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## Louis Hamilton, a British Academic and Specialist on Canada in Germany

Between the two world wars Louis Hamilton was described as one of the most prominent authorities in Germany on Canada. During this time period, academics in Europe, North America, private institutions, and the German government cited Hamilton as a dependable source of information.<sup>1</sup> Modern historians have also benefited from Hamilton's research.<sup>2</sup> Hamilton had an interesting career while lecturing in Germany during the *Kaiserreich*, Weimar Republic and Nazi era. Hamilton was born in 1879 in Milton, Kent, Great Britain. He was educated in England, France, Belgium and Germany. In 1904 Hamilton was Reader in English at Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität Berlin, now the Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, later he was appointed Lecturer at the Technische Universität Berlin. During World War I he returned to Great Britain but resumed his career in Germany after the war. Since 1924 Hamilton was also an English teacher and examiner for the German Foreign Office, Berlin. Hamilton was also member of the Canadian Historical Association, Geographical Society of Quebec, Waterloo Historical Society and Nova Scotia Historical Society. This article will focus on Hamilton's career in Germany after World War I until his expulsion from Nazi Germany in 1938.<sup>3</sup>

Canadian scholars such as H. A. Innis compliment Hamilton's works and research. Hamilton's 1921 publication entitled "Canada" was referred to as "a testimonial to the new position which Canada has gained in German appreciation because of the war."<sup>4</sup> Hamilton's book reviews also revealed contemporary assessments of German authors including Walter Tüchermann, Karl Müller-Grote and Max Otto.<sup>5</sup> Hamilton tried to expose the popular reading of Max Otto as pure fiction; alas his words of caution were not heeded in Europe. His negative assessments of Otto were repeated in Canada, but not in Germany. Otto continued to be popular reading, although German-Canadians knew Otto's tales were fabricated.<sup>6</sup> Otto lived in Alberta for nine years between 1912–21 claiming to be a hunter, trapper and big game

hunting guide living in a remote area. The truth was that Otto was a hired hand laboring for local Germans in the German community of Brüderheim, Alberta, not six hundred kilometers north of Edmonton as he claimed in his books.<sup>7</sup>

Hamilton described himself as a “student of Canadian affairs”; his first research expedition to Canada was in 1895.<sup>8</sup> Hamilton lived periodically in Canada “on and off 1895–1900, chiefly working on farms in Manitoba and Eastern Townships [Quebec], also lumbering, writing, etc.; and travelled extensively throughout the country.”<sup>9</sup> Throughout his career Hamilton was interested in European emigration and assessing if Canada was compatible for “potential emigrants in the Mother country [Great Britain] and in Teutonic countries (Holland, Germany and Scandinavia).” Canada drew his interest and he viewed this new country as a good choice for German speakers while personally wishing to stimulate population growth in Canada.<sup>10</sup> Hamilton firmly believed Canada represented a better choice for German speakers considering emigration than other destinations, including the United States.<sup>11</sup> Canadian authorities generally admired Hamilton’s publications on Canada due to his positive assessment. The Deputy Minister of the Department of Immigration and Colonization (DIC) wrote that, “Hamilton published in Germany a very elaborate volume [*Canada Landschaft und Volksleben*, 1927—Canada Landscape and Daily Life] dealing with the Dominion and illustrated to a degree of perfection such as is rarely seen in recently published books. He is therefore a man of some standing.”<sup>12</sup> DIC authorities were anxious to exploit Hamilton’s research and publication for the purposes of encouraging German emigration.<sup>13</sup> His 1928 publication entitled *Deutschland und Canada* was described by Innis as, “this book should be commended to all intelligent writers of immigration propaganda, and it could be used with advantages in schools and universities giving courses in elementary German. It is hoped that Mr. Hamilton may be persuaded to undertake an intensive study of German and Canadian relations, for which he has made an excellent beginning.”<sup>14</sup> Hamilton sent a copy of *Deutschland und Canada* to the DIC for their appraisal. The conclusion of the DIC was that this publication contained many facts and relevant information that Germans contemplating emigration would want to know. Hamilton described his work as immigration literature intended to give German speakers in Europe information regarding ship fares, land prices, rent, commodities costs, settlement possibilities, geographical descriptions, agricultural conditions, resources, employment opportunities, etc. In this work he conceded using Government of Canada publications such as the *Atlas of Canada*, *Canada and Immigration*, *Canada West*, and *Canada East*. Hamilton acknowledged that this publication addressed immigration concerns in Germany on Canada; he noted, “that

