

‘Sometimes a little injustice must be suffered for the public good’

How the *National Security (Aliens Control) Regulations 1939 (Cth)* affected the lives of German, Italian, Japanese and Australian born women living in Australia during the Second World War.



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Statement of Originality

The work presented in this thesis is, to the best of my knowledge and belief, original except as acknowledged in the text. I hereby declare that I have not submitted this material, either in full or in part, for a degree at this or any other institution.

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(Signature)

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Abbreviations

ABC	Australian Broadcasting Commission
ACAC	Aliens Classification and Advisory Committee
AJWS	Australian Jewish Welfare Society
ALP	Australian Labor Party
AMF	Australian Military Forces
ARO	Aliens Registration Officer
ASIO	Australian Security Intelligence Branch
AWAS	Australian Women's Auxiliary Services
AWC	Allied Works Council
BBC	British Broadcasting Commission
BHP	Broken Hill Propriety Limited
CAC	Civil Aliens Corps
CCC	Civil Constructional Corps
CIB	Commonwealth Investigation Branch
CPA	Communist Party of Australia
CPF	Commonwealth Police Force
DSO	Defense Security Organisation
IWW	Industrial Workers of the World
MPI	Military Police Intelligence Section
NAA	National Archives of Australia
NSDAP	National Sozialistische Deutsche Arbeiters Partei
POW	Prisoner of War
UELCA	United Evangelical Lutheran Church of Australia
WAAFS	Women's Auxiliary Air Force

ABSTRACT

Throughout Australia's history xenophobic immigration policies and security measures have appeared in times of uncertainty. The implementation of the Anti-Terror laws in 2005 inspired me to carry out research on important security measures introduced at the outbreak of the Second World War in September 1939. Migrants living in Australia became subject to the *National Security (Aliens Control) Regulations 1939* (Cth) introduced by the Commonwealth government. 'Non-British' persons living in Australia were required to register as 'aliens'; nationals from countries with which Australia was at war were classified as 'enemy aliens'. This included all German Italian and Japanese nationals. In addition, Australian women married to enemy aliens lost their British nationality under the *Nationality Act 1920* (Cth) and were required to register as enemy aliens.

This study focuses on five groups of women affected by the legislation: Australian born women of German descent, Italian born women, Australian born women of Japanese descent, German Jewish refugee women, and Australian born women married to Italian nationals. These groups were chosen not only to highlight the various ways in which the Regulations were applied to women of different nationalities, but also to address a gap in the literature on the control and internment of 'alien' women, despite the vast amount of material that was available at the National Archives of Australia (NAA). This thesis is in large part based on archival research. Files on over 700 women were examined, many of which had never before been consulted. I also conducted five interviews, including three women who were registered as enemy aliens during the war.

This dissertation has 3 parts. Part I provides an analysis of the *Aliens Control Regulations* and those who helped administer the laws. It also provides context on the operation of these laws by detailing the experience of Italian women who were detained under the Regulation just moments after Italy entered the war. Part II provides case studies illustrating the diverse ways in which these Regulations were applied. Part III shows women who fell victim to circumstance – German-Jewish refugee women who were wrongly categorized as 'enemy aliens' and Australian born women married to Italian nationals, unaware that they had lost their British status.

The case studies presented in this thesis show that 'war hysteria', discrimination, isolation, racism and victimization were all part of the wartime experience of these women who were caught in the net of the *Aliens Control Regulations*.

Introduction

That a Security Act was essential to cope with subversive activities, should they arise, is obvious. That the Act was administered in a glaringly careless and needlessly harsh manner, is equally obvious. It was moderation where it touched property; it was severity when it touched human freedom.¹

(German national and former South Australian Member of Parliament, Hermann Homburg)

On Saturday, 17 October 2009, I attended a symposium on 150 Years of Italians in Queensland' which was held at Dante Alighieri Society in Brisbane. The symposium was a great success, with many fascinating papers on the history of Italians in Queensland. However, there was one important aspect that stood out that day for me – no paper was given on the experience of Italian women in Queensland during the Second World War.² This omission was emphasised by the fact that at the symposium I had met an Australian woman, Francesca Maria Merenda, born in Innisfail in northern Queensland, of Italian parents. Francesca was interned in Australia during the war just after she turned eighteen years of age. Because of their Italian origin, Francesca and her family were classified as enemy aliens when Italy declared war on the Allies in June 1940. Francesca and I exchanged details and organised a meeting where I interviewed her about her ordeal. I found out that her father Paolo Merenda came to Australia in 1920 and worked at Innisfail cutting sugar cane. Three years later, Paolo's fiancé, Nicoletta, followed him to Australia. Francesca describes how they married in Australia:

Dad's mate who went up with him from Innisfail to Cairns, in those days it was a big trip, you know 1923 I'm talking about. His friend said to him, 'Don't worry Paul', he said, "...look after your fiancée". So Dad arranged to be married that day then go to Innisfail the next day, where he was living and Mum said "Where's my suitcases?" And the fellow said to Dad, "Don't worry I put them on the rail motor, I've sent them down, you don't have to worry about them tomorrow". In the suitcases were

¹ Hermann Homburg was a former South Australian Member of Parliament who was interned during the war because of his involvement in German organizations. H. Homburg, *South Australian Lutherans and Wartime Rumours*. Adelaide: Self Published 1947, p. 93.

² '150 Years of Italians in Queensland' Symposium, Dante Alighieri Society, Brisbane, 17 October 2009.

Mum's bridal frock, her wedding dress and the veil, and she couldn't put them on. So what could she do, a girl could not spend the night with a man not married, so they went and got married in the clothes that she had got off the boat, and then went to Innisfail the next day, then went to the photographer all dressed up and they had their wedding photos taken in their bridal finery, and they sent them to Italy to the family.³

Francesca was born on 16 September 1924. Her parents anglicised her name to Francesca Mary when they registered her as an alien. When Italy entered the war, Francesca's father was arrested for associating with other Italian men who were members of the Fascist Party. He was interned in December 1941. Francesca and her mother were not interned until October 1942. Authorities took their photos and on the night of their arrest, Francesca and her mother slept 'in the gaol house, on the floor with the drunks'.⁴ The next day they were sent to Tatura, in north eastern Victoria, where they would spend 16 months interned at the camp where they were reunited with Paolo. As Francesca described the camp: 'we had barbed wire fences all around us and we had the guards sitting up there with their guns, you know, it was a military camp'.⁵

When asked the reason for her internment, Francesca responded

The Australian Government....They interned me and I read my papers many years later. I was a 'potential spy' and a 'danger to the Commonwealth of Australia' and I believe, this is my belief, it was because I could speak both Italian and English and if anyone needed anything in a little town called Tully in North Queensland, they'd go to my father and he would send me with that person to the Police station or to the - everywhere they had to go and help them out with the language.⁶

It has been over sixty-five years since the end of the Second World War. Yet the history of the German, Italian and Japanese women in Australia who were classified as enemy aliens within the *National Security (Aliens Control) Regulations 1939 (Cth)* during the war remains to be written.

³ Francesca Merenda. Personal Interview. 10 October 2008.

⁴ Francesca Merenda. Personal Interview. 10 October 2008.

⁵ Francesca Merenda. Personal Interview. 10 October 2008.

⁶ Francesca Merenda. Personal Interview. 10 October 2008.

Francesca's interview provides a fascinating perspective on how she was treated during internment and the racial antagonisms that existed during this time. Her story indicated the level of concern the Commonwealth Government had towards enemy aliens during war-time and how authorities interned enemy aliens without any evidence to suggest that they were a potential threat to the nation's security.⁷ Indeed, it is clear from the files held at the National Archives of Australia (NAA) that while authorities tried their best to find evidence to implicate the Merenda family, their failure to produce any did not deter authorities from detaining them.

Like other migrant women who grew up in Australia during war-time, Francesca placed no blame on the Commonwealth Government for her internment, especially when considering the threat of enemy invasion.⁸ However, what Francesca may not have been informed of was that the Commonwealth Government, while drafting legislation, was well aware of the ramifications minority groups would experience as a result of the implementation of the *National Security Act 1939* (Cth). As evidenced in the Second Reading Speech, the issue of national security was a hotly debated topic in Parliament, and as we will see, many argued that minority groups would fall victim to the legislation put forward.

Historiography

The history of these German, Italian and Japanese women has been ignored far too long. Their stories reflect anxieties of Australia's past and are valuable to the understanding of current events in this country. The purpose of this thesis is to ensure that these stories are recognized and not

⁷ German-Jewish refugee Ilona Balog also believed that given the context of threat to Australia's security, anyone foreign would be subject to discrimination. See Chapter Six.

⁸ See Ilona Balog. Personal Interview. 31 October 2008.

forgotten by younger generations. German, Italian and Japanese communities have contributed to Australia's multicultural society and identify these stories as a meaningful part in Australia's history - a history of exclusion based on race.

Australian histories have tended to focus on the internment of men during the Second World War. This study focuses on migrant and Australian-born women who were interned or affected by other key aspects of the *Aliens Control Regulations*. Kay Saunders in her work referred to what has already been done by the government to comprehend this part of our history, including a dinner that was held in Western Australia by the Premier in 1990 and in New South Wales by its Premier in 1992 which only distinguished Italian internment in Australia.⁹ However, there has been no acknowledgement of widespread internment and those affected by the *Aliens Control Regulations* by the Australian War Memorial; there was no official acknowledgement or apology made by the 'Australia Remembers 1945-1995' campaign; the 'Prigioniero Di Guerra: POW Italian migrants Exhibition' at the Liverpool Regional museum in 2005 focused only on the internment of Italian men during the war; and more recently, and there was no recognition of Italian women living in Queensland during the war-time at the '150 Years of Italians in Queensland Symposium' held at the Dante Alighieri Society, Brisbane on 17 October 2009.¹⁰

⁹ K. Saunders and R. Daniels et. al., *Alien Justice: Wartime Internment in Australia and North America*. St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 2000, p. xviii.

¹⁰ Casula Powerhouse Arts Centre and Liverpool Regional Museum. *Prigioniero Di Guerra: POW Italian Migrant's Exhibition*. 2005. Casula Powerhouse Arts Centre and Liverpool Regional Museum, Sydney; and '150 Years of Italians in Queensland' Symposium.

The most significant resource in this study was written by Noel Lamidey. During the early 1970s, acknowledgement of the treatment towards migrants in Australia during the Second World War was highlighted by Lamidey. Lamidey not only helped to administer the *Aliens Control Regulations*, but also headed the Aliens Classification and Advisory Committee (ACAC), established in September 1942, which aimed 'to work in close association with the Director-General of Security on all matters affecting aliens, and to see that our treatment of them did not fall short of that of other allied democratic countries'.¹¹ In 1974, he released three reports that documented amendments that were made to some of the 'major measures taken by legislative enactment and administrative procedure to control aliens' during the Second World War.¹²

The first report, written by Lamidey himself in 1947, was titled 'A Report to the Honourable Arthur A. Calwell H.P. Minister for Immigration upon some Aspects of Aliens Control in Australia During Time of War'. The other two documents were included as attachments. One was a report by Mr Justice Reed, on the internment and control of Italians in Australia and the other by the ACAC titled, 'Interim Report submitted to the right Honourable H.V. Evatt, LL.D., K.C., M.P. the Attorney General of the Commonwealth of Australia', written in March 1943.¹³ These reports are significant because they provide an insight into the Commonwealth Government's stance toward the treatment of enemy aliens during the war. Lamidey believed that the purpose of the publication of the report would be to appeal to

anyone sufficiently interested to seek further and deeper into the matters adverted to herein and to appreciate some of the difficulties inherent in ensuring that even in times of national emergency the reputation of the Commonwealth in its treatment of aliens should not fall below the standard of fairness

¹¹ N. Lamidey, *Aliens Control in Australia 1939-46*. Sydney: N. Lamidey, 1974, p. 4.

¹² Lamidey, *Aliens Control*, p. 1.

¹³ Lamidey, *Aliens Control*.

and reasonableness attained by other Allied countries, reference must be made to the 3 reports of the Aliens Classification and Advisory Committee.¹⁴

Although Lamidey clearly stated his intention in 1943 that the report would be circulated for public discussion, it would not be published for another thirty years.

The date of the publication of his work is vital to our understanding of the Commonwealth Government's attitudes towards migrants in Australia. It was not until March 1974, when Lamidey published the reports himself, that the public finally gained access to it. Archival documents held at the NAA in Canberra reveal that Lamidey completed a draft of this work before its release. He had also tried to have it published in 1967. He sent a copy to the Attorney General's office, which was then sent to the Department of Immigration to be reviewed. Lamidey was anxious for a response. After two months, clearly concerned about the lack of progress, he wrote 'Just in case there is a possibility that the electronic sorting machine is responsible for the absence of any reply to my...letters I write to say I am now at the printing stage and propose to go ahead as quickly as possible'.¹⁵ The Secretary of Attorney General's office, E. J. Hook responded to Lamidey, suggesting that he remove certain passages that implied the report was available for further public scrutiny. The reports were not available to the public and authorities did not want Lamidey to refer to any unanswered questions which may arise in relation to the *Aliens Control Regulations*. Hook responded

Whether these reports had a 'security classification' is, I am sure you will appreciate, not at all conclusive of the question whether they might be released to the public...Whether the reports to which you refer should be made available is a matter which has to be decided by the relevant department in the light of the general Commonwealth policy on access to Commonwealth archives...The second aspect which

¹⁴ Lamidey, *Aliens Control*, p. 2.

¹⁵ Letter from Noel Lamidey addressed to Secretary of Attorney General's office, E.J. Hook, 4 March 1967. See 'Report by Mr N W Lamidey on alien control in time of war'. A432/1661/2232, NAA, Canberra.

troubles me is the extent to which your manuscript discloses, in many places, the detailed operations and conclusions of the Committee...knowledge at the time could, of course, be freely used although I suggest that it would be very useful if you were able to indicate references to published sources.¹⁶

It appears that the Commonwealth Government avoided the publication of Lamidey's report. The report was suppressed by the Commonwealth Government, who requested that certain details be omitted and not disclosed to the Australian public. Lamidey did not publish the report until seven years later, which happened to be the same year in which the report was made public by the National Archives of Australia (NAA). It is quite possible that Lamidey did not share the same views of the Commonwealth Government during the late 1960s and chose to wait until the report was made public in 1974.

Although he was limited to the amount of opinion he was allowed to provide, it is clear that Lamidey's conclusions on migration were informed by the lessons learned from troubled areas of the world. The late 1960s saw the war in Asia, which was attracting considerable attention to the management of the Commonwealth Governments' immigration policies. Regarding his role as head of the Assimilation Division of the Department of Immigration, Lamidey wrote that these 'are all valuable documents with respect to Australia's war-time history and to an understanding of the background from which derived Australian post-war immigration policy and attitudes to immigrants when they arrived'.¹⁷ These documents 'not only represent a segment of Australia's history but

¹⁶ Draft letter from the Secretary of Attorney General's office, E.J. Hook to Noel Lamidey, 18 May 1967. See 'Report by Mr N W Lamidey on alien control in time of war'. A432/1661/2232, NAA, Canberra.

¹⁷ Lamidey, *Aliens Control*, Preface, unpaginated.

emphasises to scholars and researchers the problems which had to be faced in our treatment of the Alien community in the turbulent years of the Second World War'.¹⁸

After the war ended, the Commonwealth Government considered the low population of the country to be a security risk, and in order to protect the nation, Australia had to 'populate or perish'. The ACAC report that was prepared for Labor politician and later Minister for Immigration in 1945, Arthur Calwell, stated the need for both an increase in population through large scale immigration, and consequently the need for a ministry to oversee it:

This was the first time in Australia's history that migration had come to be regarded as of sufficient importance to warrant Ministerial ranking in its own right...But we had learnt our lesson and realised that without a vast immigration we would as a nation remain in the world's backwater; if indeed we did not sink altogether.¹⁹

Lamidey was always concerned about the effects of war-time legislation and issues regarding immigration policies. Lamidey and his family moved to London where he took on his new position appointed by Calwell as Chief Migration Officer in 1946. In his memoirs, Lamidey was hopeful that what happened during the war would never occur again, and that Australian society would learn from past experiences.²⁰ He wrote in his report:

it may also in some minor manner help us all to realise that continued progress by mankind in the search for peace can be helped considerably by increased knowledge, tolerance and understanding in human relations rather than by death and destruction caused by the war.²¹

Calwell justified the Commonwealth Government's actions to control aliens by claiming that while the war continued, the control of aliens 'may have been inevitable, for war as the democracies

¹⁸ Lamidey, *Aliens Control*, Preface, unpaginated.

¹⁹ N. Lamidey, *Partial Success: my years as a public servant*. Hunters Hill: N.W. Lamidey, 1970, p. 29.

²⁰ See Lamidey, *Partial Success*.

²¹ Lamidey, *Aliens Control*, p. 5.

wage it is largely an affair of improvisation, and in urgent situations which demand prompt and effective action there is little time to weigh the niceties of human rights'.²² However, Calwell did state there must never be another need for war-time measures regarding the control of aliens. He argued:

It would be folly...to ignore the lessons of the war years. Mistakes were made during those years, and machinery devised in all good faith was sometimes found to be too cumbersome or otherwise defective. All thoughtful Australians realize that if we are to hold this Continent, the population must be greatly increased, and with increase immigration must become a subject of first importance.²³



Figure 1: Noel Lamidey as Chief Migration Officer in 1950

'Immigration - Department of Immigration officers - Noel W. Lamidey, CMO (Chief Migration Officer), London 1947-1953, London Processing Section'. A12111/ 2/1950/35A/1, NAA, Canberra.



Figure 2: Arthur Calwell in 1940

National library of Australia, Arthur Calwell. [<http://nla.gov.au/nla.pic-vn3663850-v>]. Date Unknown. Accessed: 25 March 2012.

²² Lamidey, *Aliens Control: 'A Report to the Honourable Arthur A. Calwell H.P. Minister for Immigration upon some Aspects of Aliens Control in Australia During Time of War, 1947'*, p. 1. Calwell wrote in 1947, 'I believe that on the whole the record of Commonwealth in the respect of aliens' control is very creditable. The restrictive measures adopted were under constant consideration, and the relevant regulations were revised from time to time to remove the more obvious injustices'. [Lamidey, *Aliens Control*, p. 1].

²³ Lamidey, *Aliens Control*, p. 2.

Other important works that focus on Australian war-time history were written by Paul Hasluck, who was an official historian of the Second World War, before entering the realm of politics. He became Governor General in 1969. Hasluck was commissioned by the Commonwealth Government to write twenty two volumes of Australia's involvement in the war. Two volumes were completed before he entered politics. In the first volume, Hasluck wrote that the most important security measure during the first six months of war had been the internment of enemy aliens, along with other measures which included the registration of all aliens and the restrictions on their travel and movement.²⁴

In spite of signalling their importance in this early work, Hasluck neglected the issue of security measures in subsequent volumes, devoting only six pages to 'The Wartime Treatment of Aliens' as an appendix to his volume *The Government and the People, 1939-1941*.²⁵ Michael McKernan, in his 1983 book *All In!: Fighting the War at Home*, scarcely mentioned the *Aliens Control Regulations* and argued that they had an insignificant impact on the lives of aliens living in Australia. McKernan claimed that most enemy aliens 'were free to come and go as they pleased, subject to a few restraints such as reporting their movements to local police'.²⁶ In contrast, I will argue that the German, Italian and Japanese women were subject to more than 'a few restraints', and that these had an adverse impact on their civil liberties.

²⁴ See P. Hasluck, *The Government and the People, 1939-1941: Volume One*. Canberra: Australian War Memorial, 1952 and P. Hasluck, *The Government and the People, 1942-1945: Volume Two*. Canberra: Australian War Memorial, 1970.

²⁵ See Appendix 4 Hasluck, *Volume One*, pp. 593-98.

²⁶ M. McKernan, *All In!: Fighting the War at Home*. St. Leonards: Allen and Unwin, 1983, p. 33.

It was not until the last three decades that the issue of how war-time internment policy affected enemy aliens living in Australia became a point of discussion for historians. There have also been a number of published works on internment in other countries. Comparisons with these studies are beyond the scope of the present work.²⁷ Margaret Bevege's book *Behind Barbed Wire: Internment in Australia during World War II*, was one of the first to provide an account of internment in Australia. There were many criticisms of her work. Ilma Martinuzii O'Brien, for example, criticized the fact that Bevege seems to regard internment as a 'relatively benign experience', on the grounds that 'the internees were not mistreated by their guards'.²⁸ Bevege has also been criticized by Andrew Moore for providing 'little evidence of light and shade and few suggestions of fascists being confused with anti-fascists'.²⁹ However, Bevege's work must be recognised because of the internment studies that followed during the 1980s and 1990s, generating much interest in the topic.

²⁷ See Alinder, Jasmine. *Moving Images: Photography and the Japanese American Incarceration*. Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2009; C.C. Aronsfeld, 'Jewish Enemy Aliens in England during the First World War.' *Jewish Social Studies* Volume 18 Issue 4, 1956, pp. 275-83; J. A. Bennett, 'Japanese Wartime Internees in New Zealand: Fragmenting Pacific Island Families.' *The Journal of Pacific History*, Volume 44, Issue 1, 2009, pp. 61-76; T. Kushner, 'Clubland, Cricket Tests and Alien Internment, 1939-40.' *Immigrants & Minorities*, Volume 11, Issue 3, 1992, pp. 79-101; K. McAllister, 'Photographs of a Japanese Canadian Internment camp: mourning loss and invoking a future.' *Visual Studies*, Volume 21, Issue 2, 2006, pp. 133-56; P. Panayi, et. al, *Minorities in Wartime: national and Racial Groupings in Europe, North America and Australia during the Two World Wars*. Oxford: Berg publishers Limited, 1993; D. Saunders, 'Aliens in Britain and the Empire during the First World War.' *Immigrants & Minorities*, Volume 4, Issue 1, 1985, pp. 5-27; K. Saunders and R. Daniels et. al, *Alien Justice*; J. Stewart, 'Angels or Aliens? Refugee Nurses in Britain, 1938 to 1942.' *Medical History*, Volume 47, 2003, pp. 149-72.

²⁸ Elkner, *Enemy Aliens*, p. 16.

²⁹ A. Moore, '...when the caretaker's busy taking care'? Cross-currents in Australian political surveillance and internment, 1935-1941' in Saunders and Daniels et.al., *Alien Justice*, p. 49.

Authors that have dominated the topic of internment since Bevege's publication, include Kay Saunders and O'Brien.³⁰ Most have focused on a particular ethnicity from a specific location, with the exception of publications from Bevege and more recently, Beaumont, O'Brien and Trinca's edited *Under Suspicion: Citizenship and Internment in Australia during the Second World War* which covers the experience of all three ethnicities, German, Italian and Japanese.³¹ Though similar to the work presented in this thesis, this edition only provides a collection of the case studies of ten individuals who were incarcerated during the Second World War.

Issues such as ethnic minorities and racial profiling in Australia have become topical due to contemporary events. Most publications have discussed biographical accounts of those who were incarcerated, focusing primarily on men interned during the war, and more recently, internment issues that relate to citizenship and national security.³² As Christina Twomey recently described it,

³⁰ K. Saunders, 'Discovering' the Subversive and the Saboteur: The Disjuncture between official records of internment policy and practice and the remembered experiences of internees in Australia in the Second World War.' *Oral History Association of Australia Journal*, Volume 13, 1991; Saunders, *War on the Homefront*; K. Saunders, 'Down on the farm: Italian POWs in Australia 1941-47'. *Journal of Australian Studies*, Volume 19, Issue 46, 1995; K. Saunders, 'The stranger in our gates: Internment Policies in the United Kingdom and Australia during the Two World Wars, 1014-39.' *Immigrants & Minorities*, Volume 22, Issue 1, 2003; K. Saunders and Daniels *et. al*, *Alien Justice*; and K. Saunders, and H. Taylor, 'The Enemy Within? The Process of Internment of Enemy Aliens in Queensland 1939-45.' *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, Volume 34, Issue 1, 1988.

³¹ See J. Beaumont, I. M. O'Brien and M. Trinca, *et. al*, *Under Suspicion: Citizenship and Internment in Australia during the Second World War*. Canberra: National Museum of Australia, 2008 & Bevege, *Behind Barbed Wire: Internment in Australia during World War II*. St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1993.

³² Bevege, *Behind Barbed Wire*; K. Saunders, *War on the Homefront: State Intervention in Queensland 1938-1948*. St Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1993; R. Bosworth and R. Ugolini *et. al.*, *War, Internment and Mass Migration: The Italo-Australian Experience 1940-1990*. Roma: Gruppo Editoriale Internazionale, 1992; Y. Nagata, *Unwanted Aliens: Japanese Internment in Australia*. St Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1996; and Beaumont, *Under Suspicion*.

the issue of internment has raised questions of 'race, citizenship and rights'.³³ Australian Citizenship did not officially exist until 1948. However, as it happened, obtaining official citizenship did not necessarily change things. Research has shown that British citizenship status was no protection from the label 'enemy alien'. As O'Brien shows, 'the absence of a separate Australian citizenship encouraged the development of a racialised construction of British subjecthood in some sections of Australian society, and that boundaries were often drawn to exclude people from non-British origin'.³⁴

There have been many cases of people naturalized as British subjects under the *Nationality Act 1920* (Cth) who were interned or placed under restrictions during the war.³⁵ As we will see, women who were married to Italian men, as well as Australian-born women of Japanese descent, were subject to the *Aliens Control Regulations* despite their British nationality. The collection of their stories in this study maintains the argument presented by O'Brien, who claimed that Australian citizens were deprived of their civilian liberties and in most cases, incarcerated without trial.³⁶

Work on Nazism and Italian fascism in Australia is also relevant to this thesis. Emily Graham-Turner and Gianfranco Cresciani have written books on Nazism and fascism that provide background for the experience of German and Italian women in Australia. The topic of fascism among Italians

³³ C. Twomey, 'In the Front Line?': Internment and Citizenship Entitlements in the Second World War.' *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, Volume 53, Issue 2, 2007, p. 194.

³⁴ C. Elkner, I. M. O'Brien, G. Rando and A. Cappello, *Enemy Aliens: The Internment of Italian Migrants in Australia during the Second World War*. Adelaide: Connor Court Publishing, 2005, p. 17.

³⁵ Beaumont et. al., *Under Suspicion*, p. 11.

³⁶ I. M. O'Brien, 'Citizenship, Rights and Emergency Powers in Second World War Australia.' *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, Volume 53, Issue 2, 2007, p. 207.

residing in Australia has been largely dominated by Cresciani.³⁷ Very little work has concentrated on Nazism in Australia, however, Turner-Graham has produced one of the first detailed cultural study of Nazi ideology during the inter war period in Australia.³⁸ More recently, David Brown has published work on fascism in Queensland.³⁹ The literature concerning fascism and Nazism provided the ideological context for the treatment of German and Italian communities throughout the war period. Many German and Italian women in this study were aware of fascism and Nazism. The stories presented show that there were indeed Australian German and Italian women who sympathized with the Nazi and fascist causes. The ramifications of this will be discussed further in Chapters Two and Three.

Among the useful primary sources on Germans settling in Australia is Charles Prices' work *German Settlers in South Australia* (published 1945). Price specialized in international migration and ethnic minorities in Australia. He explained that the purpose of his work was to demonstrate:

³⁷ See G. Cresciani, *Fascism, Anti-Fascism and Italians in Australia 1922-1945*. Canberra: Australian University Press, 1980; G. Cresciani, 'Captivity in Australia: the case of the Italian Prisoners of war, 1940-1947.' *Studi Emigrazione*, Volume 26, 1989; G. Cresciani, *The Italians in Australia*. Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 2003; G. Cresciani, *Transfield: The First Fifty Years*. Sydney: ABC, 2006; G. Cresciani, 'Refractory Migrants. Fascist Surveillance on Italians in Australia 1922-1943.' *Italian Historical Society Journal*, Volume 15, 2007. Other works on Nazi ideology in Australia include G. Gimpl, and R. Kleinig. *The Rise and Fall of Australia's No. 1 Nazi*. Melbourne: Brulga Publishing Pty Ltd, 2007; and K. Neumann, Chapter Seven 'Victims of 'unnecessary hardship and mental torture': Walter Stolting, Wolf Klaphake, and other incompatibles in wartime Australia' in Beaumont, *Under Suspicion*.

³⁸ See E. Turner-Graham, 'Never forget that you are a German': *Die Brücke, Deutschtum and National Socialism in Australia*. University of Melbourne: unpublished thesis, 2006.

³⁹ D. Brown, 'Fascism within the pre World War II Italian Population of Queensland: a study of community processes and interaction.' *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, Volume 93, Issue 1, 2007; and D. Brown, 'The Case of the Brisbane Fascio: The transnational politics of the Italian Fascist Party.' *History Australia*, Volume 6, Issue 1, 2009.

The extent to which members of the Nazi Party delayed the absorption process in Australia by spreading amongst Australian-born Germans the Nazi Volksgedanke—the theory that blood overrides nationality and that all Germans abroad must retain their connection with the German ‘racial’ community.⁴⁰

Without any concrete evidence, Price claimed that the Nazi Party was a hindrance towards the ‘absorption process’. My research has discovered that though there were Nazi sympathizers, especially in South Australia, very few explicitly supported Nazi Germany. An Australian-born man of German descent, Hermann Homburg, former South Australian Parliamentarian and influential figure among the German community in South Australia, wrote *South Australian Lutherans and Wartime Rumours* in response to Price’s work, arguing that German organizations were preserving German culture and there was ‘no record in this State of sabotage, treason or anything subversive by any of its citizens, whatever their ancestry’.⁴¹ While many women in this study were conserving German culture, they were clearly also supporters of Nazism. Despite this revelation, the numbers of members of the organization were so low that there was no real threat to the spread of Nazism among the remaining German community.

Suzanne Rutland and Paul Bartrop have written articles concerning German-Jewish refugees who settled in Australia. These works highlighted the bigotry that was experienced by this last group, the German-Jewish aliens, upon their arrival in Australia. Bartrop wrote about the flaws that existed within the process of alien registration.⁴² These articles and biographical experiences help provide

⁴⁰ C. A. Price, *German Settlers in South Australia*. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1945, pp. 40-1.

⁴¹ Homburg, *South Australian Lutherans*, p. 93.

⁴² S. Rutland, ‘Australian Responses to Jewish Refugee Migration before and after World War II.’ *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, Volume 31, Issue 1, 1985; S. Rutland, ‘Postwar Anti-Jewish Refugee Hysteria: A Case of Racial or Religious Bigotry?’ *Sojourners and Strangers, Journal of Australian Studies*, Volume 77, 2003; and P. Bartrop, ‘Enemy Aliens or Stateless Persons? The Legal Status of Refugees from Germany in Wartime Australia.’ *Journal of the Australian Jewish Historical Society*, Volume 10, Issue 4, 1988.

background information concerning German-Jews in Australia during the war-time, particularly because this thesis argues that German-Jewish settlers in Australia were wrongfully classified as enemy aliens and should not have been affected by war-time legislation.

Other resources are concerned with German, Italian and Japanese migration. There have been countless texts on German and Italian pre-war and post war migration which helped provide an insight into the migratory patterns and cultural values of these women.⁴³ Due to the lack of Asian population during the early twentieth century, most scholarship concerning Asian migration and cultural patterns focused on the strict immigration policies that existed. Authors Nagata, Pam Oliver and Neville Meaney have become renowned for their work on Japanese in Australia, producing helpful and informative work on Japanese in Australia before and after federation.⁴⁴

⁴³ W.D Borrie, *Italians and Germans in Australia: A Study of Assimilation*. Melbourne: The Australian University, F.W. Cheshire, 1954; A. Diana, 'Italian women in Australia.' *Affarisocialiinternazionali*, Volume 16, Issue 2, 1988; M. Mennicken-Coley, *The Germans in Western Australia: Innovators, Immigrants, Internees*. Western Australia: Mt Lawley: Cross print, 1993; D. O'Connor, *No need to be afraid: Italian settlers in South Australia between 1839 and the Second World War*. Adelaide: Wakefield Press, 1996; D. Phillips, 'The Effect of Immigration on the Family: The Case of Italians in Rural Australia.' *The British Journal of Sociology*, Volume 26, Issue 2, 1975; Price, *German Settlers*; C. A. Price, *Jewish Settlers in Australia*. Canberra: The Australian National University, 1964; N. Randazzo, and M. Cigler. *The Italians in Australia*. Melbourne: AE Press, 1987;

⁴⁴ See P. Oliver, 'Japanese Relationships in White Australia: The Sydney Experience to 1941'. *History Australia*, Volume 4: Issue 1, 2007; P. Oliver, 'Who is One of Us? (Re) Discovering the Inside-out of Australia's Japanese Immigrant Communities, 1901-1957'. *Japanese Studies*, Volume 22, Issue 3, 2002; P. Jones and P. Oliver, *Changing histories: Australia and Japan*. Melbourne: Monash University Press, 2001; M. Auckland and P. Oliver et., al, *Unexpected encounters: Neglected histories behind the Australia-Japan relationship*. Melbourne: Monash University Press, 2007; P. Oliver, "Citizens without certificates or enemy aliens? Japanese residents before 1947" in Beaumont *Under Suspicion*; and A. Shnukal, G. Ramsay & Y. Nagata et. al., *Navigating Boundaries: The Asian Diaspora in Torres Strait*. Canberra: Pandanus Books, 2004; Nagata, *Unwanted Aliens*; Y. Nagata, Chapter Eight 'Native patriotism: the internment of Moshi Inagaki in Australia during the Second World War', in Beaumont *Under Suspicion*; and N. Meaney, *Towards a New Vision: Australia and Japan across time*. Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 2007.

‘Sometimes a little injustice must be suffered for the public good’

The title of this dissertation ‘Sometimes a little injustice must be suffered for the public good’, was taken from a comment made by Assistant Treasurer of the Menzies government, Percy Claude Spender in the House of Representatives on 8 September 1939 regarding his support for the National Security Bill 1939 (Cth).⁴⁵ The title captures the essence of the case studies that are provided in this thesis, which highlight the effects that the *National Security Act* had on migrant women, especially German, Italian, Japanese and Australian-born women designated as ‘enemy aliens’, living in Australia during the Second World War.



Figure 3: Sir Percy Claude Spender, 1937

Adam Carr, ‘Members of the Australian House of Representative’. Date Unknown, [http://psephos.adam-carr.net/countries/a/australia/membersgallery/repsgallery1946.shtml]. Date Accessed: 25 March 2012.

Non-British subjects were required to register as aliens while those who ‘possessed the nationality of a State of War with His Majesty; or being Stateless at any time possessed such a nationality’

⁴⁵ Commonwealth, – *Second Reading Speech*, House of Representatives, 8 September 1939, 237 (Percy Claude Spender).

were required to register as enemy aliens.⁴⁶ When war first broke out Germans living in Australia were classified as enemy aliens and most men were rounded up to be interned. As the war progressed, Italians and Japanese were also categorised as enemy aliens. The general rule was that women were not to be interned, with the exception of the Japanese. All Japanese - men, women, and children - were interned after the bombing of Pearl Harbour. I will argue that the *Aliens Control Regulations* were subjectively applied, referring to the various case studies presented in this dissertation.

The *Aliens Control Regulations* were formed under the *National Security Act*. The *Aliens Control Regulations* were implemented to control individuals and organizations affiliated with fascism and Nazism that could influence non-British persons living in Australia and was concerned with their travel and movement. The Executive arm of Commonwealth Government gave local authorities control over an alien's place of residence; internment; control over their possessions and employment; control over assembly, and propaganda.⁴⁷ However, this was not the first time that intelligence authorities targeted migrants and political dissidents living in Australia.

Pam Oliver suggested that one of the main reasons why innocent men and women were caught up in the legislation was because of poor intelligence gathering during the Second World War.⁴⁸ The lack of organization in Australia's war-time security service was articulated by Lamidey:

It would be a fair comment I think to say that the Second World War caught Australia hopelessly unprepared insofar as National security was concerned...we were without a National security

⁴⁶ Lamidey, *Aliens Control: 'Report to the Honourable Arthur A. Calwell'* (1947), p. 5.

⁴⁷ See *Statutory Rules made under Commonwealth Acts during the year 1939*. Canberra: Government of Australia, 1939.

⁴⁸ P. Oliver, 'Interpreting 'Japanese Activities' in Australia, 1888-1945.' *Journal of the Australian War Memorial*, Volume 36, 2002.

organization...the need for a coordinate central body properly equipped to deal with all aspects of security and intelligence at both national and international level was non-existent. This need had been seen over the years by many far-sighted people since the termination of the First World War but by the time the Second World War was upon us it had not been bought into the realm of practical politics.⁴⁹

The lack of security organization is evidently attributed to the inconsistent application of the *Aliens Control Regulations* towards German, Italian and Japanese women.

The Commonwealth Investigation Branch (CIB) was established within the Attorney General's Department in 1919, after the First World War ended, as the Commonwealth Government's sole intelligence investigative body (See Appendix Two).⁵⁰ It was not until March 1941, during the Second World War, that Australia's war-time security was revamped as a more central organization. The CIB consisted of inspectors who were located in each city across Australia, responsible to the Director of the CIB, Major Harold Edward Jones. Appendix Three shows that Jones was responsible to the Secretary of the Attorney General's Office, who was then responsible to the Prime Minister and Minister for Defence.⁵¹ The role of the CIB was to investigate 'alleged offences against Commonwealth Acts and matters of departmental concern'.⁵²

⁴⁹ Lamidey, *Partial Success*, p. 28.

⁵⁰ F. Cain, *The Origins of Political Surveillance in Australia*. Melbourne: Angus & Robertson Publishers, 1983, p. xiii.

⁵¹ Cain, *Origins of Political Surveillance*, p. xiii.

⁵² C.D. Coulthard-Clark, 'Australia's Wartime Security Service'. *Defence Force Journal*, Volume 16, Issue May/June, 1979, p. 23. Jones negotiated 'a role for the Branch as agent for the Department of Home and Territories to investigate and make recommendations on all naturalization and some immigration applications'. Jones was hoping that more work would be provided for the Branch and it would provide 'access to record concerning Australia's alien population'. [D. Dutton, 'The Commonwealth Investigation Branch and the Political Construction of the Australian Citizenry, 1920-40*'. *Labour History*, Volume 75, 1998, p. 156].

The Army was responsible for censorship matters, but censorship of the press was handed over to the Chief Publicity Censor who reported to the Minister for Information.⁵³ In 1938, as the country was heading closer to war, a special squad of thirty police officers was formed under military control and Army officers were placed in full time positions in Police Headquarters where they directed intelligence work. These positions later became known as the Military Police Intelligence Section (MPI).⁵⁴ The CIB handed over responsibilities for security activities to the MPI. Although there was no central surveillance organization at the time, plans for censorship and the internment of enemy aliens were already established while the War Book was being drafted.⁵⁵ This enabled 'preparations to be made in advance of war, including the drafting of initial control regulations and orders'.⁵⁶ The purpose of the War Book was 'to facilitate the transition from peace to war, by settling down the administrative actions that will be taken in the early stages of a war emergency; indicating which Department or other Authority is responsible for action laid down in each field'.⁵⁷

At the outbreak of war in September 1939, the Commonwealth Government introduced the *Aliens Control Regulations*. The main objective was 'to ensure that aliens, resident in Australia, enemy and otherwise, could in no way become a danger to the country nor impede the progress of the war

⁵³ Cain, *Origins of Political Surveillance*, p. 260. The main aim of censorship was to 'prevent leakage of information' and to 'provide a source of information'. [Cain, *Origins of Political Surveillance*, p. 260.]

⁵⁴ Coulthard-Clark, 'Australia's Wartime Security Service', p. 23.

⁵⁵ NAA, 'Series notes for series D1614'. Date unknown,
[<http://naa12.naa.gov.au/scripts/SeriesDetail.asp?M=3&B=D1614>. Accessed: 18 April 2005]

⁵⁶ NAA, 'Series notes for series D1614'. Date unknown,
[<http://naa12.naa.gov.au/scripts/SeriesDetail.asp?M=3&B=D1614>. Accessed: 18 April 2005]

⁵⁷ NAA, 'Series notes for series D1614'. Date unknown,
[<http://naa12.naa.gov.au/scripts/SeriesDetail.asp?M=3&B=D1614>. Accessed: 18 April 2005].

either individually or in association with others'.⁵⁸ The definition of the term 'alien' captured 'any person over the age of 16 years other than a person who is a British subject within the meaning of the *Nationality Act 1920-36*'.⁵⁹

The *Nationality Act* allowed for migrants to become British subjects through naturalization. Naturalisation was made more difficult to obtain by non-white aliens, particularly Japanese residents. The alien had to have resided in Australia for five years. Even when naturalized, they were entitled to very few legal rights. Non-white British subjects were 'specifically denied entitlements by provisions in a range of discriminatory legislation'.⁶⁰ Under the Commonwealth Immigration Act and the Criminal Act, those who were not born in Australia were still liable to be deported for 'treason-like activities'.⁶¹ Because of the racist immigration laws that existed, 'British subjecthood was of no benefit to non-white people in Australia'.⁶² This was also the case for many naturalized German and Italian migrants during the war. As Ted Cantle has argued, nationality can be won or lost, as allegiances change, through exceptional circumstances, or through marriage and

⁵⁸ Lamidey, *Aliens Control*, p. 1.

⁵⁹ Lamidey, *Aliens Control: 'Aliens Classification and Advisory Committee, Interim Report Submitted to The Right Honourable H.V. Evatt, LL.D., K.C., M.P. The Attorney General of the Commonwealth of Australia'* (1943), p. 5.

⁶⁰ J. Chersterman, 'Natural-Born Subjects? Race and British Subjecthood in Australia.' *Australian Journal of Politics and History* Volume 51, Issue 1, 2005, p. 32. See also *The Acts of Parliament of the Commonwealth of Australia passed during the year 1920*, in portion of the first session of the eighth parliament of the Commonwealth. Albert J. Mulleti, Government Printer of the State of Victoria, 1920, p. 146.

⁶¹ Chersterman, 'Natural-Born Subjects?', p. 33.

⁶² Chersterman, 'Natural-Born Subjects?', p. 33.

by adoption in respect of children.⁶³ During the Second World War, Australian women who married German, Italian and Japanese men lost their British nationality.⁶⁴

The Commonwealth approached the difficult task of trying to protect the nation from enemy invasion while maintaining the rights of civilians. The National Security Bill was introduced by Prime Minister Robert Menzies as a national response to Germany's declaration of war on 3 September:

This Bill is designed to make provision for the safety and defence of the Commonwealth and of its territories during the present state of war. It is a far reaching measure which gives extensive powers to the government and in that respect follows the model of legislation with which most honorable members are already familiar...The unhappy circumstance by which we find ourselves at war... makes it once more necessary that very great powers should be obtained in order to deal promptly and effectively with the various problems that will arise in relation to national defence...there must be as little interference with individual rights as is consistent with concerted national effort.⁶⁵



Figure 4: Sir Robert Gordon Menzies in 1939

'Sir Robert Gordon Menzies'. Encyclopedia of World Biography, 2004. [http://www.encyclopedia.com/topic/Sir_Robert_Gordon_Menzies.aspx]. Accessed: 25 March 2012.

⁶³ T. Cante, *Community Cohesion: A New Framework for Race and Diversity*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005, p. 116.

⁶⁴ See *the Acts of Parliament of the Commonwealth of Australia passed during the year 1920*, p. 146.

⁶⁵ Commonwealth, *Hansard – Second Reading Speech*, House of Representatives, 7 September 1939, 163 (Robert Gordon Menzies).

Author Margaret Bevege wrote 'even if basic legal rights were potentially suspendable, it does not follow that legal form was overturned with the outbreak of war. It was not the intention of the Commonwealth Government, or the Military Board, to act repressively'.⁶⁶ However, parliamentary debates regarding the National Security Bill show that the Members of Parliament were aware of the effects that the legislation would have on minority groups. For example, Labor Member of Parliament John Solomon Rosevear (Dalley, New South Wales) stated:

We were assured by the Prime Minister yesterday that that we were waging war, not against the German people, but against the German dictatorship and the Government, yet, if this Bill is passed in its present form, we shall also be waging war, on a smaller scale, in Australia against many people who, by the accident of birth, are German. Some of these people may have been naturalised and loyal subjects of Australia for many years. Yet an open invitation is being offered to smash their businesses and to deprive them of their worldly goods merely of the say-so of any officer who may be appointed under the regulation-making power under this Bill. But the danger is not confined to enemy subjects. Many Australian people may be deprived of their worldly goods, and their whole future may be placed in jeopardy, merely because some official may have a set against them.⁶⁷

The election of the Australian Labor Party (ALP) in 1941 did not change the Commonwealth Governments approach to enemy aliens despite their opposition toward the introduction of the National Security Bill in 1939. The ALP's stance against enemy aliens was consistent, especially due to the heightened security threat to Australia's north. The Commonwealth Government was well aware of the potential ramifications of the legislation on minority groups. The most disturbing comment made during the Second Reading Speech in Parliament that belittled the deprivation of liberty was made by Member of Parliament Victor Charles Thompson (New England, New South Wales), who proclaimed:

We know from our experience of the last war that it is absolutely necessary for this Parliament to delegate a great part of its constitutional powers, which are made constitutional largely by dicta of the High Court, to the Executive for the time being...I well remember the operation of the War Precautions Act. Although the legislation was irksome in some respect it did not leave any permanent scars of the feelings of the

⁶⁶ Bevege, *Behind Barbed*, p. 27.

⁶⁷ Commonwealth, *Hansard – Second Reading Speech*, House of Representatives, 7 September 1939, 173 (John Soloman Rosevear).

people of this country. As soon as the war was over, whatever irritations had been caused by it when forgotten by the great majority of people.⁶⁸

Some historians have excused the Commonwealth's treatment of enemy aliens in Australia by comparing the treatment of internees to prisoners of war overseas, or the horrors of concentration camps. Italian historian Gianfranco Cresciani wrote that

Internment was a trauma both for Italians who were interned and for those who were allowed to retain their freedom, to pursue a life which could by no means be called normal...in comparative terms, the material conditions of captivity in Australia were vastly better than those endured by Allied prisoners at Coltaro, Italy, Colditz, Chengi or Dacheu. The psychological, mental and physical stress of long years of confinement, isolation and meaningless life left an enduring mark on their characters.⁶⁹

Yet, as Cate Elkner wrote

"we were not as bad as genocidal dictators overseas" is weak, as excuses go, and...that beneath the generality of 'not too bad' treatment in a distant sideshow in history's worst war, real Australian people suffered needless injustice from petty bureaucracy and small-minded suspicion.⁷⁰

This injustice is evidenced in the following chapters presented on German, Italian, Japanese and Australian-born women who were married to enemy aliens living in Australia during the Second World War. Bevege argued that there

was no significant political or press campaign against aliens during World War II. The lack of public campaign is attributable to the cool-headedness and commitment to fair play exhibited by the Prime Ministers, R.G. Menzies and John Curtin, who never engaged in alien baiting themselves, and publicly

⁶⁸ Commonwealth, *Hansard - Second Reading Speech*, House of Representatives, 7 September 1939, 176 & 177 (Mr Thompson).

⁶⁹ Cresciani, *The Italians in Australia*, pp. 105 and 111.

⁷⁰ Elkner et. al., *Enemy Aliens*, p. iv. The British government have also excused the treatment towards enemy aliens by referring to the mistreatment of aliens in the United States. T. Kushner referred to an review by Max Betoff of W. Mose 'If one looks at the treatment by the United States of its citizens of Japanese descent, with no substantial threat of invasion, the British decision about internment becomes easier to understand'. [T. Kusher, 'Clubland, Cricket Tests', p. 79].

denounced it in others. They were supported by senior ministers such as P.C. Spender and Dr Evatt. But internment was not directly in these men's hands, nor did their attitude make them popular.⁷¹

Bevege may have argued that the internment policy was not in these men's hands directly, but by implementing legislation that passed absolute powers to investigative authorities during a time of crisis, these men can be held accountable for the impact the *Aliens Control Regulations* had on the women under study. The inconsistent application of the *Aliens Control Regulations* towards these women poses many questions about the administration of justice and the intelligence officers in charge.

Methodology

This study is based on archival research. Using the NAA online catalogue search function, documents which were held at the NAA in Sydney, Adelaide, Perth, Brisbane and Canberra were categorised online and randomly selected on the basis of nationality and women's names. The majority of files were examined in Sydney. By 1941, Army officers and the MPI had devised a record system 'which was held up as a model for emulation in other states'.⁷² In New South Wales alone, records and dossiers were held on more than 12,000 people and firms who provided details on the large numbers of aliens.⁷³ The dossiers were the responsibility of the MPI authorities until the Security Service took over in 1942.

The files in this study are primarily from the C123 series held at the NAA in Sydney. The documents concern unnaturalized enemy aliens living in New South Wales. Alien Applications, Registration

⁷¹ Bevege, *Behind Barbed Wire*, p. 229

⁷² Coulthard-Clark, 'Australia's Wartime Security Service', p. 23.

⁷³ Coulthard-Clark, 'Australia's Wartime Security Service', p. 23.

cards and sensitive case files concerning issues of national security and members of the National Sozialistische Deutsche Arbeiter Partei (NSDAP) in Australia held at the NAA in Adelaide were also examined (D4878, D4881, and D1915 series). Records from the BP913 and BP25 series created by the Queensland State Police were examined at the NAA in Brisbane. Passports containing limited information collected by authorities were examined in Melbourne (MP56/10) and Investigation dossiers concerning internees during the war were examined at the NAA in Perth (K1171 series). The Japanese women in this study were incarcerated as soon as Japan had entered the war. As a result, there are not many investigation dossiers that reveal details on their lives, only registration papers and internee application forms. However, all of the files examined provide an insight in to the way the *Aliens Control Regulations* were administered during the war.

In total, over 750 files were examined for this study. Three hundred and sixty of these files had never before been examined. The documents that were analysed for this study consist of translated copies of letters, official reports, memorandums and photographs. The translations had been made at the time of investigation and therefore reflect the information available to the authorities making decisions. These occasionally contain grammatical errors and I have reproduced them as recorded. These archival documents and letters reflect the context in which these women lived and provide an insight into the feelings that were experienced by them, supplying 'facts, assertions and responses to experience which cannot easily be found elsewhere'.⁷⁴

⁷⁴ D. Fitzpatrick, *Oceans of Consolation: Personal Accounts of Irish Migration to Australia*. Ithica: Cornell University Press, 1994, p. 25.

