Introduction

Kate Garrett, Andrew McNamara and Seumas Spark

A Book Buried in the Archive

This publication emerged from the chance discovery of a manuscript found buried in the papers of the art historian Ernst Kitzinger. At the time, the editors were researching a proposed exhibition of wartime internment imagery in Australia.[1] This included investigating numerous archival documents – including papers, artworks and other materials – recently acquired by the State Library of New South Wales (SLNSW). The new archival material related to the controversial transportation of around 2,500 mostly German and Austrian men, from Britain to Australia aboard the HMT (Hired Military Transport) *Dunera* in 1940: the British government had classified about 2,000 of the men as 'enemy aliens', the enemy classification determined solely, and myopically, by their nationality. The Library's new acquisitions presented an opportunity to exhibit works never publicly seen before, including from the archives of artists such as Georg Teltscher, Robert Hofmann and Klaus Friedeberger. We sought to supplement these with works by Ludwig Hirschfeld-Mack, Erwin Fabian, Henry Talbot and Fred Lowen – all of whom found themselves interned on the dry plains of Hay, in western New South Wales, in September 1940.

The Kitzinger acquisitions presented something different, something wholly unexpected. Among his papers, we discovered a collection of essays written by a selection of fellow internees, between 1940 and 1941, that deal with their incarceration at Hay, where almost all of the *Dunera* internees were imprisoned after their arrival in Australia. There were about two thousand men divided evenly into Camps 7 and 8, roughly a thousand in each, and in the camps two distinctive cultures developed. In Camp 7, internees created a microcosm of Europe. The educated and multilingual lived in the 'west', the less educated in the 'east'. Or so it was said. This generalization, in common

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with all sweeping statements, has its limits, for the east was also home to men of education and learning. The fact that they were probably more religiously observant, not as widely travelled and less inclined to Anglophilia may have informed the generalization. Kitzinger lived in Hut 29, Camp 7, and all the essay contributors were Camp 7 men, mostly from the 'west'.

We came across the key to it all in the form of a handwritten table of contents devised by Kitzinger, which revealed the authors, contents and a running order for the material. The table of contents and handwritten notes among the essays made it clear that these were, effectively, commissioned writings for a volume of essays and poems detailing myriad aspects of the internment experience – with Ernst Kitzinger as the editor. One essay is accompanied by a note in English from Jacob Breuer addressed to, 'Dear Dr Kitzinger': 'I am sorry I have to leave the article unedited I really did not find a minute for it.'

The authors selected appeared to have been chosen for their ability to cover a wide range of themes. A major preoccupation was explaining the perplexity of their situation: of being exiles from fascist Europe, or refugees from a life-and-death situation, subsequently branded enemy aliens and banished to the other side of the world. At the same time, they knew others in Europe were suffering far worse fates. The essays dealt with many aspects of internment, but collectively they sought to convey the peculiar state the internees found themselves in, as non-citizens and exiles treated with suspicion. Though utterly opposed to the Nazi government in their former homeland, they were interned in a country at war with the fascist ideology they had fled. All the while they were isolated from friends, colleagues and families, many of whom were still stranded in Nazi-occupied Europe.

Kitzinger's papers also included his own essays relating to this period of internment in Australia, along with a report by Alec (or Alex) Herz written on his return to England.[2] We have included these in this volume to provide a frame around the original proposal. Kitzinger had gathered this material in what seemed to be one collection. These supplementary essays, particularly Kitzinger's contributions, present incisive assessments of the period before, during and after internment. Each stage, as Kitzinger shows in his contributions, is no less complex than another. Combined, they show the effort of the internees to explain their situation, almost striving to clarify it for themselves, and to comprehend the broad context of internment.

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Kitzinger's volume thus meditates on wider themes. When are you a refugee? How do you decide where to go and what to do? Or is this decided for you? The writings included in this volume address these fundamental issues. They shift from detailing the everyday plight of exiles stranded on the other side of the world and evolve into meditations about citizenship, extreme nationalism and the state. One question above all predominates: What is the fate of the individual when the state of which one is a citizen turns rogue, even criminal? What can be done when a state renders stateless whole classes of its own citizens, or declares them non-persons? The publication presents a unique insight into the perils and unremitting confinement of internment, and of the basic assumptions of citizenship.

The publication is significant in another way, too: there is nothing like it in *Dunera* historiography. The *Dunera* story has attracted the interest of authors – though for such a rich subject, fewer than might be expected. Amid a scattering of scholarly articles, some book-length studies have been published. First was Benzion Patkin's 1979 work *The Dunera Internees*, which told the story through a Zionist lens – an approach that limited the book's effect and appeal as a general history.[3] Better received was *The Dunera Scandal*, published in 1983, in which Cyril Pearl offered a broader, more comprehensive text.[4] In 1990, Paul Bartrop and Gabrielle Eisen released *The Dunera Affair*, a book-length collection of relevant documents.[5] More recently, Ken Inglis and colleagues produced the two-volume history *Dunera Lives*.[6] Other works present the *Dunera* story from individual perspectives,[7] including self-published memoirs penned by former internees.[8] But where other authors told the *Dunera* story after the fact, Kitzinger and colleagues did so at the time, seeking to capture the urgency, malaise and injustice of their predicament. There is an immediacy and prescience to this writing that is unusual in *Dunera* literature, especially so given their work was a collective endeavour. Letters written from internment evidence the immediate but they tend to echo the thoughts of individuals, not the ambitions and concerns of a group.

The *Dunera* Episode

When Winston Churchill came to power in May 1940, one of the first decisions of his government was to arrest, intern and ultimately de-

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port thousands of 'enemy aliens' to Canada and Australia, despite the fact that many had fled to Britain as refugees from Hitler's regime. The fear was that these enemy aliens might secretly help to orchestrate an invasion of Britain. It was a decision made in panic. Although the vast majority were 'anti-Nazi and mostly Jewish,' as Henry Mayer pointed out in 1980, 'they were seen as potential spies and Fifth Columnists.'[9] As a result, on 10 July 1940, the British transport ship HMT *Dunera* departed Liverpool, Britain, with 2,546 male prisoners on board, some of whom had been living in Britain for years and had made their lives there. The information provided to the *Dunera* internees about their journey was at best incomplete and at worst false: some were informed the ship would be going to Canada or to Australia, others that their wives or families would soon follow and still others were told that they were simply being transferred to another internment camp in Britain. Ernst Kitzinger, for instance, claims many initially thought they were simply being moved to the Isle of Man.[10] None knew for certain, at the outset, that they were destined for Australia, and the announcement on day seven was met with shock and apprehension by some internees.[11] As Mayer recalls, 'we were horrified to discover we had been lied to – our real destination was Australia, to us the arse of the globe'.[12] This group of men, aged from 16 to 66, would later become known as the '*Dunera* boys'.