5,000 copies were purchased by one shipping line alone."<sup>15</sup> The members of the DIC were eager to use *Deutschland und Canada* in their emigration propaganda in Germany. They felt Hamilton's fondness of Canada could be exploited to their advantage.<sup>16</sup>

After its perusal by Canadian authorities it was noted, "the author seems to overrate in some respect the importance of the German element to Canada compared with the actual figures of German population and influence in this country."<sup>17</sup> Hamilton estimated the number of ethnic Germans in Canada to be around 600,000<sup>18</sup> while official Canadian statistics gave this figure to be 473,544.<sup>19</sup> Heinz Lehmann came to the figure of 700,000 ethnic Germans in Canada.<sup>20</sup> Estimates of over one million ethnic Germans were also given<sup>21</sup> but Ludwig Kempff, Germany's ambassador in Canada, commented that Lehmann's findings were greatly exaggerated. Others calculations were equally misleading. Kempff believed Canadian statistics were closer to the actual figure; he estimated the number to be under 500,000.<sup>22</sup>

Hamilton travelled to Canada periodically. His most documented travel and research expedition appears to be in 1928. Between August and October 1928 he conducted research via the Canadian National Railway (CNR); his itinerary was controlled by the CNR. His intention was to visit German settlements in Canada conducting research in an attempt to quash errant opinions and false stereotypes of Canada in Germany.<sup>23</sup> For whatever reasons Hamilton felt driven to provide literature on Canada in the German language. His intent was to inform German readers while giving those contemplating emigration relevant and useful information. He also wanted to speed up the reconciliation process between Germany and Canada after World War I.<sup>24</sup> Wilhelm Dibelius, a colleague at the University of Berlin, shared his reasoning and fondness of Canada. Both were interested in Canada, Canadian immigration policy and its German speakers. Dibelius also wanted to foster reconciliation between Canada and Germany<sup>25</sup> and facilitate German emigration to Canada.<sup>26</sup> Although both men were employed at the same university and were undoubtedly aware of their mutual interest in Canada, their working relationship is open to scrutiny. Hamilton wrote that Dibelius had a positive influence on German research and publications on Canada. Dibelius also travelled to Canada in 1928. He was conducting research for a book on Canada. This work was never published due to his untimely death in 1931. Hamilton noted, "only a few chapters were completed. These, together with a great number of notes, especially on Canadian literature, which were too fragmentary to permit of editing, will, as far as I am informed, not be published."<sup>27</sup> What became of this material is unknown but Heinz Lehmann, his protégé and graduate student, probably had access to Dibelius' research notes and manuscript.<sup>28</sup>

Initially Lehmann and Hamilton had a positive working relationship. In 1931 Hamilton praised the publication of Lehmann's Ph.D. thesis entitled *Zur Geschichte des Deutschtums in Kanada, Das Deutschtum in Ostkanada* (The History of Germanism in Canada, Germanism in Eastern Canada), as well as being the first general history of German speakers in Canada. Hamilton predicted, "no one in the future, who studies the questions of Germans in Canada, will be able to without this [publication]." <sup>29</sup> Lehmann used Hamilton as a source of information on Canada in his groundbreaking research on Canada's German speakers. Lehmann and Hamilton collectively helped others assemble material in an article dealing with the assimilation of newcomers in Canada. <sup>30</sup> Modern historians have echoed Hamilton's assessment. Wagner described Lehmann as "the leading German scholar in the interwar period on German-Canadians." <sup>31</sup> Gerhard Bassler praised his work as "the most comprehensive and scholarly account of the immigration and settlement of the entire ethnic German settlement in Canada." <sup>32</sup>

