historia scribere 16 (2024)

Management behind Barbed Wire. The Organisation of Internment Life through the Eyes of Hans Gál

Klara Maaß

Kerngebiet: Zeitgeschichte

eingereicht bei: Noam Ariel Zadoff, PhD

eingereicht im: WiSe 2022/23

Rubrik: Bachelor-Arbeit

Abstract

Management behind Barbed Wire. The Organisation of Internment Life through the Eyes of Hans Gál

The following bachelor thesis analyses the diary of Viennese/Jewish composer Hans Gál, who was interned in the UK in 1940 as an "enemy alien". He was sent to three different camps and describes his life there. The diary is used to describe the management in these camps, how the internee's situation changed as they moved in between camps, which similarities were there and how could internees make room for personal freedom.

1. *Introduction*

For years now, the author of this essay and her family have spent their holidays at a lake in the Austrian Alps, the Weißensee in Carinthia. There they met a lot of people who, like them, visited the same hotel every year; two of those were a couple from York, Eva Fox-Gál, who had come to this lake since she had been a little girl, and her husband, Anthony Fox. Eva often talked about her father, Hans Gál (1890–1987), who had been a composer and had immigrated to the United Kingdom (UK) during the Second World War. That way, Hans Gál's diary, which had been published in English translation in 2014, came into the author's possession. It is a diary written in the summer of 1940, when Hans Gál was interned as a so-called "enemy alien" in several internment camps in the UK in World War II.

2024 I *innsbruck* university press, Innsbruck
historia.scribere I ISSN 2073-8927 I http://historia.scribere.at/
Nr. 16, 2024 I DOI 10.15203/historia.scribere.16.613

While many works on the internment of "enemy aliens" during the First World War have been published, the internment of mainly German, Austrian, and Italian refugees, many of them Jews, during the Second World War has been "largely hidden in history", as Richard Dove put it.[1] He is one of the most-quoted authors on the subject and published several books about it. He also contributed a "Prelude" to the English publication of the diary of Hans Gál, where he described the historical context of his detention.

The internments in the UK in World War I were slightly different from those in 1940, especially since there were not as many refugees. During World War I, every male "enemy alien" aged between seventeen and fifty-five had been interned. Before the camps started filling up, numbers of interned were documented and new arrivals were expected. This system suffered only in the late stages of war, when large numbers of prisoners of war were transported to Britain and new camps had to be opened hastily.[2]

In the British narrative, the internments in both world wars are usually simply condemned as an unjust, hasty, and narrow-minded measure.[3] Some historians, however, see it as a result of a "traditional British intolerance towards foreigners"[4], which can already be seen in the outdated term labeling refugees as "aliens". Apart from this, except for small parts, like the Arandora Star disaster, which will be explained thoroughly at a later stage, there is little public remembrance of the internments of 1940.[5]

There are several reasons why formal British research into internment was not done for a long time. One reason has been the secrecy of the government – some documents about the internment camps were not accessible for researchers until the 1980s and 90s, others are still closed. Upon researching open files, one finds that documentation in camps was done at a minimum level and in a bad quality, as the internment-process and the management in camps during the Second World War were extremely chaotic. Gál criticizes especially this fact in many parts of his diary.

Next to Gál's musical endeavors in the camps he dedicates many pages to the camp politics, mainly because his friends Fabius Gross[6] and after him Max Sugar[7] acted as (deputy) "Camp Speakers" for most of their internment. This allowed Gál to write about the duties and problems of the internee-representatives. These insights lead to the

1 Richard Dove, "A matter which touches the good name of this country", in: Richard Dove (ed.), "Totally un-English?" Britain's Internment of "Enemy Aliens" in Two World Wars (The Yearbook of the Research Centre for German and Austrian Exile Studies 7), Amsterdam 2005, pp. 11–15, here p. 11.

2 For more information on internment in World War I refer to Panikos Panayi, Prisoners of War and Internees (Great Britain), 2.12.2020, DOI: 10.15463/ie1418.10296/1.1, accessed 22.3.2024; Panikos Panayi, Prisoners of Britain. German Civilian and Combatant Internees during the First World War, Manchester-New York 2012; John C. Bird, Control of Enemy Alien Civilians in Great Britain. 1914–1918 (Routledge revivals), New York 2015.

3 Rachel Pistol, Refugees from National Socialism Arriving in Great Britain 1933–1945, 2020, https://www.gale.com/intl/essays/rachel-pistol-refugees-national-socialism-great-britain-1933-1945, accessed 24.11.2023.

4 Dove, "A matter which touches the good name of this country", p. 11.

5 Rachel Pistol, "I can't remember a more depressing time but I don't blame anyone for that". Remembering and Commemorating the Wartime Internment of Enemy Aliens in Britain, in: *Patterns of Prejudice* 53 (2019), no. 1, pp. 37–48, here pp. 37–38.

6 Dr. Fabius (Willi) Gross (1906–1950) was an Austrian marine biologist. After his immigration to the UK, he worked at King's College and later at the University of Edinburgh.

7 Dr. Max Sugar (1885–1958) was a laryngologist and had studied in the UK. Before internment he graduated but could not get a permit to practice.

following research questions, which will be addressed in this paper: How did Hans Gál experience the management of the camps he was in and how did the organization of the three camps – Donaldson's Hospital, Huyton and Central Promenade Camp – differ from each other? How was the relation and communication between internees and administration? What freedom in self-organization did internees have?

After establishing the historical and biographical framework, the questions will be discussed based upon the diary of Hans Gál, knowing that the picture painted will be a subjective one, which is intended. At various points, footnotes with further details and explanations will be used to give a better context of the situation, and while many direct quotes from the diary will be used here, the author strongly recommends reading it from cover to cover, as there are many interesting topics in the book, not mentioned here. For future research, it would be interesting to look at diaries of fellow internees, letters, and other documents in archives. However, this would exceed the purpose intended here, but it would allow a comparison of internees' experiences and hopefully create a more objective picture, or at least open room for discussion.

In order to work with the diary, however, one needs to look at its own (publication) history first. It was written by Hans Gál in short-hand notes in the summer of 1940, and it was never intended for publication. Right after returning home, he typed out his experiences and gave three copies to his roommates in the camps, Fabius Gross, Hugo Schneider[8], and Max Sugar, who quite often appear in the diary, "like characters in a novel"[9]. As a whole, the diary has a novel-like feeling to it, and Gál's humor sometimes stands in sharp contrast to what he is describing. Later in life, he rarely talked about his experiences, especially not in interviews. His daughter Eva suspects the reason was that he did not want to be misinterpreted as being disloyal to the country that was now his home, or that his experience "could not, and must not, be compared with the unspeakable horrors of life under the Nazi terror, let alone in a Nazi concentration camp".[10]

In 2003, the German original[11] was published. This decision was made by Gál's daughter Eva Fox-Gál, after consulting several people, some of whom Gál had been interned with. She had had doubts about this step, as the diary was of an explicitly private nature. There had only been four copies altogether, for Gál and his three friends, who had been interned alongside him. In the end, however, she decided that due to "it quality, intrinsic interest and documentary importance" the text should be published.[12] Fox-Gál and her family, many of whom are musicians, are working on restoring the memory of Hans Gál's music. They founded a charity, called the Hans Gál Society[13], which works together with different organizations to arrange concerts, recordings,

8 Dr. Hugo Schneider (1897–1968) was a dentist and one of 40 Austrians who received permission to practice in the UK.

9 Eva Fox-Gál, Hans Gál. A Biographical Introduction, in: Hans Gál (ed.), Music behind Barbed Wire. A Diary of Summer 1940, London 2014, pp. 13–27, here p. 22.

10 Ibid.

11 Hans Gál, Musik hinter Stacheldraht. Tagebuchblätter aus dem Sommer 1940 (Exil Dokumente. verboten, verbrannt, vergessen 3), Bern–New York 2003, pp. 97–98.

12 Fox-Gál, Hans Gál. A Biographical Introduction, p. 23.

13 The Hans Gál Website, n. d., http://www.hansgal.org/, accessed 3.10.2022.

opera productions and publications. One of those is a forum of the Jewish Music Institute, the International Centre for Suppressed Music (ICSM), that works on recovering music suppressed by totalitarian regimes and later neglected. They collect interviews, scores, and documents of affected composers and musicians. ICSM helped publishing the English translation of "Music behind Barbed Wire", which was translated by Eva Fox-Gál and her husband, Anthony Fox[14]. Most of the quotes in this paper will be taken from this English translation.

2. The British Internment of "Enemy Aliens" in 1940

"Am Pfingstsonntag, im strahlenden
Morgenschein,
Nach des Frühstücks bescheidenem
Schmaus,
Fanden sich zwei sehr freundliche
Herren bei uns ein,
Mit dem Auto bereit vor dem Haus.
Und im Rathaus, da traf ich noch
andere dann,
Die so freundlich geholt worden warn,
Und dort sagte uns ein viel höherer
Mann,
Dass wir bald über Land sollten fahrn.
[. . .]
Lieber, gutter, braver deutscher Refugee,
Leider müssn wir Dein Wochenende
Stören, kleiner Refugee.
Und wir glauben, dass unser Gastfreude
wohl
Uns nur zu einer Pfingstfahrt vereint.
Deshalb packen wir unsere Koffer nicht
voll
Und wir haben auch gar nicht geweint."[15]

On Whitsunday, 12 May 1940, mainly German and Austrian but also Italian refugees, most of them men, were brought to improvised camps. This procedure had not always been planned by the British government. In 1939, after the declaration of war on Germany, German, Austrian and Italian people living in Britain had automatically been

14 Gál, Music behind Barbed Wire.

15 Ibid., pp. 198–199. The quoted text comes from the song "The Ballad of the German Refugee" which was part of the camp musical "What a Life!" (see chapter 4.3. in this article), that is not mentioned prominently in this paper. It is, however, one of the most noteworthy pieces of internment art, which was written and performed in the Central Promenade Camp on the Isle of Men. Otto Erich Deutsch (see fn. 64) was responsible for the text above, Hans Gál for the music.

titled "enemy aliens", following the "Alien Act" of 1919. The term had already existed during the First World War.[16] Since internment of these "aliens" in the previous war had become very chaotic, especially in the final stages, the British government tried to avoid mass internment for as long as possible.