While this thesis is in a large part based on archival research, this was supplemented by interviews where possible. I conducted five interviews which provided information on the context in which these women lived and their experience of the *Aliens Control Regulations*. Many women who experienced the war on the homefront are now well into their 80s or 90s; many are unfortunately no longer with us. I was fortunate to be able to include some oral testimony in this research, however, it is important for any author to note that ‘memory’s account of the past is partial or subjective and that its representations of the past are coloured by the views of the rememberer’.⁷⁵ In this study, the ‘rememberers’ were women who were growing up during the war and had recollections of how their family was affected by the legislation. (Most responded to an advertisement I placed in the *Sydney Morning Herald*, and the *Italian Historical Society Journal*, and to letters addressed to German, Italian and Japanese nursing homes across Australia).

These women included Italian national Josie Ciavola who was an infant during the war when her family was detained at Fremantle Gaol in June 1940; Yvonne Kraemer who was born in 1940 and recollects growing up during the war and the stories that were told to her by her parents; and an Italian-born woman who chose not to disclose her family name but described her family’s experience during the war-time. Three of the interviewees were actually registered as enemy aliens during the war. These were German-Jewish refugee Yvonne Kraemer, Austrian Jewish refugee Ilona Balog, and Francesca Merenda Australian-born of Italian descent.⁷⁶ The inclusion of interviews helps us ‘understand how experience is lived and remembered’.⁷⁷

⁷⁵ S. Radstone, ‘Reconceiving Binaries: the Limits of Memory.’ *History Workshop Journal*, Volume 50, 2005, p.135.

⁷⁶ Though this research focused solely on German, Italian, Japanese and Australian-born women, other women of different nationalities were also interviewed that provided background research into the registration process. This

Contemporary Relevance

In addition, it is important to note that this thesis highlights its relevance to contemporary issues. As historian Eric Hobsbawm has written, for ‘the greater part of history we deal with societies and communities for which the past is essentially the pattern for the present’.⁷⁸ It is important that we learn from the mistakes of the past by recognising the stories presented in this dissertation.

Lamidey wrote in his account of his role in administering the *Nation Security Act*,

it may also in some minor manner help us all to realise that continued progress by mankind in the search for peace can be helped considerably by increased knowledge, tolerance and understanding in human relations rather than by death and destruction caused by the war.⁷⁹

Indeed, in recent publications, scholars have related their work on internment to contemporary issues. These issues include that of Australian citizenship which follows the introduction of the new Citizenship Test; the release of the *Anti-Terrorism Act 2005* which according to one commentator has a complete ‘disregard for the civil rights of individuals and the potential for the arbitrary use of executive power’;⁸⁰ and the arrival of asylum seekers held in Australian immigration detention centres.⁸¹ The significance of the study of internment is explained by Beaumont in *Under Suspicion*:

included Romanian Jewish refugee Josie Lacey whose father was conscripted into labour camp during the war and Czechoslovakian national Liza Gans who registered as an alien.

⁷⁷ Radstone, ‘Reconceiving Binaries’, p. 139.

⁷⁸ E. Hobsbawm, *On History*. New York: The New Press, 1997, p. 10.

⁷⁹ Lamidey, *Partial Success*, p. 5.

⁸⁰ J. Hocking, ‘Australian Terror Laws: An Historic Critique’. *National Forum: The War on Terrorism and the Rule of Law*. New South Wales Parliament, Sydney. 10 November 2003.

[http://www.gtcentre.unsw.edu.au/sites/gtcentre.unsw.edu.au/files/mdocs/88_JennyHocking.pdf] December 2011.

⁸¹ See Australian Government, Department of Immigration and Citizenship, ‘Becoming an Australian Citizen’. Date: unknown, [<http://www.citizenship.gov.au/>], Accessed: 11 May 2010; I. M. O’Brien, Chapter 9, ‘The Enemy Within: Wartime internment of enemy Aliens’. M. Crotty and D.A Roberts, et. al., *The Great Mistakes of Australian History*.

‘it is important because it reminds us, in the age of Guantanamo Bay and rendition, of the ease with which internment without trial can be accepted by a public that is fearful for its own security’.⁸²

Many historians have argued that most often in times of crisis, the security of the nation overrides civilian liberties. The treatment of people registered as enemy aliens during the Second World War can be perceived as not only a ‘phenomenon that arose in the crisis of war, but was part of a much deeper racist attitude towards aliens which had increased between the wars’.⁸³ According to

Anthony Burke:

Security has been central to the construction of powerful images of national identity and otherness, and central to their use in bitter political conflicts which were too often resolved in violent and anti-democratic ways. In short, security has been a potent, driving imperative throughout Australian history, a fact which ought to give us a pause when we look backwards with an eye to what we are, and forwards with an eye to what we might become.⁸⁴

From the dispossession of Aborigines to the present war against terror, it is clear that the fear of the ‘alien’ has long existed in Australia’s history and still exists today.

Australia’s xenophobic past was highlighted by Beaumont who wrote that the tragedy of internment

served to assuage the anxieties of an Australian population who were already predisposed to an exclusive understanding of citizenship and who, in the crisis of war, turned easily (if temporarily) against those whose ‘crime’ was their ethnicity, race or cultural difference.⁸⁵

Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 2006, p. 154; and A. Bashford and C. Strange, ‘Asylum-Seekers and National Histories of Detention’. *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, Volume 48, Issue 4, 2002.

⁸² Beaumont et. al., *Under Suspicion*, p. 4.

⁸³ O’Brien, Chapter Two in Elkner et. al., *Enemy Aliens*, p. 23.

⁸⁴ A. Burke, *In Fear of Security: Australia’s Invasion Anxiety*. Sydney: Pluto Press Australia Limited, 2001, p. xxi.

⁸⁵ Beaumont et. al., *Under Suspicion*, p. 8.

This thesis supports the arguments made by Beaumont, especially when applying them to German, Italian and Japanese women. Women who were interned show how far ‘reasonable suspicion’ can be taken, and how the principle of proportionality can be abused by ‘rigid minds closed with authority’.⁸⁶ Even women who were not interned were nevertheless subject to restrictions because of their ethnicity and consequently experienced hardships, especially when looking after family and family properties. This thesis discusses the experience not only of women who were interned, but also women who were *not* interned to illustrate how the *Aliens Control Regulations* affected their lives during the war.

Chapter Summaries

This dissertation covers more than 700 German, Italian, Japanese and Australian-born women living in Australia during the Second World War. It is divided into three parts. The first part concentrates on the *Aliens Control Regulations* and the impact of the outbreak of war. The second section focuses on case studies of Australian-born women of German descent, Italian-born women and Australian-born women of Japanese descent who were affected in various ways by the *Aliens Control Regulations*. And the third part shows how German-Jewish refugee and Australian-born women, were affected by war-time legislation.

Part I consists of two chapters. Chapter One discusses the rule of law – the context and legislation that existed during the outbreak of war. It provides the context in which these women lived, in particular the war hysteria and the reaction from the Commonwealth Government and the public towards Italy’s entry into the war in 1940. A brief summary on Australia’s war-time security service

⁸⁶ Crotty and Roberts, *The Great Mistakes*, p. 155.

will also be presented. The focal point of the chapter is the *Aliens Control Regulations*, providing an analysis of the restrictions imposed by the *Aliens Control Regulations* that affected Italian women during the Second World War in New South Wales.

Germany declared war in September 1939 and German men who had been investigated by authorities in the period leading up to the war were rounded up to be interned. However, Italy's entry into the war in June 1940 was perceived by the media and Australian public as a more treacherous invasion because of its unexpected entry into the war. Chapter Two focuses on the capture of the Italian vessels the *Remo* and the *Romolo* in Australian waters in June 1940. Very little information is available on the seizure of these vessels, though my research has uncovered NAA documents concerning women on board the vessels, who were, in spite of Cresciani's reports to the contrary, interned during the war. These women were returning to Italy and some were members of the Fascist Party.

Part II focuses on other women who became more isolated and experienced financial difficulty while their husbands were interned; and some women, especially Australian-born women of Japanese descent, real or otherwise, were interned and placed under severe restrictions based solely on their racial appearance. German and Italian women were the largest group of aliens residing in Australia registered as enemy aliens during the war. Despite the fact there are not many files on Japanese women because of the low population of Japanese in Australia, I chose to include Japanese women in the study because I wanted to draw comparisons with the other groups, and show how war-time policy changed as the war progressed. The inclusion of Asians also allows the investigation of racist issues such as appearance – looking Japanese.

Part II consists of three chapters that distinguish the inconsistent ways that the *Aliens Control Regulations* were applied focusing on German, Italian and Australian-born women of Japanese descent. Chapter Three draws attention to Australian-born German women who maintained the cultural values of their German heritage and in some cases were ardent supporters of Nazism. It is important to differentiate the various types of German women examined in this chapter. There are five categories of 'German' that fell under the classification of enemy aliens and were investigated during the Second World War: Australian-born women who were German by descent and long term settlers; Australian-born women married to German nationals; German-born women who migrated to Australia during the years preceding the war; German Jewish-born refugees who fled Nazi Germany just before the outbreak of war; and as evidenced in Chapter Six, Hungarian and Austrian born refugees were also placed under the classification of German enemy aliens due to the Nazi occupation of their native countries.

As noted in Chapter Three, the NAA files in South Australia confirm that there were official female members of the NSDAP who were placed under surveillance by authorities. This chapter shows how the *Aliens Control Regulations* were inconsistently applied, especially when the head of the Women's Nazi Organization in South Australia, Pauline Starke, was considered a threat to national security by authorities yet was never interned during the war. The role of women in the Nazi Party activities in Australia seemed to be neglected in Gary Gumpl and Richard Kleinig's recently released book *The Rise and Fall of Australia's No. 1 Nazi*.⁸⁷ Interestingly, Hermann Homburg's daughter Rita Krawinkle appears in this chapter, as one of the few women placed under surveillance by

⁸⁷ See Gumpl and Kleinig, *The Rise and Fall of Australia's No. 1 Nazi*.

investigative authorities. Nazi party membership was relatively low and most women in this chapter associated with the Nazi Party were also socially prominent in the South Australian German community.

Chapter Four focuses on how the *Aliens Control Regulations* were applied to Italian women who were not interned, but who nevertheless suffered from the negative impact the *Aliens Control Regulations* had on their lives. Male relatives, who were also the main income earners, were placed in internment camps. As a result, many women experienced significant economic distress and were left to fend for themselves. Italian women were mainly involved in domestic duties and in many cases, left to take care of both their homes and businesses formerly run by male relatives. Some experienced loss of property due to the fact they could no longer support themselves and their children. Other security measures these women endured under the *Aliens Control Regulations* included the restriction on travel and movement, the *Prohibited Possessions Order 1940* (Cth) which placed restrictions on owning particular items, and restrictions placed on employment, assembly and propaganda. Legislation impacted on these women socially. They became isolated as a result of their husbands being interned and the registration process which categorised them as the 'enemy'. The Australian public and media intensified the matter when malicious accusations were also made against Italians.

Chapter Five concerns Japanese women and Australian-born women of Japanese descent who were interned because of their Asian appearance. Though this dissertation does not go into great detail about Japanese women due to the low population of Japanese living in Australia during the war, it was clear that the Commonwealth Government found it difficult to intern them on political

grounds. There was no 'Japanese equivalent of the NSDAP or Fascist Party therefore an individual's commitment to Japan's war activities was not openly proclaimed'.⁸⁸ There were, however, Japanese clubs and societies that many Japanese were affiliated with. During the war, Japan was perceived by Allied forces to be a 'racial menace'.⁸⁹ Japan's role in the war was seen as more of a religious and cultural war rather than a political one.⁹⁰ The significance of including this chapter shows how race influenced the decisions made by authorities to intern Japanese born migrants living in Australia.

After the bombing of Pearl Harbour, all Japanese were immediately interned without being further investigated. Nagata's published work *Unwanted Aliens: Japanese Internment in Australia* provided accounts of the war-time experience of Japanese men and women based on oral testimonies and archival documents.⁹¹ The women in my study were interned not because of their ethnicity or formal citizenship status but because of their Japanese appearance. Authorities thought it best to intern these women for their own and for public safety. The discrimination and treatment towards the Japanese reinforces the notion that other historians have expressed, that their treatment was a reflection of what was happening overseas.⁹² Nagata interviewed Lamidey, who told her 'our government was firm about the Japanese. As far as I remember, we interned the lot and, as a principle, we didn't intend to let anyone out. It was for their protection'.⁹³

⁸⁸ Saunders and Taylor, 'The Enemy Within', p. 23.

⁸⁹ See J. Dower, *War Without Mercy: Race and Power in the Pacific War*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1986.

⁹⁰ Dower, *War without Mercy*, p. 7.

⁹¹ Nagata, *Unwanted Aliens*.

⁹² I. M. O'Brien, Chapter 9, 'The Enemy Within: Wartime internment of enemy Aliens' in Crotty, *Great Mistakes*, p. 141

⁹³ Beaumont et. al., *Under suspicion*, p. 121.

The final chapters contained in Part III, are strategically placed last to show the bureaucratic failures and inconsistent ways in which the *Aliens Control Regulations* were applied to German-Jewish Refugees and Australian-born women married to Italian migrants. Chapter Six illustrates how the legislation impacted on the lives of German-Jewish women living in Australia during the war. It discusses the poor judgement that was made by police and military officers carrying out the *Aliens Control Regulations* and the inability of the government to determine who was a genuine Jewish refugee. Many of these people came to Australia fleeing Nazi persecution, but were nevertheless classified as the 'enemy' along with their 'enemies', the Nazi sympathizers. Though they were not prosecuted under the legislation like their Italian counterparts, German-Jewish women still endured the same restrictions and processes as enemy aliens, and in some cases were affected by the legislation socially and economically. Many women also fell victim to malicious statements made by members of the community who regarded them with suspicion simply because they spoke German. Once again, appearance – appearing to be German - overrode reality and the subtlety of identity.

Chapter Seven is concerned with Australian-born women married to Italian men, unaware that they had lost their British nationality as a result of their marriage. In order to regain their British status, these women had to prove to authorities that they had no sympathy towards any of the countries which were at war with the Allied forces, especially their husband's homeland. An amendment made to the *Nationality Act* in 1935 provided the opportunity for women to retain their British nationality. Part IV, Division 1 (18) of the *Nationality Act*, clearly stated that women who were married to an alien or enemy alien could make a declaration in order to retain their British

nationality if they desired to do so.⁹⁴ The case studies presented in this chapter are fascinating stories of Australian women who were caught up in war-time legislation and it is important to note their significance of their plight in Australia's history – stories that have been neglected for over seventy years.

Conclusion

There has been a considerable amount of research undertaken on issues concerning internment and migration in Australia. However, there has been very little research carried out on the thousands of aliens who were *not* interned. We know very little about the experience of women who fall into the alien or enemy alien categories. In particular, little work has been done on the impact of the *Aliens Control Regulations* on the lives of German, Italian and Japanese women living in Australia during the Second World War. This thesis aims to fill these gaps.

⁹⁴ *The Acts of Parliament of the Commonwealth of Australia passed during the year 1920*, p. 146.

PART I:

OUTBREAK OF WAR



Figure 5: Oil painting by Frank Norton depicting the Italian *Romolo* on fire in 1942. The Italian Cruiser was captured by authorities in Australian waters in June 1940.

F. Norton, *HMAS Manoora sinking merchant vessel Romolo*. Oil on hardboard, 1942. Australian War Memorial, [<http://cas.awm.gov.au/item/ART22328>]. Accessed: 25 March 2012.

Chapter One:

The Rule of Law

...however much we may cherish the Rule of Law as one of our most precious possessions, we must recognize that permanent liberty is often best achieved only by a temporary sacrifice of individual freedom.¹

(Robert Gordon Menzies, 1917)

Arbitrary process can be characterized as ‘different officials [taking]...different views upon whether or not the internment of a person was justified in a particular instance’.² The focus of this thesis is the arbitrary nature of the *National Security (Aliens Control) Regulations 1939* (Cth) apparent in the various ways that German, Italian, Japanese and Australian-born women were affected by war-time legislation. The future Australian Prime Minister, Robert Gordon Menzies, acknowledged just before the end of the First World War that the rule of law was ‘the complete negation of arbitrary power or any very extended use of prerogative right’ and believed that the *War Precautions Act 1914* (Cth) enacted during the war was a ‘challenge to the rule of law’.³ Menzies claimed that the *Act* was ‘a virtual suspension of one of the fundamental provisions of the Magna Charter’.⁴ Despite his acknowledgement of the loss of civilian rights during war-time, the opening passage of this chapter shows that in 1917 Menzies was conflicted over the justification of war-time legislation. Nevertheless, over twenty years later, as the Prime Minister of Australia, Menzies declared war on Germany on 3 September 1939 and introduced the *National Security Act 1939* (Cth) which passed absolute power to the Executive.

¹ R. G. Menzies, *The Rule of Law during the War*. Sydney: The Law Book Co. of Australasia Ltd, 1917, p. 24.

² P. McDermott, ‘Internment during the Great War – A Challenge to the Rule of Law’. *University of New South Wales Law Journal*, Volume 28, Issue 2, 2005, p. 331.

³ Menzies, *The Rule of Law* in McDermott, ‘Internment during the Great War’, p. 334.

⁴ McDermott, ‘Internment during the Great War’, p. 332. Clause 39 stated ‘no free man shall be...imprisoned except by the lawful judgment of his equals or by the law of the land’. [McDermott, ‘Internment during the Great War’, p. 332].

This chapter will provide background information on the *Aliens Control Regulations* that were promulgated under the *National Security Act*. It will examine the *Aliens Control Regulations* that affected the lives of German, Italian, Japanese and certain Australian-born women living in Australia. The registration and naturalization process proved to be most problematic, especially for Australian-born women who lost their nationality as a result of their marriage to an enemy alien. Other key areas that will be examined include the internment process, restrictions placed on travel and movement, limited employment opportunities and the *Prohibited Possessions Order 1939* (Cth). Changes that were made to legislation as the war progressed and the inconsistencies that existed among officials who administered the *Aliens Control Regulations* will also be highlighted. However, before we begin, it is important to consider that the introduction of the *National Security Act* was not the first time the Commonwealth Government introduced national security measures.

The Development of a War-time Security Service

The legal definition of 'national security' is the 'protection of a nation and of the people of a nation from espionage, sabotage...violence, attacks on the nation's defence system or acts of foreign interference'.⁵ Joan Beaumont wrote

in times of national crisis, external threats can rapidly breed unitary constructions of 'the nation'. The sense of a community, bound together by common values, beliefs and cultural practices, can fracture. Societies divide along fault lines, and the consensus that holds a multicultural or pluralistic citizenry together crumbles in the face of fear, anger, the desire for revenge and the demonising of those who are different.⁶

In times of crisis, communities often break down due to the unwarranted discrimination against ethnic minorities that follows. This is what happened in Australia at the outbreak of the Second World War. An Australian politician who was later to become Immigration Minister, Arthur Calwell

⁵ P. Nygh and P. Butt, *Butterworths Concise Australian Legal Dictionary*. Sydney: Butterworths, 1998, p. 299.

⁶ J. Beaumont, 'Australian Citizenship and the Two World Wars'. *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, Volume 53, Issue 2, 2007, p. 172.

justified the Commonwealth Government's actions to control aliens by claiming that while the war continued, the control of aliens was necessary, 'for war as the democracies wage it is largely an affair of improvisation, and in urgent situations which demand prompt and effective action there is little time to weigh the niceties of human rights'.⁷ However, the Second World War was not the first time Australia had introduced war-time *Aliens Control Regulations* that affected the homefront, where the notion of law becomes 'nothing other than an expression of will by a political superior'.⁸

As evidenced in the Introduction, legislation implemented during the Second World War was just one of many policies in Australia's war-time history when national security has overridden civilian liberties. As discussed by author Jason Byrnes:

The majority of Australians would be unaware of the long historical links between national security issues including the threat of terrorism and the AFP...indeed, most of the critical developments in federal policing have occurred either as a result of, or within the context of, periods of significant national security threats.⁹

This thesis supports the argument made by British jurist and constitutional theorist, Albert Venn Dicey, that 'the development of administrative agencies [was the]... main threat to the rule of law'.¹⁰ Dicey, whose work was described as 'highly influential throughout the [British] Empire', referred to the leading authority in constitutional law, Professor W. Harrison Moore, who professed that 'executive authority is not above, but below the rule of law'.¹¹

The risk to national security has always been a vital concern for the Commonwealth Government.

Beaumont has argued that the war:

⁷ N. Lamidey, *Aliens Control in Australia 1939-46*. Sydney: N. Lamidey, 1974, p. 1.

⁸ McDermott, 'Internment during the Great War', p. 332.

⁹ J. Byrnes, 'Warwick incident anniversary', *Platypus Magazine*, Volume 96, September 2007, p. 33.

¹⁰ McDermott, 'Internment during the Great War', p. 334.

¹¹ McDermott, 'Internment during the Great War', pp. 331 and 332.

shifts the balance of rights and obligations towards the state at the expense of the individual. Faced with external threats, the state can demand that the citizen be prepared to die in the name of the nation, while invoking national security interests to justify restrictions of civil rights and basic freedoms.¹²

One of the periods of significant national threat included the First World War. The first few months of the First World War saw Germany plan to re-take the lost German colony, New Guinea, which would be used for the renewal of operations in the Pacific. Consequently, the Australian supply route to Europe and the rest of the Commonwealth was threatened.¹³ The fear of Germany taking Australia from the north was a public concern, and as a result, the vision of an internal enemy arose on the homefront.¹⁴ The Commonwealth Government responded to the German threat by introducing the *War Precautions Act* which targeted Germans living in Australia. However, Germans were not the only enemy aliens affected by the legislation.

The enemy alien population also included Irish nationalists, radical pacifists and socialists, unionists, political and church leaders who campaigned against conscription, and ‘practically...everybody who dared to speak out publicly against the Commonwealth Government’s total commitment to war’.¹⁵ The *Aliens Restriction Orders* were introduced in May 1915 and in 1916. The orders were implemented to allow the deportation of an unnaturalized alien without a hearing. In 1917, Prime Minister William Hughes began a campaign to destroy the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) and passed two *Unlawful Association Acts* which allowed for foreign and even British radicals who

¹² Beaumont, ‘Australian Citizenship’, p. 171.

¹³ G. Fischer, *Enemy Aliens: Internment and the Homefront Experience in Australia 1914-1920*. St. Lucia, University of Queensland Press, 1989, p. 1.

¹⁴ Fischer, *Enemy Aliens*, p. 4.

¹⁵ Fischer, *Enemy Aliens*, p. 75.

were not Australian-born to be expelled and deported to their country of origin.¹⁶ Kay Saunders wrote that the alien carried the double burden of foreign birth and radicalism and refers to the ‘conservative theory that foreigners were more dangerously extreme’ than people native born.¹⁷

The First World War saw significant development in national security operations. During the war, the Commonwealth feared an open domestic revolution, due to the political dissidents who were protesting against the Commonwealth Government’s introduction of military conscription. Author Frank Cain wrote that it was ‘in those years of social and political ferment that the factors which led to the setting up of Australian surveillance organizations can best be observed and analyzed’.¹⁸ Hughes faced large crowds protesting against the pending referendum on the issue. In November 1917, local radicals (‘scallywags’) threw two eggs at Hughes and knocked his hat off.¹⁹ This would eventually become known as the ‘Warwick incident’ and paved way for the development of a war-time security service. The Army was responsible for censorship in each state while the Counter Espionage Bureau (CEB), the Commonwealth Police Force (CPF) and the State Police forces were established to assist in countering espionage against Britain’s war effort and carrying out directions from the Attorney General (See Appendix Two).²⁰

¹⁶ K. Saunders and R. Daniels *et. al.*, *Alien Justice: Wartime Internment in Australia and North America*. St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 2000, p. 30 and 32.

¹⁷ Saunders and Daniels *et. al.*, *Alien Justice*, p. 31.

¹⁸ F. Cain, *The Origins of Political Surveillance in Australia*. Melbourne: Angus & Robertson Publishers, 1983, p. vii.

¹⁹ Byrnes, ‘Warwick incident’, p. 34.

²⁰ Cain, *Origins of Political Surveillance*, pp. ix – x.



Figure 6: Cartoon depicting the Warwick incident

P. Donovan, *Changing the Guard: A History of the Australian Protective Service*. Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service, 1994, p. 4.

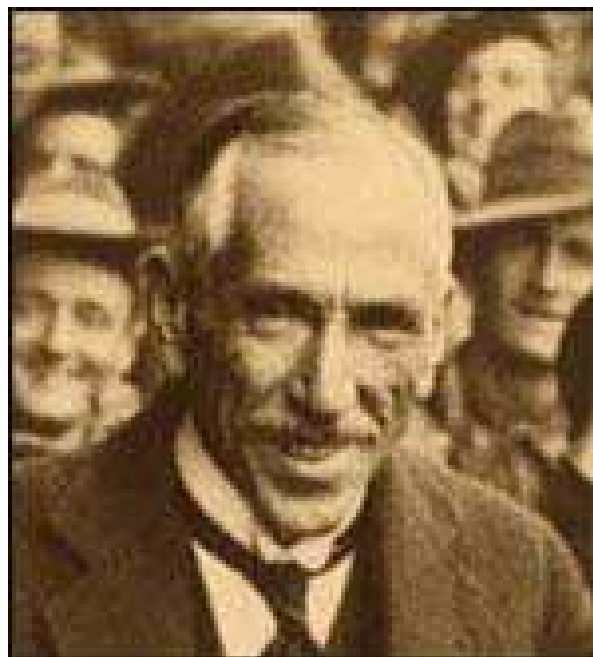


Figure 7: Prime Minister William 'Billy' Hughes

NAA, 'William Morris Hughes – Fact sheet 73'. <http://www.naa.gov.au/collection/factsheets/fs73.aspx>. Accessed: 25 March 2012).

A total of 6,890 Germans were interned as a result of the *War Precautions Act*. About 4,500 Germans of this total were residents of Australia prior to 1914 and 700 Germans were in fact naturalized British subjects.²¹ Registration and parole of all aliens was also required under the *War Precautions Act*, and regarding other restrictions, it was up to local police officers to prosecute enemy aliens as they saw fit.²²

The structure within the surveillance organization continued to change throughout the interwar period. In 1919, intelligence services were dismantled and all military responsibilities which

²¹ Fischer, *Enemy Aliens*, p. 77.

²² Fischer, *Enemy Aliens*, p. 75.

consisted of watching over radicals were passed onto the CEB staffed entirely by civilians.²³ Hostilities towards foreigners who resided in Australia continued to exist among the Australian public. However, in 1929, the arrival of the Depression caused the economy to contract and Australian politics to become paralyzed.²⁴

It was during this period that the Commonwealth Government had 'assumed immense economic and political powers' which would eventually pave the way for the establishment of a more centralized security intelligence organization during the Second World War.²⁵ Security was seen as 'an effective tool in the management of industrial populations, social order and economic prosperity'.²⁶ The Australian Labor Party's vision was to establish an order in 'which domestic reconstruction would merge with the international creation of a permanent system of security'.²⁷

During the First World War, Hughes waged a war against anyone who opposed the Commonwealth Government during the conflict. Ironically, as Attorney General in 1939, Hughes held the highest power responsible for the implementation of the *Aliens Control Regulations* in regard to the Second World War. Memories of the power wielded by the Commonwealth during the First World War impacted on later debates in Parliament. During the Second Reading Speech of the National Security Bill 1939 (Cth), Member of Parliament Hubert Peter Lazzarini (Werriwa, New South Wales), who was perhaps concerned by the implications the legislation would have on the Italian

²³ Cain, *Origins of Political Surveillance*, p. 41.

²⁴ A. Burke, *In Fear of Security: Australia's Invasion Anxiety*. Sydney: Centrum, 2001, p. 54.

²⁵ Cain, *Origins of Political Surveillance*, p. 188.

²⁶ Burke, *In Fear of Security*, p. 53.

²⁷ Burke, *In Fear of Security*, p. 78.

community in Australia, proclaimed that no power should be given to the Attorney General, especially after Hughes' actions against civilians during the previous war:

We know that it will be invoked by the Government to shut up the Parliament and to govern the country by regulation... I do not want to see again in this country the turmoil that existed when the present Attorney General (Mr Hughes) was Prime Minister and strutting about the country, deliberately made his irritating speeches, magnified the Warwick egg incident, traduced men with whom he had been associated for years and invoked the War Precautions Act in order to railroad men to gaol. No one can forget that; it is embedded too deeply in the minds of the people. I am not prepared to give him any power at all; he is one man whom I will not trust an inch with any power, because he has a brain that immediately becomes inflamed by the acquisition of a little authority. It is a good job that he has not the powers that Hitler has in Germany. I believe that the democrats of this country will re-echo the statements which I have made to-day.²⁸

On the other hand, support for the National Security Bill was summed up by Member of Parliament Victor Charles Thompson, whose statement quoted earlier in the Introduction, highlighted the fundamental notion of national security overriding civilian liberty:

We know from our experience of the last war that it is absolutely necessary for this Parliament to delegate a great part of its constitutional powers, which are made constitutional largely by dicta of the High Court, to the Executive for the time being... I well remember the operation of the War Precautions Act. Although the legislation was irksome in some respect it did not leave any permanent scars of the feelings of the people of this country. As soon as the war was over, whatever irritations had been caused by it when forgotten by the great majority of people.²⁹

Margaret Bevege claimed that the opening of the Second World War found Australia unprepared to deal with questions of national security because no national corporate body on security existed.³⁰

The Security Service was formed on 31 March 1941 as part of the Attorney-General's Department and was headed by Deputy Director of the Commonwealth Investigation Branch (CIB), Lieutenant Colonel E.E. Longfield Lloyd, who established his headquarters in nine rooms at the Patents Office

²⁸ Commonwealth, *Hansard – Second Reading Speech*, House of Representatives, 8 September 1939, 204 (Mr Lazzarini).

²⁹ Commonwealth, *Hansard – Second Reading Speech*, House of Representatives, 7 September 1939, 176 & 177 (Mr Thompson).

³⁰ M. Bevege, *Behind Barbed Wire: Internment in Australia during World War II*. St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1993, p. 1.

in Canberra.³¹ This organization took over civil national security duties and internal securities that were previously controlled by the Army.³²

The Army retained the responsibility for censorship and all matters concerned with internment. The executive power to deal with subversive activities was still vested in the Attorney General, while the control over aliens rested with the generals commanding the Military Districts in each state.³³ In preparation for becoming a more centralized organization, an interdepartmental committee investigated the idea of setting up a Defence Security Organization (DSO). It was concluded by the majority of the committee members that 'as Defence in any event required an organization to ensure the security of defence works, efficiency and economy was best served by Army undertaking primary responsibility'.³⁴ The War Cabinet approved the DSO on 5 June 1940 to operate for three services under the direct control of the Chief of General staff. The DSO liaised with the CIB, State Police and other civil authorities.³⁵

The Army retained control over civil and internal security in Northern Territory and Western Australia's north (see Appendix Three for a diagram of the organizational structure of Australia's war-time security service during the Second World War).³⁶ According to Chris Coulthard-Clark, as 'the likelihood of war increased, Army officers were placed full-time in Police Headquarters and directed the work of the Police Commissioner [of the] Military Police Intelligence Section'.³⁷ The

³¹ Coulthard-Clark, 'Australia's Wartime Security Service', p. 24.

³² Coulthard-Clark, 'Australia's Wartime Security Service', p. 24.

³³ Coulthard-Clark, 'Australia's Wartime Security Service', p. 24.

³⁴ Coulthard-Clark, 'Australia's Wartime Security Service', p. 23.

³⁵ Coulthard-Clark, 'Australia's Wartime Security Service', pp. 23 and 24.

³⁶ Coulthard-Clark, 'Australia's Wartime Security Service', p. 24.

³⁷ Coulthard-Clark, 'Australia's Wartime Security Service', p. 23.

role of the MPI was to enforce the *Aliens Control Regulations* targeted at all aliens and enemy aliens living in Australia.

The *Aliens Control Regulations* were introduced as an important means to control aliens and enemy aliens. According to Noel Lamidey, the legislation

carried with it the highly contentious and difficult task of striking a proper balance between the implementation of Government instructions to be ever watchful of the security of the nation and the feeling that this be done with as little oppression or harshness as the emergency of war permitted.³⁸

However, perhaps unsurprisingly, the *Aliens Control Regulations* had a negative impact upon the lives of aliens and were always controversial. As Lamidey argued, for some, the restrictions were ‘carried out without due regard to humanity and social justice’, while others argued that the ‘successful prosecution of the war justified any action that was taken’.³⁹

In the five years immediately before the war, over 9,000 German nationals had migrated to Australia, along with 10,000 Italians, and about 20,000 other continental Europeans, many of whom were refugees from Nazi or fascist rule.⁴⁰ Even at this early stage, Australians seemed unable to understand the difference between refugees from enemy states and supporters of them. There were some refugees who were refused settlement in Australia. For example, a steamer from Berlin that was to make a special passage to Australia was cancelled ‘because of the unfavourable reaction to the proposal in Australia’.⁴¹ According to Saunders, once the war began ‘Australian society became obsessively intent upon identifying and punishing those perceived to be potentially

³⁸ Lamidey, *Aliens Control*, p. 1.

³⁹ Lamidey, *Aliens Control*, p. 1.

⁴⁰ P. Hasluck, *The Government and the People, 1939-1941. Volume One*. Canberra: Australian War Memorial, 1952, p. 593.

⁴¹ ‘Australia to admit Jew Refugees’.. *The Courier Mail*, 23 November 1938, p. 1.

undermining national security, the war effort or morale'.⁴² Similar to what had occurred during the First World War, restrictions were not only placed on enemy aliens living in Australia, but also on other groups, such as members of the Communist Party of Australia (CPA) and the Australian First Movement.⁴³ Saunders claimed that a dominant function of the modern State during the war was the 'identification, targeting and containment of groups who 'were perceived as threats to the security, morale and the physical, moral and ideological well-being and cohesiveness of the society under external threat'.⁴⁴ This was especially evident in regard to the 'alien', who represented the embodiment of all fears, particularly those espousing 'foreign' ideologies like fascism.⁴⁵

The main objective of the *Aliens Control Regulations* was 'to ensure that aliens, resident in Australia, enemy and otherwise, could in no way become a danger to the country nor impede the progress of the war either individually or in association with others'.⁴⁶ When war first broke out, Germans were registered as enemy aliens while Italians and Japanese living in Australia were classified simply as aliens.⁴⁷ For the second time round, Germans in Australia fell victim to restrictions placed on enemy aliens during war-time.

⁴² K. Saunders, *War on the Homefront: State intervention in Queensland 1938-1948*. Queensland, St. Lucia: University Queensland Press, 1993, p. 33.

⁴³ Saunders, *War on the Homefront*, p. 19.

⁴⁴ Saunders, *War on the Homefront*, p. 33.

⁴⁵ Saunders, *War on the Homefront*, p. 33.

⁴⁶ Saunders, *War on the Homefront*, p. 33.

⁴⁷ It was not until Italy and Japan entered the war later on that Italians and Japanese living in Australia were re-classified as enemy aliens and further investigated or incarcerated.

Registration Act 1939 (Cth)

The *Aliens Control Regulations* introduced during the Second World War targeted minority groups, categorizing non-British migrants living in Australia as aliens and enemy aliens. This prevented any form of assimilation for most minority groups living in Australia at the time. Eleanor Venables wrote the 'issue of belonging and not belonging is paradoxical. Where and when does an immigrant begin to 'belong'? The 'new' society seems to demand belonging of you but, paradoxically, seems also to block each attempt'.⁴⁸ As evidenced in Appendix One, each foreign national was classified as either an alien or enemy alien. This table was recommended by the Aliens Classification Advisory Committee (ACAC) and established under the direction of the new Director General Simpson.

The registration of enemy aliens was administered by the Security Service, who 'took measures to register, photograph and fingerprint every alien'.⁴⁹ Enemy aliens were expected to register at their local police station according to a schedule organized alphabetically. For example, on 15 September 1939, newspapers announced that 'Italians whose names start with the letters K, L and M are asked to report at the Police Station'.⁵⁰ In some cases, women provided their own photographs. Police and military officers located at the local police station were responsible for enforcing the *Aliens Control Regulation*. All aliens were required to complete a questionnaire form in triplicate and take it to the nearest police station. Four photographs of them, one attached to the application form, were to be handed into an Aliens Registration Officer (ARO), along with a certificate of registration and passport. A certificate of registration and passport was also required to be handed in to the

⁴⁸ E. Venables, 'Recollection of Identity: The Reassembly of the Migrant.' *Sojourners and Strangers, Journal of Australian Studies*, Volume 77, 2003, p. 114.

⁴⁹ Lamidey, *Aliens Control: 'A Report to the Honourable Arthur A. Calwell H.P. Minister for Immigration upon some Aspects of Aliens Control in Australia During Time of War, 1947'*, p. 6.

⁵⁰ 'Registration of Enemy Aliens'. *Barrier Miner*, 15 September 1939, p. 3.

ARO. Clause 5 (4) of the *Aliens Control Regulations* stated that 'Regulations may require the alien to allow a print of his fingers or thumbs'.⁵¹

There was some difficulty, however, in communicating the *Aliens Control Regulations* to most enemy aliens. The questionnaire forms were distributed by police and it was up to the enemy aliens themselves to provide completed forms and photographs to their local police stations. It was reported by the *Barrier Miner* in September 1939, that 'Comprehensive details are taken from the aliens and the officers' work was hampered by the fact that several of them [aliens] have a slight knowledge of English'.⁵² Though it was common knowledge that enemy aliens knew very little English, they were still expected to follow up on the *Aliens Control Regulations*. It was reported by Inspector Duckworth that the 'public who were affected by the regulations should, in their own interests, ascertain the precise requirements of the regulations from the nearest police station'.⁵³ Authorities issued warnings to those who had failed to register. On 14 December 1939, there was a small proportion of aliens who failed to register in Western Australia. Authorities announced that those 'who failed to report for registration, or enemy aliens who did not give their parole, subjected themselves to internment'.⁵⁴

During the war, hundreds of aliens reported to police stations where fingerprints were taken. It was 'considered necessary as a check upon the identity of the aliens in the future' (See Appendix

⁵¹ *National Security (Aliens Control) Regulations, Statutory Rules 1939, No. 88. (m) taken out of Statutory rules made under Commonwealth Acts During the Year 1939. Also Perogative Orders, etc., with Tables and Index.* L. F. Johnston, Commonwealth Government Printer, Canberra, 1939, p. 408.

⁵² 'Registration of Enemy Aliens'. *Barrier Miner*, 15 September 1939, p. 3.

⁵³ 'Registration of Aliens: What is required under the Act'. *Barrier Miner*, 13 September 1939, p. 1.

⁵⁴ 'Unregistered Aliens'. *The West Australian*, 14 December 1939, p. 18.

Four).⁵⁵ A questionnaire form on aliens and enemy aliens was completed by authorities and they were to sign a parole form agreeing to refrain from taking any 'action prejudicial to the safety of the British Empire'.⁵⁶ Statistics provided by Lamidey show that by 30 September 1945, over 50,000 aliens had registered and of this total, over 22, 000 registered as enemy aliens.⁵⁷

Enemy Alien	Male	Female	Total
German	1144	438	1582
Italian	9378	3386	12,764
Japanese	15	13	28
Refugee	1199	1469	2668

Table 1: Registration figures of enemy aliens, 30 September 1945⁵⁸

Italians were the largest foreign population in Australia. After Italy's entry into the war in June 1940, Italians were required to register as enemy aliens and it was determined by authorities that 'in some districts it was apparent that aliens had settled in large numbers and could, if occasion arose, be a menace to the safety and security of the Commonwealth'.⁵⁹

As noted in the introduction of this chapter, the *Aliens Control Regulations* were introduced to resolve certain issues concerning the administering of the *Registration Act 1939* (Cth) that became

⁵⁵ 'Aliens Registered. Finger-prints Taken'. *Sydney Morning Herald*, 12 September 1939, p. 10.

⁵⁶ 'Control Regulations. Requirements Set Out'. *Sydney Morning Herald*, 15 September 1939, p. 9.

⁵⁷ Lamidey, *Aliens Control*: 'Report to the Honourable Arthur A. Calwell', p. 5.

⁵⁸ Lamidey, *Aliens Control*: 'Report to the Honourable Arthur A. Calwell', Appendix A pp. 69-71.

⁵⁹ Lamidey, *Aliens Contro*: 'Report to the Honourable Arthur A. Calwell', p. 31.

problematic as the war progressed. One of these issues concerned the requirement to report to the ARO every week. The ACAC concluded in 1943 that for 'good aliens', this could be reduced to reporting once a month. The recommendation also emphasized that it was never intended for aliens to miss out on any work during weekdays. Due to the shortage of manpower, aliens were permitted to report any time, including on Saturday and Sunday evenings, and if the ARO was not present, other police officers were also able to mark their reporting.⁶⁰

Another issue concerned the age at which children were required to register. Over 6,700 alien children were admitted to Australia between 1937 and 1941.⁶¹ Those under sixteen years of age were exempt from registration. The child was required to register within three months of the child attaining the age of 16. However, in 1943 the ACAC recommended that the required age for registration should be changed from 16 to 18 years old.⁶² Once again, the onus was on the enemy alien to be aware of and comply with the law. According to Clause 5 (3) of the *Aliens Control Regulation*: 'if any such child did not register himself within the time allowed, the parent, or person standing to him *in loco parentis*, shall be guilty of an offence against the Act'.⁶³

There were elements of Parliamentary discussion that acknowledged the hardship that these *Aliens Control Regulations* entailed. The ACAC concluded that the process of registration had an extreme impact on children; such 'a condition was injurious to the children concerned and was likely to

⁶⁰ Lamidey, *Aliens Control*: 'Report to the Honourable Arthur A. Calwell', p. 14.

⁶¹ Lamidey, *Aliens Control*: 'Report to the Honourable Arthur A. Calwell', p. 5.

⁶² Lamidey, *Aliens Control*: 'Report to the Honourable Arthur A. Calwell', p. 5.

⁶³ *National Security (Aliens Control) Regulations, Statutory Rules 1939, No. 88. (m)* taken out of *Statutory rules made under Commonwealth Acts During the Year 1939. Also Prerogative Orders, etc., with Tables and Index*. L. F. Johnston, Commonwealth Government Printer, Canberra, 1939, p. 411.

frustrate efforts made to educate these children in the ways and traditions of this country'.⁶⁴ It was also suggested that children were clearly affected by the *Aliens Control Regulation*, and therefore were 'debarred from that freedom of movement enjoyed by other children of their age and became subjected to grave difficulties in seeking employment on production of a certificate which classed them as enemy aliens'.⁶⁵

It is important to note that children were not excluded from any educational facilities. The education of aliens living in Australia was a highly debated topic in Parliament. Seven months prior to the outbreak of war, Mr S.A. Lloyd was exasperated at the proposal that funds were to be made available for the purpose of educating newly arrived immigrant children. Lloyd asked the Minister for Education, Mr Drummond, whether he would consider it more 'necessary and desirable to provide funds to improve the condition of schools in the Concord electorate, to make them healthy and sufficient for the scholars of those schools?'⁶⁶ In response to this, Drummond claimed that it was important to see that aliens 'are rapidly assimilated into the ordinary life of the community'.⁶⁷ He further noted that if those steps were not taken quickly, 'sub-national groups may arise in our community which may prove to be as great a nuisance and a hindrance to our national life as they are in other countries'.⁶⁸

⁶⁴ Lamidey, *Aliens Control*: 'Report to the Honourable Arthur A. Calwell', p. 5.

⁶⁵ Lamidey, *Aliens Control*: 'Report to the Honourable Arthur A. Calwell', p. 5.

⁶⁶ *New South Wales Parliamentary Debates (Second Series.) Session 1938-1940. Second Session of the Thirty-Second Parliament.* Sydney, Government Printer: Thomas Henry Tennant, 1940, pp. 3837-38.

⁶⁷ *New South Wales Parliamentary Debates (Second Series.) Session 1938-1940*, pp. 3837-38.

⁶⁸ *New South Wales Parliamentary Debates (Second Series.) Session 1938-1940*, pp. 3837-38.

On 26 November 1940, the Premier of New South Wales, Mr Thomas asked Alexander Mair in Parliament whether enemy aliens would be provided with the privileges of public education. Mr Mair responded by stating:

There is no discrimination against children of either enemy aliens or friendly aliens. All children may take advantage of the education facilities provided by the State. The discrimination is only against adults who are unnaturalised Germans or unnaturalised Italians.⁶⁹

Controlling Travel and Movement

The previous section mentioned the problem of having to report to the police on a regular basis. However, the frequency of reporting was not the only problem for women classified as enemy aliens. The majority of those who were not interned were forced to endure harsh restrictions placed on their travel, movement and possession of personal items. Clause 16 (1) of the *Aliens Control Regulations* stated,

an alien shall not change his place of abode unless he first gives notice to the aliens registration officer nearest to his place of abode of the date on which he intends to change his place of abode, and of his intended new place of abode.⁷⁰

The Commonwealth War Book declared that the principal matters covered by the *Aliens Control Regulations* were restrictions on the ‘embarkation of certain specified aliens’ and ‘aliens traveling within Australia and its Territories’.⁷¹ The Commonwealth War Book ‘covered the precautionary measures to be taken when war was imminent and the measures to be taken immediately after the outbreak of war’.⁷² The War Book clearly stated that ‘no obstacle will be placed in the way of aliens

⁶⁹ *New South Wales Parliamentary Debates (Second Series.) Session 1940-1941. Third Session of the Thirty-Second Parliament.* Sydney, Government Printer: Thomas Henry Tennant, 1941, pp. 1138-39.

⁷⁰ *National Security (Aliens Control) Regulations, Statutory Rule*, p. 410.

⁷¹ *War Book of the Commonwealth of Australia: Co-ordination of Departmental Action on the Occurrence of Strained Relations and on the Outbreak of War.* Melbourne: Department of Defence, July, 1939. ‘Part 1: Precautionary Stage, Chapter XII. Control of Aliens and Passenger Traffic’, May, 1939, p. 2.

⁷² P. Hasluck, *The Government and the People, 1939-1941.* Canberra: Australian War Memorial, 1952, p. 122.

of good character, and not under suspicion, leaving Australia during the Precautionary Period, if they so desire'.⁷³ As we will see in the following chapters, the *Aliens Control Regulations* were only intended to have an effect on aliens who were under suspicion by authorities. However, there were thousands of aliens and enemy aliens who were clearly victimized and suffered the consequences of the *Aliens Control Regulations*.

Clause 17 (1) of the *Aliens Control Regulations* also required enemy aliens to report to their nearest Police Station in order to obtain a permit to travel outside 'the police district in which his place of abode is situated'.⁷⁴ 'Police District' was defined as 'an area in charge of or patrolled by the police stationed at a police station, or such other area as the Deputy Director of Security in the State concerned determines'.⁷⁵ This was, in practice, unnecessarily restrictive. A restriction was placed on enemy aliens where they were only allowed to travel within a five mile radius of their police district. Clause 19 of the *Aliens Control Regulations* gave the Commonwealth Government the control over where enemy aliens resided and the authority to 'prohibit aliens from any place or area'.⁷⁶

The restrictions placed on travel and movement and the process involved in obtaining permits was cumbersome. Every alien who was issued with a travel permit was required to carry it at all times. A copy of the permit was filed at the police station; another copy was given to the alien which was to be kept with them at all times; and a third copy was forwarded to the Central ARO. As Lamidey

⁷³ Hasluck, *The Government and the People, 1939-1941*, p. 122.

⁷⁴ *National Security (Aliens Control) Regulations, Statutory Rule*, p. 411.

⁷⁵ Lamidey, *Aliens Control: 'Aliens Classification and Advisory Committee, Interim Report Submitted to the Right Honourable H.V. Evatt, LL.D., K.C., M.P. The Attorney General of the Commonwealth of Australia' (1943)*, p. 25.

⁷⁶ *National Security (Aliens Control) Regulations, Statutory Rule*, p. 412.

wrote, the 'general purpose of requiring enemy aliens to obtain travel permits is to restrict their traveling as far as possible to the district in which they reside'.⁷⁷ The ACAC also acknowledged the effect that this Clause had on aliens:

The effect of refusing an alien permission to travel a few hundred yards, or even to cross the street if that street was the boundary line of the police district, to pay a social call, to do some shopping or to go to the pictures was generally injurious to aliens and officials alike.⁷⁸

As a result of the ACAC's findings, the definition of a police district was changed in August 1942, when it was extended to a radius of fifteen miles and was to become known as a 'metropolitan area'. Provincial areas such as Newcastle became regarded as one police district and country areas were also regarded as a police district. According to Lamidey, this change meant that aliens could move more freely within greatly increased areas without applying for permits.⁷⁹ Aliens were permitted to use public transport and obtain a lift in a private vehicle only if it were driven by a 'good British subject'.⁸⁰ No travel permit was issued indefinitely. An application was required to be made every fourteen days with notice. Medical practitioners who were required to travel also had to undertake this process. Later on the ACAC decided that the permit could be renewed on the day the alien reported it, after complaints were made by enemy aliens who reported to renew the permit a few days earlier than it expired and told to return on the day.⁸¹

Restrictions on travel also complicated other *Aliens Control Regulations*. The ACAC also recommended that family members of internees were permitted to visit them in camp, 'each case

⁷⁷ Lamidey, *Aliens Control*, p. 13.

⁷⁸ Lamidey, *Aliens Control*: 'Report to the Honourable Arthur A. Calwell', p. 9.

⁷⁹ Lamidey, *Aliens Control*: 'Report to the Honourable Arthur A. Calwell', p. 10.

⁸⁰ Lamidey, *Aliens Control*: 'Report to the Honourable Arthur A. Calwell', p. 12.