Because Canadian authorities basically ended immigration to Canada due to the depression, the possibility of the Canadian Maritimes attracted interest in Europe. Canadian officials had limited the entry of immigrants into Canada in August 1930. After this date immigration was limited to farmers with sufficient capital to support themselves and the wives and children of those immigrants that had already established residence in Canada. Further legislation in March 1931 permitted only British subjects and American citizens with sufficient funds to support themselves until they found employment, agriculturists with sufficient funds, farm labourers with guaranteed employment, any person engaged in mining, lumbering or logging industry with assured employment and the wives and children of adult males that were legally resident in Canada. This legislation practically ended immigration to Canada for the remainder of the Weimar Republic. <sup>33</sup> With the Great Depression continuing, Hamilton contacted the DIC about immigration possibilities to the Maritimes in 1931. Hamilton conveyed that conditions in Germany were so bad that large number of Germans were interested in immigrating to Canada. <sup>34</sup> In February 1931 Nova Scotia notified the DIC that they needed agriculturalists and emphasized that their farming conditions were much better than those in western Canada. The provincial government wanted two hundred agricultural families with a minimum of one thousand dollars to settle in the province. Both the CPR and CNR were notified to begin recruiting potential immigrants but all newcomers were to be made aware that they were only allowed to settle as independent farmers in Nova Scotia. Shortly thereafter, the New Brunswick government also expressed a desire for immigrants. <sup>35</sup> Germany was still experiencing agricultural labour shortages, particularly in eastern Prussia, and was spending millions of marks

to alleviate this problem. The German government preferred that these emigrants contribute to Germany's economic revival by moving to Prussia rather than moving abroad.<sup>36</sup> This request for settlers by New Brunswick and Nova Scotia was the last immigration opportunity to Canada for Germans before World War II. Lehmann estimated that roughly two hundred to three hundred farmers from northern Germany emigrated to the Maritimes.<sup>37</sup>

During the Nazi era many Jewish and foreign elements amongst the German population suffered persecution. The entire German population went through the same process of indoctrination and ethnic cleansing. Some foreigners pretended to be of German heritage in an attempt to extend their time of residence and careers. Nazi ideology called for all non-German elements to be weeded out of all education systems. Jewish students, teachers and professors were the first group expelled.<sup>38</sup> Due to the Nazis making English the first foreign language learned by students, teachers of English such as Hamilton were initially tolerated by the Nazi education system. English was viewed as a Germanic language. In contrast other languages such as French were viewed as foreign to the German culture.<sup>39</sup> The English press was tolerated in Nazi Germany. Aiken-Sneath noted that after 1933 some British newspapers, such as the *Manchester Weekly Guardian*, were being read by the higher classes in Germany. This newspaper was later banned in July 1936; the *Times* continued to be approved reading until the outbreak of World War II.<sup>40</sup>

The Nazi process of sifting out the politically incorrect and unwanted elements in Germany's population took place in stages. Legislation was passed on 7 April 1933, which saw instructors dismissed due to inadequate training, being politically unreliable, or non-Aryan descent. Some supposedly lost their position due to a reorganization or simplification of the administrative process.<sup>41</sup> Another law was passed on 21 January 1935, which allowed the transfer and removal of professors based on the termination of some academic positions.<sup>42</sup> The Nuremberg citizenship laws of 1935 further curtailed academic life in Germany.<sup>43</sup> Supplements of the 1933 law were added through the next four years with the final edict issued on 26 January 1937. These laws rid Germany of Jewish professors but also pushed out foreign academics, such as Hamilton.<sup>44</sup> Wolf stated that "anybody suspected of democratic or liberal views had to be got rid of. Accordingly, many teachers [and professors] were squeezed out."<sup>45</sup> Kneller also confirmed a sharp shift within German universities aimed at conforming to Nazi ideals. Any freethinker or liberal thoughts were seen to be a threat to the state.<sup>46</sup> Barth wrote that after 1933 "you saw all academic glory of these professors, and their professional ethical code to boot, collapse like a house of cards before the onrush of unmistakable evil. You saw how, with a few honourable exceptions, they all changed their colours; they readjusted themselves and began to pipe loudly or softly, as the case might be,

their modulation of the latest tune. What interpretations and re-interpretations were to be heard!"<sup>47</sup> Kahle repeated this assessment.<sup>48</sup> Ritter witnessed German universities being controlled for the sole benefit of Nazis. All levels of teaching suffered as a result.<sup>49</sup> Garner claimed academia in Nazi Germany suffered, as did all levels of German society. Although Germany had established prestigious institutions of higher learning they were deprived of their freedom and became instruments of disseminating political, racial and ideological propaganda.<sup>50</sup>