The "Aliens" were put into three categories by 112 tribunals[17], which were set up to evaluate each person.

> "A tribunal has three courses open to it in dealing with one who is technically an enemy alien. It can intern him [category A], exempt him from internment but leave him subject to the special restrictions [category B], or it can exempt him both from internment and from the special restrictions [category C]."[18]

Those restrictions in category B meant that individuals could not travel further than five miles from their residence or own a car or a camera, whereas "aliens" in category C were allowed to freely register for employment.[19]

In January 1940, 486 Germans and Austrians had been put into category A, and thus interned, 8,021 had been put into category B, and 53,882 in category C, and were therefore seen as "friendly aliens", or "refugees from Nazi oppression".[20] However, the large numbers of refugees, the hasty set up of the tribunals and the lacking communication between the tribunals led to inconsistencies in the categorization of "aliens".

Throughout the first months of 1940, suspicions against Germans increased. After the German invasion in Norway in April, voices for mass internment grew in the House of Commons. "Would it not be far better to intern all the lot, and then pick out the good ones?", Colonel Henry Burton asked on April 23rd, capturing the sentiment of many British people. The fear of the so-called "Fifth Column"[21] spread in the government and in the public and was further intensified by an anti-refugee press campaign conducted mainly by "The Daily Mail" and "Sunday Dispatch". This campaign did also not spare Jewish refugees, who in Germany were no longer seen as citizens. That made no difference in the eyes of the British, who feared an invasion.

The hostile attitude towards the refugees resulted in what is described at the start of this chapter – the establishment of a "protected zone" and the "temporary" internment of nearly all male Germans and Austrians between the ages of 16 and 60 who lived in

16 Under the "Alien Act" of 1919 the declaration of war automatically had turned all Germans, Austrians, and Italians into "enemy aliens": Richard Dove, "Most Regrettable and Deplorable Things have Happened". Britain's Internment of Enemy Aliens in 1940, in: Gál, Music behind Barbed Wire, p. 29.

17 Robert M. W. Kempner, The Enemy Alien Problem in the Present War, in: *The American Journal of International Law* 34 (1940), no. 3, pp. 443–458. Kempner writes from an US-American perspective about the tribunals and brushes the topic of internment.

18 Our London Correspondence. The Aliens Tribunals, in: *The Manchester Guardian*, 15.5.1940, p. 6.

19 Ibid., p. 6; Pistol, "I can't remember a more depressing time", pp. 37–48.

20 Our London Correspondence. The Aliens Tribunals, 15.5.1940, p. 6.; Our London Correspondence. Fifty Thousand Friendly Aliens, in: *The Manchester Guardian*, 15.5.1940, p. 6.

21 By "Fifth Column" a secret group of agents who plan on undermining a nation's solidarity is meant. See "Fifth Column", in: Encyclopedia Britannica, 22.5.2023, https://www.britannica.com/topic/fifth-column, accessed 2.3.2024. The term was used in contemporary debate: Debate in the House of Lords, 23.5.1940, The Fifth Column, Hansard vol. 116, https://api.parliament.uk/historic-hansard/lords/1940/may/23/the-fifth-column, accessed 8.9.2022.

this area, which consisted of some thirty coastal counties. The "protected zone" was made up of around thirty coastal counties ranging from Devon in the south to Inverness in the north, and included university towns like Cambridge, Edinburgh, and Aberdeen. Only two days later, all male category B "aliens" in the whole country, even outside the "protected zone" were interned. By 25th June, all category C men and some women followed. The process was chaotic – local police brought the internees to local "alien collection stations" and then transferred them to military controlled "transit camps". In many cases no names were taken, and the camp infrastructure, though prepared beforehand, could not accommodate the large number of people. The quantity of internees therefore has to be estimated, as there are no records of their arrival and departure.[22] Those estimates range from 14,000[23] to 30,000[24] interned.

There were initially prepared camps, such as Huyton near Liverpool and later camps on the Isle of Man, which had already been the location of internment during the First World War. During World War II there were ten camps located on the Isle of Man, most of them male only. The Rushen camp, which incorporated the towns Port Erin and Port St. Mary, was female only.[25] Many of the camps were soon hopelessly overcrowded, which led to the opening of make-shift- or tent-camps, such as Kempton Park racecourse, Prees Heath in Shropshire and Warth Millswhich which lacked the infrastructure for housing several hundreds or even thousands of people.[26] Not only were the camps too full, but the authorities also made no distinction between civilian internees, many of them Jews from Germany or Austria, and expatriates, some known associates of Nazis.[27]

Since many of the refugees were Jewish, life in internment was also greatly shaped by a Central-European Jewish culture. A large number of them were well educated (Jews made up 25–30 percent of university students in Vienna at the turn of the century), lived in university-cities, like Edinburgh, St. Andrews and Aberdeen, and had a great appreciation for high cultural life.[28] Even before their arrival in the camps, several had already known each other, or at least had known of each other, as they had common friends, had lived in the same cities, or had family connections. Many of them did not practice their religion, but there were also orthodox groups in the camps.[29]

In an effort to counter at least the overcrowding issue, internees were deported to

22 Richard Dove, "Most Regrettable and Deplorable Things Have Happened", pp. 32–33.

23 Dina Gusejnova, Gegen Deutsches K.Z. Paradies. Thinking about Englishness on the Isle of Man during the Second World War, in: *History of European Ideas* 46 (2020), no. 5, pp. 697–714, here p. 699.

24 Sue Vice, British Representations of the Camps, in: *Holocaust Studies* 22 (2016), no. 2–3, pp. 303–317, here p. 304.

25 Charmian Brinson, "Loyal to the Reich". National Socialists and Others in the Rushen Women's Internment Camp, in: Richard Dove (ed.), "Totally un-English?" Britain's Internment of "Enemy Aliens" in Two World Wars (The yearbook of the Research Centre for German and Austrian Exile Studies 7), Amsterdam 2005, pp. 101–119, here p. 101. See also: Miriam Kochan, "Women's Experience of Internment", in: David Cesarani/Tony Kushner (eds.), The Internment of Aliens in Twentieth Century Britain, London 1993, pp. 147–166.

26 Dove, "Most Regrettable and Deplorable Things Have Happened", pp. 32–34.

27 Ibid., pp. 29–30.

28 Steven Beller, The City as Integrator. Immigration, Education and Popular Culture in Vienna. 1880–1938, in: *German Politics & Society* 15 (1997), no. 1, pp. 117–139; idem., How Modern Were Vienna's Jews? Preconditions of "Vienna 1900" in the World-View of Viennese Jewry. 1860–90, in: *Austrian Studies* 16 (2008), pp. 19–31.

29 Rachel Blumenthal/Daniel M. Herskowitz/Kerstin Mayerhofer (eds.), Constructing and experiencing Jewish Identity (Baron Lectures. Studies on the Jewish Experience 1), Paderborn 2023.

other Commonwealth countries, such as Canada or Australia. But soon those deportations were viewed as a great injustice not only by camp inmates, but also by British civilians, and many internees seemed to dread it even more than internment in Britain. This feeling of unease was increased by the news of the sinking of the SS Arandora Star on 2 July 1940, a cruise ship carrying 1,673 internees and prisoners of war, 621 of whom drowned.[30] News of this event seemed to bring horror to the camps, as many feared especially for the life of their families who could potentially have been on the luxury liner. The sinking also brought some important policy changes with it. Deportations were stopped, and the administration of internment camps was transferred to the Home Office.[31] In August, the so-called "White Paper" was published which named 18 categories eligible for early release from internment. Those eligible were either under 16 or over 65 years old, experienced medical hardships, were useful to the state as either holding key positions in industries, sciences, licensed doctors, or were prepared to enlist in the Auxiliary Military Pioneer Corps. Medical hardships were assessed by the doctors in camps and those procedures could take a long time.[32]

3. *The Diary of Hans Gál*

Diaries, books and letters of internees remain the only accounts of what life was like in those camps. One such diary was written by Hans Gál. He was born on the 5th of August 1890 in a small town close to Vienna, called Brunn am Gebirge. Both of his parents were originally from the Hungarian side of the Habsburg monarchy and had a Jewish background. Josef Gál had moved to Vienna to study medicine, where he met and later married Ilke Alt, with whom he had four children, three girls and one boy, Hans.[33]

The connection to music, in "a dynasty of doctors"[34], as Gál put it himself, referring to the fact that both of his grandfathers had been doctors, came from Ilke's sister and Hans' "Aunt Jenny". Jenny Fleischer-Alt (1865–1942) was an opera singer under Richard Strauss in Weimar and discovered Hans Gál's musical talent. Through her influence the boy came to take piano lessons from the age of eight on. Living in Vienna at the turn of the century enabled him to see Gustav Mahler and other famous composers conducting their own pieces.[35]

As a teenager, he himself started composing, and at the age of nineteen he passed the state exam for music teachers, which enabled him to be appointed as a teacher

30 Terri Colpi, Chaff in the Winds of War? The Arandora Star, Not Forgetting and Commemoration at the 80th Anniversary, in: *Italian Studies* 75 (2020), no. 4, pp. 389–410.