Conditions on the *Dunera* were dire. The ship was grossly overcrowded, with men crammed into appalling living quarters below deck and not enough life vests or rafts. The *Dunera* narrowly avoided disaster when, early in the voyage, it survived a U-boat firing two torpedoes. There were also insufficient hammocks for all the internees, and most were forced to sleep wherever they could find space, including on tables and the ship's floor. Toilets overflowed, further poisoning the stale air. British soldiers assigned to guard the *Dunera* internees treated their charges with brutality, abusing them and stealing their possessions. Several internees aboard were stabbed by British bayonets (see Ernst Kitzinger's 'Memorandum' in this volume). The artist-designer Georg Teltscher reported having a panic attack in the stifling conditions; when he raced up to the deck to obtain fresh air, he was severely beaten and lost some teeth in the attack – a lingering reminder of the dreadful voyage.[13] By the time the internees arrived in Australia, the political tide had turned in Britain. And soon, voice was given to this regret. Speaking about the internment and deportation of the coun-

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try's enemy aliens, Home Secretary Herbert Morrison announced in the House of Commons on 3 December 1940 that 'mistakes [had] been made'. Behind barbed wire, thousands of kilometres away from their friends and loved ones, this admission was cold comfort to many of the *Dunera* internees, but it was a sentence that seems to have stuck with them. It is referenced frequently in documents and artworks, as well as in several of the essays that appear in this book.

Among Ernst Kitzinger's papers, we found an original, handwritten document simply titled 'Memorandum', dated December 1940, which details the treatment of the refugees. In its sober, thorough documentation of this experience, the Memorandum provides a grim assessment of the *Dunera* episode. It shines a spotlight on the deceit surrounding the round-up of internees and the mendacious promises made by the authorities, but focuses most of all on the brutal treatment of the refugees during the long voyage to Australia. The substance of the document is not new, for *Dunera* scholars have long known of the Memorandum. Rather, the discovery of the handwritten

Figure 1. Robert Hofmann, *Seasick*, from *Dunera* sketchbook, 1940. Pencil on paper.
Sydney, State Library of New South Wales. Copyright: James Skvarch and Mark Topp.
Image courtesy of the Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales.

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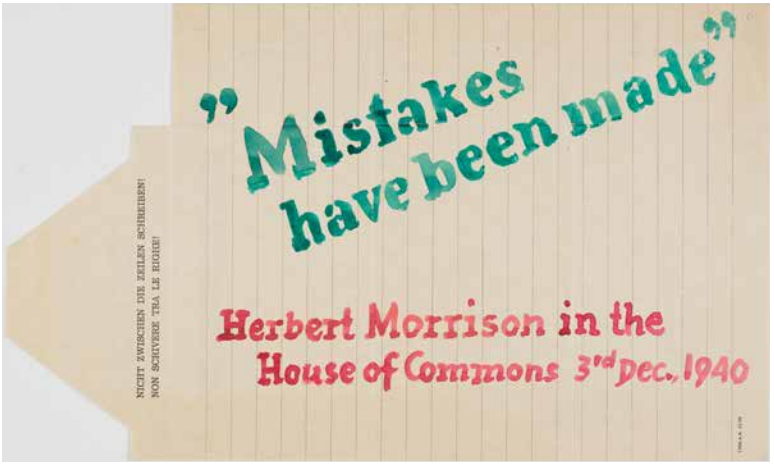

Figure 2. Georg Teltscher. *Mistakes have been made*, c.1940–41. Ink on paper.
Sydney, State Library of New South Wales. Copyright: State Library of New South Wales.
Image courtesy of the Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales.

Memorandum in Kitzinger's papers is significant for what is revealed about who wrote it. We believe that Kitzinger was its primary author.

The *Dunera* docked in Melbourne on 3 September 1940, where 545 German, Austrian, Italian and other European prisoners were marched from the ship. Among their number were 135 enemy aliens known to be anti-fascist. All the 545 men were taken to Tatura in Victoria's Goulburn Valley to be imprisoned. The nearly two thousand mainly German and Austrian enemy aliens still aboard continued their voyage to Sydney, where they arrived on 6 September 1940. By the next morning, the majority of the internees, Kitzinger among them, had been transferred to the remote rural town of Hay, in the Riverina region of New South Wales. The harsh climate, and their surroundings, shocked many of them. Hay was in the grip of an extended, brutal drought, and everywhere there was dust. When the internees arrived there on 7 September 1940, they were greeted by a massive dust storm that rolled across the flat like a tsunami, swallowing people and landscape in its path. Dry, relentless heat and swarms of flies added to the internees' discomfort and sense of dislocation. So unfamiliar to European eyes was the landscape, that many labelled the Hay plains

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a 'desert'.[14] Not even the presence of the Murrumbidgee River, which meanders past Hay, tempered the idea that the Jews had, once again, been led into the desert.

Many of the essays contained in this volume relate to this period in *Dunera* history and were composed in Hay. In 1941, the Australian authorities decided to move the *Dunera* internees from Hay to Tatura in Victoria's Goulburn Valley. In May of that year, 409 men were taken to Orange, in the Central Tablelands of New South Wales, because the Tatura camps were not ready to accommodate all the internees. Some of the men were chosen for Orange so that they might recover from sickness and general ill-health; older men especially were pleased to have the chance to spend time in a 'European-like' climate. Artist Ludwig Hirschfeld-Mack wrote to his daughter after arriving in Orange, 'It is a great relief for all of us to see green grass again after having lived such a long time in desert-like country.'