By late 1935 or early 1936 Hamilton was growing uncomfortable with his position in Germany and inquired about the possibility of teaching in Canada. He made inquiries at the University of Saskatchewan located in Saskatoon, Saskatchewan; the university welcomed the idea of Hamilton teaching at their institution. Owing to financial and managerial restrictions the administration was prepared to be creative in order to find a position for a man of Hamilton's knowledge and experience during the Great Depression. The idea was that Hamilton could teach English and History at the university, possibly through adult extension classes; also there existed the possibility of lecturing in other communities such as North Battleford (129 km from Saskatoon) and Prince Albert, Saskatchewan (141 km from Saskatoon). Other work could be found for him correcting essays, exams, etc. for other professors. Hamilton was to start his position 1 July 1938—his initial position was teaching summer school.<sup>51</sup> Hamilton arrived in Montreal in mid-June 1937 bringing with him furniture, books and lecture materials. All were destined for Saskatoon; no mention was made of Hamilton's wife or family.<sup>52</sup> Hamilton taught that summer in Saskatoon but returned to Germany during the late summer or early fall 1937, with the intention of returning to Saskatoon during the summer of 1938. Although Hamilton was grateful for the opportunity afforded to him by the University of Saskatchewan, he balked at the prospects of teaching in North Battleford and Prince Albert and was cool to the idea of correcting other professors' work. He wanted to be a university lecturer, not an assistant to another professor, his reasoning being that "the extra-mural work could be done better by a younger and unmarried man who is not engaged in writing and tied to a library, nor who would mind the loss of time and opportunities to work, as well as roughing it entailed by continual travelling, irregular meals and stays in 'bum' hotels."<sup>53</sup> Hamilton intended to leave Nazi Germany by April 1938, this time accompanied by his entire family. While finding the atmosphere in Berlin tense, Hamilton did not return to Saskatoon.<sup>54</sup> Although the exact problems Hamilton encountered with Nazi Germany were not given, the Nazification of the German educational system in Germany forced Hamilton to leave Germany.

The purpose of education in Germany was to make good National Socialists. Foreign teachers and professors were deemed too liberal and incompatible

with Nazi ideology. Many found the entire German educational system corrupted by propaganda, which was determined to mould the learner and create rabid Nazis. Freedom within education was gone.<sup>55</sup> One of the reasons for the erosion of the status and freedom within institutions of higher learning was the new emphasis placed on Nazi party institutions. Aycoberry noted "the regime no longer considered secondary schools and universities suitable for the countries elites, but instead regarded them as leftovers from an archaic system that would progressively be wiped out to make way for its own training schools."<sup>56</sup> Zimmer noted that at the University of Berlin, where Hamilton taught, an emphasis on learning had been eroded in favour of physical education and dedication to Nazi ideology. Independent thought and reading were discouraged. All facets of the German education system were to be used to make obedient Nazis, including the universities as a tool of influence.<sup>57</sup> Hartshorne assessed the impact of the Nazis on German education and saw losses for all avenues of German learning. Many learned and professional men were driven from academia with Nazi teachers installed in their place representing problems in education and learning. Hartshorne noted that Berlin lost about a third of their academic teaching staff.<sup>58</sup> Hamilton would not be included in this number, as he remained in his position until 1938. Therefore the actual number for the University of Berlin and figures in Germany could have been higher based on the late dismissal of Hamilton and other professors.<sup>59</sup>