31 Lucio Sponza, The Internment of Italians 1940–1945, in: Richard Dove (ed.), "Totally un-English?" Britain's Internment of "Enemy Aliens" in Two World Wars (The Yearbook of the Research Centre for German and Austrian Exile Studies 7), Amsterdam 2005, pp. 153–165, here p. 154.

32 Civilian Internees of Enemy Nationality (Command 6223), Tate Archive, TGA 8812/1/4/182/10, https://www.tate.org.uk/art/archive/items/tga-8812-1-4-182-10/british-home-office-h-m-stationery-office-home-office-document-entitled-civilian-internees, accessed 4.11.2022. Its relevance is further discussed below in chapter 4.3. of this article.

33 For both Josef and Ilke Gál no date of birth and death could be found.

34 Martin J. Anderson, Hans Gál, in: *British Music Society Journal* (1987), pp. 33–44. Michael Haas/Marcus G. Patka (eds.), Continental Britons. Katalog des Jüdischen Museums der Stadt Wien von 25.2.–2.5.2004, Wien 2004, p. 16.

35 Eva Fox-Gál/Anthony Fox, Hans Gál. Ein Jahrhundert Musik (Jüdische Miniaturen 131), Berlin 2012, pp. 12–14.

for harmony and piano at the Vienna New Conservatoire in 1909. What followed were years of studying the art of composing under Eusebius Mandyczewski (1857–1929)[36] and musicology at the University of Vienna.[37]

During the First World War his career was put on hold, as he joined the military in 1915. This, however, did not hinder him from composing, and some of those works were published after the war.[38] The 1920s were promising years for Gál. His music received recognition, especially in Germany, and he travelled there frequently to attend performances. In 1922, he married Hanna Schick (1902–1989), who was from a distinguished Jewish family from Prague. The couple had two sons soon after their wedding: Franz and Peter.[39]

In 1929, Gál was selected to be the new director of the conservatoire in Mainz, and he moved there with his family in 1930. Next to his teaching duties he was, together with Alban Berg, also part of the chair of the "Allgemeiner Deutscher Musikverein".[40]

Just three years later, the prosperous years in Mainz came to an abrupt end. In March 1933, the Nazis took over the municipal council in Mainz, and Gál was soon among the ousted citizens. By the end of March, he was suspended, the publication and performance of his work was banned. Eventually, the family moved to acquaintances in the Black Forest, and then back to Vienna. Hans did not get any employment, other than to give private lessons. His key market – Germany – was lost. And yet the family stayed in Vienna, Gál continued composing, and it was only the "Anschluss" which made them leave Austria in 1938. Hanna was the first to go. She left for London to see if the journey was possible. Hans followed a week, the children four months later.[41]

The family stayed in London for a while, but since Hans did not find any work there, he moved to Edinburgh, where, through his connections, he got a job at the university to organize the Reid music library.[42] In the meantime, Hanna found employment as a speech therapist and was even provided with a house in London. The outbreak of war in 1939, however, foiled the affair. Hanna lost her job again and now the whole family moved to Edinburgh. They lived with Sir Herbert Grierson[43], who had been a professor of English Literature at Edinburgh University, because Hanna was willing to keep his house. The family found itself in a very cultured surrounding, making friends with fellow musicians and other intellectuals. In a matter of months, Hans had formed a madrigal ensemble and a refugee orchestra, and he composed and performed his music.[44]

36 Eusebius Mandyczewski (1857–1929), a Romanian-borne musicologist, teaching at the Vienna Conservatory, where he met Gál.
37 Fox-Gál/Fox, Hans Gál. Ein Jahrhundert Musik, pp. 14–15.
38 Op. 2, Op. 3 and Op. 16.
39 Fox-Gál/Fox, Hans Gál. Ein Jahrhundert Musik, pp. 19–29.
40 Ibid., pp. 30–34.
41 Ibid., pp. 35–40.
42 A collection of manuscript music, its core was the collection of General John Reid (1721–1807). See: The University of Edinburg, 2018, https://www.ed.ac.uk/information-services/library-museum-gallery/crc/collections/rare-books-manuscripts/rare-books-directory-section/reid-music, accessed 20.11.2023.
43 Sir Herbert Grierson (1866–1960) Professor of English Literature at the University of Aberdeen, later Professor of English Literature at the University of Edinburgh.
44 Fox-Gál/Fox, Hans Gál. Ein Jahrhundert Musik, pp. 41–43.

This again came to a harsh end when on Whitsunday 1940, Hans was among the first of about 14,000–30,000 civilians[45] to be interned as an "enemy alien".

4. Managing the Camps

Hans Gál's descriptions of his internment can be divided into three different stages: his stay in Donaldson's Hospital from 12th May to 18th May 1940, the time in Huyton, near Liverpool from 19th May to 15th June, and his final stage of internment in Central Promenade Camp in Douglas on the Isle of Man from 16th June to 27th September. The experiences will be laid out in these following chapters and compared in the conclusion.

4.1 Donaldson's Hospital (12th May–18th May)

Donaldson's Hospital was the first of three internment camps Gál lived in. On the first pages of his diary, Gál is seemingly angry at what he calls "this most senseless of all pieces of senselessness."[46] He and his son Franz, together with a few other hundred men, had been collected by a civilian policeman in the night of Whitsunday, the 12th May, and brought to a police station. They were allowed to bring one hurriedly packed suitcase and were told the stay would only last a few days. Then they continued their journey in a prison van to Donaldson's Hospital, where young people under eighteen, which included Franz Gál, were separated from the adults. The time in Donaldson's Hospital was strictly regulated and full of rules and directives, and to Gál it felt like a prison. The captain, later also called the commandant, in charge of this transit camp took down the personal data of everyone who had come in the previous night and gave each one a number "which from now on, it seems, will replace names." He still made at least a somewhat "pleasant impression"[47] on Gál.

At eight o'clock in the evening, a roll call was made, and every room was checked: There were 14 people in one room, and everyone was allowed a straw sack with a certain amount of straw – not too much – to sleep on. There were no newspapers allowed inside the building, they had to take a walk every day in the courtyard, and no one was allowed to visit. It was apparent that the guards did neither know, nor care, who it was in fact they were guarding. In the camp, there had already been a few hundred German civilian prisoners from captured ships, some of whom, Gál was sure, were Nazis.[48]

On 15th May the chief rabbi of Edinburgh, Dr. Salis Daiches (1880–1945)[49], visited the camp to see the conditions there and to talk to the internees. Almost everyone in the camp knew him personally, and Gál describes him as "a friendly man who complete-

45 Gusejnova, Gegen Deutsches K.Z. Paradies, p. 699.
46 Gál, Music behind Barbed Wire, p. 44.
47 Ibid., p. 46.
48 Ibid.
49 Dr. Salis Daiches (1880–1945) was a Lithuania-born Rabbi, who moved to the UK in 1903. Since 1918 he was Chief Rabbi of Edinburgh.

ly understands our position and […] is politically astute."[50] To him the interned could complain and Gál listed everything in an – in his retrospect too emotional – speech. After this visit many things became better. They were allowed to have daily newspapers, an everyday walk on the lawn, one visit per week, and distance from the Nazis.[51]

What evolved by itself was what one could call an entertainment program in the camp. Since many of the internees were either students or lecturers at the University of Edinburgh, St. Andrews, or Aberdeen, working-groups, discussion clubs and student societies were formed after a few days. This "camp-university", together with groups of card players, helped to fight off the boredom in the camp. The inmates also planned on assembling a camp-orchestra and were even given permission to collect items for that from Edinburgh. There, many of the internees had been part of the Refugee Orchestra Gál had founded. The leader of the orchestra had been Dr. Fabius Gross, a zoologist from Vienna, whom Gál thought very highly of, as can be surmised from his description of him: "He was […] a man of the most absolute honesty, objectivity and integrity – the epitome of what a researcher should be. In spite of his mere 33 years he is, with his wisdom, self-control and good English, the ideal person to represent us with the authorities here."[52]

But Gross did not have much time to conduct an orchestra at Donaldson's Hospital. On 17th May, merely five days after their internment there, they were to be moved to a more permanent camp in the Liverpool area. The news struck like lightning because that implied that they would indeed need to expect a long internment and that they would be separated from their families. Also, as soon became evident, the camp-authorities themselves were not well informed. The internees were allowed one last visit from their family, where many brought food and other necessities. But the visits were short, and the next day they were brought to a station right outside Edinburgh, where they took an express train directly to their next camp: Huyton.[53]

4.2 Huyton, near Liverpool (19th May–15th June)

After the train ride, the camp inmates were taken by bus to Huyton, a small town close to Liverpool, where they were given tea, bread and cheese. The captain, a man called Tanner[54], made a speech in which he proclaimed that they would be able to arrange their lives as they wished and he offered that they could take part in what he called "digging for peace"[55].

50 Gál, Music behind Barbed Wire, p. 49.
51 Ibid., p. 50.
52 Ibid., p. 51.
53 Ibid., p. 51–55.
54 No further information could be found about Tanner.
55 The "Digging for Victory" campaign was an effort of the British Ministry of Agriculture to encourage people to plant their own vegetables, to fight malnutrition. The original title seemed to be unfit when talking to Germans and Austrians, so the captain presumably changed it. (Dig for Victory, British Library, https://www.bl.uk/learning/timeline/item107597.html, accessed 11.10.2022.) Interestingly, this endeavour is never mentioned again. If it was due to Gál's disinterest, is unknown.