Of the 409 men sent to Orange, 42 left there to return to Britain. The remainder were sent, in July 1941, to Tatura, where they remained for greater or lesser periods of time. Ultimately, some were released for civil work in Australia, returned to Britain or took other paths to freedom. Most writers whose work features in this book stayed in Tatura for relatively short periods of time, with some departing for Britain

Figure 3. Georg Teltscher, *Hay camp fence with barbed wire*, c.1940–41. Watercolour and ink on paper.
Sydney, State Library of New South Wales. Copyright: State Library of New South Wales.
Image courtesy of the Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales.

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just a few days after their arrival at Tatura. Although they may not have known or felt it when writing in Hay, many of the contributors to Kitzinger's proposed volume were fortunate in that they experienced a relatively brief internment compared with others who stayed in Tatura for at least another six months. Those unable or unwilling to return to Britain could only hope for civilian release in Australia, something only granted under specific circumstances. Or, from early 1942, they could win their freedom by enlisting in the 8th Employment Company, a labour unit in the Australian Army. Hundreds enlisted, determined to contribute in some way to the war effort and to the anti-fascist cause.

After the war ended, around 900 *Dunera* men remained in Australia. In the years that followed, more departed the country; about 640 stayed in the longer term.[15] Of those who did, a relatively small number, perhaps 50 or so, won fame and success, and their stories have had a disproportionate effect on *Dunera* memory. In modern Australia, the *Dunera* story tends to be rendered as a triumph. This narrative ignores the stories of the vast majority of *Dunera* internees, whose lives remain all but unknown (including those of several contributors to this collection). Some men were broken by their *Dunera* experience, while most melted into post-war life, in Australia and elsewhere, leaving their devastation and discomfort in the past.

Who Was Ernst Kitzinger?

It is worth pausing to consider the life of Ernst Kitzinger, the chief instigator and guiding figure behind this collection of internee essays. Born in Munich in December 1912, Kitzinger established a distinguished career as an art historian, as indicated by the biography found on The Getty Research Institute website:[16]

> Ernst Kitzinger was a German-born historian of late classical, early medieval and Byzantine art. Of a Jewish family, Kitzinger left Germany in 1934 shortly after defending his doctoral thesis and moved to England where he joined the staff of the British Museum. In 1941, Kitzinger emigrated to the United States and became a fellow at Dumbarton Oaks in Washington, D.C. There he became Director of Byzantine

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Studies from 1955 to 1966. In 1967, Kitzinger joined the faculty at Harvard, where he taught until his retirement in 1979. After retirement, he divided his time between Oxford and the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton.

Condensed this way, Kitzinger's life reads like a seamless success story. Such an impression jars with the image of an exiled internee rallying his colleagues into action with their pens and pencils in a dusty camp in western New South Wales. Despite the perilous times, this was a fate beyond their wildest imaginations. The biography's image of success also collides with the horrid circumstances of Kitzinger's exile from Germany or his precarious life as a young refugee in 1930s London, attempting to forge a career while effectively stateless and without secure employment. The Getty Research Institute's biographical summary can afford to be curt because it precedes an extensive interview with Kitzinger, conducted in 1997, that covers his entire career. (Hereafter, all references to this interview appear in brackets within the text.) The unpublished manuscript found amongst Kitzinger's papers therefore offers a unique and previously unattainable insight into this particular moment of his life and the experiences of his fellow refugees.

Kitzinger had been living in London since May 1935, before being apprehended and interned by the Churchill government in 1940. A quick sketch of his life before this period reveals the difficulties he faced. Kitzinger left Germany in late 1934 after hurriedly completing his doctorate in Munich, and then returned to Rome where he had previously conducted his thesis research. He found few opportunities in Italy. One of his colleagues, Hugo Buchthal (whose brother Wolfgang would later be deported on the *Dunera*), suggested London as a viable alternative destination because the Warburg Institute had moved from Hamburg to London, a consequence of the recent ascendency of Nazism. While it was clear that the Warburg Institute 'couldn't possibly help materially all the German refugee scholars who came to London', their presumption was that 'there was at least some sort of a base there for refugees' (75). The idea also had merit in that Kitzinger had a relative in England, an uncle having emigrated from Germany before the war, and spoke good English. His parents had organized English lessons for him and his siblings at a very young age; in Ernst's case, since the age of eight or nine (37).

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Still, a move to London was more easily said than done. The idea that Britain welcomed such refugee scholars at the time is one that Kitzinger refuted: 'it wasn't like that at all,' he explained in his 1997 interview, and 'this is something I still feel quite strongly about'. Access to England was extremely difficult, and entry decisions could be capricious as they often relied less on having correct papers or a valid visa than on the whim of an immigration officer at the border. He recalls 'people who tried two or three times and were turned back at the frontier'. In reality, you had 'to hide the fact that you were a refugee' and invent a fiction for entering. Kitzinger's excuse was a need to do further work on his thesis at libraries in London and Oxford (76). His interview with a British immigration officer occurred during a stormy Channel crossing, which he recalled as 'another very dicey experience in my life' – he feared the worst, but inexplicably received an unlimited visa (77).

For Kitzinger, there had already been a few 'very dicey experiences' in his young adult life – and more were to come. Earlier in Munich, he had needed to race through his dissertation as quickly as possible due to the fear that Jewish candidates would soon be prohibited from studying.[17] His advisor, the German art historian Wilhelm Pinder, had meanwhile become a Nazi. Pinder did not hinder Kitzinger's progress; in fact, he helped to expedite the process, perhaps because it was probably beneficial for Pinder to hasten the departure of Jewish candidates from the program.[18] The atmosphere in Germany was increasingly despondent and oppressive. Around the summer of 1933, Kitzinger notes, many of his fellow students 'suddenly appeared in Nazi uniforms'; 'it became almost a daily occurrence, and you ceased to be surprised at any of them' (55). While the sight of so many students suddenly parading in Nazi uniforms was certainly alarming, Kitzinger reflected that he had become 'used to it from the early Twenties on' (55). When he was only '10 or 11', the period of 1922–23 in Munich leading up to the attempted Nazi coup, or Beer Hall Putsch, of November 1923 had made an impact: 'They had these big rallies, so one would see these big red posters all over the town saying, "Juden ist der Zutritt verboten" [Jews are prohibited from entering] – that was a standard thing. So, you couldn't help being aware of this. Particularly with my mother being involved officially in Jewish activities, certainly I was very conscious of [anti-Semitism].' (3) Still, he confessed that 'the violence of this anti-Semitism in office was a surprise'.[19]