⁸¹ Lamidey, *Aliens Control*: 'Report to the Honourable Arthur A. Calwell', p. 14.

of course being dealt with on its own merits'.⁸² The wives of husbands interned were allowed to visit the camp twice a month but required written permission from the Commandant of the camp and a travel permit issued and referred to Central ARO for direction.⁸³

Further restrictions on travel were implemented in Australia's north from 1942 because of the heightened security threat in Australia's north. The *Queensland Curfew Order 1942* (Cth) was introduced on 12 February by the Minister of Army; the *Aliens Control Regulations* maintained that enemy aliens were not permitted outside their house between the hours of 8pm and 5am. Exemptions were made for those who worked in a hospital and other essential services whose work hours required them to travel at this time.⁸⁴

In June 1943, the Security Service took over joint responsibility of the curfew with the Queensland Commander who was solely responsible for police officers and ARO carrying out *Aliens Control Regulations*.⁸⁵ Nonetheless, by September 1944, it was generally accepted that the curfew was a failure. Lamidey wrote:

Many felt that with large numbers of aliens transferred north, both for sugar work and as members of the Civil Aliens Corps, its retention was a necessity: others took the view that no large body of aliens could reasonably be expected to be cooped up and not permitted any form of pleasure or amusement after 8.p.m., which, of course, effectively barred [them] from picture halls, dance halls, and any other form of entertainment.⁸⁶

The curfew remained but the Security Service and the military amended the order. It was still in force in the north of what was known as the 'Alien Line', a line across Queensland from the east coast westward to the boundary of the Northern Territory 'designed to prevent aliens from taking

⁸² Lamidey, *Aliens Control*: 'Report to the Honourable Arthur A. Calwell', p. 13.

⁸³ Lamidey, *Aliens Control*: 'Report to the Honourable Arthur A. Calwell', p. 13.

⁸⁴ Lamidey, *Aliens Control*: 'Report to the Honourable Arthur A. Calwell', p. 46.

⁸⁵ Lamidey, *Aliens Control*: 'Report to the Honourable Arthur A. Calwell', p. 46.

⁸⁶ Lamidey, *Aliens Control*: 'Report to the Honourable Arthur A. Calwell', p. 46.

up residence north thereof'.⁸⁷ By 1 December 1944 Aliens residing south of the line were not subject to any restrictions; however, those in the north were still bound by them. The Alien line was abolished in 18 May 1945. A total of 94 prosecutions and fines had been executed since its implementation.⁸⁸

'Refugee' or 'Enemy Alien'

Another concern for the ACAC included the classification process. As evidenced in Chapter Six, German-Jewish refugee women were classified as enemy aliens at the outbreak of the war and endured the restrictions promulgated under the *Aliens Control Regulations*. The ACAC tackled the issue by stating there was an obvious difficulty experienced in determining what was meant by the definition of 'enemy alien'.⁸⁹ In order to clear up 'misconceptions and misunderstandings' from officers administering the *Aliens Control Regulations*, the ACAC recommended a table of classified nationalities be prepared in consultation with the Department of External Affairs.

The table was completed in April 1943 and 'became the accepted and authoritative basis upon which all alien nationals were registered'.⁹⁰ Consequently, German-Jewish peoples were reclassified as 'refugee aliens'. The task of assigning aliens to categories was given to the Security Service. It was considered that with all the information and documentation they had gathered, Secret Service and CIB would have no difficulties in classifying aliens or enemy aliens.⁹¹ There were three classifications:

⁸⁷ Lamidey, *Aliens Control*: 'Report to the Honourable Arthur A. Calwell', p. 46.

⁸⁸ Lamidey, *Aliens Control*: 'Report to the Honourable Arthur A. Calwell', p. 47.

⁸⁹ Lamidey, *Aliens Control*: 'Report to the Honourable Arthur A. Calwell', p. 27.

⁹⁰ Lamidey, *Aliens Control*: 'Report to the Honourable Arthur A. Calwell', p. 27.

⁹¹ Lamidey, *Aliens Control*: 'Interim Report (1943)', p. 11.

“A” - Aliens whose loyalty to the Commonwealth is reasonably open to doubt to such an extent that the security of the Commonwealth can only be met by their internment.

“B” - Aliens whose loyalty to the Commonwealth cannot be established with such certainty [certainty] that the security of the Commonwealth can only be met by their internment.

“C” - Aliens whose loyalty to the Commonwealth is not reasonably open to doubt, and on whom no restrictions should be placed.⁹²

It was specified by the ACAC that anyone who was subversive and classified as ‘C’, that ‘the doubt must be reasonable, and must have a real foundation, and that the principles enunciated by the Attorney General and earlier quoted herein should be borne firmly in mind by the officers entrusted with this duty’.⁹³ In Britain by contrast, three categories based purely on age, were considered sufficient. Those included enemy aliens under sixteen, over sixty five and invalid or infirm, except ‘in highly unusual cases’, where British authorities considered security needs were ‘sufficiently met in the cases of the aged and infirm by restriction orders rather than by internment or continued detention’.⁹⁴

The classification and loyalty of an alien was determined by local authorities, which highlighted the subjective nature of the *Aliens Control Regulations*. The ACAC wrote:

Obviously it cannot be predicted with certainty of any member of any class of aliens, merely by virtue of membership of that class, that his loyalty to the Commonwealth is assured.⁹⁵

The process had a profound affect on German-Jewish refugees who were wrongfully classified as enemy aliens until March 1943, when the ACAC recommended that ‘Refugee Alien’ become a classification.

⁹² Lamidey, *Aliens Control*: ‘Interim Report (1943), p. 10.

⁹³ Lamidey, *Aliens Control*: ‘Interim Report (1943), p. 11.

⁹⁴ Lamidey, *Aliens Control*: ‘Interim Report (1943), p. 11.

⁹⁵ Lamidey, *Aliens Control*: ‘Interim Report (1943), p. 11.

Other factors such as class and ethnicity may have also attributed to the fines that were acquired by Italian women during the war. Most German-Jewish women in this thesis were not fined for being in breach of the *Aliens Control Regulations*. The German-Jewish women were, in general, from a higher social class than their Italian counterparts, educated and able to speak and understand the English language. The majority of Italian women did not speak English and this compounded their problems of assimilation and awareness of the *Aliens Control Regulations* which they were expected to comply. The 1933 census showed that over forty three percent of Italian women living in Australia were unable to read or write English.⁹⁶ Consequently, it is safe to assume that the majority of Italian women were unaware of the *Aliens Control Regulations* that were gazetted during the war.

As will be discussed later, Internment was the most extreme measure introduced during war-time. The most memorable moment regarding internment in Australia was when German-Jewish refugees were mistakenly interned. The film *The Dunera Boys (1985)* depicts the experiences of German-Jewish refugees who fled Nazi persecution and sailed to Australia on the *Dunera*.⁹⁷ Over 1,600 German-Jewish refugees were arrested in Britain and transported to Australia and immediately interned at Hay in Western New South Wales. It became known that the Australian Military Force division had doubts as to whom they were interning.⁹⁸ Unfortunately, because of the war-time hysteria, many of the passengers of this ship were suspected of being German spies by the British Government and were sent to be interned.

⁹⁶ *Census of the Commonwealth of Australia, 30 June 1933*. Canberra: L. F. Johnston, Commonwealth Government Printer, 1933, p. 386. Out of the total 14,068 population of Italians living in Australia in 1933, 11,531 Italians could not read or write English. There were 3,590 Italian women and 2,901 were not able to speak or write English. *Census of the Commonwealth of Australia, 30 June 1933*, p. 386.

⁹⁷ Film directed by Ben Lewin, *The Dunera Boys*. Jethro Film Productions, 1985.

⁹⁸ Andgel, *Fifty Years of Caring*, p. 43.

As noted in Chapter One, ACAC conducted investigations that led to policy changes regarding the treatment of enemy aliens. The ACAC was established by the Attorney General Herbert Vere Evatt in March 1942 and aimed 'to work in close association with the Director General of Security on all matters affecting aliens, and to see that our treatment of them did not fall short of that of other allied democratic countries'.⁹⁹ The ACAC was headed by Lamidey, who wrote that complaints were made regarding the refugee issue, where many had 'come to Australia by arrangement with the United Kingdom Government as refugees from Nazi oppression'.¹⁰⁰ He further wrote that the Committee took

the view that it was both unjust and unwise to label as an Enemy Alien a person of enemy origin whose hatred and opposition to an enemy Government arises from bitter personal experiences of persecution and oppression, and that if he satisfied a prescribed authority that he is entitled to be designated as such he should be given an amended status as a refugee.¹⁰¹

The Commonwealth Government realized their mistake in classifying refugees as enemy aliens; as Lamidey notes, after a 'long and protracted struggle...the views of the committee prevailed'.¹⁰² The ACAC completed a table of classified nationalities in consultation with the Department of External Affairs.¹⁰³ Lamidey wrote 'in context it must be remembered that many thousands of aliens had sought sanctuary in Australia from the repressions and injustices inflicted upon them by the Nazi and Fascist powers'.¹⁰⁴

⁹⁹ Lamidey, *Aliens Control*, p. 4. Members of the Committee included the Hon. A.A. Calwell, MP; Chairmen, Senator Walter Cooper; W.R. Dovey KC; J.V. Barry KC; and for a short while, Mrs Jessie Street and Lt. A.R. Cutler VC. [Lamidey, *Aliens Control*, pp. 4 and 27].

¹⁰⁰ Lamidey, *Aliens Control*: 'Report to the Honourable Arthur A. Calwell', p. 33.

¹⁰¹ Lamidey, *Aliens Control*: 'Report to the Honourable Arthur A. Calwell', p. 33.

¹⁰² Lamidey, *Aliens Control*: 'Report to the Honourable Arthur A. Calwell', p. 33.

¹⁰³ Lamidey, *Aliens Control*: 'Report to the Honourable Arthur A. Calwell', p. 27.

¹⁰⁴ Lamidey, *Aliens Control*, p. 4.

Nevertheless, the Commonwealth Government's stance towards refugees was highlighted in a statement made by the Director General of Security in July 1942:

The refugees who have been given shelter in Australia from the Nazi oppression which they so vehemently denounce and from the privations and sufferings in internments in Germany and the indescribable humiliations and cruelties and the loss of every Jew, in Germany and Austria..., and whose residence in this country is of such recent date, might reasonably be expected to tolerate here war conditions which, in the interest of national safety, make a distinction, between good British subjects and recent arrivals from enemy countries...and while the nation is still at the middle of a most difficult period of war, they might at least, be patient and reasonable.¹⁰⁵

Out of the 195 files concerned with German women living in New South Wales examined for this study, 151 German women were classified as Refugee aliens in the year 1943-44. Many women were unable to become naturalized British subjects because of the duration of their stay. Foreigners were expected to reside in Australia for no less than five years before applying for naturalization.

However, obtaining naturalization certificates did not necessarily exempt German-Jewish refugees. Many German-Jewish refugee men were still called up to work for the Employment Company, which was 'established to ensure that the Australian Defence Force had a large corpus of soldiers dedicated to essential labouring tasks, the hard physical labour needed to maintain the war effort and support the fighting forces'.¹⁰⁶ There were thirty nine Employment Companies established by the Army during the Second World War.¹⁰⁷ Eleven of these companies were made up of enemy

¹⁰⁵ K. Kweit, 'Be patient and Reasonable!' The Internment of German-Jewish Refugees in Australia'. *Australian Journal of politics and History*, Volume 31, Issue 1, p. 61.

¹⁰⁶ J. Factor, 'Forgotten Soldiers: Aliens in the Australian Army's Employment Companies during World War II'. *The Birstein Project*. Melbourne: Australian Centre for Jewish Civilisation, 2008.

[http://www.yosselbirstein.org/pdf/eng/other/Forgotten_Soldiers.pdf]. Accessed: 12 March 2010.

¹⁰⁷ J. Factor, 'Forgotten Soldiers: Aliens in the Australian Army's Employment Companies during World War II'. *The Birstein Project*. Melbourne: Australian Centre for Jewish Civilisation, 2008.

aliens. This is reflected in the fact that the majority of the German-Jewish women in this study were married to enemy aliens who were conscripted to the Employment Companies, where they were 'directed to factories for packing and transporting goods'.¹⁰⁸ As a result of their husbands' employment conscription, many women were granted exemption from the *Aliens Control Regulations* in 1943.

The husbands of many German-Jewish women in this study continued to be treated as enemy aliens under the *National Security (Aliens Service) Regulations 1943* (Cth). Many were called up by the Civil Alien Corps which was affiliated with the Allied Works Council, to work in labour camps because of the shortage of manpower during the war. According to Lamidey, the 'continuation of this practice and an anomaly which it raised when viewed against the *Aliens Control Regulations* undoubtedly was the cause of much resentment.¹⁰⁹ As a result, many women became exempt from the *Aliens Control Regulations* because authorities noted that their husbands were working for the Employment Company.

Prohibited Possessions Order

Restrictions were not only placed on the travel and movement of enemy aliens. Women were also affected negatively by the *Prohibited Possessions Order* introduced on 7 November 1940. The *Prohibited Possessions Order* was introduced under Clause 22 of the *Aliens Control Regulations*. Among other stipulations, an enemy alien needed a permit to possess a wireless receiving

[http://www.yosselbirstein.org/pdf/eng/other/Forgotten_Soldiers.pdf]. Accessed: 12 March 2010.

¹⁰⁸ J. Factor, 'Forgotten Soldiers: Aliens in the Australian Army's Employment Companies during World War II'. *The Birstein Project*. Melbourne: Australian Centre for Jewish Civilisation, 2008.

[http://www.yosselbirstein.org/pdf/eng/other/Forgotten_Soldiers.pdf]

¹⁰⁹ Lamidey, *Aliens Control: 'Report to the Honourable Arthur A. Calwell'*, p. 34.

apparatus during the war (See Appendix Five). This required a letter to authorities that asked for permission, along with an application. The Security Service was responsible for issuing the permits and District Commandants were directed that 'refusal should not be merely on the basis of alienage but rather on the assessment of the security risk involved'.¹¹⁰ This reinforces the notion that the enforcement of legislation enacted during war-time was an arbitrary process. Not only did the Commonwealth Government place restrictions on the ownership of a wireless, the issue of broadcast listener's licenses to enemy aliens had ceased and officers revoked the license from those who had obtained one in the past.¹¹¹

Lamidey argued that the *Aliens Control Regulations* 'empowered the Minister to prohibit the possession or use by aliens or naturalized British subjects of enemy origin of any things specified in the Order'.¹¹² He explained that

An enemy alien ...[could] not possess or use any wireless transmitting apparatus or wireless receiving apparatus except with the written permission of the Postmaster-General or an officer authorized in writing by him.¹¹³

The measure was directed at preventing access to overseas broadcasts. In regards to an Italian woman obtaining permission to possess or use a wireless receiving apparatus, the Deputy Director of Security for New South Wales responded by stating that: '

a person of enemy nationality is not prohibited from the possession or use of any wireless receiving apparatus designed for, or capable of reception only within the medium wave broadcasting band of 550-1600 kilocycles (545-188 meters). Provided, therefore, the receiver which you propose to use is only a broadcast band receiver no written permission is necessary.¹¹⁴

¹¹⁰ Lamidey, *Aliens Control*: 'Report to the Honourable Arthur A. Calwell', p. 35.

¹¹¹ Lamidey, *Aliens Control*: 'Report to the Honourable Arthur A. Calwell', p. 37.

¹¹² Lamidey, *Aliens Control*: 'Report to the Honourable Arthur A. Calwell', p. 37.

¹¹³ Lamidey, *Aliens Control*: 'Report to the Honourable Arthur A. Calwell', p. 37.

¹¹⁴ Response from Deputy Director of Security for New South Wales, 2 February 1944. See 'Bertacco, Maria (Italian) [box 61]'. C123/1 2771, NAA, Sydney.

That is, in his view, in 1944, there was no problem with people listening to local radio broadcasts.

By November 1940, however, it appears the Commonwealth Government's intention was to 'prohibit almost entirely the possession of wireless equipment by enemy aliens'.¹¹⁵ Lamidey wrote that

advice was tendered that any efficient valve receiver with one or more valves was capable, under good conditions and with an outside aerial, of receiving programmes from stations in other localities: experts from radio manufacturing companies had stated the ease with which a receiving set could be converted to a transmitting set with an effective range and that contact with a vessel off the coast could be made by such a converted set using medium waves. These dangers were regarded as so real as to cause the administrative procedure to be amended to provide for absolute prohibition pending further consultation with the Service authorities most vitally involved.¹¹⁶

According to Lamidey,

All that could be done was to examine each case, including an examination of the enemy alien's attitude and his reliability as assessed by Security officers and to issue, in favourable cases, a permit to enable him to listen to local reception only. Under no circumstance was permission given for the possession of a short-wave receiver.¹¹⁷

The *Prohibited Possessions Order* was amended on 18 February 1944. Reception was allowed without permission to a greater local medium band and by 15 December 1945, after the war had ended, the *Prohibited Possessions Order* became less stringent and no permits were issued.¹¹⁸

Who administered the Aliens Control Regulation?

The inconsistencies that existed within the CIB were scrutinized in late 1941, when the Attorney-General became concerned with the structure and operation of the Security Service. Victorian Police Commissioner, Alexander Duncan, was appointed to investigate the Security Service and

¹¹⁵ Lamidey, *Aliens Control*: 'Report to the Honourable Arthur A. Calwell', p. 37.

¹¹⁶ Lamidey, *Aliens Control*: 'Report to the Honourable Arthur A. Calwell', p. 38.

¹¹⁷ Lamidey, *Aliens Control*: 'Report to the Honourable Arthur A. Calwell', p. 38.

¹¹⁸ Lamidey, *Aliens Control*: 'Report to the Honourable Arthur A. Calwell', p. 39.

released his report in January 1942, which became known as the Duncan Report, and took only four months to complete.¹¹⁹ Duncan concluded that there were a 'number of unsatisfactory features and advocated a change of personnel, including the appointment of a Director General of Security in Canberra and the appointment of various Police Commissioner as State Directors in place of the existing State Security Officers'.¹²⁰



Figure 8: Victorian Police Commissioner, Alexander Duncan

National Library of Australia Digital Collections.
[<http://nla.gov.au/nla.pic-vn4769959>]. Accessed: 25
March 2012

¹¹⁹ Coulthard-Clark, 'Australia's Wartime', p. 24.

¹²⁰ C. D. Coulthard-Clark, 'Australia's Wartime Security Service'. *Defence Force Journal*, Volume 16, Issue May/June, 1979, p. 24.



Figure 9: Director General of Security E. E. Longfield Lloyd

Coulthard-Clark, 'Australia's Wartime', p. 25



Figure 10: Director of Military Intelligence Colonel C. G. Roberts

Coulthard-Clark, 'Australia's Wartime', p. 25

The Director of Military Intelligence, Colonel C.G. Roberts, was critical of Duncan's findings and believed there was no need for this position if the Security Service was to continue to function. Roberts favored the organization being distant from the Army, but still cooperating with it, while the Security Service would have full executive power. He believed it would be of no good to change the structure especially with the Japanese invasion so close to home. Roberts criticized the suggestion that the New South Wales Commissioner of Police, William John Mackay, be appointed to the position, claiming he was unsuitable for the role.¹²¹

The Chief of General Staff, Lieutenant General V.A.H. Sturdee claimed that 'too many authorities were involved, and Duncan's recommendations would do nothing towards combining executive

¹²¹ Coulthard-Clark, 'Australia's Wartime', p. 24.

and investigatory powers in one body or organization'.¹²² What Sturdee wanted to see was the Army's primary role defined in terms of being prepared to fight to defend the country; the Security Service to move away from the Army to the Attorney General's department; and the Commandant of the Royal Military College at Duntoon, Brigadier B. Coombes, to replace the recommendation of Mackay as Director General of Security. Coombes was responsible for pre-war security arrangements and security throughout the first fourteen months of war. The Minister for the Army, Francis Michael Forde wanted 'a ruthlessly efficient and quick moving body' which would counter the danger 'walling up around Australia and inside Australia', although he felt such a centralized organization should still be within the ambit of his own department'.¹²³

In early March, a report by J.C. Kevin of the Department of the Army claimed that too much attention had been concentrated 'on leftists and enemy nationals such as Italians of mediocre intelligence and refugees to the disregard of other aliens and British elements of Fascist and near-Fascist proclivities'.¹²⁴ It was recommended that a 'better trained staff of professionalism minded people [be] directed by a highly capable leader'.¹²⁵ Time did not allow for the full implementation of the Duncan report. However, what was concluded at a conference with the Attorney General and ministers was that a Director General of the Security Service was to be appointed.¹²⁶ Mackay was appointed to the position on 17 March 1942, and according to Lamidey, was not 'welcomed whole heartedly by various service intelligence organisations'.¹²⁷

¹²² Coulthard-Clark, 'Australia's Wartime', p. 24.

¹²³ Coulthard-Clark, 'Australia's Wartime', p. 24.

¹²⁴ Cain, *Origins of Political Surveillance*, p. 288.

¹²⁵ Cain, *Origins of Political Surveillance*, p. 288.

¹²⁶ Coulthard-Clark, 'Australia's Wartime', p. 26.

¹²⁷ Lamidey, *Partial Success*, p. 51.

Although the Australian Federal Police was not established until 1979, the Second World War saw an increase in the power executed by the Commonwealth over the State Governments. As Director General, Mackay had both executive and investigative authority which included control over

surveillance, prosecution, restriction, internment (hostile, alien, subversive and pacifist individuals or organizations), sabotage, administering Aliens Control Regulations, control of passport and visa issuance, control of passengers and crews of ships and aircraft landing in Australia, personnel vetting, security of factories and establishments engaged in war production, all wharves and ships alongside, security of information and prevention of harmful rumors and collation of security information decided abroad.¹²⁸

Mackay later assumed the control of all radio security measures and direction of radio interception for security purposes.¹²⁹ It was clear that a decision was made to keep military and national security functions separate.

The Security Service was reconstituted on 1 April 1942 as a new organization and it was decided that it 'should be considered and built up as a permanent and not merely as a war-time organization'.¹³⁰ However, Attorney-General Evatt refused because it was too expensive. MacKay's new organization was to include representatives of the United States Federal Bureau of Investigation, British MI5 representatives and the United States Forces in Australia.

Towards the end of the year, MacKay eventually established the 'Security Service, Australian Intelligence Corps', a major part of the staff of which were military personnel. For many months, Mackay asked the Army for a loan of personnel for an indefinite period, however, Commander-in-Chief, General Sir Thomas Blamey, opposed the idea of military personnel being seconded to civilian authorities. Eventually, Mackay was permitted to establish his new organization because the Army did not want the responsibilities of the Security Service and they did not want the State

¹²⁸ Coulthard-Clark, 'Australia's Wartime', p. 26.

¹²⁹ Coulthard-Clark, 'Australia's Wartime', p. 26.

¹³⁰ Coulthard-Clark, 'Australia's Wartime', p. 26.

Police to obtain them either. There were, however, problems regarding the Army personnel who comprised most of the Security Service staff. Army personnel were working full time in civilian clothing for the Security Service, but were still part of the Army unit. This meant they were being paid and trained by the Army.¹³¹

Mackay envisaged a new police empire. He wanted State Commissioners of Police to have powers as deputies of Deputy General to launch prosecutions under the *Aliens Control Regulations*. Director of Naval Intelligence, Commander Rupert Basil Michel Long, 'feared that if the whole of the Security Service's very extensive powers were put in the hands of the police, an unscrupulous government could impose Gestapo-style control over the country'.¹³² This 'Gestapo-style' control was what the opposition feared before the *National Security Act*. During this time, Member of Parliament, John Albert Beasley (West Sydney, New South Wales), stated in Parliament

My own personal feelings in regard to the military aspect comes into my consideration. I realize the need for discipline, but I have never felt that I could accept the form in which military discipline is exercised. The military life does give rise to a form of dictatorship because whatever is said by the men on top, even though it may be obviously wrong, is the law.¹³³

Though the Australian Labor Party opposed the implementation of the *National Security Act*, once in government they continued to administer the *Aliens Control Regulations* until the end of the war.

One Labor politician who was 'willing to put principles above party' was Maurice Blackburn. Blackburn wanted to force the Party to revise its policies during war-time. He was expelled from the Party in 1941 because he was involved in the Victorian Council of the Movement Against War and

¹³¹ Coulthard-Clark, 'Australia's Wartime', p. 26.

¹³² Coulthard-Clark, 'Australia's Wartime', p. 26.

¹³³ Second Reading Speech, Mr Beasley, p, 208.

Fascism.¹³⁴ Australian Labor Party members on the left were hoping he would return to 'help roll back the tide of sectarian conservatism engulfing the Victorian branch of the Party, and keep the Federal Party on a true Labor cause as it faced the challenges of governing in war-time'.¹³⁵ Due to ill health, Blackburn was unable to fight against policies implemented by the Curtin Government.¹³⁶

Figure 11: Portrait of Labor Politician Maurice Blackburn

State library of Victoria, Painting of Maurice Blackburn. Printed 1942. [<http://www.slv.vic.gov.au/pictoria/b/2/8/doc/b28694.shtml>]. Accessed: 25 March 2012.



Despite the criticism that Mackay received, the responsibilities of the Security Service remained unchanged. Attorney General Herbert Vere Evatt went overseas and left Forde in charge of administering the new Security Service until August 1942. Forde ruled that Director General representatives in each State were to be Federal officers and not State Commissioners of Police. Between April and August 1942, the CIB was restricted to departmental investigations and confidential enquiries outside the security field. Due to the growing tension between the State

¹³⁴ S. B. Abeyasekere, 'Australian Dictionary of biography – Maurice Blackburn'. Date unknown. [<http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/blackburn-maurice-mccrae-5258>]. Accessed 14 March 2012.

¹³⁵ C. Rasmussen, 'The 'Lone Wolf' in Sheep's Clothing? Maurice Blackburn, The Australian Labor Party and the Limits to Mateship'. *History Australia*, Volume 3, Issue 2, 2006, pp. 40.6-40.7.

¹³⁶ Rasmussen, 'The 'Lone Wolf'', p. 40.7.

police and the Army, MacKay was replaced by Brigadier William Ballantyne Simpson on 23 September.

Mackay was well known for his uncompromising manner. Lamidey wrote:

There is no doubt Mackay was a driver. He was also an authoritative bureaucrat who could not adapt himself with ease to the wider horizons of the Federal Sphere. A compromise upon matters upon which he had already made up his mind was always difficult to obtain. This perhaps could have been avoided in some measure had he surrounded himself with officials who could have given him sound advice on aspects of principle and policy which were somewhat outside the scope of his former experience as a highly competent Police administrator. But he had not provided for this and his anger at times knew no bounds on what he eloquently described as being 'strangled with bloody paper work.'¹³⁷

It was well known that Mackay achieved the relaxation of the rigor on travel and movement on aliens, implementing changes such as redefining the term 'police district' which was discussed earlier.

Figure 12: New South Wales Commissioner of Police, William John Mackay

Coulthard-Clark, 'Australia's Wartime', p. 25.



¹³⁷ Lamidey, *Partial Success*, p. 51.



Figure 13: Director of Naval Intelligence,
Commander Rupert Basil Michel Long

Coulthard-Clark, 'Australia's Wartime', p. 25



Figure 14: Brigadier William Ballantyne
Simpson

Coulthard-Clark, 'Australia's Wartime', p. 25

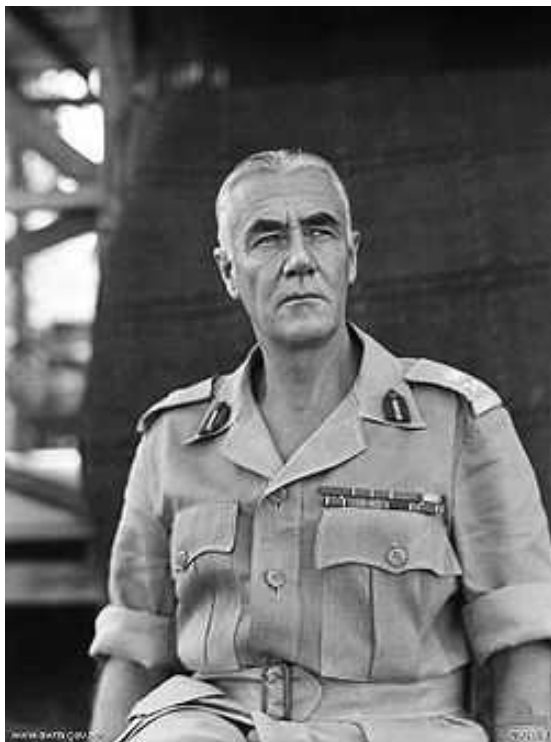


Figure 15: Lieutenant General V.A.H. Sturdee

Coulthard-Clark, 'Australia's Wartime', p. 25



Figure 16: Brigadier B. Coombes

Coulthard-Clark, 'Australia's Wartime', p. 25

Loyalty to the British Empire

Those exempt from the *Aliens Control Regulations* were persons who were British subjects within the meaning of the *Nationality Act 1920* (Cth), Section 18A of which declared that they were 'entitled, while in Australia or any Territory of the Commonwealth, to all political and other rights, powers and privileges to which a natural-born British subject is entitled'.¹³⁸ The *Aliens Control Regulations*, which Mackay and other officials helped administer, proved to be problematic for German, Italian and, Japanese women, as well as to Australian-born women married to an enemy alien, or of German, Italian, or Japanese descent. In theory, being designated a British subject under the *Nationality Act* exempted an individual from the restrictions of the *Aliens Control Regulations*.

During the early twentieth century, Australian history was in actual fact a very British history. Loyalty to the British Empire 'ultimately transcended and was superior to that of the nation'.¹³⁹ Australian citizenship did not exist officially until 1948 with the implementation of the *Nationality and Citizenship Act 1948*.¹⁴⁰ Consequently, 'Australian citizens' before 1948 were considered British subjects. Australia had adopted the legal and constitutional framework of the British Empire which made no reference to Australian citizenship. The term 'citizen' was specifically avoided in the Australian Constitution of 1901 in favor of 'subject' of the British Empire.¹⁴¹

The *Nationality Act* provided no colour bar to prevent aliens from seeking naturalization. However, becoming a naturalized British subject 'did not translate into full acceptance of...membership

¹³⁸ *National Security (Aliens Control) Regulations*, p. 405.

¹³⁹ Beaumont, 'Australian Citizenship', p. 171.

¹⁴⁰ Beaumont, 'Australian Citizenship', pp. 171-72.

¹⁴¹ C. Elkner *et. al.*, *Enemy Alien: The Internment of Italian Migrants in Australia During the Second World War*. Melbourne: Connorcourt Publishing, 2005, p. 209.

[into]...the national community'.¹⁴² Anyone who spoke a foreign language or subscribed to any foreign language publications or homeland appeals such as the Italian Red Cross was regarded as suspicious and potentially disloyal to the British Empire.¹⁴³ While the *Aliens Control Regulations* stated that naturalization offered protection, in practice this was not guaranteed. As witnessed earlier in this chapter, and as will be further discussed in following chapters, naturalization did not guarantee exemption from the *Aliens Control Regulations*. The Merenda family and Australian-born women examined in this study, were subject to harsh restrictions despite the fact they were naturalized British subjects.

The introduction of the *Nationality Act* did nevertheless promote assimilation by providing an opportunity for aliens to acquire British subject status in Australia. If the applicant showed that they had resided in Australia for five years, were of 'good character' and could speak English adequately, then they were entitled to the rights of a 'national born British subject'.¹⁴⁴ The *Nationality Act* was supposedly beneficial for Germans, Italians and Japanese living in Australia for more than five years, unfortunately, for most women, this was not the case. The majority of women in this study, particularly German-Jewish women, arrived here between 1938 and 1940, and therefore were not eligible to apply for naturalization by the time war was declared.

Parliament was clearly aware that loyal Germans would be negatively affected by legislation. Mr Hugh said:

¹⁴² I. M. O'Brien, 'Citizenship, Rights and Emergency Powers in Second World War Australia.' *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, Volume 53, Issue 2, 2007, pp. 210, 211.

¹⁴³ O'Brien, 'Citizenship, Rights and Emergency Powers', p. 211.

¹⁴⁴ J. Chesterman, 'Natural- Born Subjects? Race and British Subjecthood in Australia'. *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, Volume 51, Issue 1, 2005, p. 32.

They should be given the liberty of which we profess to be so proud. I do not propose to cite individual cases, but many Germans in Australia have played a most important part in its development and particularly those men who were brought to Australia by the late Mr George Fife Angas about 100 years ago. Descendants of many of those early settlers are now spread all over Australia and are rendering a very valuable service to the community.¹⁴⁵

Labor politician John Solomon Rosevear also stated

We are being asked, among other things, to grant power to certain officials to search premises without warrant. We have vivid recollection [of] what was done in this way under War Precautions Act passed just at the outbreak of the last war. Trade union premises and even Government offices in Queensland, were raided at [the] time by an over-zealous official under instructions [of]... the present Attorney-General.¹⁴⁶

The loyalty of naturalized Germans was questioned by authorities because Germany did not 'recognise any naturalization unless it was obtained with the consent of the German authorities'.¹⁴⁷

In order to prove their loyalty to Australia, many Italian men opposed Mussolini publicly and enlisted in the Australian Defence Forces. Those who were naturalized were accepted for service. However, the applications of unnaturalized Italians were rejected and then referred to Intelligence.¹⁴⁸

The assistant research officer of the Labor Council, Mr S. Jordan, claimed that men born in Australia of Italian parents, who had been naturalized, were being victimized by employers because of their Italian names. He argued that this 'was most unfair because these men were liable for military service in the defence of Australia, like you men of British parentage'.¹⁴⁹ The *Nationality Act* stated that those who became naturalized were entitled to the same rights as a British subject. However,

¹⁴⁵ Commonwealth, *Hansard – Second Reading Speech*, House of Representatives, 8 September 1939, 198-99 (Mr McHugh).

¹⁴⁶ Commonwealth, *Hansard – Second Reading Speech*, House of Representatives, 7 September 1939, 173 (Mr McHugh).

¹⁴⁷ McDermott, 'Internment during the Great War', p. 352.

¹⁴⁸ 'Italians Eager to Enlist'. *The Argus*, 12 June 1940, p. 5.

¹⁴⁹ 'Australian-born Italians. Unfair treatment alleged'. *Sydney Morning Herald*, 13 June 1940, p. 11.

this did not necessarily mean naturalized subjects were exempt from the *Aliens Control Regulations* or discrimination from the community.

Loyalty towards the British Empire was determined by the nationality the individual was officially identified with. However, Ted Cante has observed that nationality can be won or lost as allegiances change, through exceptional circumstances, or through marriage and by adoption in respect of children.¹⁵⁰ The most surprising revelation for Australian women who married German, Italian and Japanese men was that they unknowingly lost their British nationality upon marriage and were required to register as enemy aliens. An amendment made to Part IV, Division 1 (19) of the *Nationality Act*, made it more difficult for women to regain their British status:

the wife of a British subject shall be deemed to be a British subject, and the wife of an alien shall be deemed to be an alien...A woman who, having been a British subject, has by or in consequence of her marriage become an alien, shall not, by reason only by death of her husband or the dissolution of her marriage, cease to be an alien.¹⁵¹

The *Nationality Act* did however provide the opportunity for such women to retain naturalized British subjects.¹⁵² Part IV, Division 1 (18) clearly stated that women married to an alien or enemy alien could make a declaration in order to retain her status as British subject should her husband

¹⁵⁰ T. Cante, *Community Cohesion: A New Framework for Race and Diversity*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005, p. 116.

¹⁵¹ *The Acts of Parliament of the Commonwealth of Australia passed during the year 1920*, in portion of the first session of the eighth parliament of the Commonwealth. Albert J. Mulleti, Government Printer of the State of Victoria, 1920, p. 146.

¹⁵² Anyone who applied for naturalisation was obligated to swear an oath of allegiance: 'I, A.B., swear by Almighty God that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to His Majesty, King George the fifth, his Heirs and Successors, according to law'. See *The Acts of Parliament of the Commonwealth of Australia passed during the year 1920, in portion of the first session of the eighth parliament of the Commonwealth*. Albert J. Mulleti, Government Printer of the State of Victoria, 1920, p. 153.

cease to be so during the marriage, although she would need to be aware of the *Act* and take the initiative of making the required declaration

Provided that where a man ceases during the continuance of his marriage to be a British subject it shall be lawful for his wife to make a declaration that she desires to retain British nationality, and thereupon she shall be deemed to remain a British subject.¹⁵³

It was also provided that a British-born woman married to an enemy alien could apply to retain her British nationality; however, the onus was on the woman to be aware of the need to do so, and to make the declaration. She could then be given a certificate of naturalization at the discretion of the Governor General. That is, it was not an automatic process. The default by law was loss of citizenship.¹⁵⁴

The process was a serious undertaking. In order for a woman classified as an enemy alien to regain her British nationality, an application form was completed and sent to the CIB (See Appendix Six). The Department of Interior then responded with the completion of a general report and the CIB informed the alien whether there was any security objection.¹⁵⁵ The report, together with the aliens' application was then forwarded to the CIB Headquarters in Canberra. The Security Service would then advise the CIB in writing, either if there was no security 'objection raised to the application' or whether there was 'likely to be a Security objection', where details would then have been transmitted to the Director General.¹⁵⁶ If there was no security objection raised, there was no need for a report to be submitted, and the application proceeded from the CIB to the Department of the Interior.¹⁵⁷ If there was a security objection raised, a detailed report was transmitted

¹⁵³ *The Acts of Parliament of the Commonwealth of Australia passed during the year 1920*, p. 146.

¹⁵⁴ *The Acts of Parliament of the Commonwealth of Australia passed during the year 1920*, p. 146.

¹⁵⁵ Lamidey, *Aliens Control*: 'Report to the Honourable Arthur A. Calwell', p. 59.

¹⁵⁶ Lamidey, *Aliens Control*: 'Report to the Honourable Arthur A. Calwell', p. 59.

¹⁵⁷ Lamidey, *Aliens Control*: 'Report to the Honourable Arthur A. Calwell', p. 59.

immediately to the Headquarters of the Security Service and the CIB.¹⁵⁸ Most women in this study acquired naturalization towards the end of the war - between 1943 and 1945. This was most probably as a result of the recommendations of the ACAC and the war situation beginning to improve in Australia.

Naturalization did however, include children under twenty one years of age, who were 'included in a certificate of naturalization granted to his parent'.¹⁵⁹ If the child was over twenty one years old, he or she was not included, as Italian migrant Rita Contore discovered. Rita had been living in Australia for sixteen years, and because both her parents were naturalized, she believed that she too was included in the certificate that was issued to her parents. However, authorities deemed this fact insignificant and rejected her appeal to be exempt from the *Aliens Control Regulations*.¹⁶⁰

The Commonwealth Minister for the Interior, Senator H.S. Foll, publicized the opportunity for women to retain their British nationality when he found out that many women were 'suffering unnecessary hardship' through the alien registration process.¹⁶¹ Prior to March 1942, as a general principle, all applications for naturalization were rejected from all enemy aliens. Without providing any evidence and merely stating a 'Security objection', the Minister for the Interior, Joseph Collings in May 1942, felt that he was entitled 'to some evidence to support an objection' was required.¹⁶² As a result, recommendations were forwarded to the Minister for the Interior in December 1942 to

¹⁵⁸ Lamidey, *Aliens Control: 'Report to the Honourable Arthur A. Calwell'*, p. 59.

¹⁵⁹ *The Acts of Parliament of the Commonwealth of Australia passed during the year 1920*, p. 140.

¹⁶⁰ Questionnaire completed by the M. P. I. Section, Police Headquarters in Sydney, 30 August 1940. See 'Zadro [formerly] Contore, Rita (Italian) [Box 243]'. C123/1 8155, NAA, Sydney.

¹⁶¹ M. Bevege, *Behind Barbed Wire: Internment in Australia during World War II*. St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1993, p. 31.

¹⁶² Lamidey, *Aliens Control: 'Report to the Honourable Arthur A. Calwell'*, p. 55.

review existing restrictions that were considered too severe, 'particularly in the case of those who had given evidence that they were opposed to the regime of their native country and to those who had demonstrated the loyalty to the All in cause'.¹⁶³

'Preventing injury to the war effort': Internment as a measure of control

Although the registration proved to be obstructive for most women in this study, many had to endure the most stringent *Aliens Control Regulations* – internment. The following illustration taken from the NAA website shows the internment camps that were established across Australia during the Second World War. Figure 17 shows that the distribution of camps was highly concentrated in Australia's south and south east because of the high population of migrants who settled in those areas.

According to Paul Hasluck, it was a general rule that women were not to be interned, but when the interest of public safety demanded it they would be kept in custody.¹⁶⁴ Saunders argued that accordingly, the *Aliens Control Regulations* assumed that 'only European male enemy aliens were in any way politically active, women being concerned only with their narrow domestic responsibilities'.¹⁶⁵ Despite this general rule, several women were interned on the basis of their political affiliations or racial appearance. By November 1940, 1,726 Germans, Italians and Japanese men and women were interned across Australia. As Saunders and Daniels have argued, war-time policy reflected the Allies defeats on the battlefield rather than a calculated risk assessment of an individual.¹⁶⁶ This is evident when internment figures of Italians climbed to 4,727 in March 1944.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶³ Lamidey, *Aliens Control: 'Report to the Honourable Arthur A. Calwell'*, p. 56.

¹⁶⁴ Hasluck, *The Government and the People*, p. 593.

¹⁶⁵ Saunders, *War on the Homefront*, p. 38.

¹⁶⁶ Saunders, and Daniels et. al., *Alien Justice*, p. 114.



Figure 17: Internment Camps across Australia during the Second World War

NAA, Internment camps in World War II.
 [http://www.naa.gov.au/collection/snapshots/internment-camps/WWII/index.aspx]. Accessed: 25 March 2012.

The Director General of Security in Canberra and the Deputy Director of Security within each state was responsible for internments during the war. Clause 20 of the *Aliens Control Regulations*, declared:

If the Minister or any person authorized by the Minister to act under this regulation is of opinion that it is necessary or expedient in the interests of the public safety, the defence of the Commonwealth or the efficient prosecution of the present war to detain any enemy alien, he may warrant under his hand, order the enemy alien to be detained in such place, under such conditions and for such period as the Minister or person so authorized determines.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁷ Lamidey, *Aliens Control: 'Report to the Honourable Arthur A. Calwell'*, p. 52.

¹⁶⁸ *National Security (Aliens Control) Regulations, Statutory Rules*, p. 412.

It was stated in the War Book that the incarceration of enemy aliens was 'not intended to intern all civilian enemy aliens immediately on the outbreak of hostilities. Internment should be restricted to the narrowest limits consistent with public safety and public sentiment'.¹⁶⁹ The Military was responsible for internment and or compiling an 'initial list of those to be interned'.¹⁷⁰

Attorney General and Minister for External Affairs, Dr. Herbert Vere Evatt, who was to become a prominent figure in Australia's history in his campaign against the Communist ban in the 1950s, made the Commonwealth Government's position clear on 10 September 1942, in a statement made to the House of Representatives

1. The aim and sole justification of all restrictions upon individual liberty is to prevent injury to the war effort of the country, not to...[punish] the individual...The sole ground for restricting liberty is that the individual, if left unrestricted, might prejudice the successful defence of this country against the enemy.

2. The second principle is that individual liberty is to be restricted only if there is a real danger that the individual will act in a way that prejudices the war effort...full internment being reserved for cases where the possibility of injury to the nation is undeniable.¹⁷¹

Internment was justified by Evatt as a preventative measure. Such a restriction appealed to the majority of the Australian public. Sydney resident F.A. Keen wrote a letter to the editor of the *Sydney Morning Herald*, in which he expressed the view that as long as aliens who were interned received the three basic essentials of life, food, clothing and shelter, there was no 'comparison to the harrowing accounts we read and hear over the air' of the unfortunate people who were prisoners of war in German concentration camps.¹⁷² Similarly, on 25 June 1940, the Minister for

¹⁶⁹ *War Book of the Commonwealth of Australia: Co-ordination of Departmental Action on the Occurrence of Strained Relations and on the Outbreak of War*. Melbourne: Department of Defence, July, 1939, p. 2.

¹⁷⁰ *War Book of the Commonwealth of Australia*, p. 2.

¹⁷¹ Lamidey, *Aliens Control: 'Interim Report (1943)*, p. 4.

¹⁷² 'The Aliens Question'. *Sydney Morning Herald*, 7 August 1940, p. 10.

Transport, Michael Frederick Bruxner, claimed that the Commonwealth Government was too lenient in the treatment of enemy aliens. He stated that 'We are asking our young men to enlist, and at the same time we are allowing enemy subjects to remain free'.¹⁷³ Although there were a large number of enemy aliens who were already interned, it was clear that Mr Bruxner's charge of Federal laxity was unlikely to convince the public that official action was sufficiently wide and vigorous. It was reported in the *Sydney Morning Herald* two days later that experience 'abroad has amply driven home the need for us to take the problem of enemy subversion more seriously and realistically, and greater vigilance is now imperative in the paramount interest of the national security'.¹⁷⁴

Figure 18: Attorney General Herbert Vere Evatt

Flinders University, Herbert Vere Evatt. [<http://library.flinders.edu.au/resources/collection/special/evatt/evattbiog.html>]. Accessed: 2012



Hasluck wrote that the total of 'local internments rose to a war-time maximum of 6,780 in September 1942 (including 1,029 Germans, 3,651 Italians and 1,036 Japanese), but thereafter, as the war situation began to improve for the Allies, these figures steadily declined until September

¹⁷³ 'Internment Demand. Enemy Aliens. State Ministers Concerned'. *Sydney Morning Herald*, 26 June, 1940, p. 11.

¹⁷⁴ 'Enemy Aliens'. *Sydney Morning Herald*, 27 June 1940, p. 6.

1944, the total was down to 1,380 (including 704 Germans, 135 Italians and 480 Japanese).¹⁷⁵ At the end of the war, forty seven Italians, 564 Germans and 587 Japanese remained interned and in December 1945, the Judge of Supreme Court of Canberra was appointed as a Commissioner to examine whether they should be deported.¹⁷⁶ Japanese figures of internment remained constant and 'apart from those few releases on grounds of humanitarianism, due to extreme infirmity of age or health no releases were effected'.¹⁷⁷ As noted in Chapter Five, many Japanese nationals were deported. From the evidence presented, it is clear that their treatment during the war was based on the heightened security threat in Australia's north and their Japanese appearance.

Challenging Internment: The Aliens Tribunal

Internment measures could, with great difficulty, be challenged by internees. The Aliens Tribunal was established in November 1940 to hear objections made against internment. The Minister for the Army was responsible for appeals. The tribunal consisted of a chairman and two members, who heard the appeal, and presented its recommendations to the Deputy Director of Security. The process also included an Advisory Committee which was established in each state and present during the hearing. If the Deputy agreed to release the enemy alien, he would act on the recommendation. If he disagreed, the matter was passed onto the Director General of Security.¹⁷⁸ As we will see in Chapter Five, Australian-born women of Japanese descent who found themselves incarcerated during the war battled authorities through many appeals in this Tribunal.

¹⁷⁵ Hasluck, *The Government and the People 1939-1941*. Volume One, p. 594.

¹⁷⁶ Lamidey, *Aliens Control*, Lamidey, *Aliens Control*: 'Report to the Honourable Arthur A. Calwell', pp. 52-4.

¹⁷⁷ Lamidey, *Aliens Control*: 'Report to the Honourable Arthur A. Calwell', p. 54.

¹⁷⁸ Lamidey, *Aliens Control*: 'Report to the Honourable Arthur A. Calwell', p. 51.

The issues discussed at the Tribunal included such questions as: 'on what grounds was any resident interned? Who decided? Was internment simply a deprivation of liberty and did this constitute de facto imprisonment? In whose interests did this selection occur?'¹⁷⁹ The Chief of Military Intelligence for Southern Command, Lieutenant Colonel Sydney Whittington informed the Aliens Tribunal Hearing Number three in February 1941, that 'Internment is not a punishment; we merely deprive an enemy alien of his liberty, otherwise he is treated exactly as an ordinary individual...Internment is just an ordinary form of restraint'.¹⁸⁰ However, the President of the United Evangelical Lutheran Church of Australia (UELCA), Pastor J.J. Stolz saw it differently. As he protested that individuals were interned 'Without a hearing in an open court; without even being told the charge laid against them; without permitting their lawyer to know the accusation raised against them they were deprived their liberty'.¹⁸¹

The threat to Australia's national security escalated when Japan declared war on the Allied forces in December 1941. Japan's aggressive advance down the chain of islands to Australia's north and the bombing of Darwin in February 1942, led to the incarceration of all Japanese residents living in Australia, along with large numbers of Italians interned in Queensland. It is important to note that Japanese residential numbers were low due to restrictions that had been placed on immigration during the first half of the twentieth century. It was recorded that 587 of 600 Japanese living in Australia were incarcerated as a result of Japan's entry into the war in December 1941.¹⁸²

¹⁷⁹ K. Saunders, 'Inspired by Patriotic Hysteria?': Internment policy towards enemy aliens in Australia during the Second World War in P. Panayi *et al.*, *Minorities in wartime: National and Racial Groupings in Europe, North America and Australia during the Two World Wars*. Ann Arbor, MI: E. B. Edwards Brothers, 1993, p. 295.

¹⁸⁰ Saunders, 'Inspired by Patriotic Hysteria?' in Panayi, *Minorities in Wartime*, p. 294.

¹⁸¹ Saunders, 'Inspired by Patriotic Hysteria?' in Panayi, *Minorities in Wartime*, p. 294.

¹⁸² Lamidey, *Aliens Control: 'Report to the Honourable Arthur A. Calwell'*, p. 53.

Manpower and employment

The treatment of enemy aliens was also informed by war-time manpower concerns. The Commonwealth Government was forced to address the problem of how to make further use of Australian women, both in the services and in industry establishing a significant labour force in a war economy.¹⁸³ As a result, the Manpower Directorate, a new system of industrial conscription, was introduced in October 1942. The *Manpower Regulations 1942* (Cth) called up women and men for services and controlled where all men and women would work. Many women were called up to work in occupations that were previously dominated by men, such as munitions factories and warehouses.

In comparison to internment figures recorded during the First World War, those interned during the Second World War were significantly lower. This could be a result of both shortage of manpower and enemy aliens being called up to work in labour camps. Internment was expensive, costing the Commonwealth Government £3 every week for each internee.¹⁸⁴ Similarly, the *Aliens Control Regulations* also controlled the employment of all aliens, which prohibited 'the employment (except with the written permission of an authority specified in the order) of aliens, or any individual alien, in any occupation specified in the order'.¹⁸⁵

Following Japan's entry into the war, aliens living in Australia were compelled to undertake some form of national service. In February 1942, all aliens over the age of 18 years were required to

¹⁸³ J. Penglase and D. Hunter *et al.*, *When the war came to Australia: Memories of the Second World War*. Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1992, p. 38.

¹⁸⁴ Lamidey, *Aliens Control: 'Report to the Honourable Arthur A. Calwell'*, p. 54.