Hamilton witnessed German writers, researchers and scholars being corrupted by Nazi ideology. Hamilton found Lehmann's 1935 article entitled "Das evangelische Deutschtum in Kanada" (The Lutheran Germanism in Canada) a disappointment, as Lehmann echoed Nazi sentiments of German superiority. Hamilton noted, "it requires restraint to read and write about Herr Lehmann's studies without a feeling of irritation released by his patronizing tone toward Canadians, traces of Anglophobia, and more than a modicum of that modern method of disseminating information and ideas derived from the 'congregatio de propaganda fide.'<sup>60</sup> In contrast to Hamilton's assessment of Lehmann's increasing adaptation to Nazism and his rampant racism is Gerhard Bassler. Bassler wrote that Lehmann's ideology was not compatible to Nazism; Lehmann maintained that he was never a National Socialist. But by 1936 he lectured in the same department as Hamilton. By 1938 Hamilton was deemed expendable. Regardless of any accusations the fact remains that Hamilton was dismissed from his position during the Third Reich, while Lehmann grew ever more comfortable within the nazified University of Berlin. Lehmann's dissertation entitled "Zur Geschichte des Deutschtums in Kanada" ("The History of the Germanism in Canada," 1931) was the first historical account of Canada's Germans. Today his works are referred to

as "the most comprehensive and scholarly account of the immigration and settlement of the entire ethnic German settlement in Canada."<sup>61</sup> Lehmann has the reputation as "the leading German scholar in the interwar period on German Canadians."<sup>62</sup> Bassler stated that Lehmann's 1939 publication on Canada entitled *Das Deutschtum in Westkanada* (Germandom in Western Canada) was free of official Nazi ideology and represented a neutral account of German speakers in Canada.<sup>63</sup> According to Hamilton the opposite was true, for the work contained

dangerous and mendacious glorification of the German elements in Canada, with its sneers, accusations and distorted figures. Few realize the dangerous influence of such books. Parenthetically be it remarked that at German Universities all teachers (Lehmann is one) whose subject was Canada, the United States, or England, etc., were expected to run down that particular country and its people, and to make them the object of hate and derision. The Nazi theory is that only he who hates a foreign country is fit to teach its language or impart information about it. This was officially called *Feindkunde* (knowledge of the enemy).<sup>64</sup>

Lehmann's 1940 publication entitled "Englands Spiel mit Polen" (England's Game with Poland) was little more than Nazi propaganda literature. Although the level of Lehmann's acceptance of Nazi ideology is open to speculation this publication adds weight to Hamilton's argument that Lehmann fully identified with Nazi ideology and willingly complied with their wishes.<sup>65</sup> Lehmann became a Nazi party member in 1933; Bassler forgot to mention this fact in his assessment.<sup>66</sup>

Hamilton was not the only foreigner that taught in Nazi Germany. The exact number is unknown and is a neglected topic within German historiography. Although Hamilton left Germany prior to World War II other foreigners were allowed to teaching throughout the war. Francis Stewart, an Irish nationalist, was another individual who may have gained from Hamilton's departure. Stewart was invited to give a lecture tour in Germany in February 1939. While in Berlin he met members of the English Seminar of the University of Berlin. He was offered a position in late 1939; he started teaching in January 1940. Francis lectured on Anglo-Irish literature, but also advised the German Foreign Office on matters on Ireland. Periodically he addressed Ireland on radio broadcasts.<sup>67</sup> Although Hamilton departed from Nazi Germany in 1938, Stuart remained for the duration of the war. Another foreigner that remained in Germany during World War II was Constantin Carathéodory, a Greek national. Carathéodory studied mathematics at the University of Berlin in 1900. In 1902 he studied at the University of Göttingen, where he received his Ph.D. in 1904. After teaching at various universities in Germany, he accepted a post at the University of Smyrna, Turkey. In 1924 he was



appointed Professor of mathematics at the University of Munich. During the Nazi era he was classified as an Aryan and remained in his academic position. As an international authority on mathematics his reputation and presence in Nazi Germany brought the Third Reich prestige and acceptance at international meetings and missions.<sup>68</sup> Hamilton may have also unknowingly given Nazi Germany, prior to World War II, acceptance within the international community and academia.