Compared to Donaldson's Hospital at Huyton there was more room for the internees, at least at the start, since they were the first to arrive. Gál shared a room with his three friends, Gross, who was mentioned before, Dr. Hugo Schneider, a dentist, and Dr. Max Sugar, a laryngologist. The room was part of a small, two-story house, each home to ten to twelve people, which then was part of a newly built workers' estate, at the road cut off with barbed wire. Every house had a kitchen and a bathroom, but no other furniture.[56]

The situation got worse quickly when on 26th May 1940, 1,000 more people were announced to arrive. Soon there were no more new houses to fill, so tents were erected and all young men under 25 had to move there.[57] On the morning of the 26th, the inmates met Captain Tanner's superiors, the commandant of the camp, a colonel and an adjutant, who were responsible for the administration, and who made a pleasant impression on Gál. All men had to line up in front of their houses and the colonel questioned them about their personal circumstances. Gál notes that on one occasion the colonel seemed surprised that "There seem to be many refugees here!". Much like in the first days of Donaldson's Hospital, German and Austrian refugees and expatriates of all categories (A to C) were mixed together, causing unrest with the "aliens" from category C, those "Refugees from Nazi Oppression". As Gál wrote:

> "When it is now explained that it is difficult to separate the wheat from the chaff and that for security reasons the innocent must suffer along with the guilty, one can only respond that it was after all unnecessary to mix the wheat and the chaff in the first place."[58]

This tribunal-system, which had aimed at improving the situation of refugees, in the end had just cost resources and increased the discontent of the internees.

During the first few days at Huyton, a self-government was formed. Every house elected a "House Father", which in Gál's case was Gross, who together selected a "Street Father", who then selected a "Camp Speaker" and a deputy. The "Camp Speaker" was Professor Karl Weissenberg (1893–1976)[59], his deputy was Gross. The Street Father's Assembly met every day early in the morning to discuss current issues. Through his friendship with Gross, Gál obtained a close look at the proceedings of "their parliament." On one occasion, on the 31st of May, Gál describes Gross' typical day:

---

56 Gál, Music behind Barbed Wire, pp. 55–57. The barbed wire was the symbol most internees connected with their time in the camp. Gál mentions it often and to him it is the symbol of being cut off from the outside world. Many works of art that originated in the camps incorporated the barbed wire.

57 Gál, Music behind Barbed Wire, p. 64.

58 Ibid., p. 63.

59 Dr. Karl Weissenberg (1893–1976) was an Austrian mathematician and physicist as well as a member of the Kaiser-Wilhelm-Gesellschaft for Physical Chemistry. He is most known for his contribution to the research on X-ray Crystallography and in Rheology. Interestingly, none of the short biographies found online mentioned his internment; The Papers of Karl Weissenberg, University of Cambridge Churchill Archives Centre, GBR/0014/WEIS, https://archivesearch.lib.cam.ac.uk/repositories/9/resources/1891, accessed 11.10.2022; H. B. Seebohm, Biographical Notes on Karl Weissenberg, 2.9.2011, https://web.archive.org/web/20110902062504/http://weissenberg.bsr.org.uk/biography.htm, accessed 11.10.2022.

> "He spends the whole day rushing around with his briefcase from one meeting to another, always cheerful, always ready to help, always thinking of others and apparently completely content with this strenuous occupation. Persistent petitioners sometimes come to our room as early as seven in the morning, asking him something, imploring, demanding an intervention. He has unspeakable patience. Never have I seen him turn anyone away."[60]

The self-government, however, like every government, had a few flaws. One of these flaws presented itself in the form of a man Gál calls Störmann.[61] He had gained his post because early on he had arranged it well with Captain Tanner. Störmann had a few advantages compared to his fellow internees. Firstly, he spoke perfect English, which most of the other inmates could not – even though many of them used the time they had in the camps to learn it. Secondly, and maybe more importantly: He had already been interned as an "enemy alien" in Britain during the First World War, "so he has experience of matters in which the fat gentleman [Captain Tanner] feels rather at a loss."[62] From this quote, written on 22nd May, it becomes for the first time evident, how little Gál thought of Captain Tanner. On other occasions, he calls him "whisky-cheeked Captain", since one could presumably see how he enjoyed a few drinks, or on 26th May a "buffalo [who] knows only too well that he is in the wrong, and he is as cowardly as any other ranting fool."[63] Hans Gál did not trust the captain to manage the camps well, and it seemed like the officials had not been at all prepared for their position, even though internment of civilians in Britain was not something that had never happened before.

That even leading authorities in the camp were not prepared to oversee the process in an orderly manner proves how little thought was put in the internment procedures by the British government. Meanwhile, Störmann was put in a key position in the camp organization: he organized the post. The internees were only allowed to write home twice a week, not more than 24 lines,[64] and every letter now passed through this man's hands. His appointment provoked the resentment of the other internees, and Gál goes as far as describing revolutionary groups forming in the streets to protest against Störmann. These drastic measures were also partly caused by a rumor going around the camp that he had been "a representative of the Gestapo. It is a fact, that he is not a refugee but a German expatriate, and he is said to have played a part in the German societies organized by National-Socialists."[65]

In the end, Weissenberg and Gross took matters into their hands and requested the dismissal of Störmann, to which Captain Tanner eventually gave in. He agreed to appoint an elected member of the camp, which ended up being Dr. Ekkehard von Künßberg

60 Gál, Music behind Barbed Wire, p. 69.
61 Störmanns first name is never mentioned in the book, and it is also possible that this was simply a nickname given to him by Gál, as "stören" means "to disturb" in German. This however is simply an assumption and there is no evidence of it.
62 Gál, Music behind Barbed Wire, p. 60.
63 Ibid., p. 64.
64 Ibid., p. 58.
65 Ibid., pp. 60–61.

(1913–2000)[66], a medical practitioner. Even though he was now responsible for the post, he could do nothing more than pass letters on to the internal censorship department, before it was delivered to the censor in Liverpool, who would then pass it on to whomever it was addressed to. By the end of May, however, letters piled up in the office.[67]

The victory over Störmann would remain the only breakthrough for a while. Most of the time Weissenberg and Gross were powerless, their proposals ignored. They were simply used as means to keep up the discipline in the camp. This task was indeed very challenging, as there were more and more voices calling for passive resistance, such as a hunger strike, in order to get more freedom in the camp.[68]

On 28th May, Gál writes about his friend from Vienna, Otto Erich Deutsch (1883–1967)[69], who had received a telegram from his sixteen-year-old daughter Gitta Deutsch (1924–1998). She had been interned on her birthday, as she then had reached the "dangerous age" and was automatically put into category B. A similar fate, Gál suspected, would await his younger son Peter, but as we know now, this was not the case.[70] The fact that Deutsch received the telegram is quite interesting because this is the first message from outside the camp which Gál mentions. Two days later, on May 30th, he again notes how they were more or less cut off from the outside world and that their letters still had not left the camp.[71] Only a few days later, around the start of June, the first dispatches of letters and parcels started to arrive, and a few dozen internee-volunteers started to organize a postal service and put together an address list: "It is the first piece of organization that the authorities have left to us, and the task was completed quickly and effectively."[72] The address-list was the register of names in the camp. Rumors circulated in the camp that the authorities did not have a name-list themselves, nor did they know the number of internees. There was a daily roll call where internees were counted; the methods, however, never seemed to work to satisfaction and were changed often, and in the end, they were counted while they were taking their meals.[73]

Cooking was up to the internees themselves and meals were taken together in one of the mess-halls which were located at the back of the camp. The kitchen detachment itself was quickly organized. During the first few days, however, what was missing was food. All the while, more people kept arriving. To Gál it seemed as though those new arrivals were completely unexpected by the authorities. Since many of them still had supplies that were brought to them by their families in Donaldson's Hospital, they were not yet suffering from hunger. The mess-halls, nevertheless, were quickly nicknamed

66 Dr. Ekkehard von Künßberg (1913–2000) was a German doctor, who had refused to enter Nazi ranks and immigrated to the UK in 1933, where he studied medicine in Edinburgh.
67 Gál, Music behind Barbed Wire, p. 61.
68 Ibid.
69 Otto Erich Deutsch (1883–1967) was an Austrian music- and art-historian.
70 Gál, Music behind Barbed Wire, p. 65.
71 Ibid., p. 66.
72 Ibid., pp. 71–72.
73 Ibid., p. 75.