¹⁸⁵ See National Security (Aliens Control) Regulations, Statutory Rule no. 88 of 1939, Regulation 23. *National Security (Aliens Control) Regulations, Statutory Rule*, p. 413.

register for national service. In the following month, the War Cabinet demanded that alien labour should be made available to the Allied Works Council (AWC) which co-ordinated and implemented the massive public works and defence installations that were needed to launch Allied offensives in the Pacific.¹⁸⁶ The Civil Constructional Corps (CCC) was a strict civilian organization that undertook war related construction projects and operated under the AWC between February and June in 1942. A total of 53,518 men were employed by the CCC. In early 1942, the Civil Alien Corps (CAC), a subsidiary of the CCC was established, where the bulk of enemy aliens were conscripted into labour. Due to the competition that existed between the Manpower authorities and the AWC, enemy aliens who were considered as low-risk internees were released from incarceration to contribute to the Allied war effort in remote regions.¹⁸⁷

It was clear that German-Jewish refugees were wrongfully classified as enemy aliens at the outbreak of war, however after they were reclassified as refugee aliens and exempt from the *Aliens Control Regulations*, the Commonwealth Government continued to conscript them in their labour force. This unjust action was acknowledged by Lamidey, who wrote the 'continuation of this practice and the anomaly which it raised when viewed against the *Aliens Control Regulations* undoubtedly was the cause of much resentment'.¹⁸⁸ The stories of German-Jewish women who were affected by the legislation are highlighted in Chapter Six.

¹⁸⁶ Panayi, *Minorities in Wartime*, p. 312.

¹⁸⁷ Panayi, *Minorities in Wartime*, p. 312.

¹⁸⁸ Lamidey, *Aliens Control: 'Report to the Honourable Arthur A. Calwell'*, p. 34.

The end of the war

By August 1944, the war in Europe was nearing an end and General Blamey requested that the 312 Army personnel (seconded to the Aliens Control department) return to their military duties. Simpson, as the new Director General in Canberra, responded by saying he needed to retain the Army personnel in order for the department to stay stable. He argued that

although Australia's security position had eased as the tide of the war went against Germany and Japan new security problems had arisen or were anticipated, and he could not answer for Australia's internal security if Blamey's request was granted.¹⁸⁹

Simpson did however release 75 Army personnel to Blamey. On 24 October 1945, Simpson was appointed Justice of Supreme Court and resigned as Director General of Security. Longfield Lloyd became the new Director General of Security until 15 December 1945 when Secret Service was disbanded and activities and records were taken over by Security Section of the CIB. Former Director of Military Intelligence at Army Headquarters, Brigadier Charles Chambers Fowell Spry became the new Director General in 1949. Spry was later to head the Australian Security Intelligence Branch (ASIO).

Eventually, the *Nationality and Citizenship Act* was passed and came into effect on 26 January 1949. Minister for Immigration, Arthur Calwell, claimed that the *Nationality and Citizenship Act* was 'not designed to make an Australian any less a British subject, but to help him express his pride in citizenship of this great country'.¹⁹⁰ However, not much had changed with the introduction of the new *Nationality and Citizenship Act*. John Chesterman wrote that the 'division between aliens and subjects was a well-defined one. Aliens had to go through naturalization processes to acquire Australian citizenship, while non-Australian British subjects had merely to register to achieve citizen

¹⁸⁹ Coulthard-Clark, 'Australia's Wartime', p. 27.

¹⁹⁰ Beaumont, 'Australian Citizenship', p. 181.

status'.¹⁹¹ The *Nationality and Citizenship Act* changed the status of married women under the former *Nationality Act* and 'removed limitations imposed on women and enabled them to make their own choice as far as their national status was concerned'.¹⁹²

Conclusion

This chapter focused on the bureaucratic systems that were implemented during the Second World War. It highlighted the inaccuracies that existed within Australia's intelligence organization and showed how unprepared the CIB was at the outbreak of war. The stories presented in the following chapters illustrate how the *Aliens Control Regulations* were applied to German, Italian, Japanese and Australian-born women. Their stories reflect the inconsistent ways in which the *Aliens Control Regulations* as were applied, highlighting confusion among officialdom concerning *Aliens Control Regulations* and the xenophobic attitudes expressed towards some women.

¹⁹¹ Chesterman, 'Natural-Born Subjects?', p. 34.

¹⁹² K. Tsokhas, *Making a nation state: cultural identity, economic nationalism and sexuality in Australian history*. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2001, p. 14.

Chapter Two

'...for the glory of greater Italy': Italian cruisers

MV Remo and Romolo

*Oh Lord above look down
with love
Upon our little ship
Please do your best
To end this deadly trip,
Where action yells and
Ringing bells
Won't make us curse and
Swear
As half asleep from bed
We leap
To find no raider there...¹*

On 26 May 1940, nineteen year old Liliana Giacosa, a passenger on board the Italian MV *Romolo*, confessed to her diary that

Everyone is worried because it seems that they want to keep us prisoners in case war breaks out any minute. This is one of those critical moments which occur with an average of twice a year. The moment seems very black now and all newspapers declare that Italy will go to war. Of course there is always hope but things look pretty dark now. Mother says it would be better to be interned here in Australia than caught out at sea. Everyone has the jitters. I suppose it will soon pass just as other moments of crisis have passed.²

Liliana and her family were looking forward to returning to her homeland in Italy; however, the *Romolo* was in Australian waters when Italy declared war against the Allied forces. The Australian

¹ One of the crew members on board the *Romolo* reportedly voiced their feelings towards the horrific ordeal that was experienced by crew and passengers. Crew members on board were ordered by the Fascist government in Italy to alter its course and set the cruiser on fire. The passage was published in the *Navy News* almost 19 years after the event and described the fear expressed by crew and passengers on board the ship. [See 'Hounded down Romolo'. *Navy News*, Friday, January 9, 1959, p. 2].

² Copy of Liliana Giacosa's diary entries, 6 June 1940. See "Romolo' - Sinking by HMAS 'Manoora' [22 pages]'. B6121/211E, National Archives of Australia (NAA), Melbourne.

MV *Manoora* was sent to capture the Italian vessel. Passengers on board the *Romolo* returned to Australia, and endured the Commonwealth Government's enforcement of the *National Security (Aliens Control) Regulations 1939* (Cth) during the Second World War.

By early June 1940, the Commonwealth Government was expressing growing concern over Italy becoming involved in the war. It is well known that Italians, especially those living in Queensland, 'were subjected to a consistently high degree of racially inspired antagonism as well as political suspicion'.³ This chapter illustrates how the Commonwealth Government kept a close watch over Italians living in Australia, especially those on board Italian vessels which were eventually seized in Australian waters.

Gianfranco Cresciani wrote that the first Italian Prisoners of War and internees during the Second World War were sailors and passengers on board Italian vessels, and that the eight female crew members on board both vessels were not interned.⁴ Richard Bosworth and Romano Ugolini claimed that only two Italian women were interned from the Fremantle community, Mrs Funazzi and Mrs Travia.⁵ This chapter argues otherwise, presenting new research concerning female crew and passengers on board the vessels who were interned during the war based on their political affiliations. Unlike German women involved in Nazi activities presented in the following chapter, there was no evidence to suggest that these women had an active role in fascist organisations in Australia. However, in some cases, it was clear that women were politically involved to some extent

³ K. Saunders, and H. Taylor. 'The Enemy Within? The Process of Internment of Enemy Aliens in Queensland 1939-45.' *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, Volume: 34, Issue 1, 1988, p. 20.

⁴ See G. Cresciani, 'Captivity in Australia: the case of the Italian Prisoners of war, 1940-1947.' *Studi Emigrazione*, Volume 26, 1989, p. 196; and G. Cresciani, *The Italians in Australia*. Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 2003, p. 100.

⁵ R. Bosworth and R. Ugolini et. al., *War, Internment and Mass Migration: The Italo-Australian Experience 1940-1990*. Roma: Gruppo Editoriale Internazionale, 1992, p. 81.

during the war. This chapter depicts the war-time hysteria and racial antagonism that existed within Australia when Italy entered the war by presenting case studies of Italian migrants who were returning to Italy during the outbreak of war.

'...nationalism with a Fascist label': A brief overview of Italian fascism in Australia

The most prominent element of fascism was patriotism. Don Luigi Sturzo described fascism as 'nationalism with a Fascist label'.⁶ David Brown referred to Italians in Queensland who perceived fascism 'as a force that was restoring the integrity of Italy and defending not only Italian honours at home but also the rights of Italians abroad'.⁷ In October 1922, after violent battles on the streets and political chaos in Italy, Mussolini, also known as the Duce of Fascism, came to power.⁸ Newcomers to Australia during the 1920s and 1930s who had witnessed the birth of fascism in Italy had emigrated to avoid fascism. Italians residing in Australia were perceived as a threat by the Commonwealth Government.

Most Italian women in this study stated on their questionnaire forms their opposition to the fascist regime in Italy. However, some women were involved in fascism. Angela Diana wrote in her article that generally, 'Italian women who were members of a fascist organisation were not involved in political activities', and those who were members, had been pressured by their family and peer groups to join.⁹ Women did occasionally join fascist organisations for social contact, but this did not mean they were not fascists. For example, Italian-born Rosina Lazzarini, sent her gold wedding ring

⁶ D. Brown, 'Fascism within the Pre World War II Italian population of Queensland: a study of community processes and interaction'. *Journal of Royal Australian Historical Society*, Volume 93, Issue 1, 2007, p. 24.

⁷ Brown, 'Fascism within the Pre World War II', p. 24.

⁸ G. Cresciani, *Italians living in Australia*. Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 2003, pp. 76-77.

⁹ Diana, 'Italian women in Australia', p. 77.

to the Italian consul in support of the fascist cause which signified the 'strong ideal commitment' that some women had for the regime.¹⁰ Many who settled in Australia were militantly opposed to fascism and preferred to settle in agricultural areas in Australia, including areas such as Griffith and Lismore in rural regions of New South Wales.¹¹

The Italian threat in Australia was considered to be more acute compared to Germany's involvement in the war. Before 1920, there were approximately 8,000 Italians living in Australia. This number significantly increased when Italians migrated to Australia during the 1920s and 1930s, fleeing the oppressive regime that Mussolini had introduced to Italy. William A. Douglass wrote that 'Mussolini had restored Italy a measure of national pride and rid her of deep-seated civil-religious strife'.¹² Douglass also argued that Mussolini's drive for national glory in Europe was translated 'into a potential source of ethnic pride for Italians of the emigrant diaspora'.¹³ This was especially evident for Italian communities established within Australia. Former public servant Noel Lamidey stated that the:

Fascist Party has done its best to take advantage of the patriotic sentiments of Italians who have settled here, and to turn to account the love of country and attachment to the motherland that are so strongly implanted in the Italian heart.¹⁴

The Commonwealth Government considered Italian fascists to be 'almost fanatics', and if Australia had been invaded, they would have done their utmost to assist the enemy.¹⁵ However, from the

¹⁰ Diana, 'Italian women in Australia', p. 77.

¹¹ Cresciani, *Italians living in Australia*, p. 79.

¹² W. Douglass, A. *From Italy to Ingham: Italians in North Queensland*. St Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1995, p. 204.

¹³ Douglass, *From Italy to Ingham*, p. 204.

¹⁴ N. Lamidey, *Aliens Control in Australia 1939-46: Appendix B: 'A Report by Mr. Justice Reed on the internment and control of Italians in Australia'* (November 1943). Sydney: N. Lamidey, 1974, p. 75.

¹⁵ Lamidey, *Aliens Control: Appendix B: 'A Report by Mr. Justice Reed'* (November 1943), p. 76.

files examined in this study, it is clear that many Italian women were fleeing the oppressive fascist Government in Italy.

Lamidey referred to an Italian internee from Queensland, who was 'probably' a naturalized British subject, and was found 'in possession of a map of Australia showing the distribution of its various parts amongst the Axis powers'.¹⁶ The reality of the threat seemed greatly exaggerated when the Commonwealth Government immediately suggested that it

may therefore be accepted as beyond question that the fascist Government was hoping to obtain a slice of Australia, and that it was endeavoring through the fascist organizations, and by means of other fascist influences in Australia, to promote as best it could the realization of that hope. From the point of view therefore of the potential risk of any Italian who might be in anyway associated with the Fascist party or any of its activities, there was undoubtedly, and still is to a lesser degree, the element of risk to our own security.¹⁷

Because Italians had settled in large numbers, especially in Queensland, the threat of fascist revolt seemed imminent. Government officials believed that if Australia was invaded by the Axis forces, Italians residing in Australia had the opportunity of joining up with the Axis powers, and 'when in numbers and not likely to have to do any real fighting, they will do as they are told by anyone in authority over them'.¹⁸ Queensland had the largest Italian-born population in Australia with 8,500 Italians in 1933, the majority residing in the northern sugar cane region between Mackey and Cairns.¹⁹ Fascist organisations in Australia were able to influence on Italians' lifestyle, especially since it was considered as culturally driven nationalism. Brown wrote that 'within a short time the Italian Fascist Party was able to construct a sophisticated network of political organisations, social clubs and educational institutions that brought a majority of Italians in Queensland into its sphere

¹⁶ Lamidey, *Aliens Control*: Appendix B: 'A Report by Mr. Justice Reed' (November 1943), p. 78.

¹⁷ Lamidey, *Aliens Control*: Appendix B: 'A Report by Mr. Justice Reed' (November 1943), p. 78.

¹⁸ Lamidey, *Aliens Control*: Appendix B: 'A Report by Mr. Justice Reed' (November 1943), p. 78.

¹⁹ D. Brown, 'The Case of the Brisbane Fascio: The transnational politics of the Italian Fascist Party.' *History Australia*, Volume 6, Issue 1, 2009, p. 5.4.

of influence'.²⁰ Brown argued that 'the cultural activities associated with these occasions were arguably more important than political ideology'.²¹ For example, 'Australian Military Authorities saw the attendance at fascist organised commemorations of Italy's victory in Abyssinia as evidence proving Italians in Australia did not have loyalty to their country of residence but allegiance to Imperial Italy'.²² However, similar to their German counterparts, membership of fascist groups in Australia was low, which meant there was a negligible political impact on Italians.²³

It is also important to note that the opposition to the fascist regime in Australia was 'a force by no means negligible'.²⁴ The anti-fascist groups in Australia were established by Italians who had witnessed the birth of 'Fascism in Italy and were militantly opposed to it'.²⁵ The Italians involved were predominantly industrial and agricultural workers 'who had been compelled to emigrate after its coming to power'.²⁶ A drive to increase the country's population and the United States restriction on the intake of Italians between the world wars saw Italian figures in Australia climb to approximately 38,000.²⁷

Italy enters the war

The Commonwealth Government was deeply concerned about the implications and activities of Italian fascism. At the outbreak of war, Mussolini's Italy stayed neutral and it was not until June

²⁰ Brown, 'Fascism within the Pre World War II', p. 35.

²¹ Brown, 'The Case of the Brisbane Fascio', p. 6.

²² Brown, 'The Case of the Brisbane Fascio', p. 11.

²³ Brown, 'The Case of the Brisbane Fascio', p. 5.5.

²⁴ G. Cresciani, *Fascism, Anti-Fascism and Italians in Australia, 1922-1945*. Canberra: Australian University Press, 1980, p. 98.

²⁵ Cresciani, *Fascism, Anti-Fascism and Italians in Australia*, p. 98.

²⁶ Cresciani, *Fascism, Anti-Fascism and Italians in Australia*, p. 98.

²⁷ J. Church, *Per L' Australia: the Story of Italian Migration*. Melbourne: the Miegunyah Press, 2005, p. 5.

1940, when France was besieged by the Germans that Italy decided to declare war against the Allies. On 16 June, France surrendered and immediately asked for an armistice.²⁸ For this reason, Italy's entry into the war was perceived by many as treacherous. Richard Bosworth wrote that 'Italian troops stabbed in the back a gasping France when she already lay prostrated by the German Blitzkrieg sweeping to Paris and the Channel coast...Mussolini had won...after the enemy had been defeated elsewhere, by somebody else'.²⁹

The perception of women in fascist Italy is crucial to understanding the treatment of Italian women in war-time Australia. The fascist regime in Italy redefined the female role, making women 'victims and at the same time protagonists of the state's key activity'.³⁰ Mussolini outlined the effects on fascist Italy if women were to undertake paid work:

With work a woman becomes like a man; she causes man's unemployment; she develops independence and a fashion that is contrary to the process of childbirth, and lowers the demographic curve; man is deprived of work and dignity; he is castrated in every sense because the machine deprives him either of his women or of his virility.³¹

Robin Pickering-lazzi claimed that 'the regime constructed new apparatuses in the forms of policies, programs, and institutions designed to cultivate and manage a patriarchal agenda for the female culture'.³² As a result, the traditional figure of a woman-mother (*donna-madre*) was promoted, which represented devotion to the family and home and maternal care towards fathers, husbands

²⁸ R. Stromberg, *Europe in the Twentieth Century*. New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1997, p. 246.

²⁹ R. J. B. Bosworth, *Benito Mussolini and the Fascist Destruction of Liberal Italy, 1900-1945*. Adelaide: Typecraft Pty Ltd, 1973, p. 89.

³⁰ R. Pickering-lazzi, *Mothers of Invention: Women, Italian Fascism, and Culture*. Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 1995, p. 40.

³¹ Pickering-lazzi, *Mothers of Invention*, p. 40.

³² Pickering-lazzi, *Mothers of Invention*, p. 41.

and offspring.³³ In Italy, Mussolini believed that the role of a woman was to be an exemplary wife and mother 'where woman may best express her natural genius'.³⁴

Catholicism also played an important role in regards to the position of women in Italy. Lesley Caldwell argued the Catholic Church always 'displayed a discursive preoccupation with sexuality and the relation between the sexes, and its position affected debates about the place of women and the family in Italy'.³⁵ By the 1940s, the primary focus was on the bond between the mother and the child evident in specialist accounts as well as public statements that were made by the State and the Church. The Catholic position was that 'women's dual role in society and the family could only ever be achieved at the cost of the family and its members, and that women's duty demanded their family allegiance first and foremost'.³⁶

Criticism towards Italians was not only expressed by the Australian Catholic church, but also the general Australian community. It was reported in the *West Australian* four days after Italy declared war against the allies that the 'internment of all enemy aliens was strongly advocated...when allegations were made that Italians as a whole were disloyal'.³⁷ The support for war against Italy was overwhelming. It also exacerbated feelings that already existed towards Italians that were previously based on their race. Prime Minister Robert Gordon Menzies declared that Australia was at war with Italy. He proclaimed 'I have never really believed in my heart that British people need to sustain themselves on a diet of hate, but if I felt disposed to stand up and sing a hymn of hate it is

³³ Pickering-lazzi, *Mothers of Invention*, pp. 40-41.

³⁴ Pickering-lazzi, *Mothers of Invention*, p. xv (Introduction).

³⁵ L. Caldwell, *Italian Family Matters: Women, Politics and Legal Reform*. London: Macmillan Academic and Professional Ltd, 1991, p. 8.

³⁶ Caldwell, *Italian Family Matters*, p. 22.

³⁷ 'Enemy Aliens. Allegations of Disloyalty. Internment Advocated'. *The West Australian*, 15 June 1940, p. 12.

to-day'.³⁸ Italians living in Australia were already classified as aliens and when Italy entered the war, they were re-classified as enemy aliens and further investigated. Police put their plan for the internment of Italian aliens into action. The *Sydney Morning Herald* reported on the day that police left their headquarters in Hunter Street in the city, and called upon drivers to meet at the homes of enemy aliens. Other police stations and the military were informed and 'instructed to act upon lists of names which, in most cases, had been prepared months in advance'.³⁹

As stated in the Introduction, Margaret Bevege concluded that there 'was no significant political or press campaign against aliens during World War II. The lack of public campaign is attributable to the cool-headedness and commitment to fair play exhibited by the Prime Ministers, Menzies and John Curtin, who never engaged in alien baiting themselves, and publicly denounced it in others'.⁴⁰ However, it is arguable that this 'cool headedness and commitment of fair play' was not exhibited towards Italians.⁴¹ Regardless of how long they had lived in Australia, there were many Italians who found themselves to be potential suspects and were rounded up to be interned.⁴²

Italians who associated with the Italian Club or any other Italian organisation were immediately suspected of being involved in the potential risk to the nation's security. Francesca Merenda's

³⁸ 'Entered War for Loot. Italy's Decision. Mr Menzies's Speech'. *Sydney Morning Herald*, 12 June 1940, p. 15. Robert Menzies responding to the news of Italy entering the war at a weekly luncheon with the members of the Legacy Club.

³⁹ 'Police Act Quickly: Round Up of Italian Aliens'. *Sydney Morning Herald*, 11 June 1940, p. 9.

⁴⁰ B. Bevege, *Behind Barbed Wire: Internment in Australia during World War II*. St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1993, p. 229.

⁴¹ Bevege, *Behind Barbed Wire*, p. 229.

⁴² B. Bunbury, *Rabbits and Spaghetti, Captives and Comrades: Australians, Italians and the War, 1939-1945*. Fremantle: Fremantle Arts Centre Press, 1995, p. 14. While the men were rounded up by authorities, the 'wives, frightened that letters or newspapers overlooked by the searching police officers could be used, if found, to incriminate their husbands, took pains to destroy everything that was written in Italian'. [See G. Cresciani, *The Italians Living in Australia*, p. 100].

father, Paolo Merenda, who featured in the Introduction of this thesis, was well known among the Italian community of the small town Tully, approximately 140 kilometres south from Cairns. Despite there being no evidence to imply he had any involvement in fascism, he was interned based on the fact that the Italians he associated with were members of the Fascist Party.

Italians not only had to contend with the *Aliens Control Regulations*, but also the discrimination and racism that were brought on by the war. The Commonwealth Government decided to close shops that were leased or rented to Italians who were interned. It was understood that the Commonwealth Government's 'decision to close these shops was prompted by fears that, if they were allowed to remain open, disturbances might have occurred'.⁴³ It was also decided that closing shops owned by Italians would make it clear to the public that foreigners running other shops were not enemy aliens.⁴⁴

Such 'disturbances' relating to Italian migrants were witnessed in Sydney soon after Mussolini declared war against the Allied forces. On 13 June 1940, the *Sydney Morning Herald* reported that at least 20 shops had been smashed by youths during the previous two days. According to the report, youths were seen running away and 'later cast iron and lead balls and a small bar of iron were found inside the windows. Jagged pieces of iron and old parts of motor car engines were thrown through other windows'.⁴⁵ However, there was some appeal made by authorities to the

⁴³ 'Why Shops Were Closed'. *Sydney Morning Herald*, 13 June 1940, p. 11.

⁴⁴ 'Why Shops Were Closed'. *Sydney Morning Herald*, 13 June 1940, p. 11. There were also cases of employers who dismissed Italian workers to avoid industrial disputes. In order for Italians to obtain employment, many claimed they were of Swiss or Greek descent. A number of Greek men were mistaken by Australians for Italians and as a result were beaten up. Soon after these incidents Greek shops displayed signs proclaiming the nationality to avoid confrontation. See J. Beaumont, *Australia's War, 1939-45*. St. Leonards: Allen and Unwin, 1996, p. 57.

⁴⁵ 'Youths Break Windows'. *Sydney Morning Herald*, 13 June 1940, p. 11.

public not 'to give vent to their feelings by damaging property'.⁴⁶ The reason behind their plea was later explained by the police, who pointed out that 'when the windows were smashed the Italian occupant of the shop did not have to pay the cost of repairs. This expense had to be borne by the owners of the buildings or by an insurance company'.⁴⁷

'Prize of War': The Capture of the MV *Remo*

Other issues concerning Italy's entry into the war that were highly publicized in the media included the capture of Italian ships in Australian waters. Cresciani contended that the first Italian prisoners of war in Australia were sailors of the Italian ships berthed at Australian ports or sailing in territorial waters. The *Remo*, for example, was captured on 12 June 1940 in Fremantle after its departure had been delayed for days by Australian authorities on various pretexts.⁴⁸ It was reported in the *Sydney Morning Herald* on the day of its capture that 'Customs officials and the Navy co-operated in every way possible to ensure that if Italy did declare war this vessel would be seized as a prize'.⁴⁹ Interestingly, what has never been told before is the story of Italian women who were on board the vessel during its capture. Cresciani writes that women on board the *Remo* and *Romolo* were not

⁴⁶ 'Youths Break Windows'. *Sydney Morning Herald*, 13 June 1940, p. 11.

⁴⁷ 'Youths Break Windows'. *Sydney Morning Herald*, 13 June 1940, p. 11. Another disturbance that was reported in the *Sydney Morning Herald* occurred in King Street, City on 12 June, 1940. It was reported that 15 'police were sent to the scene. A woman had brought fruit in a shop conducted by naturalized Italians. As she was about to leave the shop another woman pushed the bag out of her hands saying, 'Why do you patronize Italians?' Someone then seized a basket of berry fruit and hurled the contents about the shop. In the excitement which followed, the two women were almost knocked down and their screams and the shouts of the Italians caused a dense crowd to collect. It was some time before the police were able to clear the footpaths and road to enable pedestrians and vehicles to pass'. ['Excitement outside Shop'. *Sydney Morning Herald*, 13 June 1940, p. 11].

⁴⁸ Cresciani, *Italians in Australia*, p. 99. After the capture of the *Remo*, the ship was altered and used by the Commonwealth during the war for general transport, transporting beer and other goods to India for British servicemen under the new name *Reynella*. ['Former Italian Ship Arrives: *Remo* served throughout the war'. *The Argus*, 9 October 1945, p. 5].

⁴⁹ 'Italian Ship Seized. Valuable Prize'. *Sydney Morning Herald*, 12 June 1940, p. 15.

interned.⁵⁰ However, I have discovered that women and children were imprisoned upon capture at Fremantle Gaol, at Rottnest Island, located off the coast of Western Australia near Fremantle and later taken to a boarding house due to the poor conditions on the Island.

One of the female passengers on board the *Remo* was one year old Josie Ciavola. Francesco Ciavola was married to Giovanna (nee` Laluna) and arrived with their daughter Josie in Australia on 6 June 1940. Although Josie was too young to remember her journey to Australia, she does recall her parents telling her that their ship '*Remo* was detained at Fremantle when it arrived there and all crew and male adult passengers were interned on Rocknest [Rottnest] Island and women and children detained on board for a time and then ashore for a couple of weeks'.⁵¹

Though there is limited information available to researchers on the passengers and crew who were detained at Rottnest Island there is, however, an investigation dossier held at the National Archives of Australia (NAA) in Melbourne that shows authorities at Rottnest Island were not prepared for the Italian internees. A report written to Western Command shows how unprepared they were:

I have to report that on 11/6/40, 12 German and 38 Italians Internees were admitted here. I was not informed of the total to expect. I was informed to expect about 25 Italians ex '*Remo*' about 3pm that day. All arrangements were made for the reception and feeding of 25 men, but in all we received 50 internees that day. We received 23 men from the m.v '*Remo*' at about 1730 hours. The tea hour here is at 1630 hours, and as i have no control over that meal time, and it is not possible to order further food from the Civil Prison, who supply the meals (their kitchen being closed at 1630 hours and kitchen staff being prisoners are locked up at about 1650 hours). The '*Remo*' contingent brought a large quantity of Italian Sausage, Milk, Tinned Fish, Tinned Fruit and Aerated Waters. We supplied them with bread from our own mess, and they made their evening meal from this. When they had finished, they left a considerable quantity on the table. Three of the '*Remo*' crew did sleep without a straw mattress that night, but the three were issued with extra blankets. We did not have the equipment on hand, but this was rectified

⁵⁰ Cresciani, 'Captivity in Australia' and Cresciani, *Italians in Australia*.

⁵¹ Correspondence from Josie Black, 4 November 2008. Rottnest Island was located in Western Australia and was used as a prisoner of war camp during the First World War. At the outbreak of the Second World War, the island was used to house Italian internees during 1940.[See National Archives Fact Sheet: 'Rottnest Island, Western Australia (1914–15 and 1940)'. [<http://www.naa.gov.au/whats-on/online/feature-exhibits/internment-camps/wwii/rotnest-island.aspx>, 20 June 2009].

next day. The 23 'Remo' internees brought 40 blankets with them from the ship. From then on they were provided with all necessary bedding, utensils and food. They have been made as comfortable as possible under the circumstances. Hot showers are available, and they purchased from their own monies, stretchers, mattress and pillows. The food, although perhaps not what some of them have been used to, is sufficient for men who do not work, and the visiting Medical Officer has at times inspected it. I am not responsible for their internment here. There were 92 inmates here that day, and I was not prepared in any way to receive internees.⁵²

A complaint was made by the Captain of the *Remo*, Guiseppe Dani, who wrote

some were compelled that night to sleep on the bare floor for lack of straw mattresses. On the first day food was not provided to them. All the officers were and are treated as common internees regardless that between them are the Master who is near sixty years old and the Royal Commissioner who is 63 years old, not in good health and not belonging to the crew of the *Remo*, but he was a representative of the Foreign Ministry of Italy on board the same vessel. The food in this prison is every day worse.⁵³

Authorities at Fremantle Gaol were surprisingly sympathetic to their cause. The Catering Supervisor recommended improvements to be made regarding the conditions of the prison:

Acting on instructions issued by Western Command, I visited the Internees quartered at the Fremantle Goal at 1130 hours on 13/8/40 and in connection, I have to report that:

The food as issued in the Fremantle Goal to the internees in my opinion is disgraceful and that the complaints lodged are well founded...Sample of menu as supplied for eight days is attached...It is recommended that an immediate action be taken to control the food supplies of these internees...This can be achieved by the appointment of an N.C.O as Q.M. from Provost staff for controlling rations and supplies similar to the method adopted at Rottnest. The erection of Fowler and Sawyers Stoves for cooking purposes, and the transfer of two Italian cooks from Rottnest Island (names have been submitted by Capt. Of 'Remo') and information forwarded to O.C internees camp, Rottnest re transfer of Internees.⁵⁴

Eventually, the Ciavola family were transported to their destination, Melbourne, Victoria, on the ship *Duntroon*. The family settled in a rural area in Victoria near Kooweerup in South Gippsland, where Josie's father Francesco leased a farm and grew potatoes, onions and milked cows. Josie remembered her 'parents having to attend the police station every week to register as [enemy]

⁵² Copy of report to Western Command from O.C Detention Barrack, 19 July 1940. See 'Aliens, Internees, Prisoners of War - Seizure of 'MV Remo''. K1214/ 241/3/82, NAA, Perth.

⁵³ Memorandum by Director of Personal Services to Western Command, July 1940. See 'Aliens, Internees, Prisoners of War - Seizure of 'MV Remo''. K1214/ 241/3/82, NAA, Perth.

⁵⁴ Copy of Memorandum to D.A.D.S.andT from Catering Supervisor, Western Command, 13 August 1940. See 'Aliens, Internees, Prisoners of War - Seizure of 'MV Remo''. K1214/ 241/3/82, NAA, Perth.

aliens'. She also recalled 'a great deal of discrimination particularly at school and in trying to run the farm re[regarding] workers, transport to markets'.⁵⁵

Josie highlighted how fortunate her family was after they had settled in Victoria:

My father and grandfather were not interned as they were primary producers and essential to the war effort and since not formally educated were not considered influential or a risk to national security. We did not suffer like the families whose men were interned and because we were more or less self sufficient on the farm we always had fresh food etc. As well as growing food my mother also preserved fruits and vegetables and kept chickens as well as raising a sheep and a pig each year which would be slaughtered to provide meat. She also made all our clothes, sheets, cloths etc.⁵⁶

Josie attributes a pertinent point regarding the issue of employment during the war. Fortunately, due to the shortage of manpower during the war, the Ciavola family was not considered a threat to national security because they were contributing to the war effort as primary producers during a time when fresh produce was limited.⁵⁷

Personnel spite and vindictiveness: Female crew members of the *Remo*

As noted earlier, the *Aliens Control Regulations* generated a greater sense of fear towards Italians which consisted of a 'high degree of racially inspired antagonism as well as political suspicion'.⁵⁸

Forty five year old Italian-born Maria Rivera was a crew member on board the *Remo*, working as a stewardess. All female crew members on board the *Remo* were considered as 'prohibited immigrants' and were granted Certificates of Exemption for one month. Since her arrival from the capture of the *Remo*, Maria stayed at a boarding house in Fremantle owned by Mr and Mrs Funazzi, who were asked by police on 22 June 1940 to accommodate female crew. Australian-born of Italian

⁵⁵ Correspondence from Josie Black, 4 November 2008.

⁵⁶ Correspondence from Josie Black, 4 November 2008.

⁵⁷ Correspondence from Josie Black, 4 November 2008.

⁵⁸ K. Saunders and H. Taylor, 'The Enemy Within?', p. 20.

parents, Mrs Funazzi did accommodate the women, but found it difficult to receive assistance from the Commonwealth Government:

So far, Mrs Funazzi has received no payment whatever. She has applied to various departments but to date has received no satisfaction. She has no intention of turning them out but naturally hopes to receive some remuneration at an early date and has written to the Department of the Interior, Canberra, in this connection.⁵⁹

The investigation dossier concerning Maria held at the NAA in Perth has never been examined before. Maria's file does not contain much information about her journey as a crew member of the *Remo*, but it does give us an account of her life from 1942 onwards. During the war, Maria lived in Fremantle, she knew very little English, was single and upon arrival, Maria worked as a cook at the St Louis Jesuit School, at Claremount, Western Australia. She explained that her family in Italy was involved in a storage business and assured authorities that she was financially stable.⁶⁰

In October 1940, authorities became concerned that there were no photographs of Maria on her registration papers. Authorities interviewed her and conducted a search of her premises, where nothing detrimental was found, only personal letters that Maria had written to her friend Vittoria Causa, another crew member on the *Remo*.⁶¹

⁵⁹ Mrs Funazzi encountered her own problems with the *Aliens Control Regulations*. According to Bosworth and Ugolini, 'Mrs Funazzi represented a challenge to the Intelligence officers'. She was well spoken and was highly regarded in Fremantle's Italy. During the Ethiopian war, Mrs Funazzi raised funds for disabled Italian families and because of this, authorities sent her and other women from Fremantle prison to a small country town, for three months before she was allowed to return home. She persisted that her involvement in Italian activities was 'social rather than political'. [Bosworth and Ugolini, *War, Internment and Mass Migration*, p. 81]

⁶⁰ Doctors made note that her illness was 'presumably change of life'. See 'RIVERA Maria (277) [Italian internee]'. K1171/RIVERA M, NAA, Perth.

⁶¹ See 'RIVERA Maria (277) [Italian internee]'. K1171/RIVERA M, NAA, Perth.

In March 1942, three statements were made to authorities against Maria by people who were working with her as cooks in the kitchen. Michael Garrity was a steward attached to St. Louis College, Claremont. Michael wrote

The day Darwin was bombed, I was working in the kitchen with 'Victoria' [Vittoria] and 'Maria' two Italian girls. A Tradesman came to the kitchen and told them that Darwin had been bombed. They became quite excited over the news and talked together for some time. It was quite obvious they were very pleased at the Japanese bombing. They very seldom speak English and are always talking to one another in Italian. 'Maria is definitely pro-Italian – more so than 'Victoria'[Vittoria].⁶²

These statements were common during war-time. Australian neighbours or work colleagues would act upon their personnel spite and vindictiveness in order to prove to authorities that Italian women were dangerous.

Another statement was made by the pantry maid at the Adelphi Hotel, Perth, Mary Coral Orchard, who stated:

Until recently I was employed as a domestic at St. Louis College, Claremont. On account of the anti-British attitude of two Italian girls named 'Maria' and 'Victoria [Vittoria] I left the College. About a fortnight ago we were seated at dinner in the kitchen. There were the two Italian girls, Mrs Bennett and a man named Michael. Marie said to us all "We must surrender to the Japs". Mrs Bennett and myself said "We certainly will not surrender". Both Marie and Victoria said they will be quite willing to marry Japanese when they came here. One day Marie went to Fremantle to see a friend. She was away about 3 hours. When she returned she informed me that there were 13 American ships in Fremantle. At the time it puzzled me how Marie had obtained the information re shipping.⁶³

Finally, Margaret Bennett claimed

I am a married woman residing at 25 St. Quintin Ave., Claremont, and am employed as a housemaid at St. Louis College, Claremont. About 10th February I was seated having breakfast when another employee whom I knew as 'Maria' an Italian girl who arrived here on the 'Remo' said to me, "You people want to surrender to Japan or you all will be killed". I replied, "There is no surrender with us British people". If Australia surrenders Japan and Italy will share this country and British dogs down,

⁶² Statement made by Michael Garrity, 4 March 1942. See 'RIVERA Maria (277) [Italian internee]'. K1171/RIVERA M, NAA, Perth.

⁶³ Statement made by Mary Coral, 6 March 1942. See 'RIVERA Maria (277) [Italian internee]'. K1171/RIVERA M, NAA, Perth.

replied Maria. On account of her anti – British attitudes I have not spoken to her since. ‘Maria’ is definitely sympathetic towards Italy and is always pleased when news of British reverses is published.⁶⁴

Based on the statements given by her colleagues, Reverend Father Perrett, who was in charge of staff at St. Louis College, terminated the employment of both Maria and Vittoria. He stated ‘I consider that both girls are dangerous to be at large, and the only measure to take is to place them in an internment camp. It is rather puzzling that these two females, who were attached to the ‘Remo’, should be at large when all members of the ‘Remo’ crew were interned when the boat was seized at Fremantle’.⁶⁵

Consequently, Maria Rivera was arrested on 18 March 1942, and taken to Woodman’s Point detention centre, located on the west coast of Western Australia, for subversive conduct. It was stated by authorities that ‘owing to her anti-British utterances and attitude, she caused ill-feeling amongst other employees’.⁶⁶ Sergeant H.T. Nevin wrote that based on his interviews with the staff from the College who made the above statements against Maria and Vittoria, he believed that because she was ‘100% Italian’, ‘both girls are dangerous to be at large, and the only measure to take is to place them in internment camp’.⁶⁷ Prior to her arrest, authorities searched through her possessions and gave her the documents regarding the warrant for her internment.⁶⁸ There was

⁶⁴ Statement made by Margaret Bennett, 4 March 1942. See ‘RIVERA Maria (277) [Italian internee]’. K1171/RIVERA M, NAA, Perth.

⁶⁵ Memorandum to inspector Read from Special Bureau in Perth, 13 March 1942. See ‘RIVERA Maria (277) [Italian internee]’. K1171/RIVERA M, NAA, Perth.

⁶⁶ Report to Inspector Read from Special Bureau, 10 March. See ‘RIVERA Maria (277) [Italian internee]’. K1171/RIVERA M, NAA, Perth.

⁶⁷ Report to Inspector Read from Special Bureau, 10 March. See ‘RIVERA Maria (277) [Italian internee]’. K1171/RIVERA M, NAA, Perth.

⁶⁸ Memorandum to inspector Read from Special Bureau, 20 March 1942. See ‘RIVERA Maria (277) [Italian internee]’. K1171/RIVERA M, NAA, Perth.

only one problem regarding the statement made against Maria. It was clear from the documents in her file that Maria had no idea why she was arrested and because she could speak very little English she could not understand why she was interned.⁶⁹



Figure 20: Maria Rivera.

'RIVERA Maria - Nationality: Italian - Arrived Fremantle per Remo 5 June 1940. K1331/ 1950/RIVERA M, NAA, Perth.



Figure 19: Vittoria Causa.

'CALESSO [CAUSA] Vittoria - Nationality: Italian - Arrived Fremantle per Australia 12 April 1954'. K1331/3/1957/CALESSO, NAA, Perth.

Maria was unable to communicate with other staff, therefore, it is safe to assume that Maria was interned because she was '100% Italian', rather than a potential threat to nation's security. As Helen Andreoni has pointed out, the 'colour of Italians was always an issue'. During the 1890s, Italians 'were seen to be not the same color as the decision-makers nor indeed were they seen as Europeans'.⁷⁰ It was common for many Italian migrants to be unaware of the requirements of the

⁶⁹ See 'RIVERA Maria (277) [Italian internee]'. K1171/RIVERA M, NAA, Perth.

⁷⁰ H. Andreoni, 'Olive or White? The Colour of Italians in Australia.' *Journal of Australian Studies*, Volume 27, Issue 77, 2003, p. 81.

Aliens Control Regulations. During the war, news on the *Aliens Control Regulations* was found in parliamentary debates and local newspapers. As will be discussed further in the following chapter, many Italian women did not know how to speak or read English therefore, were unaware of the legislation.

The following day, Maria made a strong appeal. She wrote two letters in Italian to the ‘Most Illustrious Ministry for War’. In the first letter, she wrote

- 1) By a document given to me by the Customs House, I understand, I am to go about as a free citizen with all the rights given to immigrants.
- 2) Yesterday, the 20th March, about Hr. 1500 a detective came at the St. Louis College, where I was working for about a month, took me and brought me here to a concentration [internment] camp.
- 3) I, myself think, indeed I am certain I have the right to know how[why]I was interned.
- 4) My conduct in Australia has been one of extreme modesty, because apart from my condition moral and physical, I lead a life of work and prayer leaving home only of a Saturday and Sunday to go to Church. That is the whole truth on my honour. I made no acquaintances with the exception of the Seminars family which I found to be a mirror of virtue. Mr Seminars, Mrs Seminars and the children, excellent Australians all with pure English sentiments. The other Italians who came in contact with me I detest because they belong to such a low class, that they are a disgrace to Italy.
- 5) Why this honourable Court before interning a person so easily, puts in jeopardy [jeopardy] and to great sufferings physical and moral persons who lead an exemplary life?
- 6) There is no one absolutely who could say that I have interested myself in politics, because, I repeat, I am unable to speak or read English and much less I don't know anybody with whom I could speak because for a long time now I am living with English people.
- 7) I beg of this honourable Court strongly, to call me and I will give by word of mouth the most ample satisfaction.
- 8) I again ask of the court to take into consideration what I am asking and to deal with the matter justly.⁷¹

⁷¹ Translated copy of ‘Appeal to the Most Illustrious Ministry for War’, 21 March 1942. See ‘RIVERA Maria (277) [Italian internee]’. K1171/RIVERA M, NAA, Perth.

In her letter, Maria highlighted the different kinds of Italians who had settled in Australia. Cresciani wrote that there were two societies and two different cultures that represented Italians migrating to Australia. One was a minority of educated middle-class Italians and the other group, the overwhelming majority, was of peasant migrants who were illiterate or semi-literate.⁷² Maria considered herself to be of a higher class to the majority Italians, isolating other Italians from her 'kind'. This discrimination amongst Italians was common, and as Cresciani explained, the poorer Italians 'found themselves estranged from the Australian community and from the Italian Establishment in exactly the same way as in their villages at home they were alienated.'⁷³

Maria's second letter, written on 21 March 1942, sought to prove her innocence:

I, Maria Rivera and Vittoria Causa friends ex the 'Remo' and fellow workers, we are here in the concentration camp and we are unable to understand the reason for it, unless it is due to false and vile shander which, vary [very] probably a suspect came from the cook of Saint Louis College Mrs Gina Marantelli and who uses Mrs Bennett as a tool (she also works at the College looking after the dormitories)...

From the first day, I, Maria Rivera started work at the College St. Louis, the cook, Gina Marentelli started taking to me and strongly begged of me not to speak to Vittoria and to treat her badly, and perhaps that could be the only way to make her leave the college, I, Rivera, did not reply to such suggestions. For two, three days and every day, Gina kept repeating the same phrases. One day, I Rivera fed up, I said to her 'Gina it is impossible for me to do that' and from that day Gina Marantelli turned against me. But that made no difference because I am of a very proud, strong and upright character. Mrs Bennett is a very intimate friend of Gina Marantelli, so much so that at every meal she had special dishes and very often special cakes for the afternoon tea. As I say again the Bennett is very intimate with Gina and she acts the informer with great skill and cunning.

There is no doubt about that for a few days after Bennett stopped speaking to me Rivera, and did not come near the table again saying that I and Vittoria were taking about the war.

We Rivera and Vittoria took no notice of it and as a matter of fact gave it no importance at all, because it is absolutely untrue. So much so, because also the reverend fathers had told us not [to] absolutely speak about the war. It was Bennett who everyday was reading the paper and bringing the radio news and making long and various discussions with Gina during the day and I myself never did I want to know anything and I was saying to Gina not to talk to me about it. Gina Marentelli is British subject, well I am telling you and aloud she is a bad a very bad British subject. She only wishes for the

⁷² Cresciani, *Italians in Australia*, p. 55.

⁷³ Cresciani, *Italians in Australia*, p. 55.

moment when those ugly yellow faces come here, to destroy the whole of Australia and many other things that we will explain to you by word of mouth.⁷⁴

As we will see in Chapter Five, the war against Japan was pursued more aggressively. After Japan entered the war, the Japanese were portrayed by the Allied forces during war as a 'racial menace', 'as well as a cultural and religious one', and as evidenced in Maria's letter, it is interesting to note that because of this portrayal, Maria as an Italian national, considered herself as a superior race to that of the Japanese.⁷⁵

On 26 April 1942, Maria wrote a letter from hospital suffering from a bad case of indigestion caused by her diet during her internment. While hospitalized, authorities appointed two matrons to guard her.⁷⁶ The letter was addressed to the camp Commandant and she wrote that she was having problems with her eyes, general weakness and stomach problems. She was however excited about her appeal, stating that she sent an 'excellent report that was well set-out and if they examine it with clear conscience and the judge justly they must set me free. If not, the morale here is high and with great patience and resignation I will put up with everything'.⁷⁷ It was reported three days later that Maria was suffering from an 'acute appendicitis for an immediate operation, condition serious'.⁷⁸

⁷⁴ Translated copy of letter from Maria and Vittoria Causa, 21 March 1942. See 'RIVERA Maria (277) [Italian internee]'. K1171/RIVERA M, NAA, Perth.

⁷⁵ J. W. Dower, *War Without Mercy: Race and Power in the Pacific War*. New York: Pantheon books, 1986.

⁷⁶ Report to Swan Barracks, Perth, 1 April 1942. See 'Aliens, Internees, Prisoners of War - Seizure of 'MV Remo''. K1214/241/3/82, NAA, Perth.

⁷⁷ Translated copy of letter from Maria to the Camp Commandant, 26 April 1942. See 'RIVERA Maria (277) [Italian internee]'. K1171/RIVERA M, NAA, Perth.

⁷⁸ Report to Swan Barracks, Perth, 29 April 1942. See 'Aliens, Internees, Prisoners of War - Seizure of 'MV Remo''. K1214/241/3/82, NAA, Perth.

The Aliens Tribunal refused Maria's appeal one month later. In August she was transferred to Tatura camp in Victoria and in October, Maria wrote a letter to the Consul of Switzerland appealing to him for help. She wrote about how she required a special diet in order for her stomach to get better and stated that while she was in Perth hospital she received good care. At Tatura though, Maria stated that the doctors did not visit her and that they refused to give her the diet that she asked for. Instead, authorities told her to buy and cook the food at her own expense. Maria wrote 'Does this appear just and fair to you? Can a thing like this go on forever? What I am writing to you is the truth'.⁷⁹ She then asked for medical references to be sent to her officers from doctors in Perth hospital to prove that she has a medical condition to treat her stomach.⁸⁰

That same month, Maria wrote another letter to the Swiss Consul:

I was visited by the doctor, he said nothing to me, I asked if I could have a Chart made for my diet, that is to say, a small piece of meat and boiled vegetables, in such a way that my food will have no rich sauce. I delayed writing to you these few days because I awaited the result, but up till today nothing. As I have already written to you I, alas, suffer very badly with my stomach and you can have the fullest satisfaction from the Military Authorities and the Nuncipal hospital at Perth, W.A., where I have been for a long time. I cannot understand why ever they have not delivered this diet, and I have continually said that I have great suffering. Does it appear to be just and humane to you?⁸¹

The translator went on further to note that, except for two people, the Italians in the camp are of a very low class.⁸² It is unclear from her NAA file whether Maria ever received her special diet. What we do know is that on 19 February 1944, the Director General of Security in Canberra, wrote to the Deputy Director of Security in Perth that he was prepared to release Maria from internment under

⁷⁹ See 'RIVERA Maria (277) [Italian internee]'. K1171/RIVERA M, NAA, Perth.

⁸⁰ Translator's comments - copy of letter from Maria to Consul of Switzerland in Melbourne, 3 November 1942. See 'RIVERA Maria (277) [Italian internee]'. K1171/RIVERA M, NAA, Perth.

⁸¹ Translator's comments - copy of letter from Maria to Consul of Switzerland in Melbourne, 21 October 1942. See 'RIVERA Maria (277) [Italian internee]'. K1171/RIVERA M, NAA, Perth.

⁸² Translator's comments - copy of letter from Maria to Consul of Switzerland in Melbourne, 21 October 1942. See 'RIVERA Maria (277) [Italian internee]'. K1171/RIVERA M, NAA, Perth.

the condition that she be employed under 'adequate supervision in a Catholic hospital or similar institution'.⁸³ What is most interesting to note is that the staff at the St. Louis Jesuit School, including the Rector Kelly, made an application for Maria's return to work. He wrote 'We shall be very glad of her services in the domestic work of the school, where she was employed previously and with great satisfaction to all'.⁸⁴ This was certainly a contradiction towards the statements made by the college staff two years earlier, highlighting the 'paranoid nationalism' that had long existed against non-British subjects as a result of the White Australia Policy (WAP), which exacerbated during wartime.⁸⁵ On 6 March 1944, Maria was released and twelve days later, severe restrictions were placed on her travel and possessions.⁸⁶

One year later, Maria had reported to authorities that she had lost her restriction order and did not understand it. In a written statement, she wrote in Italian:

Since my release from internment I have reported my movements to the Police authorities and the Manpower Authorities, and thought by doing so I had completed my obligations in full. I can give no explanation as to why I did not know the contents of the Restriction Order that I signed for. When I received it I was in a bad mental state... but have received no medical attention since my release from internment. I regret my error through my ignorance of the terms of the Restriction Order, but I now understand... and will comply in future.⁸⁷

⁸³ Memorandum from Director General, W. B. Simpson to Deputy Director of Security in Perth, 19 February 1944. See 'RIVERA Maria (277) [Italian internee]'. K1171/RIVERA M, NAA, Perth.

⁸⁴ Copy of letter from Reverend Kelly to Authorities, February 1944. See 'RIVERA Maria (277) [Italian internee]'. K1171/RIVERA M, NAA, Perth.