Once expelled from Hitler's Germany, Hamilton returned to Great Britain. Hamilton had problems adjusting back to the land of his birth after many years of living in Germany, as did his German wife and their three children. Hamilton was able to obtain employment within the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), where he worked as the German Language Intelligence Supervisor; he was responsible for German language broadcasts given through the BBC. The BBC began German language service in September 1938; this service was lengthened in January 1939. By April 1939 its usage was done regularly with increasingly more anti-Nazi propaganda. This service continued for the duration of the war. It is not known when exactly Hamilton began to work on the BBC's German language services. BBC staff lists did not include Hamilton in 1939; staff lists were not made in 1940 and 1941, yet Hamilton was listed in 1942. Apparently he did his job well. The BBC management praised Hamilton for his prowess as a translator and his intimate knowledge of the German language.<sup>69</sup>

On 6 April 1944, Hamilton again inquired about the possibility of returning to Saskatoon. He noted that he had been employed by the BBC for over two years but was very interested in working on matters directly related to Canada. He was hoping his previous work and connections with the United States might procure him work there again, or possibly with the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC). These inquiries came to nothing.<sup>70</sup> Hamilton resigned from his BBC position on 22 July 1945 to work for the Political Intelligence Department (PID) of the British Foreign Office (BFO).<sup>71</sup> During World War II the British government formed the Political Warfare Executive (PWE) to create and spread propaganda while damaging enemy morale and sustaining the morale of occupied countries. It was formed in August 1941, reporting to the BFO. The PWE included staff from the Ministry of Information, the propaganda elements of the Special Operations Executive, and from the BBC. The PWE was a secret department; when dealing with the outside world it used the cover name PID. The main forms of propaganda were radio broadcasts, postcards and leaflets.<sup>72</sup>

Hamilton was known in academic circles in Germany and Canada between the two world wars. He made important contributions to Canadian and German historiography. Although coerced to leave Germany, Hamilton

did not leave Germany willingly. Back in Great Britain he was able to serve his country of birth through psychological warfare techniques employed by the PID/PWE. His work for the British government may have been done as a form of revenge against Nazi Germany, a government that forced him to leave a country he had resided in for decades. Throughout his adult life Hamilton was pro-German, admiring many aspects of German life and culture. But Nazi Germany deemed Hamilton an untrustworthy and an unwanted element within its educational system.<sup>73</sup> Ten years after being forced to leave his beloved Germany, Hamilton died in 1948.

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### Notes

<sup>1</sup>National Archive of Canada (hereafter NAC) C10234 File 307724: North German Lloyd to Egan Department of Immigration and Colonization (hereafter DIC), 3 August 1928; NAC C10234 File 307724: DIC to Egan DIC, 21 July 1927; Bundesarchiv Koblenz (hereafter BAK) ZSg1-142-20 1922: *Verein für das Deutschtum in Ausland Jahrbuch für 1922*, 168; Hermann Wagner, *Von Küste zu Küste, Bei deutschen Auswanderer in Kanada* (Hamburg: Verlag der Ev. luth. Auswanderermission, 1929), 114–15; H. A. Innis, "Review of Books—Deutschland und Kanada von L. Hamilton," in W. S. Wallace and George W. Brown, eds., *The Canadian Historical Review* 9 (1928): 183 (hereafter *CHR*).

<sup>2</sup>W. Bausenhardt, *German Immigration and Assimilation in Ontario 1783–1918* (Toronto: Legas Press, 1989), 102.

<sup>3</sup>"Canadische-deutsche Beziehung," in *Der Courier*, 29 February 1928: 1; NAC C10234 Nr. 307724: Hamilton to DIC, London, 11 July 1927; G. Macklin, National Archive of the United Kingdom to Grams, 1 July 2005; Charles G. D. Roberts and Arthur L. Tunnell, *The Canadian Who's Who 1937* (Toronto: Trans-Canada Press, 1938), 469; Roberts, et al, 1938–39, 298–99.

<sup>4</sup>H. A. Innis, "Book Review of 'Canada von Louis Hamilton,'" in W. S. Wallace, ed., *CHR* 2 (1921): 299.

<sup>5</sup>Louis Hamilton, "Review of Karl Müller-Grote: Deutsche-kanadische Lebensbilder," in *CHR* 6 (1925): 164; Louis Hamilton, "In Kanadischer Wildnis: Trapper-Farmerleben by Max Otto," in *CHR* 5 (1924): 77–79; Louis Hamilton, "Review of Das Deutschtum in Kanada by W. Tuckermann," in *CHR* 10 (1929): 352–55.