"Starvation Hall".[74] The supply only slowly improved, and after a week in the camp Gál notes that "the food is beginning to be more or less adequate and eatable, even if still very, very tight, and for young people absolutely insufficient."[75] The meals were taken on tables of eight, in a mess-hall of one hundred and twenty. Each table was given soup or a vegetable-and-meat dish. During the meals important camp-messages were read out, as it was prohibited to print a news-bulletin.[76]

Some internees established a kosher eating group, but it was not only frequented by practicing Jews, but also by some people hoping for more and better-quality food since what was produced in the kitchen otherwise was a "pig-swill".[77] In a general effort to improve the food situation the internees offered to pay for a canteen, either with the money the authorities had taken from them when they had come to Huyton and which was now stored with all their other belongings in a hut, or with a credit, as many of them had bank accounts. This wish, however, was not granted. Next to the kosher eating group, other small groups formed, some hoping for an early release, like those with visa and tickets to the US and those who were called "Weekend casualties". These were people who had come into the protected zone on a Whitsunday's trip and had been interned there and then. However, their hopes were futile.[78]

Gatherings of large groups of people, namely more than 10, in one room were also prohibited. So were books, newspapers, or instruments, as the fear of providing information to potential spies was too great. These rules hindered the establishment of a "camp-university", which after the arrival of a group from Cambridge, most of them university staff, had been hoped for.[79] After some time, the rules seemed to loosen, and around the start of June the "university" started to form. Several disciplines were somehow represented, and Gál specifically mentions Dr. Norbert Elias (1897–1990)[80], Dr. Hans Liebeschütz (1893–1978)[81] and Dr. Otto Benesch (1896–1964)[82], as their lectures were especially interesting to him. Next to the "university" a school was set up to prepare the younger internees for their School Certificate examination and to keep them from lingering around.[83]

After some time, newspapers were smuggled into the camp and the industry of selling them flourished. Gál even joked that it is the only service in camp that worked perfectly. One could loan a newspaper for 20 minutes and the earlier one wanted the paper the more expensive it was – one shilling to one-and-sixpence at eleven o'clock. In the end, the smuggling was broken up and some soldiers who had helped were punished.[84]

74 Gál, Music behind Barbed Wire, p. 64.
75 Ibid., p. 64.
76 Ibid., pp. 63, 66.
77 Ibid., pp. 58, 60.
78 Ibid., p. 62.
79 Ibid., p. 63.
80 Professor Norbert Elias (1897–1990) was a sociologist from Poland, who had taught at the universities of Heidelberg and Frankfurt.
81 Dr. Hans Liebeschütz (1893–1978) was a German medieval historian.
82 Dr. Otto Benesch (1896–1964) was a Curator at the Albertina and later Professor in Britain.
83 Gál, Music behind Barbed Wire, p. 71.
84 Ibid., p. 75–76.

That newspapers were banned seemed not to be the norm in internment camps, as the speech of the Lord Bishop of Chichester[85] in the House of Lords on 12th June suggests:

> "There is one particular lack which I think will surprise your Lordships. No newspapers are allowed in the camp at Huyton, and no news gets through to the internees. In the other camps, newspapers are allowed, but in Huyton – and I believe it is the case in one other camp where these refugees are interned – there are no news-sheets. Therefore the most extraordinary rumours get round about the state of the war; the fears of the internees are enhanced, and the mental strain is very great. I am allowed to make an offer if it were of any value to produce a broad-sheet of appropriate news for the purpose of that camp in Huyton which would give the minimum – if a minimum is thought to be necessary – of facts and information about the progress of the war and life outside."[86]

Since the arrival of parcels, money was again circulating in the camp. A sort of credit system developed – "banking experts" were now allowed to sort out the belongings of the internees and put the deposits in alphabetical order.[87]

Even though there were many highly skilled people in the camp, among them many doctors and dentists, the hygiene and medical care were in a bad state. The military doctor, who organized the hospital and, in Gál's point of view, tried his best to make it work, did not get the right supplies. There were not enough medical instruments, medicine and beds.[88]

Together with Pastor Wilhelm Hansen, who had been Minister of the German Protestant Church in Bradford,[89] Gál wanted to organize a musical life in the camp. During the first few days all instruments had been confiscated, but they now were promised from the adjutant that they would be returned, a promise that was fulfilled. Hansen and Gál had put together a list of about forty instrumentalists in the camp, enough to establish an orchestra.[90] They also found some instruments which had not been confiscated yet: a few violins, a clarinet and a couple of flutes. In the end nothing came of the grand orchestra plans, and with the limited resources in the camp Gál only wrote a small piece for a flute and two violins, the Huyton Suite, but it should never be played there.

On 11th June 1940, the first group of 400 men left Huyton for the Isle of Man, hoping to be united with their family members who were also interned there. The preparation for

85 George Bell (1883–1958) was Bishop of Chichester since 1929 and a member of the house of lords, where he petitioned for the rights of internees and criticised the British way to conduct war.

86 Debate in the House of Lords, 12.6.1940, The Fifth Column. Position of the BBC, Hansard vol. 116, https://hansard.parliament.uk/lords/1940-06-12/debates/138821c6-c14e-43d1-ab77-f0928578e105/TheFifthColumnPositionofTheBbc, accessed 25.10.2022.

87 Gál, Music behind Barbed Wire, p. 74.

88 Ibid., p. 71.

89 Hansen was active in the German cultural societies together with Störmann, which Gál only found out later. He decided to be careful around him but continued to work with him.

90 Gál, Music behind Barbed Wire, pp. 65–66.

the transport was chaotic, the whole preceding night lists were made, compared and corrected until in the end nobody knew who was on the final list.[91] It was said that they would make room for Italian prisoners of war, but they were instead replaced by Jews from the London Ghetto, all B-Class refugees. Gál left with the second group of about 1,000 people on 14th June.[92] On the ship Gál concludes his stay in Huyton:

> "In truth all of us were more or less unwilling to leave. We had gotten used to our nice little houses, the camp administration had eventually been sorted out reasonably well, the post was slow but at least it worked. Now it will be a matter of starting from the beginning again, fighting against the same indifference, lack of consideration, incompetence, pedantry."[93]

4.3 Central Promenade Camp (CPC), Douglas, Isle of Man (16th June–27th Sept.)

Upon arrival in Douglas on the Isle of Man, they were put in a camp at the sea front, in a much smaller enclosure than in Huyton. Their quarters were a row of hotels, and Gál and his roommates from Huyton were in house number two. Gál and Schneider were roommates, and therefore also bedmates, as there was only one single bed per room. This still was an improvement from the straw sacks at Donaldson's Hospital and Huyton. Every house had to take a certain quota; house two was the home of seventy-two people. Through this at least it seems as though the administration knew exactly how many people were in the camp. This also meant, however, that there was one bathroom and two toilets for 72 people.[94] On 16th June, the second group from Huyton arrived. This filled the camp to its anticipated capacity, which was at nearly two thousand people, and next to their camp new ones were continuously built.[95] The camp was, like the two preceding ones, under military authorities, and like Gál had suspected, the first days were similar to early days in Huyton:

> "The suspicious reserve towards the 'enemy aliens' that first has to be overcome before one can expect understanding and helpfulness, and the incredible organizational incompetence in the face of the task of looking after two thousand people in a more or less proper and hygienic, manner, feeding them and keeping track of them."[96]

Like Huyton, a self-government was formed during the first days of their arrival. Again, "House Fathers" were elected, and due to the lack of streets and houses, those eleven "House Fathers" made up the "Committee of Eleven", with a "Camp Speaker" and his deputy. And once more, Gross was House Father and the "Camp Speaker's" deputy, always busy, as "the first clients appear even during breakfast. […] [After breakfast] there are already three more at the door. Gross picks up his briefcase and flees, with clients

91 Gál, Music behind Barbed Wire, pp. 74–75.
92 Ibid., p. 77.
93 Ibid., p. 79.
94 Ibid., pp. 80–81.
95 Ibid., p. 82.
96 Ibid., p. 84.

after him. That's what it's like every day!" The new "Camp Speaker" was Pastor Franz Hildebrandt (1909–1985)[97], who had been a pastor in the German Exile Community in Cambridge and was greatly respected in what Gál calls the "Cambridge Group".[98]

After some time, problems in the "Senate" started to form, as some of the "Eleven", the eleven "House Fathers", elected in a time no one knew the other, were "communists and Nazis [...] who greatly impede productive working. [...] It is a real Polish parliament."[99] There were ongoing discussions, Gross and Hildebrandt were often said to be too cautious and diplomatic where the authorities were concerned, a flaw Gál had already pointed out in Huyton.[100] On occasion, there were house-assemblies, where Gross, as the House Father, "[had] to give reports on everything that has taken place in the Committee of Eleven in the last few days, he must answer every relevant and irrelevant criticism and accept requests which he in his turn is to present to the Committee of Eleven."[101] By mid-July, Gál writes about the government: "Our organs of state have developed quite impressively. There is a law department, an accommodation manager, a canteen-master, a welfare office, a representative for 'Medical Hardships'."[102] The relation between authorities and internees was smooth most of the time, as internees were used to their situation by now and authorities cooperated in some instances.

While the commandant, whom Gál describes as a pleasant man, was on holiday, Lieutenant Johnson[103] represented him, which caused friction between authorities and camp representatives. It went as far as Hildebrandt and Gross wanting to withdraw cooperation on their side.[104] Initially they did not. However, both resigned on August 31st, following the arrest of a person working in postal service. The offence was that he had taken letters addressed to him and his friends out of the bag, which had already been approved by the camp censorship. The representatives then requested an interview with the colonel, which took place on 1st September, but Gál did not write down what was said.[105] Sugar was elected "Camp Speaker" a few days later, his deputies were Fackenheim and von Simson[106].

