbed in employment and into various industries and occupations". Selection officers would examine applicants for suitability and physical fitness and arrange orderly movement and placement in Canada. Displaced persons selected would be included in whatever future quota Canada might choose. Finally, the House of Commons was assured that any displaced persons admitted "would be of the type likely to make good citizens".

Ed. Note: The next, and final, part of this series will describe how officers from Immigration and other departments delivered an expanded program.

¹ Department of External Affairs. *Documents on Canadian External Relations*. Vol 11 (1944-1945), 1912. gac.canadiana.ca.

² Ultimately, the U.K. resettled the largest number of Polish veterans. Canada accepted an initial 4,000 single veterans in 1946 as farm labourers under two-year contracts to replace repatriated German prisoners of war. Many more would follow later.

³ *Mackenzie King Diaries*, 13 February 1944, item 26319. The Prime Minister met with Ludwig in New York in late 1943 in connection with a "word sketch". Ludwig had been advocating for the admission of Jews from Europe. Ludwig (1881-1948) was a prolific writer of political biographies and articles about contemporary leaders.

⁴ *Documents on Canadian External Relations*. Vol. 12 (1946). 353-355.

⁵ *House of Commons. Debates (20th Parliament)*, 1st Session, Vol. 3, 3537.

⁶ C.P. Stacey, *The Canadian Army 1939-1945: An Official Historical Summary* (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1948), 322-324.

⁷ Lack of shipping remained a significant problem well into 1948 and at the onset of a major immigration program. For the government, a partial solution was to retain and refit the *Beaver Brae*, a former German passenger liner (the *Huascarán*) built in 1938 for the South American route. It survived the war and was assigned to Canada as a reparation. The vessel was transferred to Canadian Pacific expressly for immigrant transport and sailed with immigrants from European ports to Halifax well into the 1950s. Other immigrant transportation schemes included the Government of Ontario's "Air Bridge" for immigrants from the United Kingdom in 1948 as well as similar federal air charter arrangements.

⁸ Marta Dyczok, *The Grand Alliance and the Ukrainian Refugees* (Oxford: St. Antony's Series, 2000), 2.

⁹ Notwithstanding Canada's early measures in 1946, some European countries—Belgium, the U.K., and France—acted even earlier in recruiting displaced persons to fill labour shortages.

¹⁰ Senate Standing Committee on Immigration and Labour, 20th Parliament (4th Session). Vol. 1, No. 3, 144.

¹¹ During the 1920s, by contrast, immigration to Canada had been quite open, including European farm workers and domestics destined to pre-arranged employment and unmarried siblings of legal residents of Canada. There were also special movements for Mennonites from the U.S.S.R. and Jews from Romania. British subjects from the "old Commonwealth" and U.S. citizens were largely allowed free entry. Order-in-council P. C. 2115 of 16 September 1930 restricted "Asiatic" immigration to wives and unmarried children under 18 of Canadian citizens and residents. The *Chinese Immigration Act of 1923* prohibited the admission of ethnic Chinese with the exception of "merchants" having invested at least \$2,500 in an established business. Exceptions to these restrictions were possible only through specific orders-in-council. These, in fact, were relatively numerous and merit further study.

¹² Most of these refugees had received first asylum in the U.K. but included a small movement of Jews who had made their way to Portugal.

¹³ *Cabinet Conclusions*. No. 6173.

¹⁴ *Documents on Canadian External Relations*. Vol 12 (1946), 355-357.

¹⁵ Freda Hawkins, *Canada and Immigration: Public Policy and Public Concern*, (Montreal and Toronto: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1972), 88ff.

¹⁶ A further expansion of admissible relatives came with P.C. 1734 of 1 May 1947, to include: (1) the husband or wife and unmarried children of first-degree relatives of persons legally in Canada; (2) the age limit for orphaned nephews and nieces raised to 21 from 18 years; and (3) fiancé(e)s.