⁸⁵ The concept of 'paranoid nationalism' was adapted to more recent events by author Scott Poynting wrote that 'you cannot have a politics of fear unless you have a culture of paranoia; a paranoia built into a nation's anxieties around its racial and ethnic dimensions but deriving from a range of wider social, economic and political factors'. [S. Poynting *et al.*, *Bin Laden in the Suburbs: criminalising the Arab other*. Sydney: Sydney Institute of Criminology, 2004, p. 213]

⁸⁶ Memorandum from Director General of Security, W.B. Simpson to Deputy Director of Security in Victoria and Perth, 29 February 1944. See 'RIVERA Maria (277) [Italian internee]'. K1171/RIVERA M, NAA, Perth.

⁸⁷ Translated Statement made by Maria Rivera to Authorities, 2 March 1945. See 'RIVERA Maria (277) [Italian internee]'. K1171/RIVERA M, NAA, Perth.

The Security Service in Perth informed Maria that she 'would most likely be prosecuted for this breach and informed her that the whole thing was caused through her carelessness in not familiarising herself with important papers she had actually signed for and received'.⁸⁸ It is unknown whether she was fined for this breach, however the restrictions were revoked on 7 March 1945.

The fact that restrictions were placed on Maria Rivera upon her release from internment in 1944 clearly showed that Italian women continued to be victimized even after Italy had surrendered in September 1943. Maria's case shows there was no evidence to prove she was involved in any subversive activities during the war. Yet, because of her Italian origin and the suspicion that was generated by the Australian public against Italians, Maria was wrongfully interned.

The Sinking of the *Romolo*

Compared to the capture of the *Remo*, the seizure of the *Romolo* was a much more publicized event. The Royal Australian Navy MV *Manoora* seized the *Romolo*, which was heading north east in direction, and rescued the crew and passengers after the vessel was set on fire by the crew and scuttled 220 miles south west of Nauru. The *Romolo* sailed from Brisbane on the 5 June 1940, but was located by *Manoora* seven days later. The *Manoora's* capture of the *Romolo* was portrayed by the media as a heroic act. Even nineteen years after the event, the *Navy News* published an account of the incident:

With Italy's entry into the war she [*Manoora*] was sent to hound down the *Romolo*, which had escaped from an Australian port. On the second day out on the high seas in this chase, the *Manoora* sighted the Italian escapee and fired over her bows. Refusing surrender, the *Romolo* put on a scuttling act. H.M.A.S. *Manoora* settled her down in the sea, and returned home with Australia's first Italian P.O.W's. For weeks then she drifted as the watchman of the seas in the Pacific alert for armed

⁸⁸ Copy of Memorandum to Captain Masel from Security Service in Perth, 2 March 1945. See 'RIVERA Maria (277) [Italian internee]'. K1171/RIVERA M, NAA, Perth.

merchantmen, like herself, styled 'raiders,' the presence of which was evidenced by the shelling of small islands in the area at brief intervals. But the monotony of it! Somehow, armed ships avoided her, and the scraps her crew sought didn't occur.⁸⁹

The scuttling of the *Romolo* may have been a popular news story in the press, however, very little information exists concerning the female crew and passengers onboard the *Romolo*. However, what is known is that the officers, crew and passengers, including two Italian migrants on board the Italian vessel were returning to Italy and were not the 'escapees' the *Navy News* portrayed them to be.⁹⁰

As noted earlier, Liliana Giacosa and her family witnessed the event. A copy of Liliana's diary was found in a Naval Intelligence file concerning the *Romolo* incident. Liliana's diary was taken by authorities because it gave an 'interesting account of the capture and subsequent sinking' of the *Romolo*.⁹¹ This is indeed true. The diary entries describe her time in Australia, her desire to return to her romantic interest Enzo in Italy and the disastrous trip on the *Romolo*. It also shows that the *Romolo's* departure was delayed a number of times throughout the first few months of 1940, due to fear surrounding Italy's involvement in the war. On Sunday, 20 May 1940, the Consul sought permission to leave from the Commonwealth Government, which was eventually granted.⁹²

Although the *Romolo* departed on Wednesday 5 June, there were a few moments when Liliana feared that Italy had already declared war:

⁸⁹ 'Hounded down Romolo'. *Navy News*, Friday, January 9, 1959, p. 2.

⁹⁰ The Royal Australian Navy were also active in the Mediterranean with the sinking of the Italian destroyer *Espero* by the Sydney and the Italian cruiser *Bartolomeo Colleoni* on 19 July. [Mckernan and Browne, p. 230].

⁹¹ Confidential report from Intelligence Officer to Naval Staff Office, Brisbane, 19 September 1940. See "Romolo' - Sinking by HMAS 'Manoora' [22 pages]'. B6121/211E, NAA, Melbourne.

⁹² Copy of Liliana Giacosa's diary entries, 20 May 1940. See "Romolo' - Sinking by HMAS 'Manoora' [22 pages]'. B6121/211E, NAA, Melbourne.

we saw eighteen sailors of the British Navy, fully armed with bayonets in their hands marching behind an officer who was holding a paper in his hand. Mum went white and deserted us for the cabin where we found her packing father's clothes. We all got a fright but then – what else could we do, it was obvious, we thought, Italy has this minute declared war and they have come to take the ship. Well, they hadn't...These men were sent to take care of the ship, and to see that it left the Brisbane canal safely. That was very kind of them, but the real thing behind it was that they were afraid the captain would sink the ship at a narrow point in the canal, and so block it...We got into open sea, and I can see all heaved a tremendous sigh, but I don't think all is finished yet.⁹³

Once the vessel was out at sea, the crew and passengers were aware that they were being followed. Their journey was described by the press:

Instructions were issued to the merchant cruiser to shadow the Romolo when she left Brisbane on June 5. Her commander by the day kept far astern with the men in the crow's nest sighting the Italian liner's mast, which was just visible over the horizon. At night, with all lights out, she clapped on speed and raced ahead until she spotted the Italian's lights, at dawn again dropping away far astern. The next night the Romolo, with all lights out, turned south-east, into the Pacific in, according to Captain R. L. Harry, a Torres Strait pilot who was still aboard her, a last-minute effort to race to a neutral port. Orders had been received by the leader of a Fascist junta aboard—an authority which was able to override all the captains' decisions.⁹⁴

Those on board became aware that they were being pursued, and that they were on a different path. Liliansa wrote on 8 June:

There is still a ship following us, it followed us all during the night, it will be following us a lot more now until we get to some Japanese Island...I only hope war doesn't break out during the following week, otherwise, we shall be seeing Australia again and I don't want that to happen...We had a blackout again last night, and will be having them as long as we are watched.⁹⁵

On Monday 10 June, the crew and passengers on board painted the colour of the ship to grey to look like a cruiser. The next day, Liliansa wrote that she 'Woke up this morning and was told by my aunty that war was declared by Italy on France. Now all the ship is grey and everyone is very excited

⁹³ Copy of Liliansa Giacosa's diary entries, 27 May 1940. See "Romolo" - Sinking by HMAS 'Manoora' [22 pages]'. B6121/211E, NAA, Melbourne.

⁹⁴ 'Cruisers Long Chase. Sinking of the Romolo. Dogged for a Week. Race to help Freighter'. *The West Australian*, 19 June 1940, p. 9. See "MS Romolo" - departed Brisbane - sinking off NE Solomon Islands'. PP227/2/1939/W1, NAA, Perth.

⁹⁵ Copy of Liliansa Giacosa's diary entries, 8 June 1940. See "Romolo" - Sinking by HMAS 'Manoora' [22 pages]'. B6121/211E, NAA, Melbourne.

lest we sight some ship. If all goes well we hope to reach some Japanese island in safety'.⁹⁶ Though morale was high, this was soon to change. The *Manoora* caught up, seized the vessel and as reported in the news, once their capture seemed imminent, under the orders of the fascist Government in Italy, the crew onboard set the vessel on fire:

During the morning of Wednesday, June 12, a thick column of smoke was sighted and as the Australian ship raced towards it, the officers realised it was the *Romolo* burning fiercely amidships as she heeled slightly in the flat tropical calm. Standing off out of range of the intense heat were six lifeboats crammed off in deep water, and slipped her motor pinnace over the side. We were darned impressed by the way your navy went about things.⁹⁷

Liliana describes the ordeal in her diary:

The chief steward came round and told us to get all we could and go to the lifeboats with our belts on. He bade us keep calm for the glory of greater Italy...We put our lifebelts on and soon we were in the launches in the sea. I had many woollens on and Mother had her thick coat on and with the heat we were all red and irritated. We got down the launches and the heat was terrific. When all the launches had left we saw a column of smoke rising from the top deck of the 'Romolo'. We continued so in sea and lastly we neared the 'Manoora' which had reached us. Pandolfi ran down the steps to help up the women. Aunty almost fell into the sea but I managed well and everyone got on board safely. Our launch was the last one to reach the boat except for the captain's launch. Of course during this time we didn't have a chance to realise what was happening. With the heat, the excitement, and the sight of the burning ship we couldn't speak or act, but once we were in the saloon of the 'Manoora' we all had to break out and do something. We were fairly well treated and the ship's pursuer gave the women a cabin each. About 4.30 on 12/6/40 they fired seven shots at the 'Romolo' to sink it all the more quickly. The noise, of course, was dreadful and that, of course, added to our discomfort. They were kind and offered us some hot tea, which, of course, helped to give us more strength. The 'Romolo' burned for a considerable time and finally it disappeared below the water at 6.20 and the captain of this boat has been kind. At 6.p.m. we went to table but must admit the food is terrific – however, we can't complain.⁹⁸

It was reported that the Italian Captain made a kind gesture towards the crew members of the

Manoora:

All the Italian passengers and complement of the *Romolo* were taken in a barricaded train under armed guard to internment some hours after the ship berthed. A remarkable gesture was made by the Italian captain, who presented his chronometer to the commander of the Australian vessel, asking him to

⁹⁶ Copy of Liliana Giacosa's diary entries, 10 June 1940. See "Romolo' - Sinking by HMAS 'Manoora' [22 pages]'. B6121/211E, NAA, Melbourne.

⁹⁷ Cruisers Long Chase. Sinking of the *Romolo*. Dogged for a Week. Race to help Freighter. 19 June 1940. See "MS Romolo' - departed Brisbane - sinking off NE Solomon Islands'. PP227/2/1939/W1, NAA, Perth.

⁹⁸ Copy of Liliana Giacosa's diary entries, 12 June 1940. See "Romolo' - Sinking by HMAS 'Manoora' [22 pages]'. B6121/211E, NAA, Melbourne.

accept it in recognition of the courteous and honourable treatment he and his officers had been given.⁹⁹



Figure 21: Giacosa Family

'Guglielmo Giacosa, Rosina Giacosa, Liliana Giacosa and Rosemary Giacosa [family photograph attached] [Box 50]'.
SP244/2/N1950/2/5574, NAA, Sydney.

⁹⁹ Cruisers Long Chase. Sinking of the Romolo. Dogged for a Week. Race to help Freighter. 19 June 1940. See "MS Romolo' - departed Brisbane - sinking off NE Solomon Islands'. PP227/2/1939/W1, NAA, Perth.

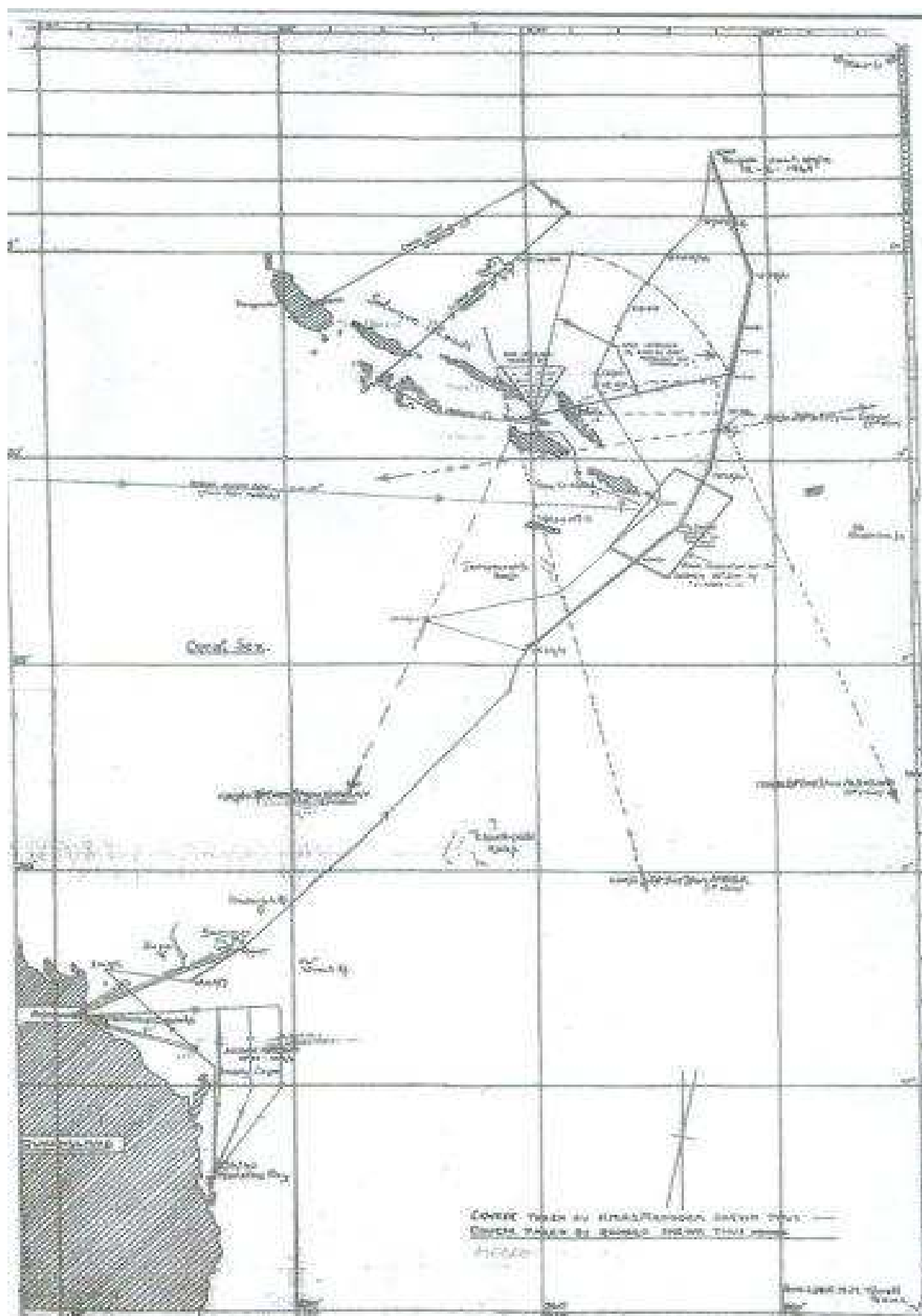


Figure 22: Map of the Romolo voyage.

“MS Romolo’ - departed Brisbane - sinking off NE Solomon Islands’. PP227/2/1939/W1, NAA, Perth.

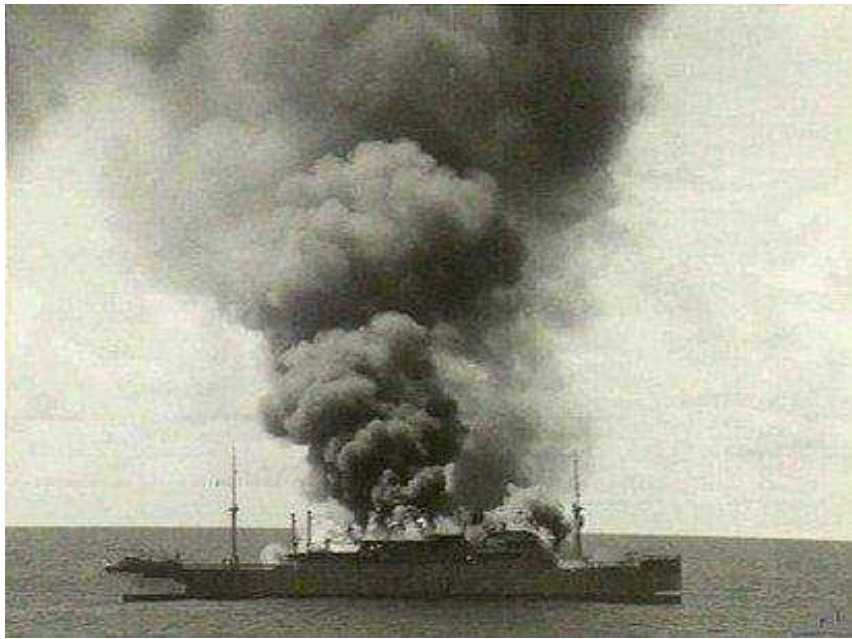


Figure 23: *Romolo* set on fire by the crew in the South Pacific Ocean 12 June 1940.

Australian War Memorial Collection,
[<http://cas.awm.gov.au/item/002007>].
Accessed: 15 April 2008.

Figure 24: Crew and passengers escaping the *Romolo* and being taken on board the *Manoora*.

Australian War Memorial Collection,
[<http://cas.awm.gov.au/item/128067>]. Accessed: 15
April 2008.



Figure 25: *HMAS Manoora*.

Australian War Memorial
Collection,
[<http://cas.awm.gov.au/item/P00041.030>].
Accessed: 15 April 2008.



After Liliana was safely on board the *Manoora*, Liliana watched the sinking of the *Romolo*. She wrote 'With the 'Romolo' went down all our belongings. I don't regret it of course, because better like this than know it is in the hands of the English'.¹⁰⁰ The *Romolo* crew did their utmost to prevent their capture which could have been perceived as disloyal to the British Empire. However, the Commonwealth Government did grant their leave and there is no mention of her family having any fascist sympathies in her diary. The NAA files concerning the Giacosa family do however suggest otherwise.

All crew and passengers from the *Romolo* were brought to Townsville, Queensland. Eventually, all Italian males were transferred to the prisoner-of-war and internment camp located outside of the town of Hay in the Riverina district of southern New South Wales.¹⁰¹ Liliana's father, fascist Guglielmo Giacosa, who according to investigation officers was a member of the Fascist Party, was one of the many on board interned, first at Gaythorne internment camp, before being transferred to Hay internment camp. Guglielmo was born in Alba, Province Guneo on 9 July 1897 and was an agricultural engineer. Guglielmo's wife Rosina Giacosa and her children Liliana and Rosemary were not interned upon arrival because, as noted in previous chapters, it was a general rule that women were not to be interned. Rosina moved to Brisbane to be closer to her husband and after a few months, when her husband moved to Hay, again, Rosina took her children and followed him.¹⁰²

¹⁰⁰ Copy of Liliana Giacosa's diary entries, 12 June 1940. See "'Romolo' - Sinking by HMAS 'Manoora' [22 pages]'. B6121/211E, NAA, Melbourne.

¹⁰¹ Cresciani, *Italians living in Australia*, p. 99.

¹⁰² 'Internee – Service and Casualty Form'. See 'Prisoner of War/Internee: Giacosa, Guglielmo; Date of birth - 09 July 1897; Nationality - Italian'. MP1103/1/Q7199, NAA, Melbourne.

Similar to their counterparts, there were female members of the Fascist Party who were not only politically involved, but more socially orientated. From a number of interviews with Italian women who lived in Australia during the 1920s and 1930s, Angela Diana concluded that the main aims of 'The Women's Fascio' were welfare oriented, 'humanitarian and social aims of assisting the needy', where they 'untiringly organized balls, charities and receptions for every fascist celebration'.¹⁰³ From her findings, it was concluded that Italian women who were involved in fascist activities were educated and many taught children in schools and clubs. It was clear that women did not 'seem to have an independent active role in a political sense'.¹⁰⁴ They seemed to have followed their men, where 'no real power seems to have been in their hands, except in dealing with children' and functions.¹⁰⁵ This did not necessarily mean that women were not politically involved nor that their activities could be seen as political. There were also some women who expressed their support to the fascist Government in Italy by sending gold jewellery overseas.¹⁰⁶ Diana wrote the 'fact that women migrated from Italy in proportionately high numbers from 1925 to 1940 also meant that they would have had some experience of fascism in Italy'.¹⁰⁷ In order to express support for the fascist Government, women would send wedding rings or any other gold they might possess to the fascist campaign.¹⁰⁸

Rosina Giacosa was an example of the many women who volunteered to organize dances and balls. Rosina's name was detected by the authorities on a fascist circular which referred to functions that were being held by fascist organizations in June 1939. Though the circular affirmed that the 'Fascist

¹⁰³ A. Diana, 'Italian Women in Australia'. *Affari sociali internazional*, Volume 16, Issue No. 2, 1988, p. 76.

¹⁰⁴ Diana, 'Italian Women in Australia', p. 76.

¹⁰⁵ Diana, 'Italian Women in Australia', pp. 76 and 77.

¹⁰⁶ Diana, 'Italian Women in Australia', p. 77.

¹⁰⁷ Diana, 'Italian Women in Australia', p. 73.

¹⁰⁸ Diana, 'Italian Women in Australia', p. 73.

character is voluntary and constant', the Secretary of the Fascist Group, Dr. I. Fanelli ordered women 'to be present in ever great numbers at our functions which by their varied character are able to satisfy the spiritual and worldly needs of our entire colony'.¹⁰⁹ As a result, authorities decided in 'view of the Fascio membership and her disregard of the National Security Regulations her internment is recommended'.¹¹⁰ Authorities also referred to the fact that Rosina arrived in Australia on the 3 March 1931, but did not register as an alien until 19 June 1940, 'thus showing utter disregard to National Security Regulations'.¹¹¹

Detective Constable, Norman H. Spry intercepted a book titled, 'Fascio Luigi Platonio' ('Italian Fasci abroad') which had a subscription index of members of the Sydney Fascio from the period 9 January to 7 May 1940.¹¹² It mentioned Rosina and both her children, and on this basis, authorities were forced to place restrictions upon the family. Rosina admitted to being a member of the Fascio Femminili, but also claimed that she did not attend any of the meetings. The reason Rosina gave as to why she was a member of the fascist organization was given on her registration papers. She claimed that many women who owned property overseas were required to become a member of the Fascist Party.¹¹³

¹⁰⁹ Copy of a translated circular that was taken from the file of Antonio Panella, 22 May 1939. See 'Giacosa, Rosina (Italian) [Box 147]'. C123/1 5085, NAA, Sydney.

¹¹⁰ See 'Giacosa, Rosina (Italian) [Box 147]'. C123/1 5085, NAA, Sydney.

¹¹¹ 'Application for Detention Order – National Security (General) Regulations Section 20', 4 April 1941. See 'Giacosa, Rosina (Italian) [Box 147]'. C123/1 5085, NAA, Sydney.

¹¹² Report by Detective Constable Norman H. Spy, 4 December 1940. See 'Giacosa, Rosina (Italian) [Box 147]'. C123/1 5085, NAA, Sydney.

¹¹³ Questionnaire completed by the M. P. I. Section, Police Headquarters in Sydney, 13 August 1940. See 'Giacosa, Rosina (Italian) [Box 147]'. C123/1 5085, NAA, Sydney.. See 'Giacosa, Rosina (Italian) [Box 147]'. C123/1 5085, NAA, Sydney.

The question of whether Rosina should have been interned was discussed by the Director of Military Operations and Intelligence to Eastern Command, Army Headquarters to the Eastern Command in Victoria, who claimed:

Where to place these women? Women can be suitably interned where the course is considered essential, with emphasis on the word 'essential.' But External Affairs would regard with grave concern anything like a mass internment or any internments which were otherwise indiscriminate. Such action might have unpleasant consequences for Australian women in enemy territory and it was obviously desirable to avoid any retaliatory action by Germany or Italy. Each case should be given the closest scrutiny to enable us, if any internment is queried through diplomatic channels, to say clearly and definitely that the internment is warranted on security grounds.¹¹⁴

The incarceration of women was clearly a last resort for authorities. In Rosina Giacosa's case, the Eastern Command was required to give details of the recommendation for her detention. The Military Board was required to consider whether Rosina's involvement in the Fascist Party was sufficient for her internment. The Director of Military Operations and Intelligence of Eastern Command, Army Headquarters in Victoria outlined the requirements that were vital for the Military Board to consider:

The case consists of little more than Fascio membership and there is nothing to show why Eastern Command considers her internment to be essential. Is it intended to treat Fascio membership of itself as a ground for interning enemy women? If so, shall we not be faced with something like a wholesale internment of Italian women? What is the particular danger which Eastern Command fear from her? What subversive activity can she carry on at Hay? Would not restrictions as distinct from internment be sufficient? Does Eastern Command think she is so dangerous that we should intern her even at the risk of a possible retaliatory internment of Australian women in Italy?¹¹⁵

It was eventually decided that on 10 July 1941, Rosina and her 6 year old daughter, Rosemary, would be interned at Tatura.¹¹⁶ Rosemary was released from internment for schooling on 11 March

¹¹⁴ Report from Director of Military Operations and Intelligence to Eastern Command, Army Headquarters, Victoria. See 'Giacosa, Rosina (Italian) [Box 147]'. C123/1 5085, NAA, Sydney.

¹¹⁵ Report from the Director of Military Operations and Intelligence of Eastern Command, Army Headquarters in Victoria. See 'Giacosa, Rosina (Italian) [Box 147]'. C123/1 5085, NAA, Sydney.

¹¹⁶ 'Report on Internee by Camp Commandment, L.B. McLeod, 11 July 1941. See 'Giacosa, Rosina (Italian) [Box 147]'. C123/1 5085, NAA, Sydney.

1943.¹¹⁷ Rosina and her children Rosemary and Liliana, along with her husband Guglielmo, were eventually released from internment in November 1944.¹¹⁸ No evidence was presented to prove that Rosina and her family was dangerous to the nation's security. As Saunders has articulated, the status of 'enemy alien', in addition to their political beliefs caused the government to suspect foreigners as 'potentially, though not specifically subversive'.¹¹⁹

The crew members of the *Romolo* were also investigated because of their political affiliations. Elena Giovenale worked as a nurse on the Italian vessel and after her arrival in Australia, resided in East Sydney where she found employment at Lewisham Hospital. According to Intelligence, Elena confessed that she was a fascist and was suspected of being a messenger for other fascists.¹²⁰ Authorities intercepted a letter addressed to Elena, which was written by Czecho-Slovakian national, Walter Geiringer. The letter referred to the Chief Officer of the *Romolo*, Tullio Tami and stated that Elena was to get in touch with the Sub-Lieutenant of the *Manoora*, H. Tyrell if at anytime she needed assistance.¹²¹ Despite there being no evidence to suggest any involvement in subversive activities, authorities concluded:

As this self-confessed Fascist is, on her own admission, acting as a go-between for Tami and Geiringer, - the former claiming to be a Naval Officer of the Italian Merchant Fleet - we are of the opinion that this woman should be interned, as it is evident that her sympathies are with Italy, and her freedom constitutes a danger to this country.¹²²

¹¹⁷ Memorandum from Custodian of Records, W.S. Chenoweth, 25 October 1944. See 'Giacosa, Rosina (Italian) [Box 147]'. C123/1 5085, NAA, Sydney.

¹¹⁸ Memorandum dated 6 December 1944. See 'Giacosa, Rosina (Italian) [Box 147]'. C123/1 5085, NAA, Sydney.

¹¹⁹ Saunders and Taylor, 'The Enemy Within', p. 19.

¹²⁰ Report to Inspector Wilson, 8 April 1940. See 'Giovenale, Elena (Italian) [box 71]'. C123/1 2955, NAA, Sydney.

¹²¹ Note written to Inspector Wilson, 7 April 1941. See 'Giovenale, Elena (Italian) [box 71]'. C123/1 2955, NAA, Sydney.

¹²² Report to Inspector Wilson, 7 May 1941. See 'Giovenale, Elena (Italian) [box 71]'. C123/1 2955, NAA, Sydney.

Consequently, Elena was considered to be a risk to national security and authorities recommended her to be interned.¹²³

Due to the economic climate and the shortage of manpower, Elena was interned at Lewisham Hospital where she worked under the supervision of her Mother Superior. There was some concern over allowing Elena to be interned at the hospital. Eastern Command wrote in a report:

From a security point of view restriction of this woman within the hospital in which she is employed would not be satisfactory in view of the volume of patients and visitors which pass through the building. Such a restriction could not of course be adequately policed and she still could, if she so desired, act as a "go-between".¹²⁴

Nevertheless, their decision to intern Elena at the hospital was most probably influenced by the shortage of labour during the Second World War. Internment can be perceived as an effective measure to control enemy aliens, but as noted in Chapter One, it was also an expensive measure for the Commonwealth Government, costing the £3 per week, per person. Towards the end of the war the Commonwealth Government realised that enemy aliens could work in labour camps to alleviate manpower shortage and contribute to the war effort, while the Commonwealth Government still controlled their actions.¹²⁵

While Elena was interned at Lewisham Hospital heavy restrictions were placed on her travel. In order for Elena to leave the hospital, an application to the authorities by her Mother Superior was required. In April 1942, Elena sought permission to accompany the nursing sisters into town by car to do her own personal shopping. Authorities did not object as long as she was 'accompanied

¹²³ Report to Inspector Wilson, 7 May 1941. See 'Giovenale, Elena (Italian) [box 71]'. C123/1 2955, NAA, Sydney.

¹²⁴ Report titled 'Application for Ministerial Authority to Intern' from Eastern Command, September 1941. See 'Giovenale, Elena (Italian) [box 71]'. C123/1 2955, NAA, Sydney.

¹²⁵ Lamidey, *Aliens Control: 'Report to the Honourable Arthur A. Calwell'*, p. 54.

during the entire period by at least two nursing sisters' and that a letter supplying the names of the places that Elena had planned to visit was sent to authorities.¹²⁶ Elena was also not to have any contact with anyone except the shop assistants with 'whom she is conducting her business'.¹²⁷ Restrictions were lifted in September 1943, after authorities received a letter from a naturalized German-born Max Frederick Raasch, who asked for Elena's release to marry her. No objection was raised and they were married on 27 November 1943.¹²⁸ As a result of her marriage, Elena became a naturalized British subject which meant she became exempt from the *Aliens Control Regulations*.

Anyone who Elena associated with was also suspected of being a fascist sympathiser. Both 38 year old Maria Cebin and 46 year old Guilia Ponzelletti worked as a stewardess on the *Romolo* and lived in East Sydney after the vessel was seized. Authorities searched Maria Cebin's house after she was seen visiting Elena in May 1941. A letter written in Italian and a book which showed 'prominent personages under Nazism and their counterpart under Fascism' were found in her possession.¹²⁹

Authorities wrote that:

As this woman does not speak the English language and associates with known Fascists...combined with the fact that the Nazi - Fascist Book was found in her possession, perhaps consideration could be given as to whether or not this person is a fit subject for internment. If this action is not considered warranted, perhaps suitable action may be taken to restrict her movements and prevent her contact with known Fascists.¹³⁰

¹²⁶ Letter from Mother Superior, S.M. Boniface to Lieutenant General, General Officer of Eastern Command in Victoria, H.D. Wynter, 13 April 1942. See 'Giovenale, Elena (Italian) [box 71]'. C123/1 2955, NAA, Sydney.

¹²⁷ Letter from to Lieutenant General, General Officer, Commanding Eastern Command in Victoria, H. D. Wynter to Mother Superior, S.M. Boniface, April 1942. See 'Giovenale, Elena (Italian) [box 71]'. C123/1 2955, NAA, Sydney.

¹²⁸ Memorandum from Director General of Security W.B. Simpson to Deputy Director of Security, 23 September 1943. See 'Giovenale, Elena (Italian) [box 71]'. C123/1 2955, NAA, Sydney.

¹²⁹ Report to Inspector Wilson, 6 May 1941. See 'Cebin, Maria (Italian) [box 64]'. C123/1 2830, NAA, Sydney.

¹³⁰ Report to Inspector Wilson, 6 May 1941. See 'Cebin, Maria (Italian) [box 64]'. C123/1 2830, NAA, Sydney.

Though authorities considered that Maria should have been interned, it was later found out that she was exempt from the *Aliens Control Regulations* because of her marriage to naturalized British subject, Alberto Bernardini.¹³¹ It is important to note that Italian women who were married to Australian men were naturalized through marriage. That is, they took on the nationality of their husband and became British subjects. Both Elena and Maria became naturalized through marriage and were therefore exempt from the *Aliens Control Regulations*. The ramification of the naturalization process is further explained in Chapter Seven.

Figure 26: Maria Cebin's registration photo, 1940.

'Maria CEBIN - Nationality: Italian - Arrived Townsville per MV MANOORA 18 Jun 1940 [Box 30]'. SP11/5/CEBIN, MARIA, NAA, Sydney.



Guilia Ponzeletti, another crew member, was fortunate enough to have not been interned during the war. After living in East Sydney for a few months, she moved to Melbourne. Guilia could speak only a few words of English. She was 'considered harmless by authorities', but in February 1941, it was alleged that she made anti-British statements and claimed to have been working for a well known fascist, Mario Vigano, owner of a Melbourne Café called *Mario's*. It was recommended that

¹³¹ Memorandum from Deputy Director of Security for New South Wales to Director General of Security in Canberra, 8 July 1943. See 'Cebin, Maria (Italian) [box 64]'. C123/1 2830, NAA, Sydney.

'it might be deemed advisable to have her movements watched and restricted'.¹³² Fortunately for Guilia, she was not subject to a restriction order and it was stated that she could not be 'compelled to return to Sydney'.¹³³

Conclusion

In conclusion, war-time policy introduced during the Second World War can be perceived as a reaction towards the imminent threat to the nation's security, creating the 'enemy within'. Italian-born women were classified as enemy aliens and judged on their ethnicity and political affiliations rather than the individual risk to national security. This chapter concludes the first part of this thesis, illustrating how the outbreak of war heightened the control over enemy aliens in Australia. The following chapters concern the effects that the *Aliens Control Regulations* had on Australian-born women of German background, Italian-born women and Australian-born women of Japanese descent all of whom resided in Australia during the Second World War. It shows how the *Aliens Control Regulations* were applied to each enemy national in different ways, leading to conclusions that factors such as political and racial aspects influenced the way in which these *Aliens Control Regulations* were administered.

¹³² Memorandum, 21 February 1941. See 'Ponzeletti, Guilia (Italian) [box 66]'. C123/2863, NAA, Sydney.

¹³³ Copy of Memorandum from Deputy Director of Security, NSW to Deputy Director of Security, Melbourne, 31 July 1944. See 'Ponzeletti, Guilia (Italian) [box 66]'. C123/2863, NAA, Sydney.

PART II:

Enemy Aliens on Land

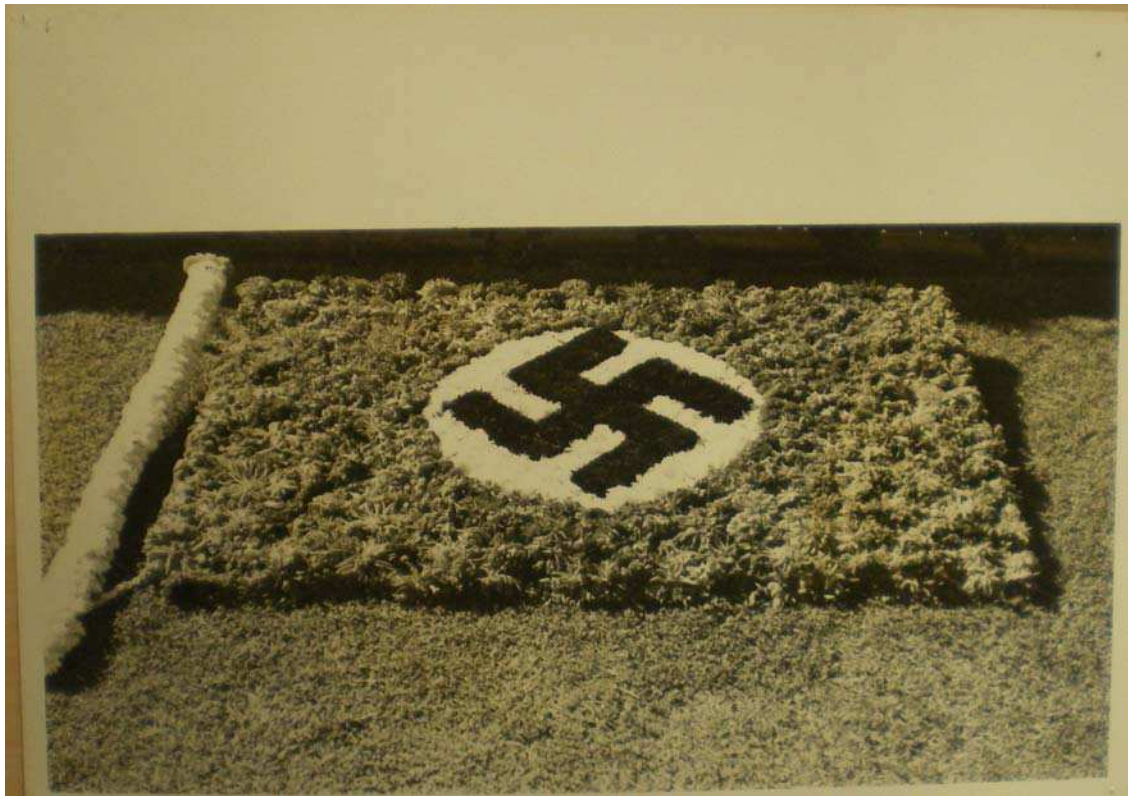


Figure 27: Picture of Swastika found in the possession of Australian-born Ilma Bohlmann

'Ilma Carola Amalia Bohlmann & Stanley George Bohlmann - investigations & internment'.

D1915/SA5734, NAA, Adelaide.

Chapter Three:

German at Heart

The tragic, and often shameful, discrimination against Australians of German origin fostered during the World Wars had many consequences. No doubt, some of you carry the emotional scars of injustice during those times as part of your backgrounds or family histories. Let me as Governor-General, say to all who do how profoundly sorry I am that such things happened in our country.¹

On 14 February 1940, after authorities obtained a warrant. A search of the premises at number forty eight Dixon St, Clarence Park in Adelaide, confirmed it to be the address of the leader of the women's Nazi Organization in South Australia (*Arbeitsgemeinschaft der Deutschen Frau in Auslande*), Pauline Mathilde Johanne Starke. Pauline was born in Southern Germany and arrived with her family in Australia on 15 March 1929. She was described as being stout, and having blue eyes with dark hair with a tinge of grey on the side. Pauline was sixty two years old and a widow of German national Paul Emil Starke, keeping her husband's ashes in a casket located in her sitting room decorated with a red Swastika on each corner. Among her friends were the German Consul, Mrs Mathilde Heinle and Ilma Bohlmann whose involvement in the Nazi Organization will be further discussed below.²

During the search of Pauline's house, Nazi sympathizer, Otto Sternberg, who was staying with her at the time was taken away to be detained by authorities. It is clear that Pauline was an ardent supporter of Hitler. This was illustrated through her active leadership of the Women's Nazi

¹ The Governor General, Sir William Deane spoke at the opening of the Australian conference on Lutheran Education at the Gold Coast on 26 September 1999 noted in P. McDermott, 'Internment During the great War - A Challenge to the Rule of Law.' *UNSW Law Journal* Volume 28, Issue 2, 2005, p. 330.

² See 'Starke, Ernst Emil Robert [deportation to Germany together with his mother, Pauline Starke - includes photographs]'. D1915/SA15103, National Archives of Australia (NAA), Adelaide.

Organization in South Australia and the Swastikas and photographs that decorated her house. The search also revealed that Pauline had a wireless set which was operating and tuned in to a station in Berlin along with several maps of Germany.³ A police statement recorded Pauline saying 'Jews are the trouble for the present situation. It is not Hitler that wants to rule the world but the Jews. When Hitler conquers Poland the war will finish'.⁴



Figure 28: (Left) Passport photo of Pauline Starke and **Figure 29:** (Right) Picture of Paul Beckmann found in Pauline's possession by police, 15 June 1944.

'Starke, Ernst Emil Robert [deportation to Germany together with his mother, Pauline Starke - includes photographs]'. D1915/SA15103, NAA, Adelaide.



There was evidence that Pauline was aware that members of her organization were kept under close scrutiny by the public and authorities. In a letter written in German to a friend, Mrs M. Weich, that was translated by authorities, Pauline wrote 'Please don't say anything about what I told you...It might be repeated incorrectly, and there might be gossip which we as National Socialists

³ Letter from Wireless licence Inspector, M.W. Brosnanto Senior Radio Inspector, 6 September 1939. See 'Starke, Ernst Emil Robert [deportation to Germany together with his mother, Pauline Starke - includes photographs]'. D1915/SA15103, NAA, Adelaide.

⁴ Statement made by authorities, no date. See 'Starke, Ernst Emil Robert [deportation to Germany together with his mother, Pauline Starke - includes photographs]'. D1915/SA15103, NAA, Adelaide.

(Nazis) must avoid at all costs'.⁵ Other Nazi affiliations recorded by authorities included Pauline's son Ernst Emil Robert Stark, an ardent Nazi supporter who was interned. It was clear from correspondence that she also kept in contact with German Consul, Paul Beckmann.⁶

As a result of Germany's declaration of war on 3 September 1939, many German women like Pauline were placed under suspicion because of the large German population in South Australia, where there were many activities and organizations that first, second, and third generation Australians of German descent became involved in. However, there are also files that suggest surveillance was undertaken before the outbreak of war. Hermann Homburg's frustration was expressed when he wrote the following about German Lutherans living in South Australia in 1947:

It will hardly be disputed that they should not—even in time of stress and for racial reasons only—be separated from the rest of the community, be made the butt of local propaganda and be singled out for odium and suspicion. If a century and more of residence in this land does not entitle them to be regarded as Australians, then how much longer must they sojourn here before they are?⁷

Activities that preserved German culture in South Australia were conducted by many organizations. On 7 February 1935, for example, the German Australian Centenary Committee was formed by the South Australian German Historical Society, and its main purpose was to urge the restoration of historical names, such as Klemzig, the place 'where the first of these immigrants settled upon their arrival from Germany in 1838'.⁸ Another instance was when the Historical Society honored the

⁵ Copy of letter intercepted by authorities written by Pauline to Mrs M. Weich in Tanunda, 10 November 1939. See 'Starke, Ernst Emil Robert [deportation to Germany together with his mother, Pauline Starke - includes photographs]'. D1915/SA15103, NAA, Adelaide.

⁶ Letter from Pauline Starke to Mr Beckmann, 4 February 1940. See 'Starke, Ernst Emil Robert [deportation to Germany together with his mother, Pauline Starke - includes photographs]'. D1915/SA15103, NAA, Adelaide.

⁷ H. Homburg, *South Australian Lutherans and Wartime Rumours*. Adelaide: Self Published, 1947, p. 7.

⁸ Booklet titled the 'Unveiling of Monument in honour of First German Lutheran Pioneers at Klemzig on 29 August, 1936 at 3 p.m.' See 'German Historical Society of SA'. D1915/SA18743, NAA, Adelaide.

founding leader of the village of Klemzig, Pastor August Ludwig Kavel. They held a ceremony and Homburg unveiled a monument. The monument was dedicated to Danish Captain Dirk Meinhertz Hahn. It was placed in the German settlement, originally known as Hahndorf. It was known as Ambleside between the First and Second World War, but the name was changed back to its original name Hahndorf during the late 1930s.⁹



Figure 30: Hermann Homburg at the unveiling of the 'Captain Hahn memorial' at Hahndorf in South Australia.

'German Historical Society of SA'. D1915/SA18743, NAA, Adelaide.

⁹ Photograph of 'Hermann Homburg at the unveiling of the Captain Hahn memorial at Hondorf S.A. 1936.' See 'German Historical Society of SA'. D1915/SA18743, NAA, Adelaide.

At the outbreak of war, authorities rounded up all German men who were immediately incarcerated. This chapter focuses on German women and Australian women of German descent who were targeted by intelligence officers because they were 'German at Heart', a notion that represents women who maintained their German cultural values and language throughout settlement despite their status as British citizens. It provides case studies of these women and how they were affected in various ways by the *National Security (Aliens Control) Regulations 1939* (Cth). Some of the women were ardent supporters of Nazism and socially prominent in German communities within South Australian and New South Wales.¹⁰ This study focuses on German and Australian women of German descent who settled in areas of South Australia and New South Wales due to the vast amount of files available at the NAA in each state. Over seventy five Australian women of German heritage were examined. Most files were held at the National Archives of Australia (NAA) in Sydney and Adelaide.

Their experience is not only recorded in archival documents, but also photographs that depict the reality of these stories which are held at the NAA. Despite their support for Nazism, it is clear from the files that they posed no real threat to the nation's security and that the *Aliens Control Regulations* were inconsistently applied because of the subjective nature of the legislation and the officialdom responsible for administering it. This Chapter highlights the significance of Homburg's question: 'If a century and more of residence in this land does not entitle them to be regarded as Australians, then how much longer must they sojourn here before they are?'¹¹ The stories illustrate the lack of citizenship rights that these women had during the first half of the twentieth century.

¹⁰ Photographs that depict the social events that most Germans participated in are depicted on pages 146-150.

¹¹ Homburg, *South Australian Lutherans*, p. 7.

Rise of the Nazi Party in Australia

There were many German women living in Australia who had Nazi sympathies, most located in Tanunda, South Australia. However, this did not mean that the women presented in this chapter who were Nazi supporters were representative of most German settlers within the South Australian community during the war. According to Charles Price who was formerly an intelligence officer during the war, in 1939, approximately 26,000 people of German background were living in Australia, 19,000 assimilated while the remainder retained their German cultural values and language.¹² Price's main argument revolved around what he believed to be the 'chief problem'. This was

the extent to which members of the Nazi Party delayed the absorption process in Australia by spreading amongst Australian-born Germans the Nazi Volksgedanke – the theory that blood overrides nationality and that all Germans abroad must retain their connection with the German 'racial' community.¹³

However, as Hermann Homburg has described it, Price's work was

intended to throw doubt upon the loyalty of Lutherans and support the action of 'security' to intern those whom its officers singled out for suspicion, and provide material for the justification of the actions of his fellow officers.¹⁴

There is no evidence to support Price's argument that those who maintained their German values prevented assimilation. In fact, Nazi Party membership in Australia was relatively low and had no influence over the majority of German settlers in Australia. It is more acceptable to support Homburg's assertion that Price, like many other Australians during war-time hysteria, 'joined in the hunt for suspects'.¹⁵

¹² C. Price, *German Settlers in South Australia*. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1945, p. 4.

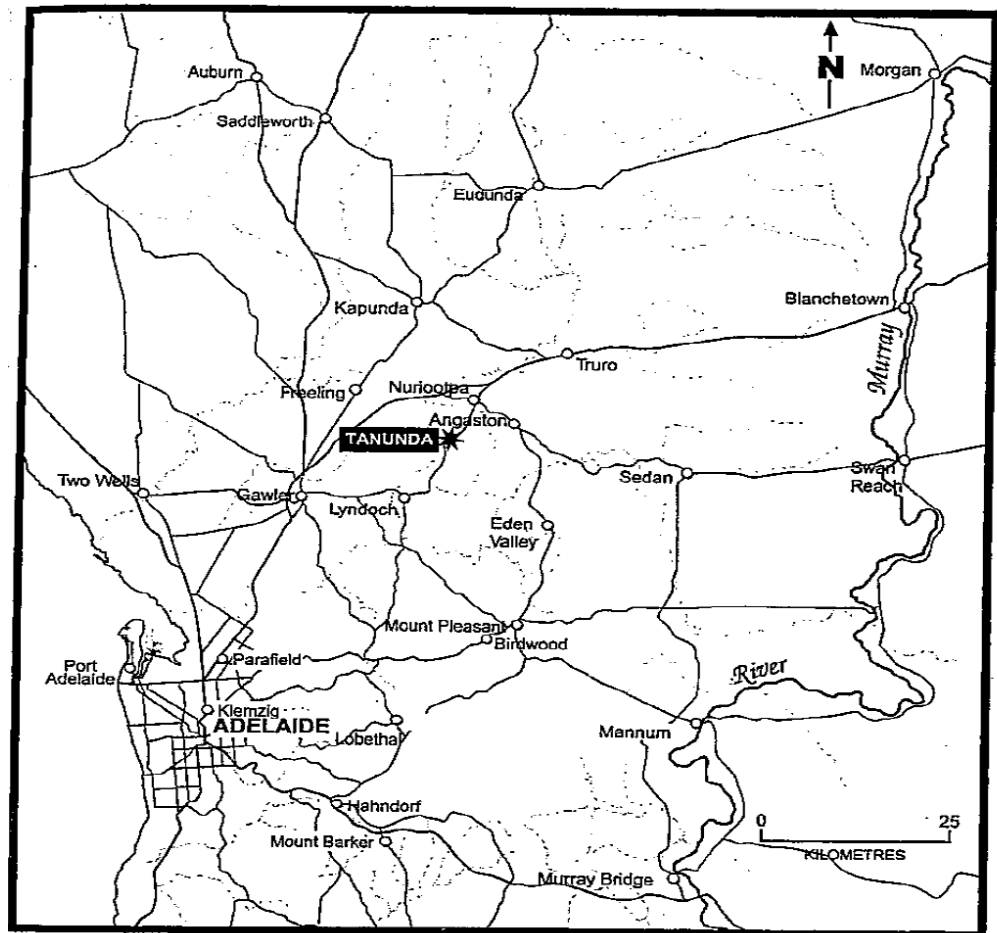
¹³ Price, *German Settlers*, p. 40.

¹⁴ Homburg, *Wartime Rumours*, p. 48.

¹⁵ Homburg, *Wartime Rumours*, p. 48.

Figure 31: Map of
Tanunda and the Barossa
Valley

Gumpl, *The Hitler Club*.



Former public servant Noel Lamidey explains in his report that at the outbreak of war, there was a need for investigation, surveillance, prosecution, restriction and internment. He writes this ‘was all in line with accepted and acknowledged procedures deemed essential to protect the civil community and the country itself then on a war footing’.¹⁶ Despite low numbers of Nazi Party membership, Lamidey claimed that membership of Nazi and fascist organizations were one of the main reasons these security measures were introduced. Homburg wrote ‘that whatever efforts were made by persons, either from here or abroad, to influence residents in the State [South Australia] towards Nazism, failed miserably’.¹⁷ Over 170 German newspapers were published in

¹⁶ Lamidey, *Aliens Control*, p. 3.

¹⁷ Homburg, *Wartime Rumours*, p. 68.