About ten days after the arrival in the camps in June, as the fear of a German invasion spread following the fall of France on June 22nd, news circulated that groups of internees were to be deported to Canada in order to fight the overcrowding of camps. This anxiety had not only become entrenched in British minds, but also in the camps. The issue split the camp, as some were happy with getting as far away from the Germans as

97 Pastor Franz Hildebrandt (1909–1985) was a Lutheran pastor, who protested against Aryan paragraphs introduced to the church, and moved to London and later to Cambridge.
98 Gál, Music behind Barbed Wire, pp. 83–84.
99 He uses a common expression referring to the historical Parliament in Poland, the "Sejm wanly", where hardly a decision could be reached because every member had an absolute veto.
100 Gál, Music behind Barbed Wire, p. 91.
101 Ibid., p. 110.
102 Ibid., p. 114.
103 No further information on the Lieutenant could be found.
104 Ibid., p. 145.
105 Ibid., p. 147.
106 To Fackenheim and Simson no biographical data could be found, as Gál did not write down their full names. Gál, Music behind Barbed Wire, p. 155.

possible, while others were afraid to be parted even further from their families.[107] July 1st marked the day for the first group to leave. On June 30th, Gál had written about a list going around camp, where everyone had to put down their personal details, family status, and "whether he was a Jew, not a Jew, a socialist, a communist, or a 'Nazi-sympathizer'". In the end, unmarried men between the ages of 20 and 30 and suspected Nazis had to leave, as well as, a few days later, all men under 20 and unmarried men up to the age of 40.[108] Before embarking on the first transport, all money was taken from the internees, and the soldiers forgot to give them dinner. For the next transport, the houses arranged food for their leaving housemates. A day after the second transport left, however, 200 of the participants returned to camp, as the ships had been overfull. Rumors of too little food on the transports and the sinking of the Arandora Star, with the death of 700 passengers, made everyone in the camp uneasy.[109]

The third transport was to include all bachelors under the age of fifty and even a few married men who could go voluntarily. The camp leadership had put forth the idea to potentially reunite married couples on the transport. What the internees had understood as a promise had however only been an unrealistic possibility. It mostly ended as a disappointment and the men sailed to Australia without their wives. The camp was outraged by this and drafted a memorandum during an assembly. The memorandum demanded that the wives of the deportees, some of whom were internees in Port Erin on the Isle of Man, be informed and sent after their husbands.[110] At the end of June, a fourth transport, now again to Australia, was planned, and the selected men were allowed to visit their wives in Port Erin. The women there, however, had not previously been informed that some of their husbands had already been sent to Australia, so new mistrust grew among the people in camp, and there were only about 80 volunteers for this next transport, which was later stopped.[111] The transports that left were on June 24th, 1st, 2nd, 4th and 10th of July.[112]

Initially, there was again said to be no list of names, only a daily rollcall to check the numbers, which took place in the dining room. The "House Fathers" had to notify the authorities about any changes before the counting started, but still many times the numbers did not add up.[113] Especially after the chaos of departing and returning deportees, the authorities saw the need of a working administration to keep track of internees. Volunteers, among them Schneider, Sugar and Gál, suggested putting to-

107 Gál, Music behind Barbed Wire, p. 92.

108 The accuracy of this list as a historical source (if it is preserved at all) is questionable, as Gál knows of people putting down false information and the compilation of it was highly chaotic. Gál, Music behind Barbed Wire, pp. 94–96.

109 Ibid., pp. 99–100.

110 Ibid., pp. 105, 117–118.

111 Ibid., pp. 122–123, 129.

112 The ship leaving on 1st June was the SS Arandora Star mentioned above. The one leaving on the 10th was a transport to Australia, next to the "Arandora Star disaster" was later of great public interest when the horrible conditions on board were revealed. The possessions of internees were stolen, they were only allowed above deck for 30 minutes a day and there was no hygiene. Also see: National Museum of Australia, Dunera Boys, 2022, https://www.nma.gov.au/defining-moments/resources/dunera-boys, accessed 4.11.2022; Roger Kershaw, Collar the Lot! Britain's Policy of Internment during the Second World War, in: The National Archives blog, blog entry on 2. 7. 2015, https://blog.nationalarchives.gov.uk/collar-lot-britains-policy-internment-second-world-war/, accessed 4.11.2022.

113 Gál, Music behind Barbed Wire, pp. 84–85, 102.

gether a card index, a plan that, as Gál suspects, had been intended since the very beginning, but was never realized, as all supplies, like pre-printed registration cards were already available in the camp. They also created an alphabetical card index of already departed internees, with date and destination of departure, to help redirect post. After five days of work, the card system was almost ready. It greatly improved communication and incoming telegrams could be answered quickly and correctly.[114]

Before that, the Edinburgh group had sent a collective telegram home to inform their families where to send future packages and letters, as their move from Huyton had not been communicated with them and the post was not yet forwarded from there to Douglas.[115] Only much later, on June 27th, Gál noted that the Huyton packages and letters had arrived.[116] What was prohibited, however, was to set up connections between family members interned in different camps on the Isle.[117] A letter from CPC to Port Erin took roughly six weeks.[118]

The first parcels from home started to arrive on June 21st.[119] A strip of paper was delivered to the house, with a name, a time to go to the post office, and a number. At the office, the numbers were called out and the parcel could be collected from the boss of the office, Herr Moscari,[120] after it was checked by the officer present. Letters enclosed were confiscated, but Moscari was able to smuggle a few to their recipients.[121] The letters were usually written in English, as one can see in the German edition of the diary.[122]

The censorship in CPC was working relatively well, disregarding the letters Moscari smuggled through. On August 29th, Gál was called to the office of the adjutant, Lieutenant Johnson, because he had written in a letter to his wife that his medical treatment in the camp, which will be described below, was unsuccessful, which was seen as an insult to the medical officer. That Gál had had a shouting fit a few weeks earlier[123] was not known by the authorities, and Gál assumed the Lieutenant did not even know that internees worked at the hospital and that the medical officer had nothing to do with his treatment. He was also questioned about other things he had mentioned in the letter and was told that "every letter is a public statement, since it goes to the censor." The case was then passed on to the colonel, the commander of all camps on the island. What came of it is unknown, but there were no consequences.[124]

As newspapers were also again prohibited, news from the outside was marginal, but some papers were smuggled in on occasion.[125] Another welcome source for news were

114 Gál, Music behind Barbed Wire, pp. 102–103.
115 Ibid., p. 84.
116 Ibid., p. 93.
117 Ibid., p. 84.
118 Ibid., p. 122.
119 Ibid., p. 85.
120 Since the English translation of the diary kept the use of "Herr" the same was done in this article. No information could be found about him.
121 Gál, Music behind Barbed Wire, p. 108.
122 Gál, Musik hinter Stacheldraht, p. 97–98.
123 Gál, Music behind Barbed Wire, p. 133.
124 Ibid., pp. 144–145.
125 Ibid., p. 90.

new arrivals, like in early July, when "aliens" from the unprotected zones, especially from London, started to come to the camps.[126] From July 15th, newspapers were allowed in the camp, every house received a copy "of the most widely available popular London papers" – which ones exactly Gál does not mention.[127] But since the arrival of the newspapers, there are more mentions of politics in Gáls diary. On July 28th, he writes, criticizing the actions of the government:

> "The War Office and the Home Office, maybe even different departments within the Home Office, are apparently in no way in agreement about the policy to be adopted, and what one party resolves is steadfastly sabotaged by the other. And all on our backs!"[128]

From the newspapers they learned of the publication of the "White Paper", whose original title was "Civilian internees of enemy nationality", published by Osbert Peake, Under-Secretary of the Home Office.[129] It named eighteen categories that were eligible for early release. The paper seems to have been published some time in August. Gál, however, already writes about lists going around camp on August 1st, suggesting a very quick line of communication or simply that Gál had written about it on a later day. Those who could leave were either under 16 or over 65 years old, had to endure medical hardships, were useful to the state as they either occupied key positions in industries, sciences, were licensed doctors or were prepared to enlist in the Auxiliary Military Pioneer Corps. Gál thought of this paper as a "monstrosity": "[…] An acknowledged injustice remains generally valid in principle and is only suspended for those who are immediately and urgently needed."[130]

On the Isle of Man, every house was responsible for its own cooking. The cooks had to be appointed from among the internees, the kitchen was equipped very badly, and there was no tablecloth and no hot water for washing the plates.[131] The ingredients were brought in daily by suppliers outside the fence and were split into rations according to the amount of people in a house. Later internees were sent out in groups to fetch the prepared rations for their house from the shops themselves.[132] This worked very well, and Gál attributes this to the fact that the suppliers were civilians and local businessmen, who managed to organize it properly. In this example, we can see how little trust Gál had in the military authorities but had not yet lost faith in the British civilians.[133]

At first, the food cooked in the camps was very bad, but it improved greatly over time, especially after the first chef quit the job. On the menu were porridge, rice, beans, potatoes, and twice weekly fish and meat. Together with the food parcels almost everyone

126 Gál, Music behind Barbed Wire, p. 99.
127 Ibid., p. 111.
128 Ibid., p. 123.
129 British Home Office, Civilian internees of enemy nationality (Command 6223).
130 Ibid.; Gál, Music behind Barbed Wire, p. 125.
131 Ibid., p. 81.
132 Ibid., p. 110.
133 Ibid., p. 84.

received, adequate nourishment was satisfied.[134] Two of the houses in the camp were kosher, where food was ritually prepared.[135] There was also a camp café, which was quickly opened, serving coffee and pastries, ingredients Gál suspects were appropriated rations,[136] and a canteen business, where one could buy tobacco, a little fruit and chocolate, writing and toilet materials (even razor blades). Other food than the one mentioned before was not available, as, according to Gál, the government of the Isle of Man had forbidden it.[137]

On June 27th, Gál talks about the services available in the camp: doctors, chemists, teachers and professors were working free of charge at the hospital or the "camp-university". A postal, parcel, telegraphic and bank service had also already been established, and the people there were also working free of charge, as mentioned above. A little contemptuously, Gál also mentions the booty-boys, launderers, sock-darners, and hairdressers, who wanted to be paid for their services – though he reasons that it is appropriate to pay for such personal services.[138]