¹⁷ *Documents on Canadian External Relations*. Vol. 13 (1947), 304. Circular letter from the Secretary of State for External Affairs dated 15 April 1947 to inform missions of developments respecting displaced persons.

¹⁸ Immigration teams gained experience in 1946 in processing the movement of 4,000 Polish veterans as farm workers from the U.K. and Italy. Odilon Cormier, a long-serving immigration officer, was in charge of the teams. He had already selected a small refugee movement from Lisbon in 1943. See *Documents on Canadian External Relations*. Vol. 13 (1947), 312. Memorandum to Cabinet from Acting Minister of Mines and Resources (Jas. A. MacKinnon).

¹⁹ Irving Abella and Harold Troper, *None is Too Many: Canada and the Jews of Europe, 1933-1948* (Toronto: Lester and Orpen Dennys, 1982), 238-278 gives a critical portrayal of the work by the early immigration teams, describing them as overly bureaucratic and regulation-bound, with a predilection to refuse. The authors attribute the latter to a negative culture dating from the 1930s. Changes in attitude required direct intervention from Deputy Minister H.L. Keenleyside and Acting Minister C.D. Howe.

²⁰ Dominion of Canada. *Report of the Department of Mines and Resources for the Fiscal Year Ended March 31, 1947* (Ottawa: King's Printer and Controller of Stationary, 1948), 254-255.

²¹ *Documents on Canadian External Relations*. Vol. 12 (1946), p. 369ff. Interestingly enough, this argument had been advanced by Canada at the Évian Conference in 1938. In addition, Canada would accept the notion of quotas when it agreed to accept specified numbers of displaced persons as bulk workers.

²² *House of Commons Debates*. 20th Parliament. 3rd Session. Vol. 3. 2644-2647.

In Memoriam

O'Connor, Brian

Brian O'Connor passed away on 6 May 2021. After graduating from St. Patrick's College (now part of Carleton University) in 1966, he started his career with the Canadian Employment and Immigration Commission that fall as a trainee. After a short stint at headquarters, he began a series of overseas assignments in Liverpool, where he was a counselling officer. From there, he went as a visa officer and then manager to Manchester, Hamburg, Bogota, Santiago, Paris, Manila, and Kingston. Brian also returned to work in immigration headquarters in Ottawa-Gatineau. His assignments included positions as executive assistant to the assistant deputy minister for Immigration and as deputy director in the Western Hemisphere Bureau. Later he held executive positions in human resources and in the security and investigations areas of immigration, and finally he worked in the post 9/11 era at the Canadian Security Intelligence Service. Apart from his many career accomplishments, he pursued a variety of interests with his family—from obtaining his pilot's licence and enjoying scuba diving, sailing, and fishing, to being a volunteer firefighter in Santiago's British Commonwealth Fire Brigade. Brian's former colleagues remember him fondly for his sound judgement, friendship, and varied interests.



Remembered by John Baker

I was very saddened to learn of Brian's passing. He was a wonderful guy, easy to get along with, and had a great sense of humour.

Remembered by Ron Button

Brian and I crewed together in the Hong Kong–Philippines–Hong Kong race in 1985. He was a solid friend and sailor to be with for 12 days under sometimes stormy conditions. Later our families met in several locations to the enjoyment of all.

Remembered by Gerry Campbell

I was sent to Bogota on temporary duty from Trinidad to replace him in 1977. I still recall vividly being taken by his friends to watch a small Colombian band play a farewell serenade to the O'Connors outside their bedroom window on the front lawn of their house in Bogota at about midnight.

More recently, in about 1996, I remember the two of us sitting in an anteroom just outside the Cabinet meeting room in Centre block in case we were required to provide details on some matter on the agenda. The Cabinet doors were suddenly thrown open, and Prime Minister Chretien strode out, looked at the two of us who were slightly taken aback at being face to face with the PM, said "hello boys", and walked off.