Australia and only a very few supported Hitlerism.¹⁸ It was clear however, that among German settlers in South Australia, a policy emerged of 'maintaining the language and culture of their ancestors and, to a certain extent, their political loyalty to Germany'.¹⁹

It was a general rule that women were not to be interned, but when the interest of public safety demanded it they would be kept in custody.²⁰ Saunders argued that these *Aliens Control Regulations* assumed that 'only European male enemy aliens were in any way politically active, women being concerned only with their narrow domestic responsibilities'.²¹ However, women involved in Nazi or Fascist organizations were considered to be a threat to national security. Ian Harmstorf believed that this admiration for Hitler was common for women in their 'advanced age'.²² Frances Wells experienced this first hand. She claimed that her grandparents 'who had visited relatives in Germany not long before the war began were naturally affectionate towards the old country and they returned to Australia convinced that the Führer was doing much good'.²³

Harmstorf wrote that

South Australians of German descent were able to bask in the knowledge as well as reflected glory that in the new Germany under Hitler, law and order had been restored and communist insurgents crushed.

¹⁸ Price, *German Settlers*, p. 77.

¹⁹ Price, *German Settlers*, p. 75.

²⁰ P. Hasluck, *The Government and the People, 1939-1941: Volume One*. Canberra: Australian War Memorial, 1952, p. 593.

²¹ K. Saunders, *War on the Homefront: State Intervention in Queensland 1938-1948*. St. Lucia: university of Queensland Press, p. 38.

²² F. Wells, 'A Tanunda Childhood during World War II: Sunshine beneath Shadows'.

[http://www.history.sa.gov.au/chu/programs/history_conference/History%20Conf%2007/A%20Tanunda%20Childhood%20during%20World%20War%20II%20Sunshine%20beneath%20sha.pdf] Accessed: 14 January 2009, p. 3.

²³ I. Harmstorf, 'South Australia's Germans'.

<http://www.thegermanclub.com.au/about-us/german-history-in-SA.php#WWIISAGermans>.

Paper delivered at a Symposium on World War II, Constitutional Museum, 1987. Accessed 5 January 2010.

Germany had once again become 'respectable', at least in the eyes of conservative western governments.²⁴

In the view of some Australian authorities, the German Nazi Party converted Australian citizens and British subjects to German ideology and as a result, many people of German background 'subsequently suffered for their beliefs'.²⁵

According to Colin Doxford, the Nazi Party did not largely influence Germans living in Australia. At its peak in the late 1930s, total membership consisted of 180 Germans residing in Australia.²⁶ The first local branch of the NSDAP (National Sozialistische Deutsche Arbeiter Partei) was established in Tanunda by a medical practitioner, Dr Johannes Becker, who arrived in the Barossa Valley in 1927. The second branch was established in Sydney by a delicatessen shop owner, Joannes Frerck, in Kings Cross. Other branches soon followed in Adelaide, Melbourne and Brisbane.²⁷ As described by Jurgen Tampke, there 'was a small but very active Nazi movement in Australia'.²⁸ The Nazi Party and their activities were strongly supported by the German Consul. However, in Sydney, 'it made little progress with attempts to win over the local German community'.²⁹ For example, the 'Concordia Club successfully resisted the spread of Nazism amongst its members'.³⁰

²⁴ I. Harmstorf, 'South Australia's Germans'.

<http://www.thegermanclub.com.au/about-us/german-history-in-SA.php#WWIISAGermans>.

Paper delivered at a Symposium on World War II, Constitutional Museum, 1987. Accessed 5 January 2010.

²⁵ J. Vondra, *German Speaking Settlers in Australia*. Melbourne: Cavalier Press Pty Ltd, 1981, p. 80.

²⁶ See J. Tampke and C. Doxford, *Australia, Willkommen: a history of the Germans in Australia*. N.S.W, Kensington: New South Wales University Press, 1990, p. 221.

²⁷ Tampke and Doxford, *Australia, Willkommen*, p. 221.

²⁸ J. Tampke, 'The Germans in Sydney'. *Sydney Journal*, Volume 1, Issue 1, March 2008, p. 69.

²⁹ J. Tampke, 'The Germans in Sydney', p. 69.

³⁰ J. Tampke, 'The Germans in Sydney', p. 69.

Support for Nazism among Australian men and women of German descent were 'not surprising given favorable political climate towards Nazism prior to the war'.³¹ The NSDAP was also popular because it promoted a particular kind of pro-nationalist responsibility for women of the 'correct' racial stock.³² The National Socialist Women's Association was a subdivision of the NSDAP. The highest administrative department was the Reich's Women's Leadership. The main responsibilities were stated in the Nazi Party's membership book

As a woman's responsibilities at home and with the family are vital for our nation, all women should share the knowledge of how to raise a great nation...the functions of the Women's Organization are structured as follows: Department of Motherservice, Department of National Economy and Domestic Economy, Department of Assisting Services, Department of Culture, Education and Training, Department of Youth Teams, Department of Children Teams, and Department of Neighbouring and Foreign Countries.³³

As evidenced above, women's role in the Nazi Party revolved around domestic and maternal responsibilities. In accordance to the Nazi Population Policy, Hitler encouraged women to care for numerous children in order to proliferate the Aryan race.³⁴ He emphasized that 'Man is the organizer of life, woman is his helper and his executive agent'.³⁵ L. J. Rupp notes that Hitler's 'opposition to the political participation of women and his low estimation of women's abilities are well known; women were, for Hitler, unimportant except as breeders of future generations'.³⁶ They

³¹ J. Tampke, 'The Germans in Sydney', p. 69.

³² See J. Stephenson, *The Nazi Organisation of women*. London: Croom Helm, 1980; I. Guenther, *Nazi chic?: fashioning women in the Third Reich*. New York: Berg, 2004; and D. Reese, *Growing up female in Nazi Germany*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2006.

³³ R. Cowdery, *Ich Kampfe (I Fight)*. Hong Kong: Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data, 2007, pp. 133-34.

³⁴ L. J. Rupp, *Mobilizing Women for War: German and American Propaganda 1939-1945*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1978 p. 17.

³⁵ A. M. Sigmund, *Women of the Third Reich*. Canada: NDE Publishing, 2000, p. 11.

³⁶ Rupp, *Mobilizing Women for War*, p. 15.

were to act as 'mothers to their own families but also to the community as a whole and thus to the entire race'.³⁷

Germans living in Australia became subject to the *Aliens Control Regulations*, where they were classified as enemy aliens and rounded up to be interned. Australian resident Margaret Burton from Adelaide, South Australia, recalled the Germans living in her area:

Most of them were in the Barossa Valley and of course they were terribly loyal to Australia and this was the sad thing. The ones that I believe weren't loyal were ones that had families who'd recently emigrated in the late 1930s. But most of the Germans came out in the 1860s, 1850s and they were third or fourth generation Australian and had no connection at all with Germany. I think they were too hard on them really but they didn't know who were spies and who weren't.³⁸

Pauline Starke and Associates

Nazi propaganda emphasizing the woman's role in the new Germany in some respects was quite popular among the German women presented in this chapter. After residing in Australia for eleven years, Pauline Stark told authorities how she became involved in the *Frauenschaft* (National Socialist Women's League)

I first became associated with it when I heard that German women were urged to come together to do some good work for the homeland. That was from Queensland, and it was advertised in the 'Queensland Herald'...I told my husband that I wanted to do something for my country, as I was a German woman.³⁹

In 1940, complaints were made against Pauline Starke's character by the residents in Tanunda. A statement below by local resident, E.J. Pohl shows the division between other German residents and Pauline Starke:

³⁷ E. Turner-Graham, 'The German woman has the inner energy to work for Germaness': Race, Gender and National Socialism in Interwar Australia'. *Lilith*, Volume 15, 2006, p. 104.

³⁸ J. Penglase and D. Horner, *When the War came to Australia: Memories of the Second World War*. New South Wales, St. Leonards: Allen & Unwin, 1992, p. 17.

³⁹ Report on Pauline Stark, No Date. See 'Starke, Ernst Emil Robert [deportation to Germany together with his mother, Pauline Starke - includes photographs]'. D1915/SA15103, NAA, Adelaide.

I have heard of the FRAUENSCHAFT, and I believe there was something like it in Adelaide. Mrs STARKE was in it. While we were staying in Germany a young relation, who came to see us, said, 'Do you know somebody called Pauline Starke?' My wife said, 'Yes, the mother or step-mother of Ernst Starke. She goes to the German Club.' He then pulled out a paper called the 'Schwarzekorps', the Black Storm Troopers' paper, and there was a long article in it signed by Pauline Starke. It was all about Australia and how their hearts here were true to the Fatherland, and how hard they worked to overcome the misunderstanding of Nazism which was taking place in foreign countries.⁴⁰

A statement was also made by Richard August Sadilek, who was interviewed by Lieutenant W.A. Langford and W.O. Hale on 13 May 1944. Sadilek claimed, 'My wife told me that a couple of weeks ago, some children came around collecting waste-paper, and when they asked Mrs Pauline Starke she said 'Win the war – I burn every paper. I don't give anything to win the war'.⁴¹

Pauline's closest friends included the Nazi Party members Mathilde Heinle (a German national) and Australian-born Ilma Carola Amalia Bohlmann. Mathilde was sixty four years old, born in Homburg, Germany and lived with Pauline at the Clarence Park address, an inner southern suburb of Adelaide, while her husband was interned at Tatura. The date of her arrival in Australia is unclear, though she was well known to authorities for praising Hitler and constantly stating how she despised the arrival of Jews in Australia.⁴² Ilma was well known to Intelligence officers for organising gatherings at her house that were attended by the most prominent Nazi supporters living in Adelaide, including Pauline.

⁴⁰ Extract from report of Interview with E.J. Pohl by Sgt C.P.R. Trezona and Lieut. C.A. Price, 22 November 1943. See 'Starke, Ernst Emil Robert [deportation to Germany together with his mother, Pauline Starke - includes photographs]'. D1915/SA15103, NAA, Adelaide.

⁴¹ Statement made by Richard August Sadilek, 13 May 1944. See 'Starke, Ernst Emil Robert [deportation to Germany together with his mother, Pauline Starke - includes photographs]'. D1915/SA15103, NAA, Adelaide.

⁴² Questionnaire completed by authorities, 12 February 1940. See 'HEINLE Ludwig and Mattilda'. D1915/SA15128, NAA, Adelaide.

Before the outbreak of war, in June 1938, Mathilde wrote a letter that was intercepted by authorities which describes how close she was to the *Frauenschaft* organization and its members

...I have learned what our Women's Organisation really means in the true sense of the work. What good purposes can be filled by it, when the will and sense of comradeship also helps, has been very well proved in m [my] sickness, also all our comrades were very good, thoughtful and eager to serve. They visited me in hospital and presented me with small gifts and flowers, a beautiful feeling for a sick person. I will never forget it, it shall be my zealous endeavour to work gladly for the Women's Organisation as soon as my strength will allow it again.

To hold together and co-operate for our Führer and Fatherland, shall be our resolve. He is the man which books have prophesied to us... I look upon him as part of God, only through him will Germany begin to live again; he works for his people, the Nation helps him, so that we will rise again and make honour for *Deutschlandlied*.

All these many years we were forgotten by our fatherland and left to ourselves in a foreign land, a not respected personality. Through the N.S.D.A.P. and the Women's Organisation we, after all, have a little Germany for ourselves abroad, a feeling of well-being at meetings, may we able to retain it and God keep our Fuehrer.

Heil Hitler⁴³

As evidenced above, interest in German culture was thriving before and during the war. There was very little membership in the Party before the war even began. Two months before the war, a report in the *Die Brucke*⁴⁴ appeared on celebrations of the Solstice Festival and discussed Pauline's involvement:

⁴³ Copy of letter from Mathilde Heinle to Mrs Schmidt, June 1938. See 'HEINLE Ludwig and Mattilda'. D1915/SA15128, NAA, Adelaide.

⁴⁴ Die Bruke was a weekly magazine founded in 1934, and was the 'organ of the 'League of Germans in Australia and New Zealand', and of the 'German-Australian Chamber of Commerce', also maintained a steady stream of Nazi propaganda and appealed for the 'unification of people of German descent on a cultural basis'. [W.D. Borrie, *Italians and Germans in Australia: A Study of Assimilation*. Melbourne: The Australian University, 1954, p. 213]. The terms *Die Brucke* were chosen as the title of the German-Australian newspaper 'which, from its inception, was to confront its essentially assimilated German-Australian audience with increasingly inflammatory material sourced mainly from a nation with which Australia had had, at best, a difficult recent past'. The newspaper was described by Emily Graham-Turner as a 'fact seeking to emulate several of the German-Australian newspapers already in existence and thus claim for itself an air of familiarity from its potentially apprehensive German-Australian'. [Graham-Turner, *The German Woman*, pp. 97 and 98].



Figure 32: A cloth with the Swastika symbol embroidered on the top right corner (inset) found among Mathilde Heinle's possessions.

'HEINLE Ludwig and Mattilda'. D1915/SA15128, NAA,

The room was decorated with flowers and greens, the singing group opened [for] the Leader, Mrs STARKE, gave an address...The Festival was already celebrated by our forefathers as the prototype of power....About 20 years ago a period began, in which it was believed to do away with old customs so as to give the people something new, the decay set in...As Germans we have a right to celebrate such a

Festival. Also, in doing this, in another country, we do not offend against loyalty, but help in the building up of a German Culture.⁴⁵

Although it may seem that many women joined these organizations to express their loyalty to the Fuhrer, membership was also a means of social networking. There was also a fear that many Germans were becoming naturalized British subjects which would decrease Party membership. A report from intelligence authorities shows that Pauline wrote: 'unfortunately lately another family has become naturalised, so that an increase in the membership number can hardly be reckoned with in the near future'.⁴⁶

The majority of the National Socialist gatherings were held at Ilma Bohlmann's residence located at twenty seven Harvey Street, Woodville in South Australia. Ilma was a well known Nazi sympathizer in her local community and was born at Mitcham, South Australia. Both her parents were German born. Ilma's husband, Stanley George Bohlmann was Australian-born, though his father was German-born and his mother English. During the war Stanley worked as a manager of a wharf. Stanley was considered to be delivering information on ships entering Adelaide to his wife. Even before the war broke out, there were many complaints made by workers and locals against Stanley working on the wharf and his wife Ilma for organizing gatherings for Nazi sympathizers.

⁴⁵ Copy of article in *Die Brucke*, Adelaide, 8 July 1939. See 'HEINLE Ludwig and Mattilda'. D1915/SA15128, NAA, Adelaide. Paranoia within the Party also existed. Pauline wrote about a Party member who she despised 'I would only like to know why she must be regarded as a member? She neither pays a contribution nor does she any work, to the functions also doesn't come, is she a spy, something isn't right, because she leads a peculiar life'. Mathilde was asked by Pauline to keep an eye on this particular member. [Copy of letter from Pauline Starke to Mrs Schmidt, 20 December 1938. See 'HEINLE Ludwig and Mattilda'. D1915/SA15128, NAA, Adelaide].

⁴⁶ Copy of report through the N.S.D.A.P. Local Group Adelaide from Pauline Starke, 28 July 1939. See 'HEINLE Ludwig and Matilda'. D1915/SA15128, NAA, Adelaide.

In a statement made by Margaret Priest in August 1939, Ilma was noted as being ‘most unpopular in Woodville re [regarding] her political activities’, including sewing and collecting clothes to distribute to distressed Germans. Their house was considered as a ‘regular rendezvous of important German people and for anti-British propaganda and literature’.⁴⁷ This further reinforces the notion of being German at heart. Despite being Australian-born, Ilma’s loyalty lay with her parents and husband’s mother country. This was shown in an opinion piece written by Ilma to a local newspaper sometime in September 1938 (along with her association with intelligence agencies)

To the Editor,

...Now that Germany has again become a great Power and considering that there are some 85 million Germans and about 69 million Britons, would it not be wise for their countries to come together as friends? Herr Hitler often expresses his desire for peace, but he is so misrepresented that he appears to the people as a fearsome ogre. Those who intimately know him know how fantastic this idea is. Before Hitler came to power in 1933 Marshal Vorishiloff boasted (1930) that the U.S.S.R. had the most formidable army in the world. Is it surprising that Germany, under Hitler, set up an armed bulwark against this formidable combination? Prior to the war I was responsible for the Rhodesian intelligence service (military). I never received a single report unfavorable to the German Administration in German East Africa. Not a single Askari (native soldier) deserted during the war from general von Lettow Vorbeck to the British side—a sufficient proof of the satisfaction of the native inhabitants with German rule, ‘Germany Speaks,’ a book by 21 leading statesmen, should be read by all concerned in modern international affairs.⁴⁸

Detective Charles Trezona interviewed Ilma and in his statement expressed his dismay on the state of the house. Trezona stated ‘the whole length of the house is in a bad State. It has not been completed and all manner of junk is strewn about it. The whole property had an untidy appearance when I visited the premises’.⁴⁹ Authorities placed her house under surveillance and made a list of those who had visited the Bohlmann’s. Those on the list included Paul Beckmann, and prominent

⁴⁷ Copy of Statement made by Margaret Priest, 29 August 1939. See ‘Ilma Carola Amalia Bohlmann & Stanley George Bohlmann - investigations and internment’. D1915/SA5734, NAA, Adelaide.

⁴⁸ Opinion letter written by Ilma Bohlmann published in unknown newspaper, titled ‘World Peace: Anglo-German Amity Desired’, dated about September 1938. See ‘Ilma Carola Amalia Bohlmann & Stanley George Bohlmann - investigations & internment’. D1915/SA5734, NAA, Adelaide.

⁴⁹ Statement made by Detective Charles P.R. Trezona, 16 November 1939. See ‘Ilma Carola Amalia Bohlmann & Stanley George Bohlmann - investigations & internment’. D1915/SA5734, NAA, Adelaide.

Nazi sympathizers, Dr. Seith, Ex-German Consul Dr Seger, Carl Heerdt, Ernst Starke, Theo Bay, Kurt Hundermark and Secretary to the German Consul Margaret Bole.⁵⁰

It was concluded by authorities that the Bohlmanns were in the Nazi Party because of their expensive gatherings with Nazi sympathizers which was 'quite inconsistent with their small income'.⁵¹ On Saturday, 13 January 1940, Detective Trezona approached Stanley and his wife Ilma and issued them with a Detention Order. Ilma responded by writing a letter to the Commandant at Keswick, an internment camp located in the inner-south western suburb of Adelaide. Ilma emphasized her British identity in order to remove restrictions imposed upon her:

I wish to appeal against the restrictions placed upon me...I am a British-born subject. I have always carried out the rules and regulations of the country. I have given the best of my ability to the welfare and interests of the State and have always worked very hard to obtain the best results. I can neither speak, read or write the German language, so I cannot understand why these restrictions should be placed upon me.⁵²

In spite of this, Ilma and Stanley were eventually taken to Tatura internment camp. Upon Ilma's arrest, a statement was issued by her arresting police officer, Isabel Ottaway, who stated that Ilma said:

I am a hundred percent German. By that I mean I was born of German parents and you could not expect me to renounce them altogether. I am sure no Australian in Germany would be treated like this...If people think I am disloyal, the reason for it is this. I have always taken an active part in Government affairs and my letters to the press have been misunderstood. My reasons for writing was to try and bring together the German and British nations with a view if possible of preventing war. I expect some of my letters have been intercepted, because I have written to Germany, but there is nothing in them. I defy anyone to say so.⁵³

⁵⁰ Statement made by Detective Charles P.R. Trezona, 16 November 1939. See 'Ilma Carola Amalia Bohlmann & Stanley George Bohlmann - investigations & internment'. D1915/SA5734, NAA, Adelaide.

⁵¹ Gumpl, *The Hitler Club*, p. 265.

⁵² Copy of letter from Ilma Bohlmann to the Commandant, Military Forces, Keswick, 25 January 1940. See 'Ilma Carola Amalia Bohlmann & Stanley George Bohlmann - investigations & internment'. D1915/SA5734, NAA, Adelaide.

⁵³ Statement made by Woman Police Officer, Isabel Ottaway, date unknown. See 'Ilma Carola Amalia Bohlmann & Stanley George Bohlmann - investigations & internment'. D1915/SA5734, NAA, Adelaide.

Ilma and Stanley were not released until 15 May 1945.



Figure 33: Another photo of a picnic organized by the German Winter Relief Fund. Authorities labeled the above as follows: 2. Senr Starke; 3. Paul Beckmann; 4. Ernest Emil Starke; 5. Ilma Bohlmann; and 9. Pauline Starke.

'German Winter Relief Fund'.
D1915/SA21866, NAA,
Adelaide.NAA, Adelaide.



Figure 34: German members of the German Winter Relief Fund on a picnic— activities that German women such as Pauline Stark were involved.

'German Winter Relief Fund'.
D1915/SA21866, NAA,
Adelaide.

Figure 35: Photograph of camping activities held by German organizations in South Australia during the Second World War.

'German Winter Relief Fund'. D1915/SA21866, NAA, Adelaide.



Figure 36: Photograph of camping activities held by German organizations in South Australia during the Second World War.

'German Winter Relief Fund'. D1915/SA21866, NAA, Adelaide.

Figure 37:

1. Paul Beckmann
2. Mathilde Heinle
3. Ludwig Heinle

Photograph of camping activities held by German organizations in South Australia during the Second World War.

'German Winter Relief Fund'. D1915/SA21866, NAA, Adelaide.





Figure 38: Photograph of camping activities held by German organizations in South Australia during the Second World War.

'German Winter Relief Fund'. D1915/SA21866, NAA, Adelaide.

Figure 39: Photograph of camping activities held by German organizations in South Australia during the Second World War.

'German Winter Relief Fund'. D1915/SA21866, NAA, Adelaide.



Figure 40: Photograph of camping activities held by German organizations in South Australia during the Second World War.

'German Winter Relief Fund'. D1915/SA21866, NAA, Adelaide.





Figure 41: Photograph of camping activities held by German organizations in South Australia during the Second World War.

'German Winter Relief Fund'. D1915/SA21866, NAA, Adelaide.

Figure 42: Photograph of camping activities held by German organizations in South Australia during the Second World War.

'German Winter Relief Fund'. D1915/SA21866, NAA, Adelaide.



Figure 43: Photograph of camping activities held by German organizations in South Australia during the Second World War.

'German Winter Relief Fund'. D1915/SA21866, NAA, Adelaide.





Figure 44: Photograph of camping activities held by German organizations in South Australia during the Second World War.

'German Winter Relief Fund'. D1915/SA21866, NAA, Adelaide.

Figure 45: Photograph of camping activities held by German organizations in South Australia during the Second World War.

'German Winter Relief Fund'. D1915/SA21866, NAA, Adelaide.



Figure 46: German nationals - the Methseider Family.

Photograph of camping activities held by German organizations in South Australia during the Second World War.

'German Winter Relief Fund'. D1915/SA21866, NAA, Adelaide.



Interned on the basis of their pro-German views

Another woman who was open about her sympathies toward Hitler was Australian-born Manda Gertrude Thiele. Manda was third generation Australian of German descent living with her parents on the farm in Loxton, on the south bank of the River Murray in South Australia. Her only friend was the Lutheran Pastor of Loxton, Carl Wilhelm Julius Meier, who was interned during the war. Manda was a political activist and wrote a number of letters concerning the war, including a letter that was written to Mrs Traeger in Tanunda supporting Hitler, though it is interesting to note that she identified herself as being Australian:

Well what do you think of the war news? I'm game to take on a bet as I'm sure of wining it that Prime Minister Churchill will be the most hated man in the world very soon and Adolf Hitler the best loved, its nearly that far now, I knew that already when I spoke to you in hospital but I knew you did not yet understand but you'll be on my way of thinking quite soon now. France will now stick by Germ [Germany], I well knew that Hitler would be as fair [as] it was possible to be to those unfortunate nations deceived by their leaders, and that he has proved to be. Our leaders are heading for a crash too. We are the laughing stock of the Indians and the Irish even the Sth [South] Africans are trying to get out of this mess we're in, though a wicked lot of gangsters giving orders from Britain. They have brought our country down to what it is now and led us into the war to fight for their financial interests and we could stoop to the gutter doing it, and they'd just think, stupid lot of fools, we can do anything with them right down slaughtering those trying to crush our game. I could tell you lots that I know but must close now.⁵⁴

When interviewed by authorities, Manda admitted that these were her true beliefs, along with claiming that 'Churchill was nothing but a puppet of the English bankers'.⁵⁵ Officer S.G. Eyles cautioned and warned Manda of her position and that she may be interned for expressing her sentiments. It is recorded that her answers were given in a defiant manner and she replied that 'she fully understood her position and she did not care is [if] she was interned'.⁵⁶ Manda said to the officers that the bankers started the war and 'Churchill is more to be pitied, our politicians are to

⁵⁴ Secret report written by S.G. Eyles to the Inspector at CIB in Adelaide, 4 November 1941. See 'VOGEL August and wife Manda Gertrude'. D1915/SA12900, NAA, Adelaide.

⁵⁵ Secret report written by S.G. Eyles to the Inspector at CIB in Adelaide, 4 November 1941. See 'VOGEL August and wife Manda Gertrude'. D1915/SA12900, NAA, Adelaide.

⁵⁶ Secret report written by S.G. Eyles to the Inspector at CIB in Adelaide, 4 November 1941. See 'VOGEL August and wife Manda Gertrude'. D1915/SA12900, NAA, Adelaide.

be blamed for the war'.⁵⁷ Eyles responded by saying 'Did not Hitler cause the war when he marched into and bombed Poland?'⁵⁸ Manda replied 'Well have not the English invaded Iran?' He said 'But the English occupation is a peaceful one'. She said 'That is what you think'.⁵⁹ Eyles' conversation with Manda is described further in his report

I said, "Do you think that Hitler could be the most loved man in Europe after his actions in regard to the shooting of the hostages in France". She said, "Do you believe that?" I said, "I do." She said, "I don't." I said, "Don't you believe Germany is aggressive and cruel?" She said, "No, I do not." Captain Hill said, "Are you proud of your German blood?" She said, "Yes, I am." I said, "Don't you believe the news in our papers?" She said, "No, I don't, that is where you make the mistake believing it. I listen to the Wireless for overseas news".⁶⁰

Due to her political opinions and anti-British views, it was recommended that restrictions be placed on Manda. It was noted that 'the fact that she is an intelligent determined type; and resides in a 'German' district, makes her continued freedom a definite danger to the National Security'.⁶¹

There is however, evidence to suggest that authorities were reluctant to intern her on the basis of her political opinions. A document written by the Director of Military Intelligence reported that

The Minister...hesitates to intern her on the evidence given unless it can be shown that her views are influencing her family and the local residents, or that she could be a menace to our security...He also thinks that Japanese intervention may have altered her views and that she might be further cross-examined now before his final decision is given. Please act accordingly.⁶²

⁵⁷ Secret report written by S.G. Eyles to the Inspector at CIB in Adelaide, 4 November 1941. See 'VOGEL August and wife Manda Gertrude'. D1915/SA12900, NAA, Adelaide.

⁵⁸ Secret report written by S.G. Eyles to the Inspector at CIB in Adelaide, 4 November 1941. See 'VOGEL August and wife Manda Gertrude'. D1915/SA12900, NAA, Adelaide.

⁵⁹ Secret report written by S.G. Eyles to the Inspector at CIB in Adelaide, 4 November 1941. See 'VOGEL August and wife Manda Gertrude'. D1915/SA12900, NAA, Adelaide.

⁶⁰ Secret report written by S.G. Eyles to the Inspector at Commonwealth Investigation Branch (CIB) in Adelaide, 4 November 1941. See 'VOGEL August and wife Manda Gertrude'. D1915/SA12900, NAA, Adelaide.

⁶¹ Recommendation made by Brigadier, Commandant, 4th Military District, No date. See 'VOGEL August and wife Manda Gertrude'. D1915/SA12900, NAA, Adelaide.

⁶² Report written by the Colonel, who was Director of Military Intelligence to Southern Command, January 1942. See 'VOGEL August and wife Manda Gertrude'. D1915/SA12900, NAA, Adelaide.

In response to this, authorities investigated her family and found she had five brothers and two sisters who all shared the same view as Manda, and refused to register for military service. A report made by police officers stationed at Loxton revealed Manda's 'family have been a general topic of conversation in Loxton since the start of the war because of their flagrantly hostile attitude towards our Empire, and we, in common with all loyal residents of Loxton, are fully convinced that these people should be interned'.⁶³ On 20 March 1942, Constable Margaret Ottoway arrested Manda. When the Constable presented Manda with the warrant for her internment, Manda said 'I have been expecting something like this; in fact, I have had my suit-case packed for about two weeks. So you see I am not at all surprised at your visit'.⁶⁴ Manda and her children were detained until the order was revoked on 7 May 1945.⁶⁵ Evidently, her hostile attitude towards the British and her pro-German views and community pressure led to her incarceration during the war despite the fact there seemed to be no real security threat to the nation and in spite of her British citizenship.

'I ask for your reconsideration...': The Krawinkels

The case of Rita Krawinkel, along with many of the other stories presented in this chapter, demonstrates how women with full local citizenship were affected by the *Aliens Control Regulations* on the basis of their political affiliations. Rita was born in Australia of parents of German descent, and was exceedingly well connected in South Australian German social circles. She was married to the President of the South Australian German Historical Society, Heinrich Krawinkel,

⁶³ Statement made by Police stationed at Loxton, 30 January 1942. See 'VOGEL August and wife Manda Gertrude'. D1915/SA12900, NAA, Adelaide.

⁶⁴ Statement made by Constable Margaret Ottoway, March 1942. See 'VOGEL August and wife Manda Gertrude'. D1915/SA12900, NAA, Adelaide.

⁶⁵ See 'VOGEL August and wife Manda Gertrude'. D1915/SA12900, NAA, Adelaide.

who was accused of associating with prominent Nazi figure Dr Johann Becker.⁶⁶ Her father was Hermann Homburg, who was a prominent figure within the South Australian community. It was found out many years later that Homburg was interned because of his close affiliation with Dr Becker; however, Homburg and Dr Becker actually despised each other during the war. Hermann was not released until December 1942 and even then he was subject to various restrictions.⁶⁷

In 1934 the German Club in Adelaide had passed a resolution which refused the admission of those belonging to foreign political organizations such as the Nazi Party. Though the German Club claimed not to have been politically affiliated, it was argued by Gary Gumpl that in the early 1930s, key members of the Club, including Rita's husband Heinrich, assisted Nazi operatives by having the International League of Nations Society's anti-Nazi resolution rescinded in 1935. According to Gumpl, the 'door had been opened to Nazi infiltration which continued to increase in the years immediately preceding the War'.⁶⁸ Heinrich advised Dr Becker to move to Tanunda because there was no doctor in that area. Becker did so, and set up a medical practice, but he also established the Nazi Party in South Australia.⁶⁹ Becker later established a library that emphasised Nazi literature called *Deutsche Fortbidongsverein*.⁷⁰ It was during this period that Australian security noticed anti-Jewish propaganda being distributed. Dr Becker had a strong belief that the Reich Government would send Nazi operatives to assist the Nazi cause in Australia.⁷¹ It was in 1935 that the

⁶⁶ Heinrich Krawinkel was a member of the German Club, the Constitutional Club, the Commonwealth Club, the Royal Geographical Society, the Rotary Club, the Rose Park Branch of the Liberal and Country League and the Klemzig Cemetery Trust. [Gumpl, *The Hitler Club*, p. 169].

⁶⁷ Gumpl, *The Hitler Club*, pp. 166 and 140.

⁶⁸ Gumpl, *The Hitler Club*, p. 141.

⁶⁹ Gumpl, *The Hitler Club*, p. 81.

⁷⁰ Gumpl, *The Hitler Club*, p. 143.

⁷¹ Gumpl, *The Hitler Club*, p. 82.

Commonwealth Investigation Branch (CIB) became aware of Nazi Party activities increasing in Tanunda.⁷²

Rita's husband Heinrich was interned in May 1940, because of his association with Dr Becker, but successfully appealed to the Tribunal Advisory Committee and was released in August of that year. However, he was interned again in October 1941. He appealed for a second time but was unsuccessful. While her husband was interned, authorities ordered Rita to disconnect her phone because her father was an ex-internee living next door at the time. Authorities stated 'In view of this, and the fact that the subject has undoubted pro-German sympathies, coupled with her husband's known pro-Nazi views, it is strongly recommended by this Service that the telephone be disconnected and cancelled indefinitely'.⁷³ Rita appealed to authorities to keep her phone connection

I ask for your reconsideration...My husband, as you know, is in Victoria. I live with my three children who help to maintain the household. My eldest daughter (21) holds a responsible position at the Bank of N.S.W., my second daughter (19) is nursing, my son (15) is a student at P.A.C. but during holidays works for wages on a farm. The telephone is mainly used by my three children to communicate with their friends. I have no help either in the house or in the garden. The children and I do all the work. I use the telephone occasionally to ring tradespeople for orders. My last telephone account was £4/17/- which includes £2/18/- rent, from which you will see how sparingly the phone is used, but yet it is a convenience to us all. The phone is never used to speak with strangers. We rarely have visitors. We live quietly and almost exclusively to ourselves. I ask that you reconsider the order or at least suspend same to enable you to further investigate the necessity of enforcing the order in view of the convenience the phone principally affords my daughters.⁷⁴

⁷² Gumpl, *The Hitler Club*, p. 142.

⁷³ Memo from Deputy Director of Security, South Australia to Director General of Security, Canberra, 7 January 1943. See 'Krawinkel, Mrs Rita [restriction order under National Security (General) Regulations]'. D1915/SA113, NAA, Adelaide.

⁷⁴ Copy of letter from Rita Krawinkel to Deputy Director of Security, Adelaide, 21 January 1943. See 'Krawinkel, Mrs Rita [restriction order under National Security (General) Regulations]'. D1915/SA113, NAA, Adelaide.



Figure 47: A photo taken of Heinrich's barn on the way to Tanunda. It was noted by authorities that the Swastika signs were later painted out and were replaced with large white circles with a smiley face representing the sun. Large lettering was also added: 'The Sun Will Shine Again'.

'[Nazi activities in South Australia during World War II - contains one photograph said to depict members of the German Nazi Party, Tanunda, South Australia]'. D1918/S35, NAA, Adelaide.

Despite her pleas, Rita was refused a telephone connection until October 1944. Her husband was finally released under a restriction order in December that year.⁷⁵ According to Gumpl, there was no real proof that Heinrich was involved in Nazism. One internee who was interviewed because he was a Party member believed that Heinrich wasn't a Party member, but was 'committed to Germanism ...and anything else that would make him a bit more illustrious'.⁷⁶

Why wasn't Pauline Starke interned?

Pauline Starke was not only an active member, but also leader of *Frauenschaft*, the affiliated body to which the female Party members belonged in Tanunda.⁷⁷ Despite her openness about her Nazi

⁷⁵ See 'Krawinkel, Mrs Rita [restriction order under National Security (General) Regulations]'. D1915/SA113, NAA, Adelaide.

⁷⁶ Gumpl, *The Hitler Club*, p. 175.

⁷⁷ Gumpl, *The Hitler Club*, p. 211.

sympathies, Pauline was never interned during the war. In fact, Pauline made complaints to authorities claiming that the restrictions imposed upon her, which included reporting daily to the police station in her area, were too harsh. Pauline claimed she was 'suffering both mentally and bodily under this harsh treatment'.⁷⁸ The only time Pauline was exempt from reporting daily to Goodwood Police Station was in late September 1940, when she fell ill and needed time to recover.⁷⁹

In a secret document concerning the complaint, authorities wrote that the restrictions

placed upon Mrs Starke are the reverse of harsh. She is extremely fortunate in that she is not interned. I know of no woman in this State who has done more to further the cause of Nazism than she has. She is almost fanatical on the subject...I regard Mrs Starke as a distinct menace and it would not be in the interests of security to in anyway relax the restrictions now imposed upon her. In fact, my personal opinion is that she should be interned.⁸⁰

As a result of her complaint, Pauline's restriction was reduced to reporting twice a week to her local police station. Why Pauline was not interned is not clear from her NAA file, though one can speculate that perhaps she was used as bait by intelligence in order to gather more information from other men and women who were affiliated with her involvement in pro-Nazi activities.

In January 1942, Pauline and Mathilde were forced by local police to leave their home due to growing concern among the community regarding her involvement in the Nazi Party, and moved to

⁷⁸ Letter from the Consul for Switzerland, J.A. Pietzcker to Military District, Keswick, South Australia, 9 July 1941. See 'Starke, Ernst Emil Robert [deportation to Germany together with his mother, Pauline Starke - includes photographs]'. D1915/SA15103, NAA, Adelaide.

⁷⁹ Police Report addressed to Sgt. Trezona, 24 September 1940. See 'Starke, Ernst Emil Robert [deportation to Germany together with his mother, Pauline Starke - includes photographs]'. D1915/SA15103, NAA, Adelaide.

⁸⁰ Secret document concerning complaint made by Pauline and her son Ernst Starke, no date. See 'Starke, Ernst Emil Robert [deportation to Germany together with his mother, Pauline Starke - includes photographs]'. D1915/SA15103, NAA, Adelaide.

another location. In response, Pauline and Mathilde appealed to the Consul for Switzerland, J.A.

Pietzcker, who wrote to the Chief Commissioner of Police:

I am in receipt of information from Mrs Pauline Starke...has been ordered to hold herself in readiness to leave this home of hers in Adelaide at 12 hours' notice. May I, - on behalf of the old lady and also Mrs Heinle, who shares her home, - request that this order may be withdrawn. I feel sure that in case of these two old ladies security reasons can hardly come into question; further it would be impossible for these two ladies, either to foot the expenses of a removal nor to undertake arduous work connected therewith, both of whom being in a poor state of health. Awaiting the favour of your reply, and trusting that they will be permitted to continue the occupancy of their present home.⁸¹

Figure 48: A framed picture of Adolf Hitler found in Pauline Starke's NAA file in Adelaide.

'Starke, Ernst Emil Robert [deportation to Germany together with his mother, Pauline Starke - includes photographs]'. D1915/SA15103, NAA, Adelaide.



⁸¹ Letter from Consul for Switzerland, J.A. Pietzcker to the Commissioner of Police, January 1942. See 'Starke, Ernst Emil Robert [deportation to Germany together with his mother, Pauline Starke - includes photographs]'. D1915/SA15103, NAA, Adelaide.



Figure 49: (Left) and **Figure 50:** (Right) Postcards of Adolf Hitler found in the possession of leader of the Nazi Organization in South Australia, Pauline Starke.

‘Starke, Ernst Emil Robert [deportation to Germany together with his mother, Pauline Starke - includes photographs]’.
D1915/SA15103, NAA, Adelaide.



Figure 51: Postcard of Hitler found in the possession of Pauline Starke.

‘Starke, Ernst Emil Robert [deportation to Germany together with his mother, Pauline Starke - includes photographs]’.
D1915/SA15103, NAA, Adelaide.

Figure 52:: Postcard of the Nazi Party in Germany found in the possession of Pauline Starke.

‘Starke, Ernst Emil Robert [deportation to Germany together with his mother, Pauline Starke - includes photographs]’.
D1915/SA15103, NAA, Adelaide.





Figure 53 and **Figure 54**: postcards of Adolf Hitler found in the possession of Pauline Starke.

'Starke, Ernst Emil Robert [deportation to Germany together with his mother, Pauline Starke - includes photographs]'. D1915/SA15103, NAA, Adelaide.



Figure 55:: Postcard of 1936 Olympics in Berlin and **Figure 56**: postcard of Adolf Hitler found in the possession of Pauline Starke.

'Starke, Ernst Emil Robert [deportation to Germany together with his mother, Pauline Starke - includes photographs]'. D1915/SA15103, NAA, Adelaide.

Figure 57: Postcard of members of the Nazi Party in Germany found in the possession of Pauline Starke.

'Starke, Ernst Emil Robert [deportation to Germany together with his mother, Pauline Starke - includes photographs]'.
D1915/SA15103, NAA, Adelaide.



Figure 58: Postcard of Adolf Hitler found in the possession of Pauline Starke.

'Starke, Ernst Emil Robert [deportation to Germany together with his mother, Pauline Starke - includes photographs]'.
D1915/SA15103, NAA, Adelaide.



Figure 59: Postcard found in the possession of Pauline Starke.

'Starke, Ernst Emil Robert [deportation to Germany together with his mother, Pauline Starke - includes photographs]'. D1915/SA15103, NAA, Adelaide.





Figure 60: Newspaper clipping of German politician and military leader of the Nazi Party Hermann Goering found in the possession of Pauline Starke.

'Starke, Ernst Emil Robert [deportation to Germany together with his mother, Pauline Starke - includes photographs]'. D1915/SA15103, NAA, Adelaide.



Figure 61: Postcard of Hermann Goering found in the possession of Pauline Starke.

'Starke, Ernst Emil Robert [deportation to Germany together with his mother, Pauline Starke - includes photographs]'. D1915/SA15103, NAA, Adelaide.



Figure 62: Postcard found in the possession of Pauline Starke.

'Starke, Ernst Emil Robert [deportation to Germany together with his mother, Pauline Starke - includes photographs]'. D1915/SA15103, NAA, Adelaide.

Despite their plea, both Pauline and Mathilde were transferred to Tanunda under the *Aliens Control Regulations*. Before they were forced to leave, Pauline and Mathilde had their belongings packed and requested to be deported to Germany. However, authorities were reluctant to grant their deportation due to the backlash that could have occurred from the German Government. Authorities reported that if Pauline and Mathilde were granted leave, there was no doubt that they would have 'the intention of proving to the authorities in Germany how the Military had persecuted them in this country'.⁸²

It is possible that authorities thought it would be best that German women associated with the Nazi Party be confined to the Tanunda region, also known as the hot bed of Nazism. This may have been done to prevent the spread of Nazism to other Germans in other areas of South Australia, who were not so loyal to Germany. This was a more effective way for authorities to place surveillance on members of the Nazi Party who associated with Pauline and authorities were able to control the travel and movements, and surveillance placed upon those suspicious of their involvement in German activities.

As Christine Winter wrote, in 'order to keep the faithful uncontaminated, the German Government instructed the Swiss, who as a neutral nation were looking after German interests in enemy countries, to ensure that those loyal to the Third Reich, the so-called 'Reichstreue' were interned together, and that all others be separated from them. In many instances, this also reflected the wishes of both the interned Nazis and anti-Nazis'.⁸³ It is possible that the Swiss Consul instructed

⁸² Report on Pauline Starke and Mathilde Heinle, 27 January 1942. See 'HEINLE Ludwig and Mattilda'. D1915/SA15128, NAA, Adelaide.

⁸³ C. Winter, 'The Long Arm of the Third Reich: Internment of New Guinea Germans in Tatura.' *Journal of Pacific History*, Volume 38, Issue 1, 2003, p. 88.

authorities to apply the same measures to those who were not interned. For example, Pauline and Mathilde were transferred to Tanunda during the war to reside with other Germans who were also placed under surveillance. In July 1944, it was requested that both Pauline and her son Ernst Starke be repatriated to Germany.⁸⁴ There was no objection but they were refused on the grounds that no formal application was made.⁸⁵ It is unclear whether they returned to Germany.

The Situation in New Guinea

In 1884, Germany annexed New Guinea and believed it was the 'duty of the German nation to take in hand the development of New Guinea'.⁸⁶ Consequently, there was an increase in anti-Germanism, especially in Queensland where New Guinea was a major source of labour in the sugar industry. By December 1884, Germany had already taken physical possession of the north eastern half of New Guinea.⁸⁷ After the First World War, New Guinea was a C Mandate of the League of Nations under Australian control which was threatened by total German possession. Because of this, German Nazi leaders in 1936 decided 'all German citizens residing in New Guinea to show loyalty and support for the Reich and join the party'.⁸⁸ Christine Winter writes that the 'decision to enroll was a pragmatic one for some, [while] others joined enthusiastically'.⁸⁹

⁸⁴ Copy of letter from Consul for Switzerland, J.A. Pietzcker to Director General of Security, Canberra, 7 July 1944. 'Starke, Ernst Emil Robert [deportation to Germany together with his mother, Pauline Starke - includes photographs]'. D1915/SA15103, NAA, Adelaide.

⁸⁵ During their stay in Tanunda, both women appealed once again to discontinue regular reporting to the Police Station. However, restrictions were not revoked until after the war. [Letter from Consul for Switzerland, J.A. Pietzcker to deputy Director of Security, Adelaide, 18 October 1944. 'Starke, Ernst Emil Robert [deportation to Germany together with his mother, Pauline Starke - includes photographs]'. D1915/SA15103, NAA, Adelaide.

⁸⁶ Tampke and Doxford, *Australia, Willkommen*, p. 152.

⁸⁷ Tampke and Doxford, *Australia, Willkommen*, pp. 153 and 154.

⁸⁸ Winter, 'The Long Arm' p. 85.

⁸⁹ Winter, 'The Long Arm', p. 85.

Lutheran Missionaries were established in New Guinea from 1886. Mission houses in Germany sent people to New Guinea to 'christianise the 'heathens' and to administer to the spiritual needs of the white colonial population'.⁹⁰ During the 1940s, German missionaries in New Guinea were considered supporters of Hitler and some were described by Johanne Peter Weiss, as being 'very much Nazi sympathisers'.⁹¹ At the outbreak of war, male mission personnel in New Guinea were interned at Tatura Camp. Their women and children were evacuated to Australia, accommodated through President of the United Evangelical Lutheran Church of Australia (UELCA), Pastor J.J. Stolz in South Australia. They settled mainly in areas north of Adelaide, in the Barossa Valley region-Tanunda and Nurioopta, in the Appila/Laura region and on the York Peninsula around Maitland.⁹²

The transfer of German women and children from New Guinea to the Barossa Valley region was highly publicized. On 3 January 1942, the *Lutheran Herald* reported that

steps have [been] taken to provide homes for them, even if only temporary...These ladies and their children have gone through hard times. For over two years they have lived separated from their husbands and fathers. They have now left everything behind. To many of them Australia is a foreign country.⁹³

The Lutheran Herald was highly supportive of the New Guinea evacuees and for the next two weeks published updates on the welfare of the evacuees. It was reported on 3 January 1942 that:

Most of the children in the colony are aged between four and six years, and the eldest is 10. Although they are glad to be out of the range of Japanese bombs, the women maintain that they would have preferred to stay in New Guinea with their husbands...Several of the children in the colony have never seen their fathers, who have been interned since the outbreak of war.⁹⁴

⁹⁰ J. P. Weiss, *It wasn't really necessary: internment in Australia with emphasis on the Second World War*. South Australia, Eden Hills: J. P. Weiss, 2003, p. 158.

⁹¹ Weiss, *It wasn't really necessary*, p. 159.

⁹² Weiss, *It wasn't really necessary*, pp. 165-66.

⁹³ 'From Our Midst'. *The Lutheran Herald*, 3 January 1942.

⁹⁴ 'German Colony from N. Guinea Grows by One'. *The Lutheran Herald*, 23 January 1942.

The women and children were determined to join their husbands at Tatura, detesting the restrictions imposed on their movements while worrying about housing and education for their children.⁹⁵ The following stories are of women who chose to become 'blatantly and provocatively German' in order to be interned with their husbands.⁹⁶ This was evident when Pastor Stoltz wrote a letter claiming that these women were

apparently fanatical Nazis who 'Heil Hitler', sing 'Deutschland uber Alles', and arrogantly and bitterly rail against all things British. They refuse to attend local Lutheran churches unless the services are held in German and refuse to send their children to Lutheran schools unless the children are exempted from saluting the flag and singing the National Anthem. Moreover, they are very dissatisfied with their present treatment and recently 20 of them signed a petition to the Prime Minister asking to be interned with their husbands and children in a family camp, giving as reasons that they could no longer live with their hosts, that they disliked reporting to the Police in winter, that they had too much work to do, and that they did not feel safe in the event of war in Australia.⁹⁷

A petition to the Prime Minister was written and signed⁹⁸ by most of the German women evacuated from New Guinea. It requested that they be interned because:

1. We deem it impossible to live with respective hosts for a longer period.
2. It is a problem to report to the Police office every week in winter.
3. We do not feel safe here in the event of war coming to Australia.
4. The question of the education of our children would thus be solved.
5. For health reasons some of us are unable to do all the necessary work whereas our husbands could help us in a family camp.
6. If international relations should stand in the way, we are prepared to give our personal signatures for voluntary internment.⁹⁸

⁹⁵ Weiss, *It wasn't really necessary*, p. 166.

⁹⁶ Weiss, *It wasn't really necessary*, p. 66.

⁹⁷ Copy of letter from Pastor J.J. Stoltz, no date. See 'New Guinea German female evacuees'. D1915/SA7955, NAA, Adelaide. The words to the German song 'Deutschland uber Allos' are as follows: Germany, Germany over all, over all in the world, If we always stand as brothers in attack and in defence, From the Meuse to the Memel, from Adige to Baltic Sea, Germany, Germany, over all, over all in the world. German wives, German faith, German wine and song, Shall continue in the world their ancient lovely sound, To encourage us to noble deeds for our whole life long, German wives, German faith, German wine and song. Union, right and freedom for the German Fatherland, Let us, as brothers, strive for them with heart and hand, Union, right and freedom—the pledge of happiness, Bloom thou in this joy, O! German Fatherland. [C. A. Price, *German Settlers in South Australia*. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1945, pp. 53-54].

⁹⁸ Copy of petition letter on behalf of On behalf of:- Mrs Lechner, Mrs Flierl, Mrs Maurer, Mrs M.B. Stuerzenhofecker, Mrs Linsenmeier, Mrs Metzner, Mrs G. Walter, Mrs Streicher, Mrs W. Bergmann, Mrs Fugmann, Mrs Boerner, Mrs Baer,

A letter of support for these women was written by ardent Nazi supporter, an Australian of German descent, Mrs Minnie Meier (also known as Mrs J Meier) who was described as being 'reared in a typically German atmosphere'.⁹⁹ She wrote:

I am writing on behalf of Evacuees here in Austr. [Australia] since the first days of January, 1942. Their husbands are missionaries and away from two to three years. The ladies have endured hardships, living inland all alone with their children. Some have 2, 3, 4, 5 children and think of anxiety re Malaria &c. When arriving, they were told they can see their husbands, but of no avail. Just now they tried for a travel permit, but that was not granted. The winter was so cold, they could not go then, and are very sad at heart. If only a visit were allowed them.¹⁰⁰

A number of individual letters were also written by the women, appealing to be interned with their husbands in Tatura. Clara Hofmann, wife of a German missionary Reverend Georg Hofmann, wrote:

Recently a number of women and children, evacuees from New Guinea Mission Stations who had been residing in the Barossa District, South Australia, for a year, have been transferred to Tatura to be able to live with their husbands and fathers at the family camp there. I was evacuated from N.G. together with those other women and children a year ago. They resided in South Australia while I did so here [in] N.S.W. Being the mother of three little children aged 3, 4, and 5 years, I find it extremely difficult to manage under the present circumstances and solemnly appeal to you also to grant me the privilege of being reunited with my husband, Rev. Georg Hofmann, No. 2059, Hut 39, of the Internment Camp 1A, Tatura, Victoria.¹⁰¹

Forty eight year old German-born Maria Martha Flierl was also a New Guinea evacuee and requested that she and her child be interned with her husband, also a German missionary interned

Mrs Batze, Mrs Eiermann, Mrs Horrolt, Mrs Munzel, Mrs Goetzelmann, Mrs Strauss, Mrs I. Stuerzenhofecker and myself Mrs Zimmermann., signed by Mrs Zimmermann to Prime Minister's Department in Canberra, 23 May 1942. See 'New Guinea German female evacuees'. D1915/SA7955, NAA, Adelaide.