Gál developed a rash on his head while he was in Huyton, and during his stay in CPC the camp hospital would become important to him. It consisted of two boarding houses. The doctors, dentists and other medical staff were volunteers among the internees themselves. The medical officer was a civilian from Douglas, who did not treat patients himself but only approved referrals to the hospital in Douglas for urgent surgeries. There were almost no medical instruments or medicine, no blankets and sheets, and no possibility to provide a special diet. Internees offered to pay for the material from their welfare fund, which was a collection of money the internees put together to help those who had nothing. This offer was, however, rejected, as it was against regulations.[139] When in early July, new arrivals from London came to the camp to replace the deported internees, the average age was raised and thus also the work of the hospital. Gál was especially moved by the fate of the Vienna painter Arthur Paunzen (1890–1940)[140], who probably suffered from a bronchial pneumonia, "a highly dangerous, inflammatory process which [was] hard to deal with". Earlier it had been believed to be a bronchitis, which was an aftereffect of an untreated influenza. But since he was not in need of an immediate operation and since rules were that four soldiers would have to go with him, which was not possible, he was only transferred to the hospital in Douglas on August 5th.[141] He died during the night of 8th to 9th August before he could be released as a "medical hardship". His cause of death in the hospital was classified as "rampant consumption." Gál judged his demise harshly: "Murder has been committed

134 Gál, Music behind Barbed Wire, p. 91.
135 Ibid., p. 123.
136 Ibid., p. 89.
137 Ibid., p. 92.
138 Ibid.
139 Ibid., p. 104.
140 Arthur Paunzen (1890–1940) was an Austrian painter. Many of his works were collected by the British Museum and the Albertina in Vienna.
141 Gál, Music behind Barbed Wire, pp. 96, 121, 128.

on this man. We shall never be able to prove it in legal terms, but we know it: a murder, committed through indifference, thoughtlessness, heartless inertia."[142]

After the publication of the "White Paper", the doctors were even busier as before, as they assessed who was sick enough to leave, and on August 9th Georg Höllering (1897–1980)[143], a mutual friend of Paunzen and Gál, pressed Gál to go to Doctor Levin[144] to be evaluated. He was put on the list for "medical hardships" immediately, as there was no treatment in camp and because of the danger of his eczema spreading.[145] Gál's condition worsened, and he had to be admitted to the camp hospital twice for longer periods of time, where he was treated by the only dermatologist in camp, Dr. Löwenberg, who was, however, released earlier than Gál because he met the conditions stated in the "White Paper", leaving Gál without treatment, until a new dermatologist came into the camp, Dr. D'Amian.[146]

The banking system of Huyton had been continued in CPC, apparently without hindrance on the part of the authorities, but it was not supported either. Many deposits had not been returned correctly, leaving internees without money, and the issue was not investigated. The people concerned were able to get a loan from the bank.[147]

Another "camp-university" was, as mentioned above, quickly formed, as most members had come from Huyton, so it was simply the location that had changed and even improved because the facilities in CPC were better. Every house had at least one room that could be used as a lecture room, with due resistance of the groups of card players residing there. Gál taught a harmony class there sometimes.[148]

While Gál does not write a lot about it, there were also religious gatherings in the camps, foremost among the orthodox Jews, who lived in the two Kosher houses. Dr. Pick[149] was a cantor there and also chief priest of a Buddhist community in the camp.[150] On September 16th, the Lord Bishop of Chichester visited the camp for the second time, though Gál had nothing written about his first visit in July.[151]

To Gál's delight, there already were pianos in the camp, but since many of the other internees complained about the noise from various amateur pianists, playing was restricted to certain hours. Soon, a musical and cultural life developed, and on the evening of June 21st the lounge in House No. 5, which was home to the best piano, was used to hold a concert. Fifty people could attend, and free tickets were used to keep

142 Gál, Music behind Barbed Wire, p. 132.
143 Georg Höllering (1897–1980) was an Austrian filmmaker and director.
144 Ernst Julius Levin (1887–1975) was a German neurologist, who after his internment worked for the Royal Infirmary in Edinburgh.
145 Gál, Music behind Barbed Wire, p. 127.
146 The information Gál gives about Dr. D'Amian suggests, this was Dr. Erwin D'Amian, who worked in the Itu Leper Colony in today's southern Nigeria in 1937. International Leprosy Association, in: *International Journal of Leprosy* 6 (1938), no. 1, pp. 142–152, here p. 144; Gál, Music behind Barbed Wire, pp. 135–141, 150–157.
147 Ibid., p. 93.
148 Ibid., p. 86.
149 No information could be found about him.
150 Ibid., p. 159.
151 Ibid., p. 157.

track of the concertgoers. Since there were no music sheets available in the camp, songs that the musicians knew by heart were played.[152] To continue with such concert nights, Gál, who knew how to play a lot of songs on the piano, worked together with the other musicians to recreate texts, to write everything down and to put together a concert program. Soon Gál, together with Hermann (Josef) Ullrich (1888–1982)[153] and Otto Erich Deutsch, looked after the music committee. Each program was played four times, twice in House No. 5 and twice in House No. 14, and every concert was well visited, sometimes even by the commandant of the island, who praised the performance, saying he felt as though he was in Queen's Hall.[154] After every concert, there was a collection for the camp welfare fund. Every week, a new program was put together and advertised on the notice board.[155] In passing, Gál also mentions that while he was responsible for the more classical type of music, there were also concerts for popular music, notably by the "Wolf Band", consisting of a violin, a piano and an accordion: "'Heurigen' singers squeeze out 'Wien, Wien, nur du allein' […] to a wrongful piano accompaniment and with a dreadful amount of vocal excess."[156]

The committee was also able to organize a big concert at the Palace Hotel, the seat of the authorities. 2,000 people, almost the whole camp, could fit in the theatre there, but due to a lack of soldiers only half of the seats could be occupied.[157] The changing occupants of the camp resulted in an always changing line-up, but in the end the Huyton Suite was performed in camp at the end of July, and the fellow internees of Huyton were present at the concert. The fourth and last performance of the suite was visited by one of the English officers, Lieutenant Smith, who at the end made a speech, which touched Gál.[158]

Together with Höllering, two last performances in the camp – at least in Gál's presence – were put together. The revue "What a Life!" about their days in internment with music by Gál was written over the span of two weeks, while Gál himself was lying in hospital. The play was written in German and English, texts also contributed by comedians and authors in the camp, with scenes that had actually happened. The music and the performance had again been composed to accommodate what was available in the camp. Gál even translated the songs into English himself. Everyone in the camp could participate as an extra, singers and musicians were carefully selected.[159] The performance was a complete success; the second performance, however, was postponed multiple times, and the time gained was used for a complete revision of the material, even though Gál's condition worsened. For the second performance six pence had to be paid, as they raised money for air raid victims.[160]

152 Gál, Music behind Barbed Wire, p. 86.
153 Hermann (Josef) Ullrich (1888–1982) was a judge and music-critic. In 1946 he returned to Austria.
154 A famous concert hall in London, which was destroyed by a bomb in 1941.
155 Gál, Music behind Barbed Wire, pp. 89, 109.
156 Ibid., pp. 88–90.
157 Ibid., pp. 119–120, 129.
158 Ibid., pp. 124, 134–135.
159 Ibid., pp. 142–143.
160 Ibid., pp. 150–154, 162.

On September 24th, Gál's release had been set to September 27th, the day of the second performance. Every string was pulled so that he could stay a day longer, and it was approved. The whole staff of CPC and even officers from other camps were present at the performance.[161]

Hans Gál left the camp the next day and returned to Edinburgh, where he worked as a janitor and practiced music in his free time. There is no information whether his health improved soon after, but it did eventually and he lived to the high age of 97. Even after the internment life for the family Gál bore its challenges. In 1942 their younger son Peter took his own life at the age of 18. His older brother Franz followed him in 1967. After the war Gál was offered a job in Vienna, which, however, he turned down, as he had obtained a permanent position as a lecturer at the University of Edinburgh. In 1941 the music composed in the camps, the Huyton Suite and the music from "What a Life!" were performed at the Austrian Centre in London. For a long time, he also acted as President of the Society of Musicians as well as President of the Society of Record Players. In 1948, Hans Gál was awarded a honorary doctorate in appreciation of his entire *oeuvre*. In 1958, he was given the Austrian State Prize for composition. The prize money was used to go on a family vacation to Austria. Despite all honors, much of Gál's work was out of print by then, and his music performed seldomly, a fact that is slowly changing now.[162]

5. Conclusion

To finally compare the experiences in the three camps, one must keep in mind that due to different factors, Gál's description of parts of the organization is less detailed. For example, while we can assume that the hospital situation was similar in Huyton and CPC, Gál writes in much greater detail about the last one, as it was central to him during that time.

All three camp administrations had a similar phase of "learning" who it was they were guarding; in Donaldson's hospital the realization brought the greatest changes with it. Next to newspapers and strict separation from prisoners of war, they were even allowed visits, while in Huyton those were rare and in CPC never mentioned (except for the visit to Port Erin). Donaldson's Hospital, in the end, however, cannot quite be compared to the other two camps, as it was just a transit camp, and thus the number of internees there was much smaller, and the time spent there was short. The organization, especially the giving out of numbers and making a name list, was something Gál missed in the other camps. The time there, however, was too short to form a self-government, like it happened in Huyton and CPC.

While the military organization in the last two camps was mostly similar, the people in charge, namely Captain Tanner and the commandant, whose name was never men-

161 Gál, Music behind Barbed Wire, pp. 166–170.
162 Fox-Gál/Fox, Hans Gál. Ein Jahrhundert Musik, pp. 47–55.

tioned, were the factors in which the camps differed the most. Captain Tanner was strict, and to Gál it felt like he made rules for the sake of making rules and internees were given almost no opportunity to organize things for themselves. Those rules, like the ban of books, newspapers, instruments, and the gatherings of more than ten people were grounds for slight resistance as well as the breaking of rules, for example by smuggling in newspapers. The commandant in CPC, while also being somewhat inflexible, after some time allowed a much broader range of freedom in what internees could do and how they could organize themselves. This might have also been because of the exchange of information between the different camps on the Isle of Man.