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The atmosphere in university circles was no less suffocating and compromised. Kitzinger already felt a critical distance from many of the key methods in his chosen profession. He referred to himself not as a philosopher but as a philosophically minded art historian.[20] Like many art historians, he pondered the perennial question of how to gauge the relationship of a work or style to broader socio-cultural processes. The dominant art-historical approaches of the time oscillated between a positivist approach – the uncovering of as many facts about artefacts as possible, devoid of any 'theoretical approach' – which he encountered in Rome, or a strong tendency to link the development of art to broad, sweeping cultural currents. While Kitzinger baulked at forging such links too quickly and without careful thought, the latter tendency drifted into biological and nationalist discussions. With his supervisor Pinder, national and biological themes had drifted into applying 'blood and soil – *Blut und Boden* – to the history of art' (25) or explaining 'how a German character . . . expressed itself in entirely different media', such as music, with Bach's fugues being compared with seventh- or eighth-century Germanic jewellery. While Kitzinger didn't believe Pinder was a 'supernationalist' in the Nazi sense (26), this intellectual atmosphere made him a scholarly exile before he had actually departed.

In Kitzinger's own words, when he did flee, he had only 'a piece of paper' (his PhD) and no teaching experience. And, at 22 years old, he was younger than other stranded scholars he encountered in London, who had lost established careers; hence, he had 'nothing on which to base a job application to America', which he felt offered the only viable prospect of a career (78). Still, his friend Buchthal's advice proved correct to the extent that the exiled Warburg milieu did provide some sort of scholarly 'base'. Through Elizabeth Senior, assistant keeper of prints and drawings at the British Museum, who had studied in Munich, Kitzinger was introduced to T.D. (Tom) Kendrick and gained volunteer work in the medieval department, which led to further opportunities.[21] Essentially, Kitzinger eked out a living through piecemeal work during his time in England, completing paid book reviews and compiling the index of the *British Museum Quarterly*. He secured some small grants (such as with the Academic Assistance Council), and otherwise existed on modest amounts of family money (80–82).[22] This period allowed him the opportunity to conduct research resulting in a publication, *Early Medieval Art*, that became

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well known and remains in print. Another beneficial opportunity was a grant to go to Egypt for two months in 1937 to study Coptic art. By this point, he was so used to frugal living that he managed to extend this grant from two to three months and also visited Palestine, Syria and Turkey.[23] Although he claims not to have been a Byzantine expert, the trip brought him awareness of Byzantium 'as a conserver of Greek and antique traditions' (85).

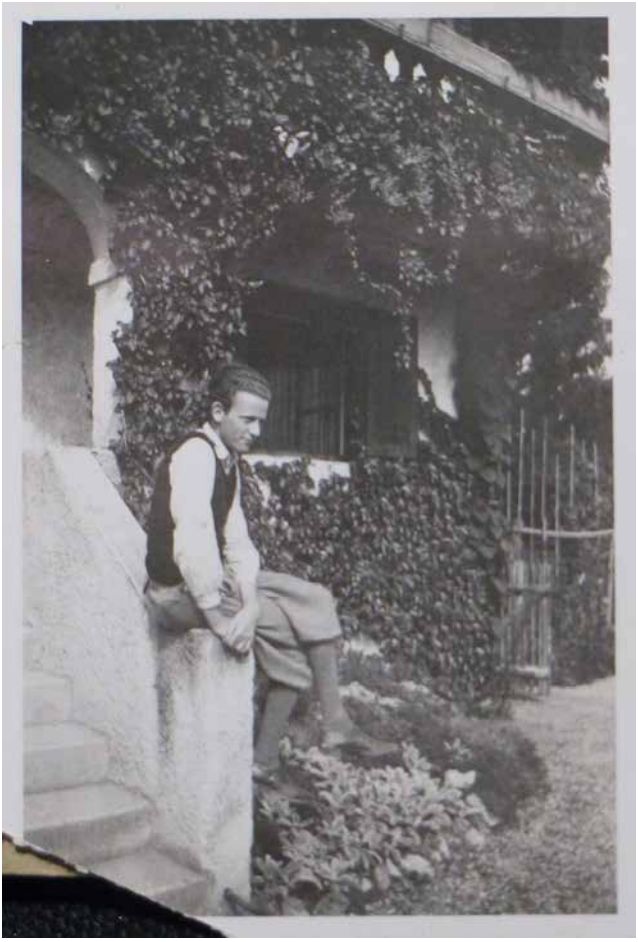

Figure 4. Ernst Kitzinger, 1930s. Private collection.
Photograph courtesy of Tony, Rachel and Adrian Kitzinger.

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Figure 5. Ernst Kitzinger, Warburg Institute, 1937. Photograph taken by Ernst Gombrich.
Private collection.
Photograph courtesy of Tony, Rachel and Adrian Kitzinger.

In the meantime, the situation was deteriorating quickly for Kitzinger's family in Germany. Like many non-observant Jewish families, his readily identified as German but was unable to avoid the tide of virulent anti-Semitism that accompanied the Nazi assumption of power. After Kristallnacht in November 1938, his father was interned at Dachau, aged almost 70.[24] His brother had left Germany in 1933 for South Africa to work for a mining company. His sister, Gretel, a social worker, aided Jewish children to get to Palestine, where she emigrated in 1938; their parents followed in 1939. His sister died of cancer in 1943 and his father died in May 1945. After the war, his mother moved to Washington with Kitzinger and his wife 'where she lived the last twenty years of her life', dying in 1966.[25]

The proposition that someone who had undergone these experiences could be considered a fifth columnist for the Nazi regime was patently absurd. Kitzinger did not return to Germany until 1958, twenty-four years after his departure (74). Even in the years before his internment, he admits that his ability to engage with both the exile

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and wider art-historical community was limited because 'I was just too busy with keeping body and soul together.' (96) Many internees were subsisting in a similar, extremely precarious situation. For many years, they had been living a hand-to-mouth existence in an uncertain exile. The injustice of their internment resonates throughout the writing of these various pieces Kitzinger 'commissioned' during his Hay internment.