He was a great guy, always a gentleman, pleasant, calm and collected, with a good sense of humour. A real foreign service officer in the best tradition.

Remembered by Charles Godfrey

He was quite the sailor, was he not? He will be missed, to be sure. Brian was already in the foreign service for a few years when I first met him at HQ. He was patient with questions and a very good mentor and role model. I also liked the smell of the tobacco he smoked. RIP, Brian.

Remembered by Scott Heatherington

Brian was a wonderful colleague, with solid judgement. Sad news.

Remembered by Rick Herringer

I worked for Brian just after I returned from Islamabad in 1993. We were working in Security and Departmental Investigations. I really enjoyed working for him. He was a super guy. He was also a scuba diver, and we used to chat about diving quite often. What a terrible loss. Cheers, Brian!

Remembered by Stephan Hesse

Brian was an aficionado and collector of weapons of all kinds. Some years ago, at a once-a-month Wednesday lunch, we got talking about what was so fascinating about going to the shooting range and shooting with revolvers and long arms. He invited me to a firing range outside of Smiths Falls to try my hand at shooting revolvers and rifles. Despite my close to 75 years of age and coming from Europe, I had never held a gun of any kind in my hands before. We proceeded to the range and he instructed me briefly how to handle weapons, such as never to point a loaded weapon towards a person—all common-sense instructions.

To start out, he asked me to put on protective gear for my ears—to muffle the noise these guns make—then he loaded a pistol and showed me how to aim and shoot it at a target at some distance. Well, what can I tell you? Try as I might, all I ever saw were puffs of sand flying into the air as I hit the sandbank. Having arthritis in my fingers, trying to pull the trigger calmly and precisely is an art I never managed. When Brian encouraged me to try another round or more while loading the pistol, I politely declined—it turned out not to be my kind of sport.

Sometime later, when Brian heard that I was traveling to Germany, he asked me to look for a magazine for one of his pistols, a Walther P38, the standard issue for Wehrmacht officers in World War II. Once I got to Munich, I set out to find such a magazine, not an easy task. After visiting multiple stores specializing in hunting and fishing gear, I came across an old-fashioned store at the outskirts of the city where the owner, hearing my request, opened a drawer full of magazines for handguns. I had no idea what I was looking for—to me they all looked more or less the same. The store owner was familiar with the Walther P38 and fished out the right one. I paid, left the store, took the streetcar back into town, and commenced the rest of my vacation in Germany. Brian was very appreciative when I showed up in Ottawa with his magazine. May he rest in peace.

Remembered by Kurt Jensen

How very sad. I remember Brian from the old days as a very honourable man.

Remembered by Gerry Maffre

I remember Brian from my first NHQ assignment in 1980. As others who knew him better have stated, he always had good advice presented in reasonable ways. His calmness was also evident. It was always a pleasure chatting with him when our paths crossed years later at CIHS AGMs. A real gentleman!

Remembered by Darrell Mesheau

I believe Brian was a part of the large Immigration Foreign Service officer trainee intake in 1966, as I was. I was in a different training group that year, but he and Pete Current and a couple of others and I were about the same age and sometimes had coffee together in the Bourque Building as well as lunch often at Nate's, listening to the post-war generation intake telling us border stories.

I next ran into Brian in Vienna in 1968, when several of us were recruited from the various European posts (he, I think, from Paris, and I from Rome) to work with John Zawisza on the Czechoslovak movement that followed the Russian invasion. He and I would often lunch together in the Serbian restaurant next door to the office and, after each devouring a meal of cevapcici, we'd look at each other, grin, and order another plate to share before going back to the office. Our young metabolisms handled it just fine.

I last saw him when I sat with him at dinner at a CIHS meeting a few years back. I told him I'd visited Colombia for a few weeks in 2005 and very much enjoyed visiting his past posting city, Bogota, several times while there. His reaction was a straight-faced "Really? Why?" I'm very sorry to hear this news.