<sup>6</sup>Louis Hamilton, *CHR* 5 (1924): 77–79; "Er lebt noch," in *Der Herold*, Edmonton, 28 February 1929, 2.

<sup>7</sup>Max Otto, *In kanadischer Wildnis, Trapper- und Farmerleben* (Berlin: Verlagbuchhandlung Paul Parey, 1923): 119–23; "Ein reichsdeutscher Gast in Edmonton," in *Der Courier und der Herold*, 14 October 1936: 4; C. A. Gutensohn, "German's Absurd Picture of Canada," in *Edmonton Journal*, 7 February 1925: 6.

<sup>8</sup>"Canadische-deutsche Beziehung," in *Der Courier*, 29 February 1928: 1; NAC C10234 Nr. 307724: Hamilton to DIC, London, 11 July 1927.

<sup>9</sup>University of Saskatchewan Archive Pres. Papers Series I 21 Correspondence: Hamilton to [G. W.] Simpson, 6 March 1936; NAC C10234 Vol.231 File 307724: A. O'Kelly to Egan, 3 October 1927.

<sup>10</sup> "Canadische-deutsche Beziehung," in *Der Courier*, 29 February 1928, 1; NAC C10234 Nr. 307724: Hamilton to DIC, London, 11 July 1927.

<sup>11</sup> Louis Hamilton, "Canada als Einwanderungsland," in *Sonderabdruck aus den Preussischen Jahrbüchern Heft 1925*, 336–41; Staatsarchiv Bremen 3-A.4, File 611: Carstens and Meyner, Ev. Auswanderer Mission Bremen to Behörde für das Auswanderungswesen, Bremen 27 January 1930.

<sup>12</sup> NAC C10234 File 307724: Assistant Director DIC to Egan DIC, 21 July 1927.

<sup>13</sup> NAC C10234 File 307724: Gelley Division Commissioner to DIC, 19 March 1928; NAC C10234 File 307724: [DIC] to Hamilton, 19 March 1928.

<sup>14</sup> H. A. Innis, "Book Review of 'Deutschland und Canada von Louis Hamilton,'" in W. S. Wallace and George Brown, eds., *CHR* 9 (1928): 183.

<sup>15</sup> NAC C10234 File 307724: Egan to Hamilton, 28 January 1928; NAC C10234 File 307724: DIC to Hamilton, 14 April 1928.

<sup>16</sup> NAC C10234 File 307724: T. Gelley [DIC] to [DIC], 19 March 1928; NAC C10234 File 307724: Hamilton to [DIC], 19 March 1928; NAC C10234 File 307724: T. Gelley to DIC, 3 April 1928; NAC C10234 File 307724: Deputy Minister [DIC] to Hamilton, 14 April 1928.

<sup>17</sup> NAC C10234 File 307724: Gelley to Little DIC, 3 April 1928.

<sup>18</sup> BAK R57/37: *Das Deutschtum in Westcanada*, by Dr. F. Roth, 11 July 1930.

<sup>19</sup> BAK R57/38: "Nord Amerika-Kanada," 7 July 1934; Malcom C. Urquhart: *Historical Statistics of Canada* (Cambridge: University Press, 1965), 18. According to 1931 statistics.

<sup>20</sup> Heinz Lehmann, "Das evangelische Deutschtum in Kanada," in Ernst Schubert, ed., *Auslanddeutschtum und evangelische Kirche* (Munich: Kaiser Verlag, 1935), 252.

<sup>21</sup> BAB R1501/1794: Untitled, unsigned document, 17 January 1927. Meeting between Hintrager, Hering and Schmidt with Lutheran Immigration Board members Schmock, Wedekind, and Canadian Pacific Railway agent Kaiser.

<sup>22</sup> BAB R1501/1794: Kempff German General Consul (GGC) Montreal to Auswärtiges Amt Berlin, 22 April 1927.

<sup>23</sup> NAC C10234 File 307724: Hamilton to DIC, 30 April 1928; NAC RG30 Vol. 624 File 3: Freer Canadian National Railway (hereafter CNR) to Devlin, 29 August 1928.