The Contents of the Internment Manuscript, 1940

One of the most important tasks for the internees was to communicate their plight to the authorities. They wanted to document their experience. While some *Dunera* internees felt positively about their internment because it enabled them to escape the war or various responsibilities, or simply because they were well fed, the main impression conveyed by many artists, as well as the contributors to this volume, was that each minute, each hour and each day of internment was excruciating. Few had any idea when it would end, nor what it meant for their future prospects. For Ludwig Mysa (born Ludwig Karl Kohn), the Hay camp was his third experience of being interned – the first having been in Siberia as a result of being captured as a prisoner of war during the First World War; the second by the Nazis in the Dachau concentration camp. Mysa's experience of multiple internments led to his contributing a comparative study, 'Internment, Then and Now' (see essay in Chapter 4), for the proposed volume, in which he contrasted various aspects of camp life in Hay – food, sleeping quarters and climate, to name a few – with those in other locations in which he had been held. For Mysa, the most trying feature of Australian internment was the uncertainty and quandary about their status, which meant internees often second-guessed what information each new set of authorities would view with favour and what might count against them. Alongside simply wanting to document their situation, there was also a consolidated attempt to transform it.

The writings that Kitzinger compiled can be viewed as an attempt by internees to give voice to their own narrative and establish how best to appeal to the authorities. They were organised into three distinct

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parts, each with a different overall focus and each accompanied by a poem that explored that section's theme. Collected in this way, these writings served multiple purposes: as reports to make the British authorities aware of internment camp conditions, and to articulate the internees' experiences of captivity and their tenuous position as refugees and exiles. The original table of contents that Kitzinger drew up in 1940 appears as follows (picture below):

I) Our immediate problems
2) H. Danziger, The story of a student
3) Brach, Thoughts of a prospective pioneer
(Levistein)
1) E.K., Our immediate problems
(Wasser)

III) Greater ideas
3) Borinski, The case of the German opposition
2) Fendt [*sic*], The case of the Austrian
1) Breuer, The case of the orthodox Jews
4) Cohn, Reflections on freedom
(Rapp)

II) Aspects of camp life
(Baier)
1) Unger [name partially illegible, possibly 'Ungar'],
A psychologist's view
3) Mysa, Internment then & now
2) R. Danziger, A doctor looks on internment

Poems: Rapp, Baier, Levistein?

Kitzinger, the Danziger brothers, Brach, Unger, Mysa, Breuer and Borinski had all been interned at Lingfield, in Surrey, before deportation from Britain (as had Alec Herz, also a contributor to this volume).[26] The origins of Kitzinger's project may have had its genesis in Britain.

The themes detail the contributors' plight in captivity, but also challenge the preconception that they were indeed 'enemy aliens'.

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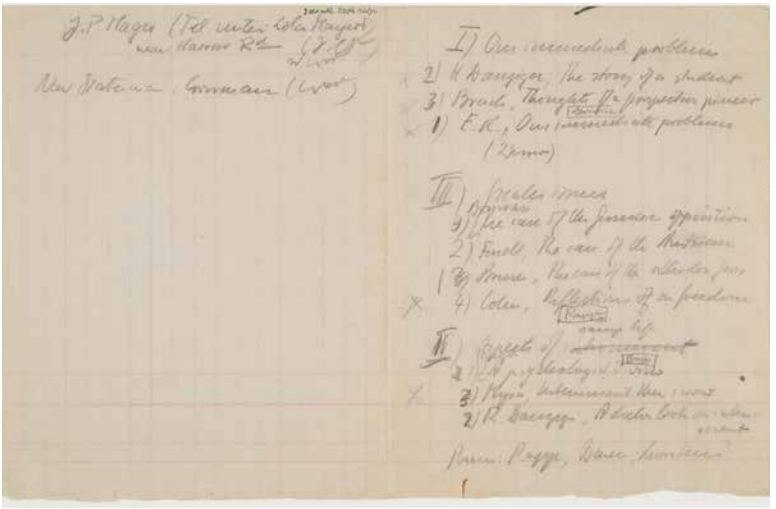

Figure 6. Ernst Kitzinger, handwritten table of contents.
Sydney, State Library of New South Wales. Copyright: Tony, Rachel and Adrian Kitzinger.
Image courtesy of the Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales.

Many contributions address their equivocal status, which is the explicit focus of the first section, 'Our Immediate Problems.' The tone for the section is set in the first essay, written by Kitzinger himself. Also entitled 'Our Immediate Problems', the essay presents a clear, powerful exposition of the damage caused by myopic preconceptions. Kitzinger wonders if Britain, in light of its treatment of internees, 'has the right to pose in this conflict as the champion of democracy, justice and tolerance'. Walter Brach, Heinz Danziger and Ernst Wasser ponder similar themes in their essays. For Wasser, this is indeed the crux of the matter: 'one thing remains to be seen: whether we will ever again believe in the power of the law and of level-headed consideration'. Internment and deportation led many *Dunera* men to question their faith in British decency and liberalism. For some, this faith was lost.

The second section, 'Aspects of Camp Life', addresses the issues of internment and the toll taken by such confinement on those who felt they were victims twice over – that is, first persecuted by the Nazis and then interned by a nation supposedly opposed to Nazism.[27] Wilhelm Unger explores the development of a camp culture against this

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backdrop, trying to make sense of the behaviour of his fellow internees on a psychological level, and its implications for their future. In general, Kitzinger seems to have favoured contributions that complicated the authorities' assessment that the internees were all the same. Rudolf (Rudi) Danziger, for instance, offers a medical perspective, and much evidence to confound any official assumption of uniformity.