Remembered by Robert Peck

I remember Brian well during his tenure in personnel. A class act. May his memory be eternal.

Remembered by Peter Duschinsky

A really good man. May he rest in peace.

Remembered by Ian Rankin

Brian was an insightful and honourable man who did important work in a quiet and very effective way. I knew him at the end of his career and deeply appreciated his opinions. Rest in peace, Brian.

Remembered by Robert Shalka

It is sad news. Brian was a regular at the monthly lunches at the Georgetown (later Senate) Tavern on Bank Street. He was a great conversationalist.

Remembered by Barbara Stewart

Brian was in my foreign service training group in 1966 along with Bob Puddester, Gibby Gibson, David Cohen, and others. Gavin met Brian and me when giving our group a talk after returning to Ottawa from Manila. On his final posting, Gavin had the pleasure of working with Brian in Kingston, Jamaica.

Renaud, Jean

G rard Pinsonneault

G rard Pinsonneault est un fonctionnaire retrait  d'Immigration-Qu bec



Jean Renaud, professeur  m rite de sociologie   l'Universit  de Montr al, est d c d    Montr al le vendredi 19 mars 2021. Le professeur Renaud  tait une sommit  mondiale en mati re d'analyses de statistiques sociales, particuli rement celles qui peuvent t moigner des r alit s de l'immigration, de l'int gration et de la diversit  linguistique et ethnoculturelle au Canada, sp cialement au Qu bec.  crits en fran ais, plusieurs de ses ouvrages sont aussi disponibles en anglais.¹

Entre autres travaux, il a r alis  trois  tudes longitudinales de grande envergure permettant de retracer, apr s 1 an, 3 ans et 10 ans, le cheminement des immigrants admis au Qu bec en 1989 comme r sidents permanents, aux plans r sidentiel (logement), professionnel (emploi et ch mage), g ographique (mobilit  spatiale), social (vie civique et acc s   la citoyennet ), linguistique (connaissance et usage du fran ais et de l'anglais), scolaire et m me personnel (composition et statut des m nages), etc. Il a r alis  une autre  tude comparable, portant sur les personnes ayant demand  l'asile au Canada en 1994 et ayant obtenu la r sidence permanente au Qu bec par la suite (avant le 31 mars 1997). Pour dresser de tels portraits dynamiques, il a su mettre   profit les possibilit s offertes par l'informatique pour effectuer diff rents traitements statistiques sophistiqu s. Pour en savoir davantage sur l'homme remarquable qu'il  tait et sur l'ensemble de ses r alisations, il suffit de consulter le site web consacr    sa m moire : « jeanrenaud.info ».

Par ailleurs, ayant eu le privil ge de fr quenter le professeur Renaud non seulement dans le cadre de mon travail au minist re qu b cois responsable de l'immigration, mais aussi comme ami, j'aimerais souligner un trait de sa personnalit  qui le distinguait du commun des mortels. Je m'explique. Jean pratiquait   la perfection l'art de l' coute et du respect, et ce, autant sinon plus, avec ceux et celles qui n'avaient pas la chance d'avoir un gabarit intellectuel comparable au sien. Jean avait en effet une  rudition universelle, des comp tences exceptionnelles en analyses, une curiosit  sans limite, un grand sens de la gestion, un jugement s r, de la d termination et une connaissance approfondie des enjeux. Pourtant, jamais il n' talait sa sup riorit , pourtant  vidente   quiconque le connaissait un peu. Bien au contraire, il savait manifester un int r t sinc re pour ce que les « moins talentueux » avaient   offrir. C' tait pour lui une occasion de valoriser ses interlocuteurs en les faisant sentir intelligents et, en m me temps, d' largir sa propre vision des choses. Il avait une formule pour exprimer cette fa on de voir : « Il n'y a pas de hi rarchie des savoirs ». Pour lui, toute forme de connaissance m ritait d' tre prise en compte.