⁹⁹ See FA Meier (also HE, WE, CWJ, & Mrs Meier) D1915, SA 19922, Adelaide.

¹⁰⁰ Copy of letter written by Mrs J. Meier to Department for Intelligence for Evacuees in Canberra, 10 September 1942. See FA Meier (also HE, WE, CWJ, & Mrs Meier) D1915, SA 19922, Adelaide.

¹⁰¹ Copy of letter written by Clara Hofmann to the Prime Minister's Department in Canberra, 8 January 1943. See 'New Guinea German female evacuees'. D1915/SA7955, NAA, Adelaide.

at Tatura. Maria was interviewed by authorities where she stated she sympathized with Hitler and sang German inspired songs 'Deutschland Uber Alles' and the 'Horst Wessel' song.¹⁰²

Because of the reports published by the local media, the local residents of Tanunda were well aware that these women were in their town receiving welfare. *The Lutheran Herald* reported:

The ladies are full of praise of the treatment which was accorded them by the Red Cross and by the Government officials... In the meantime the party is settling down as well as possible under existing circumstances. The ladies are attending to the work themselves. The Government is recognizing its responsibility to provide for them. For the time being, pending definite information from Canberra, they have all been put under the care of the South Australian Welfare Department...We are thankful that we have been deemed worthy to assist the poor fugitives who left everything behind, and who still suffer with their native congregations in New Guinea - more orphaned than ever now—and we pray that the door may soon be opened for the return of them and their husbands to the work to which they have dedicated themselves.¹⁰³

The New Guinea female evacuees also wanted to acknowledge the support that they had received from the community. *The Lutheran Herald* reported

The New Guinea Mission Evacuees herewith wish to express their heartfelt thanks for all the love and kindness which was extended to them both in the way of providing them with valuable gifts in kind, dresses etc., and by receiving them into the homes. Whilst in Adelaide, a list was begun of all the good things brought to the college and somehow that list was either not completed or disappeared. In order not to leave anybody out, the ladies have asked that their deep appreciation be made known by means of the Lutheran Herald. God's richest reward to each giver.¹⁰⁴

Some Australian residents, however, made it clear that they were not pleased with German evacuees receiving aid. Local resident Harold E. Wilksch wrote

Just a little suggestion regarding these women. Like others, I felt alarmed when German mission women were billeted with District Lutherans of German descent – I feared their influence would be damaging. Instead, the opposite effect was achieved, for many of them turned out to be real arrogant, dyed-in-the-wool Nazis who looked disdainfully down upon their Australian-born hosts and hostesses. Many homes have refused to tolerate them. You will know which of these women are Nazis. I respectfully suggest that you move any Nazi women who are guests of German-born citizens. They regard each other as

¹⁰² History sheet of Maria Martha Flierl, No date. See 'Flierl, Maria Marshe'. D1915/SA19680, NAA, Adelaide.

¹⁰³ 'The Missionary Evacuees from New Guinea'. *The Lutheran Herald*, 17 January 1942, pp. 24-26. See 'New Guinea German female evacuees'. D1915/SA7955, NAA, Adelaide.

¹⁰⁴ *The Lutheran Herald*, 14 March 1942. See 'New Guinea German female evacuees'. D1915/SA7955, NAA, Adelaide.

equals, and in such homes, I believe, these women are likely to strengthen previously-existing Nazi sympathies, and from such homes an unsavoury influence might spread.¹⁰⁵

Along with the spread of 'unsavoury influence', the matter of manpower shortage during the war was another basis of concern amongst the community. Local resident A.B Palmer wrote a letter to the Inspector at the local police station stating that there 'does not appear to be any reason why the thirteen persons of above referred to could not be called upon to seek employment'.¹⁰⁶ The main concern was that these women should have been seeking employment rather than receiving welfare. Palmer acknowledged that it may be difficult for these women to obtain employment given their nationality; however, he wrote that it was still possible for these women to find work.¹⁰⁷

Authorities realized that there was strong support for the internment of these women from local residents. It was reported that '...there is no doubt that the internment of these women will meet with the wholehearted approval of the local residents'.¹⁰⁸ According to authorities these women could not be trusted, and their actions were kept under notice.¹⁰⁹ One example is the case of New Guinea evacuee, German-born Elizabeth Alwine Zischler. Authorities wrote they 'felt the presence of this woman in public would cause disaffection and would possibly lead to disturbances'.¹¹⁰ This

¹⁰⁵ Copy of letter written by Harold E. Wilksch to Intelligence at Keswick, 2 December 1942. See 'New Guinea German female evacuees'. D1915/SA7955, NAA, Adelaide.

¹⁰⁶ Letter from A. B. Palmer wrote a letter to the Inspector at the local police station, 15 September 1942. See 'New Guinea German female evacuees'. D1915/SA7955, NAA, Adelaide.

¹⁰⁷ Letter from A. B. Palmer wrote a letter to the Inspector at the local police station, 15 September 1942. See 'New Guinea German female evacuees'. D1915/SA7955, NAA, Adelaide.

¹⁰⁸ History Sheet of Maria Martha Flierl, no date. See 'Flierl, Maria Marshe'. D1915/SA19680, NAA, Adelaide.

¹⁰⁹ Report to Sgt Trezona, 21 May 1942. See 'New Guinea German female evacuees'. D1915/SA7955, NAA, Adelaide.

¹¹⁰ Response from the Director General in Canberra, 2 August 1944. See 'New Guinea German female evacuees'. D1915/SA7955, NAA, Adelaide.

perception was influenced by the fact that she was residing with a well known sympathizer, Paul Gotthold Friedrich Klose.

After being questioned by authorities, the New Guinea evacuees were eventually transferred to Tatura. The following are questions that were put to these women by authorities in order to determine whether they were a risk to security

1. Are you a Nazi sympathizer and a follower of Hitler?
2. Do you hope that Germany will win the war?
3. Do you wish to return to Germany after the war?¹¹¹

As noted earlier, Mrs J. Meier was one of those who supported the New Guinea women. Her husband, Reverend J. Meier, was also interned during the war and died on 30 March 1943 while in custody. Before his death, the Reverend had appealed to the Aliens Tribunal Committee in South Australia, but after the hearing had commenced, it was recommended by the committee that his detainment be continued. Shortly after his death, Mrs Meier approached authorities to obtain permission to print some memorial cards in German for her husband. It is unclear from her file whether permission was obtained, nevertheless, authorities took note that her 'attitude on this occasion is an interesting example of how, even at this stage of the war, many Australian-born Germans still hold first loyalty to the land of their forefathers and consider that all Hitler has done has been good for the real good of the world'.¹¹²

¹¹¹ See 'Holzknecht, Helene Sieglinde'. D1915/SA20497, NAA, Adelaide.

¹¹² See FA Meier (also HE, WE, CWJ, & Mrs Meier) D1915, SA 19922, Adelaide.

The Nazi Movement in Sydney

This chapter has so far highlighted the impact the *Aliens Control Regulations* had on Australian-born women of German descent, not because they were assessed as a risk to national security, but because of the political affiliations expressed by women within certain areas of South Australia. This chapter has also illustrated the Commonwealth Government's inability to distinguish language and cultural ties from political affiliations. As noted earlier, there was very little Nazi influence in Australia and many German Clubs resisted any attempts to distribute Nazi propaganda. It is important to note that despite the large population of German-born women in Sydney, 'there was a small but very active Nazi movement in Sydney'.¹¹³ Overall, the Nazi movement posed no real threat to national security during the war.

Despite the lessened threat to security, members of the Nazi movement in Sydney continued to be targeted by authorities. Thirty one year old Gertrud Prager was a member of the Nazi Party in Sydney who was placed under surveillance by authorities during the war. Gertrud was born in Meiningen, Germany and arrived in Australia in April 1936. Gertrud lived in Mosman, on the northern shores of Sydney Harbour, with her two children, while her husband, a suspected member of the NSDAP, was interned at Tatura. Gertrud would often write to authorities asking to visit her husband and was granted permission to visit him on the basis that she was not to associate with other enemy aliens on her way.

In February 1942, Gertrud was admitted to hospital for diphtheria and during her stay she wrote to the Officer of Arms, C.H McLean. Nurses from the hospital became aware of Gertrud writing letters and became suspicious. She was reported to authorities and in June 1942, Gertrud was interned

¹¹³ Tampke, 'The Germans in Sydney', p. 69.

with her two children at Liverpool internment camp. She was interned on the basis of photographs found in her home of her grandparents in Germany standing in front of a Swastika with Hitler's photograph in the background. Despite authorities noting that there is 'nothing in the exhibit to show what her sentiments are', she was transferred to Tatura internment camp.¹¹⁴ Authorities at first refused to detain her children, however, the deputy Director of Security in New South Wales was sympathetic towards their cause and allowed for the family to be interned together.¹¹⁵

Before her internment, Gertrud wrote a letter to her husband which conveyed sympathies with Hitler and the Nazi Party. It was reported by authorities that the letters to her husband were 'couched in such pro-Nazi terms that it is possible that she has written in such a strain in the hope that her letters will be interrupted and, that as a result, she will be interned with her husband. On the other hand...[she] could have made these statements sincerely believing them. In this case detention would be warranted'.¹¹⁶ Police further investigated by interviewing her neighbours and those who knew her and it was claimed that Gertrud had never shown any anti-British sentiments.¹¹⁷ Her parents however, were enthusiastic supporters of Hitler's regime. Authorities found a letter from her parents before the war broke out. It stated

We have to thank those damned Jews for our economical position. May the devil take them all. You can't realize how furious we are with them, I could poison them all. I hope the day comes when this brood will disappear from the earth, they are a creation of the devil. That we will fight them you will have seen by your papers. Our Fuhrer spoke very strongly against the Jews at the Party Day in

¹¹⁴ Report from Deputy Director of Security in New South Wales to Director General of Security in Canberra, 24 September 1942. See 'Prager, Gertrude (German) [Box 226]'. C123/7567, NAA, Sydney.

¹¹⁵ Report from Deputy Director of Security in new South Wales to Director General of Security in Canberra, 24 September 1942. See 'Prager, Gertrude (German) [Box 226]'. C123/7567, NAA, Sydney.

¹¹⁶ Report made by Captain of Intelligence, New South Wales, March 1942. See 'Prager, Gertrude (German) [Box 226]'. C123/7567, NAA, Sydney.

¹¹⁷ Memorandum to Officer in Charge in Young, 30 March 1942. See 'Prager, Gertrude (German) [Box 226]'. C123/7567, NAA, Sydney.

Nuremberg. I sent you a few papers, the English papers, the English papers will not mention much of it.¹¹⁸

Similarly, Gertrud's brother wrote in 1938, 'I need not write about my Service...[Military]. One thing I must say, we feel strong and are afraid of no-one. Here in Germany, it is wonderful. Our Fuhrer is very great'.¹¹⁹ Nevertheless, the internment of the Prager family did not last to the end of the war. They were released in January 1945 because Gertrud was pregnant, expecting her child in September.¹²⁰ It was revealed that it was never proved that Gertrud's husband was a member of the NSDAP, however, it was claimed he voted at one of the Reich elections held in Germany before they had arrived in Australia.¹²¹

Another Nazi sympathizer was Hilda Yehender who was born on 14 November 1911 in Germany and lived in Sydney upon her arrival in April 1927 with her mother. She married her husband Hermann Bittner in 1934. During the war, her husband was interned because he was a member of the NSDAP. Hilda, her seven year old daughter, Helene, and her friend Elisabeth Kollat, moved from Sydney to live in Adelaide with her parents. However, all three were interned at Orange, in the central west of New South Wales in March 1943. It was reported that authorities found out that Hilda was a member of the Nazi organization *Frauenschaft* and was an active member in the organization. In her Aliens Tribunal Hearing, the grounds for her internment were revealed

¹¹⁸ Copy of extract from letter written from Gertrud Prager's parents in Germany to Gertrud Prager, 17 September 1936. See 'Prager, Gertrude (German) [Box 226]'. C123/7567, NAA, Sydney.

¹¹⁹ Copy of extract from Gertrud's brother to Gertrud, June 1938. See 'Prager, Gertrude (German) [Box 226]'. C123/7567, NAA, Sydney.

¹²⁰ Report from Lieutenant Colonel in Victoria to Australian Military Forces, Date Unknown. See 'Prager, Gertrude (German) [Box 226]'. C123/7567, NAA, Sydney.

¹²¹ Memorandum to Director General of Security in Canberra, March 1945. See 'Prager, Gertrude (German) [Box 226]'. C123/7567, NAA, Sydney.

she is the wife of a well known supporter of the Nazi Party in N.S.W; she is associated with the wives of prominent Nazis in N.S.W; it is alleged she has made anti-British statements, that she is pro-Nazi in outlook; that she was a member of the Nazi Women's Organisation in Sydney; and that in spite of having adopted Australia as her homeland she made no attempt to become naturalized.¹²²

Figure 63: Hilda Bittner

'BECK Hilda - Nationality: German - Arrived Adelaide per Crifeld 10 April 1927 Also known as BITTNER NEE YEHENDER]'. D4881/BECK HILDA, NAA, Adelaide.



Not only was Hilda experiencing difficulties with the authorities, but her personal life also became complicated. It was briefly mentioned in the file that Hilda's husband Herman requested a divorce 'on the grounds of her adultery with another internee'.¹²³ Hilda's case is another example of women being interned on the basis of their pro-German views without any evidence to suggest whether or not she was a threat to national security. Though *Frauenschaft* was affiliated with the NSDAP which promoted activities for national socialist women, it did not follow that all women who belonged to this organization were a threat to Australia's war effort.

The Count Felix Von Luckner Visit

When German war hero Count Felix von Luckner visited Australia in 1938, officials were suspicious. During the war, it was believed that Hitler used von Luckner for propaganda purposes to promote

¹²² Copy of transcript Hilda Bittner's Tribunal Appeal, 21 March 1994. See 'BITTNER, Hilda'. D1915/SA16486, NAA, Adelaide.

¹²³ Report on Hilda Bittner, No date. See 'BITTNER, Hilda'. D1915/SA16486, NAA, Adelaide.

Nazism in Australia and wherever 'he went in Australia he aroused suspicions that he was spying'.¹²⁴ Australian-born piano teacher, Eileen May Stadler, was seen in his company during his visit to Sydney. This led to authorities creating a file on her. Eileen had German parents, and her father, Laurent Stadler, was a naturalised subject who had been living in Australia for twenty eight years and was suspected of being a Nazi sympathizer.

Eileen and her father's friendship with the Count seemed to arouse suspicion. Statements were given by hairdresser, Betty Mason, who knew Eileen for three years, and by Leah Florence, who employed Eileen. Betty Mason stated:

I know Eileen Stadler, she was employed by Mrs Pillow, hairdresser... on one occasion she informed me that she attended the German Club, once a month, she always referred to Germany as her home. I have visited her home and I found that she was always favourably disposed towards the German nation. I have observed her wearing a German emblem around her neck. From my knowledge of her, I would say definitely that she is disloyal person in respect to the British Empire, her sympathies are pro-Nazi. I wish the contents of this statement to be kept strictly confidential. I have never heard Mr Stadler make any disloyal remark. This statement is true and correct to the best of my knowledge.¹²⁵

Similarly, Leah Florence claimed that:

On one occasion she informed me that she was a frequent visitor to the German club, she was always pro-Nazi and on one occasion I said to her 'How would you like to be ruled by a Jap Eileen', she replied, 'I wouldn't mind Mrs Pillow'. I have heard from different customers that Eileen has made disloyal remarks to them whilst she was doing their hair. Mrs Rosiland Fishwick... informed me that Stadler had said to her, 'neither my son or daughter will marry an Australian'. I also heard another lady customer make the remark when my daughter was going out with Roy Stadler, he said to her, 'when you put this ring on you will know you will become a German', I cannot remember that woman's name. The same lady informed me that Hitler is toasted every morning before breakfast. I know from my own knowledge that Eileen was studying the German language and that she was well advanced. Some travelogues were left here by a man, they were about Austria, I told Eileen about them and she appeared very indifferent, but when Hitler marched into Austria, she became very excited and requested the books, she appeared very anxious to get hold of them. I am of the belief that she is a great German sympathiser. I know Mr Stadler to be a German. From my own observations and conversation, I consider them a very disloyal family. I am of the opinion they should be investigated. I would like this statement to be kept strictly confidential. I have read this statement it is true and correct.¹²⁶

¹²⁴ Report on Hilda Bittner, no date. See 'BITTNER, Hilda'. D1915/SA16486, NAA, Adelaide.

¹²⁵ Gumpl, *The Hitler Club*, p.232.

¹²⁶ Statement made by Leah Florence Pillow, hairdresser who employed Eileen, 30 October 1940. See 'Stadler, Eileen May (Australian [born] - parents German) [Box 331]'. C123/10682, NAA, Sydney.

Eileen admitted to authorities that she was a frequent visitor of the German Club and she was a friend of the Count and other suspicious people. Authorities noted that she had become a well known singer entertaining Australian troops, and 'gained some fame as a singer, she... visited Ingleburn and Wallgrove Military camps' to sing.¹²⁷

Eileen's father was also suspected of being a Nazi sympathizer because of his association with the Count:

Prior to the outbreak of the present war, Eileen Stadler wore swastikas on her shoes. On her 21st birthday her father presented her with a coat costing 80 guineas, although it was thought that he was in business only in a small way. Nevertheless, he always seemed to live well and when Count Felix von Luckner was in Sydney, Stadler and the members of his family were photographed with him. This was thought strange—that a humble barber should have been fraternising with von Luckner.¹²⁸

In 1944, authorities reported that Laurent Stadtler was no longer pro-Nazi and had changed his views to pro-British. The reasons behind his changed views is unknown, however, it is highly likely that Laurent did so in order for authorities to cease their surveillance.

¹²⁷ Report to MPI Section, Hurstville, 4 November 1940. See 'Stadler, Eileen May (Australian [born] - parents German) [Box 331]'. C123/10682, NAA, Sydney.

¹²⁸ Report to Eastern Command- restricted access, No date. See 'Stadler, Eileen May (Australian [born] - parents German) [Box 331]'. C123/10682, NAA, Sydney.



Figure 64: Nazi Germany postcard found in Eileen Stadler's possession.

'Stadler, Eileen May (Australian [born] - parents German) [Box 331]'. C123/10682, NAA, Sydney.



Figure 65: Nazi Germany postcard found in Eileen Stadler's possession.

'Stadler, Eileen May (Australian [born] - parents German) [Box 331]'. C123/10682, NAA, Sydney.



Figure 66: Photograph of the Count with Eileen Stadler during his visit to Sydney in 1938.

'Stadler, Eileen May (Australian [born] - parents German) [Box 331]'. C123/10682, NAA, Sydney.



Figure 67: Photograph of the Count with Eileen Stadler during his visit to Sydney in 1938.

'Stadler, Eileen May (Australian [born] - parents German) [Box 331]'. C123/10682, NAA, Sydney.

Paradoxically, while people were accused of disloyalty because of their association with the Count, he himself was not a Nazi. It is important to note that it was well known after the war years that the Count's visit to Australia proved to be a 'fiasco for the Reich'.¹²⁹ The Count made statements that he did not fully support the Nazi regime and was a member of the Freemasons, a secret society that has always been associated with Jews, which meant that he was not and had never been a Nazi.¹³⁰ On 5 July 1939, Hitler signed an order against the Count, the 'principle charge brought against him was that he had used the cruise for self-indulgence rather than to create goodwill for Germany'.¹³¹ As a result, the Count escaped all charges in exchange for his silence and his books were withdrawn from libraries and any source of income diminished.¹³² Gumpl argued that British intelligence were unaware of the matters concerning von Luckner

it is equally difficult to believe that it had not imparted this information to its Australian counterparts.... Such a failure - whether it was deliberate or negligent - to disclose the existence of crucial material facts that could assist internees, was not only in breach of a fundamental tenet of justice but also an act equating to deceit.¹³³

This 'deceit' refers to all stories concerning Germans who were seen with the Count and those interned because of their association with the Count. All women were incarcerated based solely on political grounds alone. There was not sufficient evidence to suggest that any of these women were a threat to the nation's security. Nonetheless, it was clear from the evidence presented that most women were openly sympathetic to the Nazi Party.

¹²⁹ Gumpl, *The Hitler Club*, p.232.

¹³⁰ Gumpl, *The Hitler Club*, p. 233.

¹³¹ Gumpl, *The Hitler Club*, pp. 232-33.

¹³² Gumpl, *The Hitler Club*, p. 233.

¹³³ Gumpl, *The Hitler Club*, p. 233.

Conclusion

The cases presented in this chapter demonstrate why the *Aliens Control Regulations* were introduced. A majority of the women considered in this chapter were Nazi supporters who became involved in Nazi activities. These women were not, however, representative of most German settlers in Australia to any great extent. It is important to consider that the Nazi Party in Australia did not widely influence Germans in Australia. Most women who expressed their support for Hitler were elderly and believed that the Nazi Party had led to Germany becoming politically stronger and economically prosperous after the First World War. Despite their views, one must question how much influence these women had within the community. As Hermann Homburg wrote, most Germans were persecuted during the war because they had preserved German culture and language. Authorities believed that anyone who had not obtained naturalization was a potential threat to Australian security. In hindsight, we can see that Homburg's assertions were accurate. The women in this chapter were clearly persecuted during the war on the basis of their political views alone. The *Aliens Control Regulations* were inconsistently applied, which, given the arbitrary nature of the legislation, is a common occurrence inflicted upon minority groups during times of crisis. A similar scenario is presented in the following chapter, which shows how the *Aliens Control Regulations* were applied to Italian women living in Sydney during the war.

Chapter Four:

Italian by Birth: A Risk to National Security?

Apart from the fact that you have interned an innocent man and have broken up my home, you have also put two Australian employees out of work, all for the simple reason that my husbands country is against us. If this is how we are to help win the war God help us all.¹

(Italian national Maria Minciotti)

As a result of Italy's entry into the war, Italian men residing in Australia were quickly rounded up by authorities and placed in internment camps. Italian women, wives, daughters and mothers were left on their own to look after the family household and many took over the family business or worked on the farm. Italian women found themselves in a society which was often hostile and suspicious to them because of their ethnicity. Often, Italian women did not speak any English which compounded their problems of assimilation into Australian society. The stories presented in this Chapter show the social and economic ramifications that the *National Security (Aliens Control) Regulations 1939* (Cth) had on Italian women living in New South Wales during the Second World War. The two *Aliens Control Regulations* that proved to be most problematic during the war concerned travel restrictions and the effects of the *Prohibited Possessions Order 1940* (Cth). However, as it will be revealed in this chapter, there were also many women who were considered a security risk as a result of the war-time hysteria that existed in the Australian community.

¹ Letter written by Maria Minciotti to the Officer in Charge, Military Intelligence Section, Police Headquarters in Sydney, 12 August 1940. See 'Minciotti, Maria (Italian) [Box 93]'. C123/1 3481, National Archives of Australia (NAA), Sydney.

Very little has been written on how these *Aliens Control Regulations* affected women who were *not* interned during the war. Furthermore, histories that concern the issue of internment focus primarily on the experience of Italian men. This chapter focuses on Italian women affected by the *Aliens Control Regulations* in New South Wales. A vast amount of archival material is available to researchers at the National Archives of Australia (NAA) in Sydney because of the high population of Italians who settled in New South Wales. This chapter provides an insight into how the *Aliens Control Regulations* were applied to Italian women while their husbands, or other family members were incarcerated during the war.

Italian settlement in Australia

During the early 1800s there were very few Italians living in Australia.² Italian settlements were formed in Queensland, New South Wales, Victoria and Tasmania during the second half of the nineteenth century.³ From 1891, there were 438 Italians in Queensland and by 1925, that number grew to 2,000 as a result of the immigration of Italians to work in the cane cutting industry. However, it is important to note that these figures should not be seen as accurate given the fact that many Italians settled in country regions and failed to register for the census.⁴ The census in 1921 showed that the total number of Italians living in Australia was 8,135. A more accurate report that originated from the Italian Commissariat-General for Emigration showed there were approximately 15,000 Italians living in Australia.⁵ The 1920s and 1930s witnessed an influx of Italian migration to Australia. Despite many

² G. Cresciani, *The Italians in Australia*. Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 2003, p. 33.

³ Cresciani, *The Italians in Australia*, p. 43.

⁴ Cresciani, *The Italians in Australia*, p. 54.

⁵ Cresciani, *The Italians in Australia*, p. 54.

instances of xenophobia which had intensified during this period, Italians preferred to remain in Australia during the depression with much more opportunities available to them.⁶ Between 1922 and 1927, the number of Italians grew from 8,500 to 33,000, making them the largest group of enemy aliens residing in Australia at the outbreak of war.⁷

Two hundred and forty two Italian women living across Australia were examined for this study. Forty four women resided in Western Australia in Perth and Fremantle on the coastal regions and Wiluna, in the mid west region of Western Australia.⁸ Thirty eight files that concerned Italian women living in South Australia were also examined, many whom resided in Adelaide and Solomontown near Port Pirie.⁹

Over ninety per cent of Italians settled along the eastern states of Australia, including urban areas such as Sydney, Melbourne and North Queensland, with Ingham and Innisfail settling twelve per cent of the Italian population.¹⁰ Many Italians worked as a cheap labour force in the sugar cane industry in Queensland preceding the war. This is evidenced by the figures provided in Table 2 which illustrates that Queensland had the highest number of Italian internments during the war. At the beginning of the war, Western Australia had the highest number of Italians who were interned, but as the war

⁶ Cresciani, *The Italians in Australia*, p. 54.

⁷ Cresciani, *The Italians in Australia*, p. 24.

⁸ For more information on the settlement of Italians in Western Australia see M. Mennicken-Coley, *The Germans in Western Australia: Innovators, Immigrants, Internees*. Western Australia: Mt Lawley: Cross print, 1993.

⁹ For more information on Italian settlement in South Australia see D. O'Connor, *No Need to Be Afraid: Italian Settlers in South Australia Between 1839 and the Second World War*. Adelaide: Wakefield Press, 1996.

¹⁰ A. Paganoni et. al., *The Pastoral Care of Italians in Australia: Memory and Prophecy*. Victoria, Ballan: Connor Court Publishing, 2007, p. 49

progressed, the threat moved towards the north east of Queensland.¹¹ The heightened security threat of the Japanese invasion in Australia's north and the high concentration of enemy aliens in that area prompted the decision to implement a curfew on enemy aliens living in Queensland who were not interned. The curfew was introduced on 12 February 1942 by the Minister of Army Frank Forde. All enemy aliens were required to stay inside their house between the hours of 8pm to 5am, excluding enemy aliens whose work required them to work between these hours, such as those who worked in a hospital or any other essential services during war-time.¹²

Nationality	QLD	NSW	VIC	SA	WA	TAS	Total
Germans	322	436	120	145	80	4	1115
Italians	2107	806	170	170	1346	65	4727
Japanese	247	69	19	1	251	0	587

Table 2: Internment figures, 31 March 1944.

Lamidey, *Aliens Control: 'A Report to the Honourable Arthur A. Calwell H.P. Minister for Immigration upon some Aspects of Aliens Control in Australia During Time of War, 1947'*, p. 52.

¹¹ K. Saunders and H. Taylor, 'The Enemy Within? The Process of Internment of Enemy Aliens in Queensland 1939-45.' *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, Volume 34, Issue 1, 1988, p. 19.

¹² N. Lamidey, *Aliens Control in Australia 1939-46: 'Aliens Classification and Advisory Committee, Interim Report Submitted to the Right Honourable H.V. Evatt, LL.D., K.C., M.P. The Attorney General of the Commonwealth of Australia' (1943)*, p. 46.

The majority of women in this study resided in urban areas of New South Wales, including Darlinghurst and Edgecliffe in central Sydney. Others also lived in farming areas of New South Wales, especially in the Broken Hill region and Murrumbidgee Irrigation Area. Out of the 242 Italian women examined for this thesis, the table below shows the ages of 116 Italian-born women registered as enemy aliens in New South Wales after Italy declared war on the Allied forces.

Table 3:
Ages of 116 Italian-born women living in New South Wales during the Second World War.

AGE	NUMBER OF WOMEN
UNDER 20	18
20-29	33
30-39	35
40-49	16
50-59	5
OVER 60	9

The research shows there was an increase in migration of Italian women to New South Wales between 1933 and 1940. The map below illustrates the areas from which these women originated. Many migrated from southern regions of Italy, such as Molfetta in the Province of Bari, Lipari Islands near Sicily and Caulonia, located in the Province of Reggio Calabria.



Figure 69: Map of Italy

N. Randazzo, and M. Cigler, *The Italians in Australia*. Melbourne: AE Press, 1987, p. 8.

Most women examined in this study were in the age groups of twenty – twenty nine and thirty – thirty nine. The youngest woman affected by the *Aliens Control Regulations* was sixteen year old Carmela Agostino, born in Caolonia, Italy and arrived in Sydney in October 1931.¹³ Teresa Melloco was the

¹³ Questionnaire completed by the M. P. I. Section, Police Headquarters in Sydney, 24 August 1940. See 'Agostino, Carmela (Italian) [Box 153]'. C123/1 5260, NAA, Sydney.

eldest Italian woman who registered as an alien at 78 years old. Teresa arrived in Australia in November 1925 from Toppo, Italy.¹⁴

This study also shows that their fertility rate was fairly low, with average family size of one - three children. This follows the national trend of smaller families in Australia from the 1920s. In 1922, a total of 55,170 births were recorded in Australia. This figure dropped continuously during the depression in the 1930s. For example, in 1939, a total of 48,003 births were recorded. It was only as economic conditions improved that the birth rate figures slightly increased.¹⁵

From the 116 files that were examined, eighty nine women were married and four were widows. The high numbers of those married may have been the result of the important role that the Catholic Church played in women's upbringing in Italy. In addition, divorce in Australia remained socially unacceptable during the early twentieth century and unacceptable to the Catholic Church.¹⁶

Due to the lack of specific data available on Italian women's employment during 1920-1940, a number of hypotheses were made by Angela Diana about the economic role of Italian women.¹⁷ She assumed that women shared the work in a range of male occupations such as working in fruit shops,

¹⁴ Questionnaire completed by the M. P. I. Section, Police Headquarters in Sydney, 30 July 1940. See 'Melloco, Teresa (Italian) [Box 209]'. C123/1 7030, NAA, Sydney.

¹⁵ See W. Vamplew *et. al.*, *Australians: Historical Statistics*. Broadway: Fairfax, Syme and Weldon Associates, 1987, p. 51.

¹⁶ In 1933, number of divorces recorded was 1954. This number increased to 7213 in 1945. It was not until the 1960s that divorce became much more broadly acceptable. See Vamplew, *Australians: Historical Statistics*, 47 and 43.

¹⁷ A. Diana, 'Italian Women in Australia'. *Affari sociali internazionale*, Volume 16, Issue No. 2, 1988, p. 66.

restaurants, and boarding houses, as well as doing the housework and childrearing.¹⁸ Married women from this study who were in paid work correspond with Diana's conclusions.

Only eleven of these married women were in paid work during the war and one woman had worked before they were married. The majority of the questionnaire forms emphasized the fact that women were 'not employed', and authorities made it clear by stating that their occupation involved 'home duties' or 'domestic duties'. If they were not specific enough, authorities would ask for a more complete answer. Twenty one women were single and seven of them were in paid work. Some women worked as dressmakers, machinists or typists and performed domestic duties for others. While this is not dissimilar to the roles and expectations of Australian-born women within Australian society at the time, there is little doubt that Italian women had specific problems due to their ethnicity, language and culture.

Cinderellas of the Immigration Programme

Franca Arena argued that 'women have been the cinderellas of the immigration programme', who were brought out here against their will and 'have been mobile and invisible; their domestic labour contribution not counted and their paid labour viewed as marginal'.¹⁹ An example of this was evident in an account by Italian migrant, Maria Paoloni, who in 1937, was forced to live in Australia

¹⁸ Diana, 'Italian Women in Australia', p. 75.

¹⁹ *Noi donne Italo-Australiane : documenti del primo congresso dell' Associazione donne Italo-Australiane sul contributo delle donne Italo-Australiane alla societa' Australiana, Sydney 26 Ottobre 1985, Melbourne 27 Ottobre 1985 = proceedings of the first congress of Italo-Australian women on the contribution of Italian Australian women to Australian society, Sydney 26th October, 1985, Melbourne 27th October, 1985.* Melbourne: Italo-Australian Women's Association, 1986, p. 22.

I did not want to come to Australia...The decision to emigrate was heartbreaking and I wouldn't have had the strength to take it except for the hope of an early return home...My most vivid memory is of the secret tears I shed alone in my cabin, thinking that every day was taking me further from my native land.²⁰

According to Diana, the general pattern for migration 'was for the man to migrate, work, save, [and] return to choose a woman...Women followed their fathers, lovers, husbands, uncles. They rarely, if ever, began the migration chain'.²¹

In Italy, most girls were not allowed to leave home as single women. Not only did marriage represent an escape from the boredom and restrictions of village life, but for many, it was seen as a way out of grinding poverty.²² It was difficult to find a suitable husband because a large percentage of men had emigrated. Italian women who were involved in arranged marriage.²³ The father was the moral guardian responsible for his daughter's future and it was he decided who the daughter was to marry.²⁴ The decision to marry by proxy was usually followed by the exchange of letters and photographs.²⁵ This was clearly the case with Italian-born Marta De Palma. Marta was born in Molfetta, Italy and arrived in Sydney in June 1940. It was specified on Marta's questionnaire that she was a resident in Australia for a period of two months only, 'and she stated that during this time she has only left the house on two

²⁰ A. M. Kahan-Guidi and E. Weiss *et al.*, *Give me strength/Forza e coraggio: Italian Australian women speak*. Sydney, Broadway: Women's Redress Press Inc, 1989, p. 65.

²¹ Diana, 'Italian Women in Australia', p. 66.

²² J. Church, *Per l' Australia: The Story of Italian Migration*. Melbourne: The Miegunyah Press, 2005, p. 26.

²³ S. B. Wardrop, *By Proxy: A Study of Italian Proxy Brides in Australia*. Melbourne: Italian Historical Society, 1996, p. 1. This was also known as a proxy marriage, 'when one party at the marriage ceremony is represented by a substitute known as proxy'. Susan Bella wrote that, 'the case of Italian migrants to Australia, this has invariably meant that the groom, unable to be present, has nominated another man to stand in his place'. [See Wardrop, *By Proxy*, p.1].

²⁴ Wardrop, *By Proxy*, p.1.

²⁵ Wardrop, *By Proxy*, p. 26.

occasions, to get married and to the Police Station, to register as an alien'.²⁶ It was further noted that she came to Australia to marry her present husband Carlo De Palma 'whom she had never seen, but had corresponded with by means of photographs'.²⁷

Nevertheless, the patriarchal control that was expressed towards single women also applied to married women. Italian-born Gina Tommaso, who was single, migrated to Australia from Italy in 1933. Two years later, Gina married and settled in Punchbowl, south west of Sydney and had two children, Maria and Paolo. There were not many people of Italian descent living in the area, only those who owned fruit shops, market gardens and poultry farms in the outlying areas and districts. Both children were determined to learn English at school. However, it was more difficult for their mother to learn, especially while being at home and having very little contact with Australians. After the war had ended, Gina was rather envious of some of the post-war migrants going to work who were enjoying meeting people and bringing home money.²⁸ Her daughter Maria wrote that:

I remember overhearing her 'half-joking' that she should also get a job. My father was very offended and she never mentioned it again. In my father's era, it was accepted that the husband was the 'bread-winner' and it was an insult to him if he could not be the successful provider for the family.²⁹

Italian Women on Parole

Italian women were further isolated as a result of their husbands being interned and the registration process which categorized them as the 'enemy'. Clause 5 (1) of the *Aliens Control Regulations*, declared

²⁶ Questionnaire completed by the M. P. I. Section, Police Headquarters in Sydney, 13 July 1940. See 'Ciccolella, Marta or De Palma, Maria (Italian) [Box 84]'. C123/1 3278, NAA, Sydney.

²⁷ See 'Ciccolella, Marta or De Palma, Maria (Italian) [Box 84]'. C123/1 3278, NAA, Sydney.

²⁸ Gina Tommaso, Correspondence. 10 April 2009. A pseudonym was used for Gina and her family upon the request of the interviewee.

²⁹ Gina Tommaso, Correspondence. 10 April 2009.

that every 'alien resident in Australia at the commencement of these Regulations shall, unless he is exempted or deemed to be exempted by or under these Regulations, register himself as an alien in accordance with these Regulations'.³⁰

As noted in Chapter One, enemy aliens were required to report to their ARO at the nearest police station on a weekly basis.³¹ For some, this proved to be a difficult task. Sixty-six year old Italian migrant, Nicolina Angimeri, who lived at the corner of Mimosa Road and Prairie Vale Road, Bossley Park, a suburb of Sydney, was required to report each week to the Smithfield Police Station (approximately 5km away). Nicolina had to travel by bus each Saturday accompanied by her grandson. The bus fares were a big expense for her. However, the greatest difficulty was the fact that she had to walk a mile from 'her home in order to reach the bus and another mile after leaving the bus to reach the Police Station'.³² Some locals were concerned about this and provided assistance. The Hon. Secretary of the Bossley Park Progress Association, Mrs F. Goldie, suggested that, 'perhaps it could be arranged that this lady report to the local Post Officer, or even to a local Justice of the Peace'.³³

³⁰ *National Security (Aliens Control) Regulations, Statutory Rules 1939, No. 88. (m)* taken out of *Statutory rules made under Commonwealth Acts During the Year 1939. Also Prerogative Orders, etc., with Tables and Index*. L. F. Johnston, Commonwealth Government Printer, Canberra, 1939, p. 406.

³¹ In cases where nothing was adversely known against the enemy alien, or unless the ARO knew some good reason why such should not be done, the period of reporting was extended to once a month. According to Lamidey, these reports could be made any time, including night time on week nights. He argued that police appreciated the decision. It was never the intention that aliens should take time off from work to report, particularly in view of the manpower shortage. See Lamidey, *Aliens Control: 'Report to the Honourable Arthur A. Calwell'*, p. 14.

³² Letter from F. Goldie to Mr F. Hill M.L.A, Parliament House, Sydney, 19 May 1942. See 'Angimeri, Nicolina (Italian) [Box 78]'. C123/1 3113, NAA, Sydney.

³³ Letter from F. Goldie to Mr F. Hill M.L.A, Parliament House, Sydney, 19 May 1942. See 'Angimeri, Nicolina (Italian) [Box 78]'. C123/1 3113, NAA, Sydney.

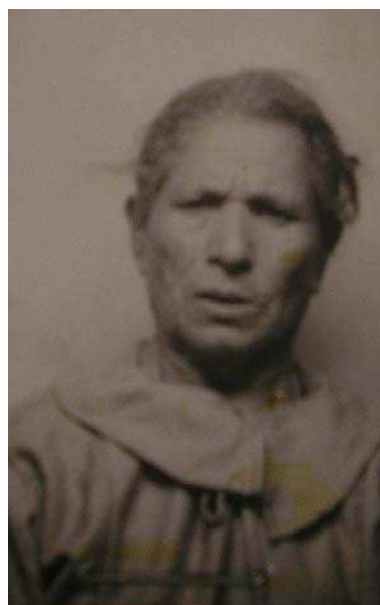
Another Italian woman who was unable to report periodically to the ARO was Caterina Fuda. Caterina was thirty eight years old when she registered as an enemy alien and was married with four children. During the war, Caterina and her family lived in Ultimo, Sydney and it was reported by authorities that Mrs Fuda

is the mother of four small children and is unable to obtain the services of any person to mind them whilst she attends the Central Aliens Bureau to report periodically. Unless there is anything of an adverse nature on record in your Service against this alien, it is recommended for favourable consideration that she be exempt from periodical reporting at the Central Aliens Bureau.³⁴

Evidently there were many women who found it difficult to report on a weekly basis to the ARO. Fortunately, for Caterina and Nicolina, there was no objection.³⁵

Figure 70: Nicolina Angimeri

'Nicolina Angimeri [Italian – arrived Sydney per ROMOLO, Oct. 1936. Box 133]'. SP11/2 Italian/Angimeri N, NAA, Sydney.



³⁴ Report from Commissioner of Police to Deputy Director of Security of NSW, 10 August 1944. See 'Fuda nee Panetta, Caterina (Italian – naturalised British subject) [box 61]'. C123/1 2759, NAA, Sydney.

³⁵ Respose from Deputy Diirector of Security of New South Wales to Cotmmissioner of Police, 16 August 1944. See 'Fuda nee Panetta, Caterina (Italian – naturalised British subject) [box 61]'. C123/1 2759, NAA, Sydney and 'Angimeri, Nicolina (Italian) [Box 78]'. C123/1 3113, NAA, Sydney.

Those excluded from parole included Italian women whose nationality changed upon marriage. For example, Maria Epifanis, who was born on the island of Crete, in Greece and arrived in Australia in February 1940, was considered favorably by authorities. Maria became an Italian when she moved to Assimina, in Italy in 1924. However, she married Greek national, Kirlaco John Epifanis, and it was stated on her questionnaire form that it was not necessary for Maria to sign a parole form because as a result of her marriage, she was 'Now Greek'.³⁶ Authorities stated that

although this woman became an Italian subject in 1924 we have no doubt she remained a Greek at heart. On her arrival in Australia she remained a Greek and on questioning her she maintains that she has always been a Greek and refuses to admit her former nationality. Apparently has no love for Italy or Italians. We do not think it necessary to restrict this woman's movements.³⁷



Figure 71: Maria Epifanis

'Maria Epifanis [formerly macli] [Italian – arrived Australia per REMO, c. 1940. Box 141]'. SP11/2 Italian Epifanis M, NAA, Sydney.

³⁶ Questionnaire completed by the M. P. I. Section, Police Headquarters in Sydney, 1 June 1940. See 'Epifanis [nee Macli], Maria (Italian) [Greek by marriage] [Box 101]'. C123/1 3686, NAA, Sydney.

³⁷ Questionnaire completed by the M. P. I. Section, Police Headquarters in Sydney, 1 June 1940. See 'Epifanis [nee Macli], Maria (Italian) [Greek by marriage] [Box 101]'. C123/1 3686, NAA, Sydney.

On 17 November 1944, Maria changed her nationality to Greek, which meant that she was classified as an 'Allied' alien.³⁸ This meant that Maria was still affected by the *Aliens Control Regulations*, but not to the same extent as those registered as enemy aliens (see Appendix One).

'The woman's place was only in the home'

During the Second World War, Italian communities in Australia were patriarchal, where the husband was considered head of the family, and it was he who represented the family to the outside world.³⁹ This particular aspect of Italian culture had an impact on Italian women living in Australia. For instance, on 20 January 1942, thirty three year old Angelica Munarin, who arrived in Australia in 1935 and lived in Surry Hills during the war, received a letter from her father, who at the time was living in Melbourne.



Figure 72:
Angelica Munarin

'Angelica Munarin [Italian – arrived Sydney per CITTA DE GENOVA, 20 Dec 1935. Box 148]'. SP11/2 Italian/Munarin A, NAA, Sydney

³⁸ Questionnaire completed by the M. P. I. Section, Police Headquarters in Sydney, 1 June 1940. See 'Epifanis [nee Macli], Maria (Italian) [Greek by marriage] [Box 101]'. C123/1 3686, NAA, Sydney.

³⁹ N. Randazzo and M. Cigler, *The Italians in Australia*. Melbourne: AE Press, 1987, p. 163.

Authorities intercepted the letter, which was then translated into the form of a poetic letter, poem and ten proverbs

1. Love and respect your parents if you wish people to love and honour you.
2. You must help your parents, this is the account which you have to pay.
3. Love and honour your parents said Christ in his commandments.
4. Succour always those who gave you life and existence will be pleading to you.
5. You may think to hide your evil-doing, but then you will show it of yourself.
6. To kill is certainly a great evil, but moral killing is more serious.
7. Goodness and beauty are riches.
8. Beauty without goodness is a flower without value.
9. Do you wish to gain merit from an embrace?
10. It is goodness alone which contains in itself all goodness.⁴⁰

Fourteen years had elapsed since he had last seen his daughter and in his letter, he reasserted the significance of the role in which his daughter was supposed to take part. Evidently, the first priority was to take care of the parents.

Life for Italian women, particularly those who lived on farms, was often difficult. Many women endured loneliness, long hours of hard work, and looked after the extended family.⁴¹ According to Nino Randazzo and Michael Cigler, 'the woman's place was only in the home - an attitude most Italian woman had always believed in'.⁴² The greatest hostility against Italians was 'based on Australians' disapproval of how Italian women seemed to be treated by their men'.⁴³ Diana concluded that tension existed due to the opposing cultural values: 'Italians thinking Australian women led useless, idle lives, and Australians thinking that Italian women were virtually slaves'.⁴⁴

⁴⁰ Copy of letter from A. Costa translated by authorities, 25 February 1942. See 'Munarin, Angelica (Italian) [box 64]'. C123/1 2822, NAA, Sydney.

⁴¹ Randazzo and Cigler, *The Italians in Australia*, p. 165.

⁴² Randazzo and Cigler, *The Italians in Australia*, p. 165.

⁴³ Diana, 'Italian Women in Australia', p. 74.

⁴⁴ Diana, 'Italian Women in Australia', p. 74.

This isolation meant that it was even more difficult for many women to learn English and not being able to speak English made it harder for them to live in Australia. During the war, Italian women were unable to do the simplest chores without the adversity of the *Aliens Control Regulations*. For instance, many found it difficult to do the shopping. In Italy, it was considered an opportunity for women to socialize with other women from their local community. In Australia, however, they could not make themselves understood.⁴⁵ The restrictions imposed on Italian women made the situation worse, with most women unable to communicate with local authorities and adhere to the *Aliens Control Regulations*. A complaint was made toward thirty two year old Francesca Ziino who arrived in Australia in 1937 from Lipari, Italy, regarding her conduct. However, authorities concluded that 'she speaks very little English, and from her conversation we are satisfied that she is not well educated and does not understand the nature of the complaint as she is always at home and never leaves the place'.⁴⁶

Italian women were generally excluded from Australian society. They spoke no English and had few Australian friends. This was a common theme in the majority of the files examined in this thesis. On the questionnaire form of seventy one year old Italian migrant from Eastwood, Maria Barbuto, authorities wrote that 'she resides on a farm with her married daughter and son-in-law, who are naturalized. She never leaves the farm and is in no way anti-British or subversive. She cannot speak the English

⁴⁵ Diana, 'Italian Women in Australia', p. 76.

⁴⁶ Questionnaire completed by the M. P. I. Section, Police Headquarters in Sydney, 17 July 1940. See 'Ziino [Zeeno], Francesca (Italian) [3 pages; box 36]'. C123/1 2074, NAA, Sydney.

language'.⁴⁷ Another example included thirty nine year old Maria Francesca Traino, who lived in East Sydney during the war. It was also stated on Maria's questionnaire form that she had 'no associates other than her husband and children, has no place to frequent, and very seldom goes out as she suffers from bad sight'.⁴⁸

Figure 73: Maria Barbuto

'Maria Barbuto [Italian – arrived Sydney per SS PALERMO, 23 Jan 1926. Box 134]'. SP11/2
Italian/Barbuto M, NAA, Sydney.



It is important to note that because of the isolation experienced by many Italian women, authorities were convinced that from a national security point of view there was no need to take any action that would restrict their movements. Italian Francesca Culmone arrived in Australia in 1938 and lived at Bonnyrigg, in western Sydney, where she assisted her father, Battista Culmone, on the farm. It was stated on her questionnaire form by authorities that she was 'a harmless hard working type of person'.⁴⁹ Maria Melara arrived in Australia two months before Italy entered the war in June 1940.

⁴⁷ Questionnaire completed by the M. P. I. Section, Police Headquarters in Sydney, 30 August 1940. See Barbuto, Maria [Italain] [Box 247]'. C123/1 8289, NAA, Sydney.

⁴⁸ Questionnaire completed by the M. P. I. Section, Police Headquarters in Sydney, 16 July 1940. See 'Traino, Maria Francesca (Italian) [Box 97]'. C123/1 3597, NAA, Sydney.

⁴⁹ Questionnaire completed by the M. P. I. Section, Police Headquarters in Sydney, 27 August 1940. See 'Culmone, Francesca [Italian] [Box 260]'. C123/1 8720, NAA, Sydney.

Maria resided at Darlinghurst with her sister and worked as a machinist. Maria told authorities that she could not speak English very well and that 'she has no...friends other than her sister... [and on] returning home from work each day, she...goes to bed'.⁵⁰

Maria Tesoriero also spent most of her life housebound. Maria arrived in Australia in 1937 and resided at Enmore with her husband and three children. When Maria was required to complete her questionnaire form in August 1940, it was stated by authorities that she 'has not been out since Italy declared...war', therefore there was no need for authorities to further restrict her movements from a security point of view.⁵¹

Restricted to Travel

The *Aliens Control Regulations* were also concerned with the travel and movements of aliens and enemy aliens. Italian-born Kathleen Demento was thirty years old when she arrived in Australia in 1936. During the war, Kathleen lived at eighteen Stephen Street, in East Sydney with her husband and her one child and was occupied with household duties. In January 1941, Kathleen and her husband, Francesco Demento, failed to register when they moved to live in 98 Bourke Street, East Sydney. The Demento family had been living at their new address for nine to ten days and did not report the change within the seven days after acquiring a new place of residency.⁵² When asked by authorities the

⁵⁰ Questionnaire completed by the M. P. I. Section, Police Headquarters in Sydney, 18 August 1940. See 'Perri (nee Melara), Maria (Italian – naturalised British subject) [Box 81]'. C123/1 3198, NAA, Sydney. See 'Tesoriero, Maria [Italian] [Box 186]'. C123/1 6377, NAA, Sydney.