While most of the writings aimed to challenge blanket assumptions about the internees, the third section, 'Greater Ideas', features writings that do this most explicitly. These words point to important differences within the internee population, while also exploring what men behind barbed wire regard as the true meaning of freedom. Jacob Breuer's 'The Case of the Orthodox Jew' asserts that in dire circumstances, when the normal parameters of everyday life have been lost – as was the case with the deported exiles – religious faith can assist in grasping 'a solution for the psychological dilemma with which internment has confronted us'. Breuer goes on to advocate for an independent Jewish nation state.[28] Other examples that challenge the authorities' blanket classification of the men as 'enemy aliens' are Fritz Borinski's 'The Case of the German Opposition', which explores the experience of those who fled Germany, as much for political reasons as religious ones, and Paul Fent's 'the Case of the Austrian'. In common with Breuer, but using a different example, Fent argues for the separate treatment of Austrians from Germans despite their shared language and purportedly similar cultures and histories. The general point is similar to one later developed by Kitzinger in his essay 'On Board the *Themistocles*' (June 1941), written during his return voyage from Australia: the difficulty of recognizing the detainees as genuine refugees – that is, as 'friendly' rather than 'enemy aliens' – and thus as being as much opposed to Nazism as any other European resistance figure. In effect, Fent presents an early formulation of the thesis that Austria should be considered the first victim of Nazism, despite the initial enthusiasm that greeted Hitler's return after the *Anschluss*.[29]

Kitzinger's project, which intended to document the multi-faceted emotional and mental burden of his fellow internees, was ultimately left unfinished. While some of the documents in the archive existed in final, typed English versions, others were handwritten – some with significant edits still to be incorporated. Several of the essays were accompanied by a German original from which they had evidently been translated (though it was never clear who carried out these transla-

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tions) and two had yet to be translated. Ernst Wasser's essay and the poem by Kurt Baier are the only documents in this collection that were translated from the German for this publication. The language used in these two documents is intended to read as smoothly as it might in the original German, and thus lacks some of the distinctive features that come through in the documents translated into or written originally in English by German native speakers, such as atypical verb placement or non-standard sentence inversion as a method for creating emphasis.

Bringing these documents, in their varying stages of completion, into a final volume posed certain challenges: we wanted the texts to be clear and comprehensible, while staying as true as possible to the original voices of their writers and the meanings of the German originals. The use of language throughout the documents, though wonderfully fluent, was consistent with that of non-native speakers of English, and it became clear that certain elements of the language used reflected decisions made in haste or with limited access to translation aids.

To this end, after first transcribing and incorporating any pending edits made by the original authors, we carried out a light edit of the English-language documents: sentence structure and wording, for example, were modified only in cases where meaning would otherwise have been significantly affected. All the documents with German-language counterparts were compared closely with the originals and edited for clarity and meaning – but here, too, the style was largely left intact. The resulting texts maintain the voice and tone of the originals; they are intended to reflect the language and the situation of the men who wrote and translated them.

Supplements to the Original Book

In addition to the core body of essays for his proposed publication, Kitzinger's papers contained other documents, some of which we have included in this volume. Four were written by Kitzinger – 'Christmas at Hay, 1940', 'Memorandum (on the Treatment of Internees)' (December 1940), '*Faust* and *Hamlet*' and 'On Board the *Themistocles*' (June 1941) – plus, there is the one composed by Alec (or Alex) Herz in England: 'Statement Describing the Position of Refugees-Internees' (14 September 1941). Kitzinger seemed to feel they belonged

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together. They were, after all, written in internment or about the internment experience. We have therefore included them as wider framing documents for the original essays, which were all composed at one point in time – that is, while the authors were interned at Hay. These documents, too, were transcribed and edited in a fashion similar to those of the original manuscript. All but *Faust and Hamlet* were originally written in, or at least translated to, English by Kitzinger himself. It is interesting to note that in 1998, a year after passing swiftly over his entire internment experience in the Getty interview with Richard Candida Smith, Kitzinger appears to have returned to his internment documents – or one, at least. He created a German-language typescript of *Faust and Hamlet* from the original, handwritten version. Why he returned to the essay is unclear, though geography may have been a factor. In retirement he lived for a period in England, but at this time was leaving Britain to return to the United States. 'Maybe he was looking back at his relationship with the country [England] and its culture and people', wonders his daughter, Rachel.[30] This document was subsequently translated into English by his children; that translation, lightly edited for accuracy, is published here.

Of all of these documents, the most personal is the letter 'Christmas at Hay, 1940', which Kitzinger sent to his love, Susan Theobald, in Britain. Perhaps no other document in this book illustrates so vividly Kitzinger's skill as a writer and the depth of his searching, curious mind. The letter is at once an evocative description of how internees at Hay marked Christmas and Hanukkah, which in 1940 coincided, and a profound meditation on religion and its place and function in people's lives. During his early years, Kitzinger had attended Jewish services, attracted by the rituals, but as an adult had drifted away from organised Judaism.[31]

The Memorandum, as mentioned, sets out a factual account of what took place aboard the *Dunera*. It is the most detailed document of what occurred during that voyage, and it recounts every violation of proper conduct in relation to the refugees. Many internees copied any information that passed their way while in internment, as a way of keeping a record of injustice. The Memorandum was perhaps the most crucial example. It was copied many times, leading to confusion over its authorship. This later contributed to a general uncertainty with regard to the veracity of information and testimonies. Much later, muddled accounts would lead many former *Dunera* internees to

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complain about the confused history of their experience.[32] The Memorandum can be understood as Kitzinger's meticulous attempt to set the record straight about the abuses carried out by British soldiers aboard the *Dunera*.

Kitzinger's essays reveal an incisive analytical mind. While interned at Hay, Kitzinger gave a talk on *Faust* and *Hamlet*. The talk served two purposes. The first was functional, in that it was delivered to provide context for part of an evening's entertainment. Men had gathered to hear their fellow internees read from the two great plays, and Kitzinger's talk allowed for greater appreciation and understanding of these works. The other purpose was personal, in that Kitzinger seems to have used this platform to clarify his thoughts on nationalism and its consequences, then to share his conclusions. Rachel Kitzinger, Ernst's daughter, sees this essay and 'On Board the *Themistocles*' (discussed below) as companion pieces, part of an attempt by Kitzinger to construct 'an intellectual framework to help his fellow refugees understand the position they are in with the British'.[33] She detects a didactic tone, a result of Kitzinger's intention to convince others.