Avec moi, il a souvent manifest  cette qualit  exceptionnelle. M me le 6 mars dernier,   la maison de soins palliatifs St-Rapha l, o  je suis all  le voir alors que j' tais mal   l'aise, et triste de le savoir au terme de ses jours.

¹ Cette notice est publi e dans les deux langues, afin de permettre   tous d'en prendre connaissance.

Renaud, Jean
G rard Pinsonneault

G rard Pinsonneault is a retired civil servant from Qu bec Immigration.



Jean Renaud, professor emeritus of sociology at the Universit  de Montr al, died in Montr al on Friday, 19 March 2021. Professor Renaud was a world leader in the analysis of social statistics, particularly those that illustrate the realities of immigration, integration, and linguistic and ethnocultural diversity in Canada and particularly in Quebec. Although originally written in French, many of his works are also available in English.¹

Among other work, he carried out three large-scale longitudinal studies of immigrants admitted to Quebec in 1989, that followed their journeys after one year, three years and ten years, in terms of residential (housing), professional (jobs and unemployment), geographic (mobility), social (civic life and access to citizenship), linguistic (knowledge and use of French and English), educational and personal (household size and composition) aspects. He completed a similar study of asylum seekers who applied for refugee status in Canada in 1994 and then obtained permanent residency in Quebec by March 1997. To draw such dynamic portraits, he took advantage of the possibilities offered by computers to carry out various sophisticated statistical analyses. To learn more about the remarkable man Jean Renaud was and about his achievements, please visit the website dedicated to his memory: jeanrenaud.info.

Having had the privilege of knowing Professor Renaud not only through my work at the Qu bec ministry responsible for immigration, but also as a friend, I would like to point out a feature of his personality that set him apart from the average person. Let me explain. Jean practised to perfection the art of listening and respect, and this, as much if not more, with those who were not fortunate enough to have as extraordinary a mind as his. Jean had universal erudition, exceptional analytical skills, boundless curiosity, great management skills, sound judgment, determination and a deep understanding of the issues. Yet he never flaunted his superiority, which was obvious to anyone who knew him. On the contrary, he showed a genuine interest in what the "less talented" had to offer. It was an opportunity for him to enhance the value of his interlocutors by making them feel intelligent and, at the same time, to broaden his own vision of things. He expressed his way of seeing things—"There is no hierarchy of knowledge". For him, all forms of knowledge deserved to be taken into account.

With me, he often showed this exceptional quality, even on 6 March, at the Maison St-Raphael palliative care unit where I went to see him. I was uncomfortable and sad to know that he was dying and probably talked too much, but he never showed any sign of impatience.

¹ This notice is published in both languages so that everyone can become acquainted with Jean Renaud and his work.

CIHS thanks its corporate members - IRCC, P2P and Pier 21 - for their significant support as well as its life and annual members. All these contributions allow us to pursue our objectives and activities.

<p>The Canadian Immigration Historical Society (www.CIHS-SHIC.ca) is a non-profit corporation registered as a charitable organization under the Income Tax Act.</p>	<p>The society's goals are: - to support, encourage and promote research into the history of Canadian immigration and to foster the collection and dissemination of that history, and - to stimulate interest in and further the appreciation and understanding of the influence of immigration on Canada's development and position in the world.</p>	<p>President – Dawn Edlund; Vice-President – Anne Arnott; Treasurer – Raph Girard; Secretary – Robert Orr; Editor – Diane Burrows; Past-President Michael Molloy Members at large - Brian Casey, Roy Christensen, Valerie de Montigny, Charlene Elgee, Kurt Jensen, Gerry Maffre (Communications), Ian Rankin, and Robert Shalka Member emeritus - J.B. "Joe" Bissett IRCC Representative - Randy Orr Webmaster: Winnerjit Rathor</p>
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