The systems of the self-government worked, after a few difficulties in the beginning, relatively well in both later camps. Cooperation and communication between the authorities and internees was difficult, and often the latter did not feel heard. This was especially the case in Huyton, where Weissenberg and Gross were mostly used to ensure the discipline of the internees, and later in CPC when Lieutenant Johnson took over the camp administration for a while. The structures of self-government, namely the roles of "House Father", "Camp Speaker" and his deputy that were first formed in Huyton were reused in CPC, which allowed the whole process to be quicker and more efficient. Unlike their military authorities, the internees were experienced in dealing with their situation, like Störmann had been in Huyton, and knew what the camp needed to function. It can be suspected that especially the process of electing a "Camp Speaker" was also in the interest of the camp administration in order to have a contact person. Authorities soon realized that using internees to fulfill the jobs they wanted to do would benefit both parties. This approach ensured that jobs were completed quickly and efficiently, preventing boredom in the camps. This seemed to be especially the strategy in CPC, at least under the administration of the commandant.

In Huyton, the only administrative job the internees were allowed to take on, was the postal service. While CPC later offered more ways for internees to participate in camp life and administrative jobs, such as setting up a law department, an accounting manager, a canteen-master, a welfare office or a representative for medical hardships as well as a way to spend the free time with walks, daily swims in the ocean, a musical life, and the putting together of a card index, Gál missed the "happy days in Huyton"[163]. This can most likely be attributed to his psychological condition during this time, as his and Paunzen's illnesses were getting worse and he was worried about his son Franz, whose whereabouts he did not know about and was afraid, he might have been on the Arandora Star.[164]

Gál does not really mention practicing religious groups in the camp, other than Jews, which is one example of things he does or does not mention because of his personal interest. Card players to him are also mostly side characters, as is the popular music. In Huyton, where almost no instruments were available, he took part in the "camp-university" and describes it in great detail. In CPC, where he was preoccupied with

163 Gál, Music behind Barbed Wire, p. 121.

164 Franz was indeed deported to Canada but had not been on the Arandora Star.

music and his rash, he mentions it only twice. About the hospital and the medical care in Huyton not much can be learned, while in CPC it is naturally a big part of his description.

This paper only scratches on the surface of themes mentioned in Gál's diary, and much more can be extracted, especially in comparison with other internee documents and connected with extensive archival research.

6. Sources and Bibliography

"Fifth Column". Encyclopedia Britannica, 22.5.2023, https://www.britannica.com/topic/fifth-column, accessed 2.3.2024.

Anderson, Martin J., Hans Gál, in: *British Music Society Journal* (1987), pp. 33–44.

Beller, Steven, The City as Integrator. Immigration, Education and Popular Culture in Vienna. 1880–1938, in: *German Politics & Society* 15 (1997), no. 1, pp. 117–139.

Idem., How Modern Were Vienna's Jews? Preconditions of "Vienna 1900" in the World-View of Viennese Jewry. 1860–90, in: *Austrian Studies* 16 (2008), pp. 19–31.

Bird, John C., Control of Enemy Alien Civilians in Great Britain. 1914–1918 (Routledge revivals), New York 2015.

Blumenthal, Rachel/Herskowitz, Daniel M./Mayerhofer, Kerstin (eds.), Constructing and Experiencing Jewish Identity (Baron Lectures. Studies on the Jewish Experience 1), Paderborn 2023.

Brinson, Charmian, "Loyal to the Reich". National Socialists and Others in the Rushen Women's Internment Camp, in: Richard Dove (ed.), "Totally un-English?" Britain's Internment of "Enemy Aliens" in Two World Wars (The Yearbook of the Research Centre for German and Austrian Exile Studies 7), Amsterdam 2005, pp. 101–119.

Civilian Internees of Enemy Nationality (Command 6223), Tate Archive, TGA 8812/1/4/182/10, https://www.tate.org.uk/art/archive/items/tga-8812-1-4-182-10/british-home-office-h-m-stationery-office-home-office-document-entitled-civilian-internees, accessed 4.11.2022.

Colpi, Terri, Chaff in the Winds of War? The Arandora Star, Not Forgetting and Commemoration at the 80th Anniversary, in: *Italian Studies* 75 (2020), no. 4, pp. 389–410.

Debate in the House of Lords, 23.5.1940, The Fifth Column, Hansard vol. 116, https://api.parliament.uk/historic-hansard/lords/1940/may/23/the-fifth-column, accessed 8.9.2022.

Idem., 12.6.1940, The Fifth Column. Position of the BBC, Hansard vol. 116, https://hansard.parliament.uk/lords/1940-06-12/debates/138821c6-c14e-43d1-ab77-f0928578e105/TheFifthColumnPositionofTheBbc, accessed 25.10.2022.

Dig for Victory, British Library, https://www.bl.uk/learning/timeline/item107597.html, accessed 11.10.2022.

Dove, Richard, "A matter which touches the good name of this country", in: Richard Dove (ed.), "Totally un-English?", pp. 11–15.

Idem., "Most Regrettable and Deplorable Things Have Happened". Britain's Internment of Enemy Aliens, in: Hans Gál, Music behind Barbed Wire. A Diary of Summer 1940, London 2014.

Fox-Gál, Eva, Hans Gál. A Biographical Introduction, in: Hans Gál (ed.), Music behind Barbed Wire. A Diary of Summer 1940, London 2014.

Idem./Fox, Anthony, Hans Gál. Ein Jahrhundert Musik (Jüdische Miniaturen, 131), Berlin 2012.

Gál, Hans, Music behind Barbed Wire. A Diary of Summer 1940, London 2014.

Idem., Musik hinter Stacheldraht. Tagebuchblätter aus dem Sommer 1940 (Exil Dokumente. verboten, verbrannt, vergessen 3), Bern–New York 2003.

Gusejnova, Dina, Gegen Deutsches K.Z. Paradies. Thinking about Englishness on the Isle of Man during the Second World War, in: *History of European Ideas* 46 (2020), no. 5, pp. 697–714.

Haas, Michael/Patka, Marcus G. (eds.), Continental Britons. Katalog des Jüdischen Museums der Stadt Wien von 25.2.–2.5.2004, Wien 2004.

International Leprosy Association, in: *International Journal of Leprosy* 6 (1938), no. 1, pp 142–152, here p. 144.

Kempner, Robert M. W., The Enemy Alien Problem in the Present War, in: *The American Journal of International Law* 34 (1940), no. 3, pp. 443–458.

Kershaw, Roger, Collar the Lot! Britain's Policy of Internment during the Second World War, in: The National Archives blog, blog entry 2.7.2015, https://blog.nationalarchives.gov.uk/collar-lot-britains-policy-internment-second-world-war/, accessed 4.11.2022.

Kochan, Miriam, "Women's Experience of Internment", in: David Cesarani/Tony Kushner (eds.), The Internment of Aliens in Twentieth Century Britain, London 1993, pp. 147–166.

National Museum of Australia, Dunera Boys, 2022, https://www.nma.gov.au/defining-moments/resources/dunera-boys, accessed 4.11.2022.

Our London Correspondence. Fifty Thousand Friendly Aliens, in: *The Manchester Guardian*, 15.5.1940, p. 6.

Idem., The Aliens Tribunals, in: *The Manchester Guardian*, 15.5.1940, p. 6.

Panayi, Panikos, Prisoners of Britain. German Civilian and Combatant Internees during the First World War, Manchester–New York 2012.

Idem., Prisoners of War and Internees (Great Britain), 2.12.2020, DOI: 10.15463/ie1418.10296/1.1, accessed 22.3.2024.

Pistol, Rachel, "I can't remember a more depressing time but I don't blame anyone for that". Remembering and Commemorating the Wartime Internment of Enemy Aliens in Britain, in: *Patterns of Prejudice* 53 (2019), no. 1, pp. 37–48.

Idem., Refugees from National Socialism Arriving in Great Britain 1933–1945, 2020, https://www.gale.com/intl/essays/rachel-pistol-refugees-national-socialism-great-britain-1933-1945, accessed 24.11.2023.

Seebohm, H. B., Biographical Notes on Karl Weissenberg, 2.9.2011, https://web.archive.org/web/20110902062504/http://weissenberg.bsr.org.uk/biography.htm, accessed 11.10.2022.

Sponza, Lucio, The Internment of Italians 1940–1945, in: Richard Dove (ed.), "Totally un-English?", pp. 153–165.

The Hans Gál website, http://www.hansgal.org/, accessed 3.10.2022.

The Papers of Karl Weissenberg, University of Cambridge Churchill Archives Centre, GBR/0014/WEIS, https://archivesearch.lib.cam.ac.uk/repositories/9/resources/1891, accessed 11.10.2022.

The University of Edinburg, 2018, https://www.ed.ac.uk/information-services/library-museum-gallery/crc/collections/rare-books-manuscripts/rare-books-directory-section/reid-music, accessed 20.11.2023.

Vice, Sue, British Representations of the Camps, in: *Holocaust Studies* 22 (2016), no. 2–3, pp. 303–317.

Klara Maaß hat das Bachelorstudium Geschichte abgeschlossen und studiert Archäologie im 7. Semester an der Universität Innsbruck. Klara.Maass@student.uibk.ac.at

Zitation dieses Beitrages

Klara Maaß, Management behind Barbed Wire. The Organisation of Internment Life through the Eyes of Hans Gál, in: *historia.scribere* 16 (2024), S. 123–150, http://historia.scribere.at, eingesehen 18.6.2024 (=aktuelles Datum).