'On Board the *Themistocles*' (June 1941), written on the return voyage to England, turns a critical lens on the self-defeating behaviour of some of the returning refugees. Kitzinger does not spare his fellow internees, who behave on board as if oblivious to the tenuous circumstances of those who remain behind. He expands his diagnosis, however, to consider the veil of suspicion surrounding his fellow refugees no matter what they do. Stateless, they are opposed to their own country – a stance viewed dimly by many British people and as traitorous by Nazi Germany, which wants to destroy them. Their former homeland is at war with the countries that have control over their lives (Australia, Britain or even Canada). And now they are returning to the country where they were first declared 'enemy aliens', and treated badly and with extreme suspicion. In fact, many, including Kitzinger, would prefer to be going somewhere else (notably the United States). Kitzinger argues that they need options that allow them to assume a more affirmative stance. His essay is a considered rumination on the paradox of their position, which appears just as fraught nearly one year after they were first arrested and interned.

Back in Britain, Kitzinger and Herz, no matter their feelings of trepidation about their own status, felt a responsibility to communi-

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cate the plight of their colleagues who still languished in internment camps in Australia. Herz's 'Statement (Describing the Position of Refugees-Internees)' is indicative of this ambition. Kitzinger wrote that Herz was one of his best friends 'in this hut', adding that 'he reminds me of Hannsheinz [his best friend from schooldays] in many ways and has become his substitute for me'.[34] Herz's 'Statement' on the position of internees is important for the historical record in that it advocates on behalf of those still in internment by those fortunate enough to have been released, returned to the UK and thus able to present their case directly to the authorities in power. Like Kitzinger, Herz emphasizes that those left behind have been deemed of little risk to security but are effectively trapped in a legal quagmire because they are refugees from their former homeland, which is now at war with the Allies.

Despite its importance in presenting the internees' case to the authorities in England, Herz's 'Statement' includes many factual errors, which we note in the document. Sometimes it exaggerates its case, seemingly aimed at maximizing the impact of its appeal to authorities. At one point it overemphasizes the sense of confinement by saying that 'the small size of the camps restricts the possibilities of exercise'. An official in England might believe this claim, especially after the realization of what occurred aboard the *Dunera*, but the camps in Australia hosted active sports scenes and these are depicted by artists in numerous internment camp images. Herz also complains about the hostile attitude toward internees of trade unions, the public and officials – yet, apart from some isolated instances, there is little evidence of any systematic campaign against internees. While the writers in this collection offer compelling testimonies when drawing from their first-hand experience of internment, necessarily they had a very circumscribed view of what was occurring beyond their confinement. When they venture to speculate on the situation beyond the camp perimeter – such as when referring to public attitudes to their presence, or to Australian culture at large – the results are less incisive or illuminating. Wilhelm Unger, for example, in his essay on the psychological perspective on internment, cannot bring himself to believe that Beethoven could previously have been performed in Australia, or Goethe recited.[35] Unger may have been surprised to learn that the *Riverine Grazier* newspaper, which serves Hay and district, had run content on and by Goethe as early as 1879.[36] This points to the first peculiarity

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of this select group of writers to which we wish to draw attention: the majority experienced Australia almost exclusively from behind barbed wire. This helps to explain why the writing of this group's members is highly articulate about their own experiences but less reliable, even myopic, beyond that.

Despite its many errors, Kitzinger nonetheless believed Herz's statement was an important record about their internment ordeal and so kept it with his collection of *Dunera*-related material. Yet, Herz was not the only one to have a faulty memory of the specifics of their internment experience. In his 1997 Getty interview with Richard Candida Smith, in which they discussed his entire life and career, Kitzinger recalled his internment camp was 'in the desert north of Sydney, New South Wales' when in fact it was a long way west of Australia's largest city (and nor is Hay desert). Whereas in 1940–41 the writing and publishing of these essays on the internment experience seemed necessary and urgent for Kitzinger, by 1997 he passes over the internment experience expeditiously. Rather, Kitzinger emphasizes in the Getty interview that on arrival in the camp – with its fierce dust storm serving as a melancholy greeting – his 'first message was a telegram from the Warburg saying they had secured my release' (112).

This points to a second atypical aspect of the contributors. Kitzinger and some of his friends were fortunate in being amongst the first *Dunera* internees released. Kitzinger was naturally frustrated that he had to wait so long for a return passage after securing an official release; this compounded his sense of injustice at being interned in the first place, then mistreated and sent to other side of the world. Yet, Kitzinger and Herz were back in England long before the bulk of *Dunera* internees ever achieved release. On 15 August 1941, Paul Fent wrote in a letter to Ruth Swann, a Sydney-based Quaker, that he was still trapped in internment, while 'a limited number of my friends have actually been sent back some time ago'. He states that his own release has been approved, but 'it all depends on whether there will be any shipping accommodation, & how things develope [*sic*] in the Pacific'.[37] Things became a lot more complicated and dangerous in the Pacific after the attack on Pearl Harbor in December 1941. Fent got a berth on a ship just in time and was comparatively lucky as he returned to Britain in October 1941, as were other individuals who contributed to this book. Most, though not all, were free men once

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again by the end of 1941; many of their fellow internees remained in internment for many more months, or even years. Ludwig Mysa died in March 1942, while still incarcerated.

The contributors were atypical in a third way, in that they were particularly erudite and talented. Ironically, this means that they conform to the erroneous *Dunera* stereotype that holds that the ship was full of high-achieving, superbly talented individuals – among them, many brilliant intellectuals. The stereotype is true only of a relatively small sample of *Dunera* internees, some of whom later gained prominence. The handful of contributors to this volume therefore are atypical in three ways: (i) generally they experienced Australia in incarceration, their view of it formed exclusively from behind barbed wire; (ii) most returned to Britain quickly, thus their overall internment was relatively brief even if unjustified and brutally disruptive; and (iii) they represented a uniquely articulate, highly educated selection of the overall population of the *Dunera* internees. Yet it was this third atypical quality that enabled those gathered together in the rudimentary environment of a camp in Hay to compose the first account of the *Dunera* episode and to express the full complexity of their internment experience – one that has been buried in the archives until now.