<sup>24</sup> Louis Hamilton, *Canada* (Gotha: Friedrich Andreas Perthes Verlag, 1921), VII–VIII; NAC C 10234 No. 30724: "Deutschland und Kanada by L. Hamilton"; H. A. Innis: "Review of Books—Canada von Louis Hamilton," in W. S. Wallace, *CHR* 2 (1921): 299.

<sup>25</sup> Politisches Archiv des Auswärtiges Amtes (hereafter PAAA) R60032: Dibelius to AA, 21 January 1929; Kirchenkreis Alt Hamburg Archiv Auswanderermission IV 31: Prof. Dr. [W.] Dibelius, "Aus der kanadischen Prärie," in *Klasinger Monatsschrift*, June 1929, 405–8 (hereafter, Dibelius, kanad. Prärie); Wilhelm Dibelius, England (London: Jonathan Cape Printers, 1922), 7–10.

<sup>26</sup> NAC RG 30 Vol. 5624 File 3: F. J. Freer [CNR] to T. P. Devlin [CNR], 29 August 1928; PAAA R60032 Abt. VI *Deutschtum im Ausland* Band 1 Nr. 1: "Bericht über eine Reise nach Kanada und den Vereinigten Staaten" von W. Dibelius, 1928; Kirchenkreis Alt Hamburg Archiv Bestand Auswanderungsmission IV 31: Dibelius, kanad. Prärie.

<sup>27</sup> Louis Hamilton, "Recent German Books Relating to Canada with some Remarks on Early Publications," in George W. Brown and Alison Ewart, eds., *CHR* 14 (1933): 191.

<sup>28</sup> Heinz Lehmann, "Wilhelm Dibelius," in Herman Ullmann, ed., *Deutsche Arbeit 1931*, 190–91; Grant W. Grams, "Wilhelm Dibelius and his influence on German-Canadian Studies," in William Keel, ed., *Yearbook of German-American Studies* 39 (2004): 123–31.

<sup>29</sup> Louis Hamilton, "Review of Zur Geschichte des Deutschtums in Kanada; Vol. 1—Das Deutschtum in Ostkanada von Heinz Lehmann, 1931," in George W. Brown and Alison Ewart, eds., *CHR* 8 (1932): 212–13.

<sup>30</sup> Heinz Lehmann and Gerhard Bassler, *The German Canadians 1750–1937* (St. John's: Jespersen Press, 1986), 474, Heinz Lehmann and Louis Hamilton, "Das Assimilationsproblem," in Carl Petersen, Paul H. Ruth and Hans Schwalm, eds., *Handwörterbuch des Grenz und Auslandsdeutschum* (Breslau: Ferdinand Hirt, 1938), 262.

<sup>31</sup> Bassler and Lehmann, xxiv–xxv.

<sup>32</sup> Jonathan Wagner, *Troubles in Paradise Letters to and From German Immigrants in Canada 1925–1939* (St. Katharinen: Scripta Mercaturae Verlag, 1998), 6.

<sup>33</sup> "Victor Malarek, *Heaven's Gate, Canada's Immigration Fiasco* (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1987), 12–13; Valerie Knowles, *Strangers at our Gates: Canadian Immigration and Immigration policy, 1540–2006* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1992), 108.

<sup>34</sup> NAC C10234 File 307724: Hamilton to Egan DIC, 21 May 1931.

<sup>35</sup> NAC RG 76 Vol. 369 File 494408: DIC to Murray Superintendent of Immigration and Industry, St. Johns 13 May 1931; NAC RG76 Vol. 369 File 494408: DIC to Goucher Minister of Agriculture Halifax, 23 March 1931; NAC RG76 Vol. 369 File 494408: Jones Memorandum to Gordon, 12 March 1931; NAC RG76 Vol. 369 File 494408: Nova Scotia Department of Agriculture to Gordon Minister of Agriculture, 23 February 1931.

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<sup>42</sup> RGB 1935 Teil I, 23–24.

<sup>43</sup> RGB 1935 Teil I, 1145–47, 1333–34.

<sup>44</sup> RGB 1937 Teil II, 41–70.

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