Notes

1. *Enemy Aliens: The Dunera boys in Orange, 1941*, curated by Kate Garrett, Andrew McNamara and Seumas Spark, Orange Regional Museum, 17 November 2022–23 April 2023.
2. See the biographical introduction to this contribution for details about variations on Herz's name and his eventual name change.
3. Benzion Patkin, *The Dunera Internees* (Sydney: Cassell Australia, 1979).
4. Cyril Pearl, *The Dunera Scandal: Deported by Mistake* (Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1983).
5. Paul R. Bartrop with Gabrielle Eisen (eds), *The Dunera Affair: A Documentary Resource Book* (Melbourne: Schwartz & Wilkinson/Jewish Museum of Australia, 1990).
6. Inglis et al., *Dunera Lives: A Visual History*; Inglis et al., *Dunera Lives: Profiles*.
7. Houlden and Spark, *Shadowline: the Dunera Diaries of Uwe Radok*; Eckfeld, *No One Knows Their Destiny, The Eckfeld Records*.
8. For example, Rothschild, *Memoir of Bernard Rothschild*.

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9. Mayer, 'Not Yet the Dunera Story', 62.
10. Kitzinger, *Style and Its Meaning* (hereafter: Kitzinger, Getty interview), 111.
11. This date comes from Georg Chodziesner's account of the journey.
12. Mayer, 'Not Yet the Dunera Story', 62. Though Mayer originally said this in English, the phrase is a literal translation from the German, where it is relatively widely used.
13. Refer to Garrett, McNamara and Spark, 'Enemy Aliens', 60–63.
14. In his 1997 interview, Ernst Kitzinger still refers to the camp as being in a 'desert'. Refer to Kitzinger, Getty interview, 112.
15. Thanks to Carol Bunyan for supplying these figures.
16. Kitzinger, Getty interview.
17. Kitzinger, Getty interview (56). As Kitzinger explains, because of 'this very definite time limit in which to produce a dissertation – I just concentrated on the problem of the development of style between the sixth and the ninth centuries, in Rome' – namely, wall painting and mosaic (58).
18. Kitzinger did not feel that Pinder was an ardent Nazi or nationalist: 'Pinder became a Nazi, but he felt very uncomfortable, particularly vis à vis his Jewish students and colleagues. He realized there was a problem there, and he tried to make up for the path that he was taking by being very helpful and friendly' (57).
19. Kitzinger, Getty interview (15); he continued: 'What I think very few people foresaw was how radically they were going to push aside any kind of opposition, from the right as well as from the left. And so, the dictatorial nature of the regime I think one didn't become fully aware of until later on in '33. But that this was not going to blow over in a hurry was clear. Much clearer to younger people than to older people' (54). This would be the case for Kitzinger's parents too, who resisted leaving Germany (see below).
20. While he 'realized I was not a philosopher', Kitzinger describes his approach as 'ultimately a philosophical one in learning about the history of art' (31).
21. Kendrick explained to Kitzinger that he could not gain a paid position at the British Museum because the jobs were considered civil service positions and one had to be born British to qualify; not even gaining British citizenship counted (80). Elizabeth Senior died in an air raid during the London Blitz while Kitzinger was interned. They had been friends since earlier in the 1930s, when Senior went to Munich to study.
22. Yonna Yapou-Kromholz, the daughter of the émigré art historian Edith Hoffmann, suggests that her mother may have played a part in securing work for Kitzinger at the British Museum. Hoffmann worked for Herbert Read at the *Burlington Magazine* throughout the late 1930s. Hoffmann and Kitzinger both came from Jewish families and knew each other in Munich, according to Yapou-Kromholz, and both moved to England in 1934. Although Kitzinger does not mention her, he and Hoffmann were undoubtedly part of the same scholarly network of exiles; Yapou-Kromholz, 'Edith Hoffmann's early years in England, 1934–38', 1322.

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23. Kitzinger, Getty interview (84). Although Edith Hoffmann eventually obtained Israeli citizenship in 1951, she noted that Kitzinger and his fellow art-historian friend Hugo Buchthal reported a 'negative view of the Jewish enterprise in Palestine' after this 1937 visit. This led her to reply that she 'could never live there'. Yapou-Kromholz, 'Edith Hoffmann's early years in England', 1322.
24. Kristallnacht is now often referred to as *Reichspogromnacht* in Germany; the former title is viewed as trivializing.
25. Kitzinger, Getty interview (11). His 1937 research tour included Egypt, the 'Near East' and a trip to Ankara, where he met his parents and pleaded with them to leave Germany. Yet, as Kitzinger laments, 'they, like so many older people, just couldn't manage [it] until it was almost too late' (10).
26. Thanks to Carol Bunyan for this information.
27. The classification of 'C' category meant victims of Nazi oppression, which, according to Kitzinger, was 'practically everyone I knew'. Kitzinger, Getty interview, 109.
28. Some *Dunera* men left Australian internment for Palestine: fourteen in 1941, eighty-nine in 1942, and eighteen in 1943. These men were the focus of Benzion Patkin's book *The Dunera Internees*, published by Cassell in 1979. Thanks to Carol Bunyan for these figures.
29. The German term for 'connection' or 'joining', this was applied to the Nazi annexation of Austria.
30. Email correspondence with Rachel Kitzinger, 18 August 2021.
31. Email correspondence with Rachel Kitzinger, 27 July 2023.
32. Mayer, 'Not Yet the Dunera Story', 62.
33. Email correspondence with Rachel Kitzinger, 17 August 2021.
34. Kitzinger, letter to his wife, 15 May 1941. He writes that 'I am writing at a moment of great unrest in the camp. We are all going to be moved to various other camps within the next few days. Those who have already decided to join the Pioneers will be separated from the others. This not only means that one will already be classified to some extent, but to me it also means losing some of my best friends and most of the nicest people in this hut.'
35. Belgian-born Henri Verbrugghen conducted Beethoven's Ninth Symphony on 23 November 1918 at the New South Wales Conservatorium of Music in Sydney – remarkably, to celebrate the end of the First World War and the victory over Germany. Refer to Butler and Donaldson, *UnAustralian Art*, 161. Views like Unger's would later reinforce *Dunera* mythology about the exceptional talents of all the internees.
36. *Riverine Grazier*, 9 July 1879, 2, and 22 October 1879, 2. Thanks to Carol Bunyan for alerting us to these references.
37. Fent to Swann, 15 August 1941, Charles Sturt University Regional Archives. Retrieved 17 August from https://archives.csu.edu.au/uploads/r/rw/3/c/b/3cb82ad3fda0cbf4e5c05bbc0eb75b6868575730c726c9fb3c64e472baac815c/RW1605.7.pdf.

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