⁵¹ Questionnaire completed by the M. P. I. Section, Police Headquarters in Sydney, 15 August 1940.

⁵² Copy of report to Commissioner of Police, W.J.M, 31 January 1941. See 'Demento, Kathleen (Italian) [box 58]'. C123/1 2703, NAA, Sydney.

reason behind failing to register, they responded by claiming that they were busy working in their shop.⁵³ However, authorities thought otherwise, and reported that the Demento family

have a daughter of about 15 years of age who speaks English quite well and who looks after the fruit business which the aliens run for the greater part of the day and the excuse offered by the Aliens is not reasonable.⁵⁴

Consequently, both Francesco and Kathleen were prosecuted on 28 February 1941 and were fined £2 with 8/- costs, which was a significant amount of money.⁵⁵



Figure 74: Kathleen Demento

'Kathleen DEMENTO - Nationality: Italian - Arrived Sydney per VIMINALE 30 Sep 1936 [Box 42]. SP11/5 DEMENTO, KATHLEEN, NAA, Sydney.



Figure 75: Francesco Demento

'Frank DEMENTO - Nationality: Italian - Arrived Sydney per PALERMO 23 Dec 1926 [Box 42]. SP11/5 DEMENTO, FRANK, NAA, Sydney.

⁵³ Copy of report to Commissioner of Police, W.J.M, 31 January 1941. See 'Demento, Kathleen (Italian) [box 58]'. C123/1 2703, NAA, Sydney.

⁵⁴ Copy of report to Commissioner of Police, W.J.M, 31 January 1941. See 'Demento, Kathleen (Italian) [box 58]'. C123/1 2703, NAA, Sydney.

⁵⁵ Copy of report to Commissioner of Police, W.J.M, 31 January 1941. See 'Demento, Kathleen (Italian) [box 58]'. C123/1 2703, NAA, Sydney.

Another example of an Italian woman affected by the control of travel and movement of the *Aliens Control Regulations* was Maria Schinella. Maria left Melbourne on 27 April 1940 and moved to Broken Hill on 1 May 1940. Five weeks passed until authorities found out about the move. When asked why she failed to report to the police station within the seven days upon arrival, Maria replied that she did not know that she had to report. It was concluded by authorities that 'Mrs Schinella is twenty four years of age and entered the Commonwealth on 19 November 1928. She speaks English fairly well and in my opinion is sufficiently educated to understand the requirements of her registration as an alien'.⁵⁶ As a result, Maria was in breach of Section 16 (1) and (4) of the *Aliens Control Regulations* and fined £5 and 8/- costs on each count.⁵⁷

Italian women could not escape the effects of the *Aliens Control Regulations* enforced by authorities regardless of how many years they had been living in Australia. Maria Schinella was only twelve years old when she arrived in Australia and had been living in Australia for twelve years when she registered as an alien. In spite of this, Maria was still subject to the *Aliens Control Regulations* and suffered through the restraints that were placed on her travel and movement. Another example was seventy one year old Oisola Giacco, born in Pargiolia, Italy, and arrived in Australia in 1900. Despite the fact

⁵⁶ Report to Inspector of Police, Broken Hill, 6 June 1940. See 'Schinella, Maria (naturalised British subject – [previously] Italian) [Box 326]. C123/1 10530, NAA, Sydney.

⁵⁷ Report to Inspector of Police, Broken Hill, 6 June 1940. See 'Schinella, Maria (naturalised British subject – [previously] Italian) [Box 326]. C123/1 10530, NAA, Sydney. National Security (Aliens Control) Regulations, Statutory Rule no. 88 of 1939, Regulation 16 (4) stated that an 'alien shall, within seven days after acquiring a new place of abode, attend in person before the aliens registration officer nearest to his new place of abode, and bring with him his certificate of registration'. [*National Security (Aliens Control) Regulations*, p. 411].

that she had been living in Australia for thirty-nine years, Oisola was required to register as an enemy alien and was subject to the *Aliens Control Regulations*.⁵⁸

'Impossible to live on such circumstances': economic repercussions of f legislation

At the outbreak of the Second World War, Italians who were already registered as aliens and were reclassified as enemy aliens when Italy entered the war. Of the 12,764 Italians registered as enemy aliens during the war, 4,727 of them were interned by 31 March 1944.⁵⁹ A total of 3,386 of those registered were Italian women or Australian-born women who lost their British nationality as a result of their marriage to an Italian national.

Consequently, many women living in New South Wales experienced hardship and loneliness while their husband, brother, father, or son were absent. The economic impact that the *Aliens Control Regulations* had on Italians in Australia was discussed by Margaret Bevege who referred to research concerning Italians in Queensland conducted by W.D Borrie in 1951. Borrie suggested that 'the lack of bitterness of these ex-internees was the result of the care taken of the farms by their wives'.⁶⁰ Bevege concluded that the 'economic security they had sought by migration was basically undisturbed, and they regarded the low yields of 1942-3 as a temporary setback'.⁶¹ This may have been the case for some Italian families residing in rural Queensland; however, many women in this study show that the *Aliens Control*

⁵⁸ Questionnaire completed by the M. P. I. Section, Police Headquarters in Sydney, 17 July 1940. See 'Giacco, Oisola (Italian) [box 62]'. C123/1 2794, NAA, Sydney.

⁵⁹ Lamidey, *Aliens Control: 'Report to the Honourable Arthur A. Calwell'*, p. 52 and Appendix A.

⁶⁰ M. Bevege, *Behind Barbed Wire: Internment in Australia during World War II*. St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1993, p. 234

⁶¹ Bevege, *Behind Barbed Wire*, p. 234.

Regulations helped diminish businesses and homes. After the main income earner was taken away to internment, economic security no longer existed. In fact, many Italian women and Australian women married to Italian men pleaded with authorities to be interned with their husband as a result of their inability to support themselves.

Maria Minciotti's husband was interned at Loveday, South Australia. Maria arrived in Sydney in 1919 and on 16 December 1940, Maria and her two children were forced to vacate their property at Molong, in rural New South Wales. Maria's cash assistance from the welfare department was cut off by authorities because she was living with her parents.⁶² In a number of letters that were written to Police Headquarters, Maria pleaded that her family could not manage without any cash assistance. On 10 October 1941, Maria wrote to authorities that in a period of fifteen months she had received only one lot of clothing allowance, and that the allowance she was receiving per fortnight was not enough for her two children, who at the time were attending school:

The only cash allowance I receive is 10/- per fortnight and £2 – 3 – in relief per fortnight. I receive no allowance for rent, to my knowledge the military is responsible for my Husband's internment; and if the government cannot assist me in more cash allowance, I think its time my husband was released so he can provide for his children and myself in a superior way than the present allowance, trusting this is quite clear, awaiting satisfactory [answer] at your earliest.⁶³

Authorities rejected her letter and one month later, Maria wrote another letter, claiming that her family could not survive without cash assistance from the Commonwealth Government

... I understand that cash assistance cannot be granted to me or my two children as Im [I'm] living with my parents. Will you please note that my parents have nothing whatsoever to do with me or my two

⁶² Letter from Captain of Intelligence Section, Eastern Command, G.H.V. Newman to Maria Minciotti, 29 November 1941. See 'Minciotti, Maria (Italian) [Box 93]'. C123/1 3481, NAA, Sydney.

⁶³ Letter from Maria Minciotti to the Officer in Charge, Military Intelligence Section, 10 October 1941. See 'Minciotti, Maria (Italian) [Box 93]'. C123/1 3481, NAA, Sydney.

children, I have five shillings per week sent to pay, and at present [I'm indebt] to my parents for twenty weeks rent.... that the only cash assistance [I've] received since in Goulburn has been ten-shillings per fortnight, can anyone possibly pay rent and provide for two children on the mentioned amount. [Also] I would like to point to you that my two children are going to school and wear out more than the cash assistance in leather alone. I have asked from time after time for my Husbands release, but have being [been] informed that his internment must continue. So therefore I demand full support apart from your food relief I want cash assistance, please oblige by letting me know what justices is there for my two children, an [answer] will be very acceptable, as my two children are too young to realise the circumstances and its my duty to see, that they get the full support that all British-born children receive. I do not think [I'm] being selfish, all I ask is justices my married life has being broken-up by the Military Authority...Therefore I ask for some other arrangements to be made, as [I'm] fed up to the neck of trying to live on the allowance I receive. Trusting this is plain enough [I've] already experienced sixteen months of this life and it feels [like] sixteen years. So awaiting your reply soon as possible, please don't delay.⁶⁴

Despite her desperate plea, authorities continued to reject her appeal, claiming that further cash assistance was not necessary because Maria and her children were living with her parents.⁶⁵ The fact that she was there unwillingly and that she was receiving no financial support from her parents was irrelevant.

Three months later, Maria persisted that her husband be released to support his family. She wrote that she was unable to work due to bad health, and that

fair is fair, as I know of a certain person that has [been] released and is at present employed in this town and has no children to support, so all I ask is would you kindly be good enough to see into my Husband's case as I cannot live on the dole alone.⁶⁶

On 20 March 1942, Minciotti had endured enough of authorities ignoring her plea and wrote a letter claiming that she had no other choice but to ask for the internment of herself and her children, stating

⁶⁴ Letter from Maria Minciotti to the Officer in Charge, Military Intelligence Section, 1 November 1941. See 'Minciotti, Maria (Italian) [Box 93]'. C123/1 3481, NAA, Sydney.

⁶⁵ Letter from Captain of Intelligence Section of Eastern Command, G.H. Newman to Maria Minciotti, 29 November 1941. See 'Minciotti, Maria (Italian) [Box 93]'. C123/1 3481, NAA, Sydney.

⁶⁶ Letter from Maria Minciotti to the Officer in Charge, Military Intelligence Section, 28 January 1942. See 'Minciotti, Maria (Italian) [Box 93]'. C123/1 3481, NAA, Sydney.

that it was impossible for her to 'live on such circumstances'.⁶⁷ The authorities continued to ignore Maria's dilemma and rejected her request to be interned.⁶⁸

Maria's husband, Nella Valdo Minciotti, was eventually released from internment, but he remained in South Australia under the control of the Allied Works Council (AWC).⁶⁹ In August 1943, Maria applied for a permit to travel to South Australia to be with her husband and wrote another letter to the Deputy Director of Security, which stated she would like to draw the attention 'to the fact that my husband and I have been separated for three years on no fault of our own which no doubt is understood'.⁷⁰ Maria also wrote that her husband had a house ready for her and the children to move into in South Australia.⁷¹ Permission for Maria to travel was rejected by authorities, and offered the alternative that her husband move back to Sydney and accept employment in the Civil Aliens Corps (CAC), a subsidiary of the AWC.⁷² Overwhelmed by the number of letters that were written in response to this, authorities

⁶⁷ Letter from Maria Minciotti to the Officer in Charge, Military Intelligence Section, 20 March 1942. See 'Minciotti, Maria (Italian) [Box 93]'. C123/1 3481, NAA, Sydney. Despite her request for cash assistance, in her letters from the Department of Social Services, the Officer in Charge reminded Minciotti to include prepaid postage in all her letters to the department. See, for example, letter from Officer in Charge, Military Intelligence Section to Maria Minciotti, 7 February 1941. See 'Minciotti, Maria (Italian) [Box 93]'. C123/1 3481, NAA, Sydney.

⁶⁸ Memorandum from Captain of Intelligence Section of Eastern Command, G.H. Newman to The Department of Charitable Relief, 25 March 1942. See 'Minciotti, Maria (Italian) [Box 93]'. C123/1 3481, NAA, Sydney.

⁶⁹ Copy of letter sent from Deputy Director of Security for New South Wales to Maria Minciotti, 8 September 1943. See 'Minciotti, Maria (Italian) [Box 93]'. C123/1 3481, NAA, Sydney.

⁷⁰ Letter from Maria Minciotti to the Deputy Director of National Security, 24 August 1943. See 'Minciotti, Maria (Italian) [Box 93]'. C123/1 3481, NAA, Sydney.

⁷¹ Letter from Maria Minciotti to from Deputy Director of Security in NSW, 3 November 1943. See 'Minciotti, Maria (Italian) [Box 93]'. C123/1 3481, NAA, Sydney.

⁷² Letter from Deputy Director of Security in South Australia to Deputy Director of Security in Sydney, 15 November 1943. See 'Minciotti, Maria (Italian) [Box 93]'. C123/1 3481, NAA, Sydney.

finally approved Maria's application to move to South Australia in November 1943.⁷³ Maria's persistence paid off. However, in most cases Italian women were not so unrelenting.

The *Aliens Control Regulations* impeded every aspect of Italian women's lives. Sometimes ordinary, everyday duties such as shopping required the crossing of police districts. In order for enemy aliens to do this, an application form to acquire a travel permit was expected to be processed by authorities.⁷⁴ Special permits were issued on a monthly basis in cases of medical or educational reasons to move outside the police district.⁷⁵ One example was Boncaldo Vincenza Fazzolari from Balranald, in western New South Wales, who was seriously ill and had to obtain a permit in order to get treatment in Melbourne. Boncaldo's husband Antonio was to accompany her to Melbourne because she could not speak English and it would have been difficult for her to make arrangements.⁷⁶ Boncaldo Vincenza applied for the permit in March 1945, which clearly showed that Italian women continued to be victimized even after Italy had surrendered to the Allied forces in September 1943.

⁷³ Memorandum from Deputy Director of Security in New South Wales to Deputy Director of Security for South Australia, 26 November 1943. See 'Minciotti, Maria (Italian) [Box 93]'. C123/1 3481, NAA, Sydney. Authorities stated that Maria Minciotti 'has two children whom she has to maintain on an amount of £2 per week, allowed her by her husband. As a result, she is financially embarrassed and particularly desires the opportunity of traveling to Port Augusta where a home is available'. Copy of Letter from the Deputy Director of Security for New South Wales to the Deputy Director of Security for South Australia on 8 October 1943. See 'Minciotti, Maria (Italian) [Box 93]'. C123/1 3481, NAA, Sydney.

⁷⁴ Lamidey, *Aliens Control*: 'Report to the Honourable Arthur A. Calwell', p. 9.

⁷⁵ Lamidey, *Aliens Control*: 'Report to the Honourable Arthur A. Calwell', p. 9.

⁷⁶ Letter to Police Department in Sydney from Deputy Director of Security of NSW, Sergeant James F. Scott, 19 March 1945. See 'Fazzolari, Boncaldo Vincenza (Italian) [Box 126]'. C123/1 4389, NAA, Sydney.

Prohibited Possessions Order

The severity of the *Prohibited Possessions Order* imposed upon Italian women through the *Aliens Control Regulations* is illustrated in a number of dossiers examined for this thesis. All women were required to hand over any wireless sets or any other apparatus that were prohibited to their local police station and such equipment was confiscated throughout the duration of the war. Many were found guilty of being in breach of Clause 22 of the *Aliens Control Regulations* and were required to pay a fine in addition to court costs. Police officers had the power to obtain search warrants and conduct searches of any property at any given time.

The prosecutions relied only on the statements given by local police officers. Many investigators claimed that the women prosecuted were unaware of the *Aliens Control Regulations*. This was often a result of their inability to read or write English. Countless files examined for this study revealed those who owned a wireless that were not in use and stored away were still prosecuted. There were even cases of women being prosecuted because they were in possession of a faulty wireless that was also stored away. In July 1943, the fascist Government in Italy collapsed after Mussolini was overthrown. Two months later, Italy signed an armistice with the Allies.⁷⁷ As the war situation began to improve, the relaxing of the administrative controls over aliens was justified. However, in spite of this, Italians living in Australia were still affected by the *Aliens Control Regulations*. For instance, twenty two year old Italian migrant Marta De Palma arrived in Australia in 1940 and lived in East Sydney during the war. In July 1942, Marta was in breach of the *Aliens Control Regulations* after authorities found her wireless

⁷⁷ R. Stromberg, *Europe in the Twentieth Century: Fourth Edition*. New Jersey: Prentice Hall, Upper Saddle River, 1997, p. 263.

set in the possession of another Italian. Marta was fined £2 and 9/ - court costs and authorities took possession of the wireless.⁷⁸

On 18 December 1944, Marta wrote a letter to the Director of Posts and Telegraphs in Sydney, Jack Malone, asking for the return of the radio set. She wrote in Italian

When I moved from Sydney to Eastwood early last year, I hadn't the space to accommodate all my furniture, and arranged for some of it, including my radio set, to be kept at a friend's home until such time as I could accommodate it myself. The radio was disconnected and had one valve missing. It was not a shortwave set, and could not receive overseas news. As I am unable to read, write or speak English, I did not know that there was a regulation whereby all aliens had to hand in their radios, and therefore did not do so. In July 1943, I received a summons, after my radio had been taken from me by police officers, and in December had to go to Court and pay a fine...I have heard that you are now returning confiscated radios to their owners and should appreciate it if you will favourably consider my application to have mine returned to me.⁷⁹

Despite the fact that the war situation had improved for the Allied forces, Marta's request for the return of her radio set was refused and it was never returned.⁸⁰

Rita Contore was one of the many Italian women who suffered humiliation through the *Prohibited Possessions Order*. Rita arrived in Sydney in 1924 and lived with her parents at Wetherill Park. Authorities reported that they found a morse code transmitter owned by Rita and when she was interviewed, it was stated that 'she had made an application to join the Woman's Signaling Corps'.⁸¹

⁷⁸ Report written by Leonard William Pratt, 27 July 1942. See 'Ciccolella, Marta or De Palma, Marta (Italian) [Box 84]'. C123/1 3279, NAA, Sydney.

⁷⁹ Copy of translated letter written to Director of Posts and Telegraphs in Sydney, Jack Malone, 18 December 1944. See 'Ciccolella, Marta or De Palma, Marta (Italian) [Box 84]'. C123/1 3279, NAA, Sydney.

⁸⁰ Copy of letter written by Director of Posts and Telegraphs in Sydney, Jack Malone to Marta De Palma, 2 January 1945. See 'Ciccolella, Marta or De Palma, Marta (Italian) [Box 84]'. C123/1 3279, NAA, Sydney.

⁸¹ Questionnaire completed by the M. P. I. Section, Police Headquarters in Sydney, 30 August 1940. See 'Zadro [formerly] Contore, Rita (Italian) [Box 243]'. C123/1 8155, NAA, Sydney.

Despite the fact that Rita lived in Australia for fifteen years, her application was refused because she was an alien.⁸² Rita produced a book to authorities called 'LifeBuoy Hobby Book' No. five and referred to page twenty three which showed directions to making morse code signals. She told authorities that the model was made three years ago and she was making a study of morse code at the time and was practicing on the set. As a result of the raid, police confiscated the morse code transmitter.⁸³

The *Aliens Control Regulations* required aliens to obtain a permit in order to own a motor vehicle licence. On 2 March 1942, Rita Contore was again interviewed by the police regarding the way in which she obtained her driver's licence. According to the report, Sergeant Ashton asked her, 'Being an enemy alien are you aware that you should be in possession of written permission from the Military Authorities also?'. He went on further to ask 'When you made an application for the licence in the first instance did you give your correct name?' In response to this, Rita replied that she did not give her correct name, and admitted to dropping the 'e' from Contore because it 'was easier to pronounce and I thought that [it] would be easier to get a license in that way'. Sergeant Ashton reminded Rita of the seriousness of the matter, claiming that 'apart from committing an offence against the National Security Regulations you gave wrong information to the Transport Authorities and liable to punishment in that direction'. He further stated that the matter would be reported to Authorities.⁸⁴ Authorities reported the matter, but it is not clear from the files whether Rita was prosecuted.

⁸² Questionnaire completed by the M. P. I. Section, Police Headquarters in Sydney, 30 August 1940. See 'Zadro [formerly] Contore, Rita (Italian) [Box 243]'. C123/1 8155, NAA, Sydney.

⁸³ Report by Thomas Jesse Wilson to MPI Headquarters in Sydney, 14 April 1942. See 'Zadro [formerly] Contore, Rita (Italian) [Box 243]'. C123/1 8155, NAA, Sydney.

⁸⁴ Report by Thomas Jesse Wilson to MPI Headquarters in Sydney, 14 April 1942. See 'Zadro [formerly] Contore, Rita (Italian) [Box 243]'. C123/1 8155, NAA, Sydney.

The following month, in April 1942, Rita was suspected by 'reliable' neighbours and the local police of 'being a person possessing disloyal and inimical tendencies' because she was 'a close associate of all doubtful Italians in that District, some of whom were interned of recent date'.⁸⁵ After being interviewed by police, it was reported that

she is a frequent visitor to the Liverpool Internment camp, and she admitted to us that she had gone frequently without first obtaining the necessary permit from the local police. When submitting our comprehensive report relative to the activities of Italians generally in those Districts, we recommended that this women be interned.⁸⁶

Rita claimed that she had no idea that she was required to obtain a travel permit when she visited Liverpool Internment Camp. When she discovered that such a permit was necessary, she got one.⁸⁷

It was later found out by authorities that Rita frequented the Liverpool Internment Camp to see her boyfriend Zadro Davino, who was interned for four months. Zadro was released in May 1942, and lived in Redfern. He worked in Newtown at the Wholesale Grocery Merchants under the control of the AWC.⁸⁸ Rita and Zadro eventually got married and in June 1942 Rita asked for permission to live with Zadro at Bossley Park. However, authorities decided that Zadro should stay at his place of residency in Redfern because it was stated on his form of parole that when he was released, he would reside at Redfern and that he would not 'at any time during the present war enter the area through which the

⁸⁵ Report from Sergeant G. G.Ashton to Inspector Watkins, 14 April 1942. See 'Zadro [formerly] Contore, Rita (Italian) [Box 243]'. C123/1 8155, NAA, Sydney.

⁸⁶ Report from Sergeant G. G.Ashton to Inspector Watkins, 14 April 1942. See 'Zadro [formerly] Contore, Rita (Italian) [Box 243]'. C123/1 8155, NAA, Sydney.

⁸⁷ Report on Rita Contore, 1 June 1942. See 'Zadro [formerly] Contore, Rita (Italian) [Box 243]'. C123/1 8155, NAA, Sydney.

⁸⁸ Report on Rita Contore, 1 June 1942. See 'Zadro [formerly] Contore, Rita (Italian) [Box 243]'. C123/1 8155, NAA, Sydney.

Sydney Water Channel passes'.⁸⁹ One year later, Zadro was sent to work burning charcoal on the Mudgee Railway Line. Rita and their seven week old child applied for permission to move closer to Zadro. This was refused. Rita was unable to get affordable accommodation and made an application to live with her mother which was approved.⁹⁰ There were many Italian women who were adversely affected by these overbearing *Aliens Control Regulations*. Most Italian men were working under the control of the AWC due to the shortage of manpower during the war. Through the *Aliens Control Regulations*, the wives of these men were forced to live apart from their husbands, making it even more difficult for them to acquire the financial support needed for their survival.

There was, however, special consideration in regards to changes of residence and travel permits given to the wives of enemy aliens who were in the Australian Defence Forces. Naturalized Italians were accepted for service in the Defence Forces. Noel Lamidey argued that no distinction was made between the wives of men working under the control of the AWC and those who served in the Defence Forces. There was also no distinction made between the wives of men in Labour Camp, Munition Factories and the like, where the employment was directly connected with the war effort and in which it was necessary for Zadro to live away from home.⁹¹ Lamidey gave the example of two wives who

⁸⁹ Report from Deputy – Director of Security of New South Wales, S. C. Taylor to Captain Davis, 4 June 1942. See 'Zadro [formerly] Contore, Rita (Italian) [Box 243]'. C123/1 8155, NAA, Sydney.

⁹⁰ Report from Deputy – Director of Security of New South Wales, S. C. Taylor to Deputy – General of Security in Canberra, 10 June 1943. See 'Zadro [formerly] Contore, Rita (Italian) [Box 243]'. C123/1 8155, NAA, Sydney.

⁹¹ Lamidey, *Aliens Control*: 'Report to the Honourable Arthur A. Calwell', p. 16.

desired to reside together to economize, their application 'should be considered sympathetically but each case should...be dealt with on its merits'.⁹²

There were some cases where regimentation was restrictive to a degree that suggested unnecessary and overbearing intolerance on the part of officialdom, while in others a laxity was apparent.⁹³ In other words, it simply depended where one lived as to how strict the enforcers of the *Aliens Control Regulations* were. Lamidey claimed that those who applied for a travel permit and who were 'favourably known to ARO...were confined for the most part of the day to the one place'.⁹⁴ For example, a married woman who was normally in her home, such permit was provided for an indefinite period and remained current so long as the alien resided at the same address.⁹⁵ The 'laxity' that was apparent in some districts was evident in the dossiers of women who lived in the rural areas of New South Wales. This could be explained by the great majority of Italians who were involved in agricultural activity during the war and that farming and residential areas were not located anywhere near major

⁹² Lamidey, *Aliens Control: 'Report to the Honourable Arthur A. Calwell'*, p. 16. In June 1943, Italian A. Pappalardo who worked under the control of the AWC, desired to have his wife and his son to reside near his workplace. The Deputy Director of Security for New South Wales responded that there was no security objection, as long as he proposes to obtain accommodation for his family. Attached to the memorandum was an extract concerning what was required: 'Arrangements have been made with the Controller of Aliens, Allied Works Council, whereby an ex-internee who desires his wife and family to reside in the State where he is employed will make written application through the Allied Works Council and the ex-internee must show in the application whether adequate living arrangements for his family have been made'. See Report from Sergeant W.T. Conder to Manager for New South Wales Civil Alien Corps, Allied Works Council in Sydney, 3 March 1943. See 'NSW Security Service file – Requests by ex – internees that wives and families be allowed to reside in the State where they are employed by the Allied Works Council [8 pages]'. C320/P1, NAA, Sydney.

⁹³ Lamidey, *Aliens Control: 'Report to the Honourable Arthur A. Calwell'*, p. 9.

⁹⁴ Lamidey, *Aliens Control: 'Report to the Honourable Arthur A. Calwell'*, p. 11.

⁹⁵ Lamidey, *Aliens Control: 'Report to the Honourable Arthur A. Calwell'*, p. 11.

state works. Major sites of Italian agricultural activity included the Murrumbidgee Irrigation Area and on the north coast of New South Wales.

In smaller, rural communities people knew each other and were less frightened by different cultural groups, especially if there were significant numbers of Italians living within the community. However, this was not the case in urban areas of New South Wales. The dossiers revealed that in rural areas, the regimentation and adherence to the *Aliens Control Regulations* were not so meticulous when compared to the administration in urban areas of New South Wales. It is highly likely that Italian farmers were considered favourably by authorities due to their high success rate in agricultural growth. This is particularly feasible in view of the fact that Italian farmers contributed a great deal to the war effort, especially during a period in which Australia supplied food to the Allied forces in the Pacific. Therefore, it was possible that a positive relationship may have existed between Italian farmers and authorities living in the outer suburbs of Sydney and the rural areas of New South Wales. Consequently, Italians living in rural areas were affected by the *Aliens Control Regulations* to a much lesser extent than those who lived in the inner urban areas of New South Wales.

Loyalty to the British Empire

According to Ted Cattle, in 'order to become effective citizens, you must be educated about the multiple identities that structure our social worlds to be able to understand, evaluate, and, if they choose, meaningfully participate in the struggles against identity-based forms of oppression'.⁹⁶ Although it may be considered possible to comply with the customs, practices, styles, and norms of

⁹⁶ T. Cattle, *Community Cohesion: A New Framework for Race and Diversity*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005, p. 122.

two different cultures, it can also be a difficult process for migrants to retain allegiance to their native culture while participating in their adopted culture.⁹⁷ This can be applied to the women in this study.

Italian women could demonstrate their patriotism and support of the war effort through unpaid labour, and as a result, were considered favourably by authorities. According to Melanie Oppenheimer, much of the volunteer work that was done during the war is generally considered to be unskilled and largely the domain of women. This included domestic work activities such as cooking, cleaning, serving and knitting.⁹⁸ Italian migrant Palmina Contino was considered not to be a security risk because of her voluntary contribution to the war effort. Palmina was thirty three years old when she arrived in Australia in 1937 from Crana Monferato, Italy. It was stated on her questionnaire by authorities that

From our conversation with this alien and neighbours, we are of the opinion that she is an unlikely person to do or say anything which is of Anti – British nature. At present she is engaged in knitting socks and other [woollen] comforts for the soldiers. In our opinion no good purpose would be served in restricting the movements of this alien, from a national security point of view.⁹⁹



Figure 76: Palmina Contino

'Palmina Contino [Italian – arrived Sydney per VIMINALE, 17 Dec 1937. Box 138]'. SP11/2, Italian/Contino P, NAA, Sydney.

⁹⁷ R. F. Baumeister, *Identity: Cultural Change and the Struggle for Self*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1986, p. 209.

⁹⁸ M. Oppenheimer, *All Work No Pay: Australian Civilian Volunteers in War*. Walcha: Ohio Productions, 2002, p. 89.

⁹⁹ Questionnaire completed by the M. P. I. Section, Police Headquarters in Sydney, 13 July 1940. See 'Contino, Palmina (Italian) [box 61]'. C123/1 2772, NAA, Sydney.

Another example included Italian migrant Rosina Benetti, who arrived in Australia in 1937 from Recoare, Italy. During the war, Rosina lived at Rock Valley, and looked after her two children while also helping her husband on the farm. Authorities stated on Rosina's questionnaire that they did not find it necessary to restrict her movements, particularly when her husband worked 'on the farm producing vegetables for the Sydney markets and does not go out of the district'.¹⁰⁰

Security Risk

The risk to national security was a vital concern for the Commonwealth Government. The *Aliens Control Regulations* were one way of keeping possible security risks under control. Anyone who had anti-British sentiments was considered a risk to national security and kept under constant watch by the authorities. On the *Aliens Control Regulations* questionnaire form, authorities provided a general overview of the person registering in regards to their risk to national security.¹⁰¹ An example of this was evident on the questionnaire form of Rina Pesavento. Rina was born in Asiago, Italy on 13 September 1905 and lived at Stanmore, in the inner western suburbs, during the war. Authorities were convinced from their investigation that

this woman and her husband are people who are loyal to the country and this is borne out the fact that they have property and money here which would suffer if they committed any subversive action. Pesavento states that as far as she knows she has no relatives serving in the Italian armed forces.¹⁰²

¹⁰⁰ Questionnaire completed by the M. P. I. Section, Police Headquarters in Sydney, 26 July 1940. See 'Benetti, Rosina (Italian) [Box 162]'. C123/1 5600, NAA, Sydney.

¹⁰¹ Question 43 stated: 'General Remarks.---The police investigating this case will hereunder furnish a report setting out the opinion they have formed from the alien's attitude as to whether or not any action should be taken to restrict his movements from a national security point of view. Give reasons'. Questionnaire completed by the M. P. I. Section, Police Headquarters in Sydney, 16 July 1940. See 'Pesavento, Rina (Italian) (box 71)'. C123/1 2969, NAA, Sydney.

¹⁰² Questionnaire completed by the M. P. I. Section, Police Headquarters in Sydney, 16 July 1940. See 'Pesavento, Rina (Italian) (box 71)'. C123/1 2969, NAA, Sydney.

By contrast, an Italian woman who was considered a security risk was Maria Tommaso Macchia. Maria arrived in Sydney from Spadafora, Messina in 1937 and lived in North Sydney. Though it is not clear from the files what was said, it was concluded by authorities that the movements of Maria and her husband, Bartolo, should be restricted from a nationality security point because of her anti-British views.¹⁰³

Women who were clearly no threat to security, but did associate with fascists were considered a potential security risk. Ernestina Elvira Santese arrived in Australia in 1934 and worked for thirty years as a nurse and servant for the Jorio family who were also Italian. Ernestina knew very little English and authorities feared that the Jorio family, who were considered to be ardent fascists, would have influenced her.¹⁰⁴ Authorities reported

We are of the opinion that this alien is entirely under the influence of the Jorio family who are the majority at least, Fascists. She has been with the family for about thirty years in the capacity of nurse and servant and is a trusted person with the family, and we consider that they could easily impose on her. She cannot speak English and appears absolutely dependant on the Jorio family for everything. On her own we are of the opinion that she would be harmless but seeing she is closely associated with the Jorio family she would absorb their teachings and doctrines and consideration might be given as to whether her movements should be restricted or not with those of the Jorio family.¹⁰⁵

Though police thought it was possible that Ernestina could be influenced by the Jorio family, no further action was taken by authorities. It is clear that authorities not only based their suspicion on the

¹⁰³ Questionnaire completed by the M. P. I. Section, Police Headquarters in Sydney, 20 August 1940. See 'Macchia, Maria Tommaso (Italian) [Box 189]'. C123/1 6470, NAA, Sydney.

¹⁰⁴ Questionnaire completed by the M. P. I. Section, Police Headquarters in Sydney, 2 August 1940. See 'Santese, Ernestina Elvira [Italian] [Box 165]'. C123/1 5742, NAA, Sydney.

¹⁰⁵ Questionnaire completed by the M. P. I. Section, Police Headquarters in Sydney, 2 August 1940. See 'Santese, Ernestina Elvira [Italian] [Box 165]'. C123/1 5742, NAA, Sydney.

ethnicity of these women, but were also apprehensive of Italian women who were considered guilty by association.

Issues about Italian women's morality and decency were also raised. This was especially evident with Italian women who ran boarding houses for single men. Not only did these Italian women suffer from poor housing and abysmal wages, they had no time or possibility for leisure and socializing.¹⁰⁶ Italian born Geoneffa Nardi ran a boarding house at Bridge Street, Lismore, which was described by authorities as the 'rendezvous of the Italians in the district'.¹⁰⁷ Very little is known about Geoneffa's background, but she was the president of the Italian Ladies Committee in Lismore, and was occupied in many activities that involved the Italian community, including the group 'For the Motherland' of Lismore. Geoneffa's dedication to the Italian cause was evident in an article from the *Italo-Australian* newspaper dated 25 July 1936

The Group of the 'For the Motherland' Committee of Lismore, formed entirely of our fellow-countrymen. It is due to the manifold activities of the members of this group and to the sincere patriotism of our workers that the campaign for the 'Wealth for the Motherland' was so successful at Lismore. The same committee is now working for another magnificent affirmation of Italianity in organizing the Annual Ball for the Hospitals, which takes place on 25th August.¹⁰⁸

No restrictions were placed on Geoneffa. She was, however, kept under constant watch by authorities.

Many Italian women were suspected of being fascist sympathizers and involved in political organizations simply because they were Italian. Ines Betti was born in Senigallia, Italy, on 7 February

¹⁰⁶ Diana, 'Italian Women in Australia', p. 74.

¹⁰⁷ See 'Mrs Hession alias Mrs Nardi (Italian born, Naturalised British Subject) [13 pages; box 39]'. C123/1 2159, NAA, Sydney.

¹⁰⁸ Translated report, no date. See 'Mrs Hession alias Mrs Nardi (Italian born, Naturalised British Subject) [13 pages; box 39]'. C123/1 2159, NAA, Sydney.

1894. She left school to become a school teacher in Italy and in 1921 she married Gaultiero Vitali. In 1923, her husband left her and went to America. Four years later, Ines Betti came to Sydney with Hamleto Agabiti, her defacto.¹⁰⁹ During the war, Ines Betti lived at Darlinghurst, and on 1 July 1940, was seen with the Consul General for Italy, Mr Mammalella, outside his flat at Mona Road, Darling Point. Because of Italy's entry into the war and the popularity of fascist organizations among the Italian communities in New South Wales, the Italian General Consul was placed under surveillance.¹¹⁰



Figure 77: Miss Betty

'Ines Betti Vitali [Italian – arrived Sydney per CAPRERA, 29 Nov 1927. Box 158]'. SP11/2 Italian/Viatali IB, NAA, Sydney.

Ines Betti's meeting with Mr Mammalella initiated an investigation into her own life. Apart from her meetings with Mr Mammalella, there was no other evidence to imply that Ines Betti, also known as Miss Betty, was involved in any fascist activities. However, there were many who considered her to be

¹⁰⁹ Report to Inspector Keefe, MPI Section, 6 July 1940. See 'Vitali, Ines Betti, alias Miss Betty alias Ines Betti (Italian) [18pp; box 50]'. C123/1 2467, NAA, Sydney.

¹¹⁰ Report to Inspector Keefe, MPI Section, 6 July 1940. See 'Vitali, Ines Betti, alias Miss Betty alias Ines Betti (Italian) [18pp; box 50]'. C123/1 2467, NAA, Sydney.

suspicious. Two days after Miss Betty was seen with the Italian Consul General, Australian resident George Higgleet made a formal complaint to authorities. In his statement, George wrote that he knew Miss Betty from working with her at David Jones and that they lived in the same neighbourhood. George stated

About May 1940 I had occasion to call her home in Waratah St. to service her radio. She remarked to me that she had been to a doctor for the purpose of having her eyes tested and getting glasses. She told me that the doctor wanted £ 2.2.0 for testing her eyes and £ 3.3.0 for the glasses. She then went to an eye hospital and told them that I had no money and I was not working. She then said to me, "the foreign fools, they believe me and I get them for 2/".¹¹¹

George went on further to state that he overheard Miss Betty's conversation over the phone, when she asked someone to go over to the Italian Consul's house to look at a wireless. He claimed that

We do not do that class of business and I did not go, but I noted the names and addresses because I was suspicious of this woman and I decided to report the matter to the authorities. I have seen this woman on numerous occasions for the whole of time I have known her and she always appears to be expensively dressed and to have large sums of ready cash.¹¹²

From enquiries made by the authorities, it was ascertained that Miss Betty and Hamleto Agiabati were gamblers and wherever they were living they organised card games where poker was played in exchange for money. Authorities interviewed Mr Edward Payne and his wife who resided at Rushcutters Bay where Miss Betty resided for some time. Mr and Mrs Payne claimed that Miss Betty had frequent card meetings where she used to entertain, and she had suggested to them that she wanted to start a club to play poker in the flats. Miss Betty also told them that it would be profitable

¹¹¹ Statement made by George Higgleet, 3 July 1940. See 'Vitali, Ines Betti, alias Miss Betty alias Ines Betti (Italian) [18pp; box 50]'. C123/1 2467, NAA, Sydney.

¹¹² Statement made by George Higgleet, 3 July 1940. See 'Vitali, Ines Betti, alias Miss Betty alias Ines Betti (Italian) [18pp; box 50]'. C123/1 2467, NAA, Sydney.

for the Paynes, which meant they would profit at least £1 a night.¹¹³ A list of the men's names that she associated with was given to authorities along with the sums of money that was paid into her account at the Bank of New South Wales, Kings Cross Branch.¹¹⁴ When questioned by authorities, Miss Betty denied everything. After all, gambling was illegal.

According to authorities, during her interview Miss Betty appeared to be

a very shrewd woman and is undoubtedly a clever actress. At the beginning of our first interview with her she spoke fairly good English, but at a later stage she could see the drift of the interrogation she became very broken in her speech and seemed disinclined to remember facts in any detail. Although she is a woman of 46 years of age she has the appearance of a woman no older than 30, and for her position in life, is remarkably well dressed.¹¹⁵

Despite her shrewdness and clever acting skills, it was concluded by authorities through Miss Betty's admission that she met the Consul frequently and that some time ago he asked her to take a class of Italian children at St. Mary's School on Saturdays. She stated that she taught this class for a few Saturdays only because the children, the majority of whom were born in Australia could not understand her too well on account of her accent.¹¹⁶ No further action was taken by authorities. It can therefore be assumed that while authorities had uncovered some illegal activities, it had nothing to do with security and she was left alone.

¹¹³ Report to Inspector Keefe, MPI Section, 6 July 1940. See 'Vitali, Ines Betti, alias Miss Betty alias Ines Betti (Italian) [18pp; box 50]'. C123/1 2467, NAA, Sydney.

¹¹⁴ Report to Inspector Keefe, MPI Section, 6 July 1940. See 'Vitali, Ines Betti, alias Miss Betty alias Ines Betti (Italian) [18pp; box 50]'. C123/1 2467, NAA, Sydney.

¹¹⁵ Report to Inspector Keefe, MPI Section, 6 July 1940. See 'Vitali, Ines Betti, alias Miss Betty alias Ines Betti (Italian) [18pp; box 50]'. C123/1 2467, NAA, Sydney.

¹¹⁶ Report to Inspector Keefe, MPI Section, 6 July 1940. See 'Vitali, Ines Betti, alias Miss Betty alias Ines Betti (Italian) [18pp; box 50]'. C123/1 2467, NAA, Sydney.

There were a number of incidents in the files of Italian women being suspected as spies. Reflecting the hysteria of the wartime conditions, there were many in Australian society who reported their Italian neighbours to authorities. For example, 49 year old Antonia Pasini who lived in Balgownie, Illawara region, and looked after her two children while her husband was interned, was suspected of being a spy. However, when she registered as an alien at the outbreak of war, authorities wrote that she 'appears to be a person of poor education and intelligence and is unable to read or write either Italian or English'.¹¹⁷ In October 1941, a statement was made by Frank Dubois, a watchman employed at Mount Keira

he was walking past Pasini's house at night time, when he heard what he thought was a dog barking near the house, but on closer investigation, he concluded that the noise was made by a man, whom he saw in the vicinity of Pasini's house. He later saw the man go to the house and Mrs Pasini handed him some paper or letter. He also saw powerful lights flickering in the windows of the Pasini home.¹¹⁸

Figure 78: Antonia Pasini

'Antonia Pasini [Italian – arrived Sydney per CARIGNAND, 11 March 1926. Box 149]. SP11/2 Italian/Pasini A, NAA, Sydney.



¹¹⁷ Questionnaire completed by the M. P. I. Section, Police Headquarters in Sydney, no date. See 'Pasini, Antonia (Italian) [Box 203]'. C123/1 6860, NAA, Sydney.

¹¹⁸ Report made to Inspector Fraser, 21 October 1941. See 'Pasini, Antonia (Italian) [Box 203]'. C123/1 6860, NAA, Sydney.

Another statement was made by William Organa, a storeman employed at Mount Keira mine, who claimed that Antonia had frequent visits from Italians and strangers to the district. It was alleged that Antonia was acting like a spy, showing certain signals from her window at night.¹¹⁹

Frank Dubois' wife, Nellie Dubois stated to authorities that Antonia had an anti-British attitude and that her husband Frank heard noises and saw 'powerful lights flickering in the windows of the Pasini home'.¹²⁰ She went on further to claim 'I am not in a position of my knowledge to say if Mrs Pasini has a wireless as I have never seen it at her home but my children have seen a wireless in her home about 2 weeks ago and told [me] of having seen it'.¹²¹ Mrs Dubois 'desired her name to be withheld and the information treated as confidential, as her children have to associate with Italians in the locality where they live and also have to attend school with them and she considers that some harm might come to them if it was found that she had given information to the Military Intelligence'.¹²² It was not specified in Antonia's file whether any further action was undertaken against her.

Conclusion

The majority of Italian women examined in this thesis arrived in Australia during the 1920s and 1930s and settled in New South Wales. Many of them were unable to read, write or speak the English language. Already excluded from mainstream Australian society, life for these women became even

¹¹⁹ Report made to Inspector Fraser, 24 September 1941. See 'Pasini, Antonia (Italian) [Box 203]'. C123/1 6860, NAA, Sydney.

¹²⁰ Statement made by Nellie Dubois, 9 November 1941. See 'Pasini, Antonia (Italian) [Box 203]'. C123/1 6860, NAA, Sydney.

¹²¹ Statement made by Nellie Dubois, 9 November 1941. See 'Pasini, Antonia (Italian) [Box 203]'. C123/1 6860, NAA, Sydney.

¹²² Statement made by Nellie Dubois, 9 November 1941. See 'Pasini, Antonia (Italian) [Box 203]'. C123/1 6860, NAA, Sydney.

more difficult at the outbreak of war. Many of these women lived in a hostile and suspicious society, which was all part of the war hysteria that gripped Australian society during the war. The isolation that Italian women experienced during the war made their lives difficult. The situation was made worse through the enforcement of the *Aliens Control Regulations*. As a result of Italy's entry into the war in June 1940, Italian women were then classified as enemy aliens. It was the intention of the *Aliens Control Regulations* to have an effect on aliens and enemy aliens who were under suspicion and considered a risk to security. However, the case studies presented in this chapter clearly demonstrate that many ordinary women were caught up in the legislation and affected by the strict *Aliens Control Regulations* imposed on them during the war, all because of their Italian heritage and ethnicity.

As revealed in the chapter, it also depended on where women lived within the state of New South Wales. Italian women who lived in rural New South Wales were treated more leniently than those in Sydney. The contrast of the 'unnecessary and overbearing' in tolerance that was exercised in the inner urban areas of New South Wales is marked in the dossiers. For many Italian women, the registration process and weekly reporting to the Police Station proved to be an arduous task. Furthermore, it is clear that the restrictions placed on their travel and movements and the control over prohibited possessions also had an effect on the lives of these women.

However, the *Aliens Control Regulations* not only had a negative impact on the lives of Italian women. Japanese women and Australian-born women of Japanese descent also suffered on account of the *Aliens Control Regulations*. They were not only categorized as enemy aliens but were incarcerated as a

result of Japan entering the war in December 1941. The following chapter describes their experiences of these women and highlights the injustice that was inflicted upon them during the war.

Chapter Five:

‘Interned as a Precautionary Measure’

‘...it is race which counts, and not nationality’.¹

(Police Inspector Wake, 1937)

In April 2007, I discovered a file that was held at the National Archives of Australia (NAA) in Perth, Western Australia that had not been examined since deposition. It concerned an Australian Japanese woman, Marie Kazmie Hamabata. Marie was born in Port Hedland, Perth. She claimed to have had no recollection of her mother, but was aware that she was a Japanese woman. She did know that her father was an Englishman called George Graham. When her father had passed away, her mother married a Japanese man, Hamabata Kazmie. Marie was first educated at the Convent School in Broome and then at the Ladies College in Leederville. While she was there, her mother and step father died. At the time of the Second World War, Marie was single and worked in a florist shop in Geraldton, near Perth, and appeared from the files to have had a very good reputation among local residents. She was staying at the Shamrock Hotel in Geraldton, Perth. The owner of the hotel was a Greek man Nick Pilatis. One of his neighbours, an Australian-born Mrs Wright became suspicious of him and wrote to authorities in August 1941, reporting that Nick would stay up until three or four in the evening listening to the radio and that his actions were suspicious as he kept company with Marie.² After Nick purchased the license for his hotel, authorities informed him that Marie could not stay in his hotel because she

¹ R. Bosworth, and R. Ugolini, et., al, *War, Internment and Mass Migration: The Italo-Australian Experience 1940-1990*. Roma: Gruppo Editoriale Internazionale, 1992, p. 95.

² Description of Marie Kazmie, 13 August 1941. See ‘HAMABATA Marie (aka Marie Kazmie and Marie Haramata) (7457) [Japanese internee]’. K1171/HAMABATA M, National Archives of Australia (NAA), Perth.

was of Japanese descent. In response, Nick bought the florist shop next door to his hotel so that Marie could work and live there.³

On Friday, 2 January 1942, without any notice, Marie was charged with being in breach of Section 13 (1) of the *National Security Act 1939 (Cth)*.⁴ She was interned at the detention barracks at Woodmans Point, Perth. Many of Marie's friends, including Nick Pilatis, were shocked by this and wrote a number of letters in her support, claiming that an injustice had occurred. One of the letters on file is from Solicitors Hardwick Slattery and Gibson who referred to Marie as Miss Amileta

We are...instructed that she has not at any time been in Japan, nor can she speak Japanese, nor has she displayed any interest in Japanese affairs. We should be glad to know whether there is any prospect of Miss Amileta being released from internment, and if she were released, we are instructed to inform...you, that she would return to her former occupation as a...florist at Geraldton.⁵

When questioned whether Marie would be released, an advisory committee responded, for 'her own protection, seeing that she is of Japanese appearance, we suggest that her release be conditional on her undertaking not to reside within one hundred miles of the coast line of Australia'.⁶ Marie was interned at Tatura internment camp, north-east of Victoria.

³ Description of Marie Kazmie, 13 August 1941. See 'HAMABATA Marie (aka Marie Kazmie and Marie Haramata) (7457) [Japanese internee]'. K1171/HAMABATA M, NAA, Perth.

⁴ *The National Security Act 1939*, Section 13 (1) stated that any person who committed an offence and was in breach of the legislation could be arrested by any constable or person'. See *Statutory Rules made under Commonwealth Acts during the year 1939*. Canberra: Government of Australia, 1939.

⁵ Letter written by Solicitors Hardwick, Slattery & Gibson, 8 January 1942. 'HAMABATA Marie (aka Marie Kazmie and Marie Haramata) (7457) [Japanese internee]'. K1171/HAMABATA M, NAA, Perth.

⁶ Report to the Deputy Director of Security for Victoria from Security Service in Canberra, 21 August 1942. 'HAMABATA Marie (aka Marie Kazmie and Marie Haramata) (7457) [Japanese internee]'. K1171/HAMABATA M, NAA, Perth.

Marie Kazmie is just one example of the many women living in Australia who were directly and adversely affected by the legislation. Her story is an example of how Japanese and Australian-born women were affected by the *National Security (Aliens Control) Regulations 1939* (Cth) which were introduced at the outbreak of war, and the racist sentiments that were evident in the legislation. In this particular case, Marie was affected by the most extreme war-time security measure, Clause 20 of the *Aliens Control Regulations*, which concerned the internment of enemy aliens. During the Second World War, the general view by officials was that women should not to be interned. Japanese women, however, were excluded. This chapter focuses on unique stories of Australian-born women of Japanese descent from various locations in Australia who had their liberty disrupted by authorities to a greater degree than their German and Italian counterparts. The focus on these women conveys that, overall, race was a deciding factor on how the *Aliens Control Regulations* were applied.

The low number of files concerning Japanese women held at the National Archives of Australia represents the total population of Japanese in Australia during the first half of the twentieth century. According to the 1933 census, 2,084 naturalized Japanese were living in Australia and 147 were Australian-born women. Over thirty files concerning Japanese-born women were examined for this thesis.⁷ The lack of information on these women is because of their immediate incarceration in December 1941 without being investigated prior to their arrest. The immediate incarceration of the Japanese shows the xenophobic attitudes of the Commonwealth that continued to exist following the harsh immigration policies that were implemented as a result of Federation. German and Italian men

⁷ *Census of the Commonwealth of Australia, 30 June 1933*. Canberra: L. F. Johnston, Commonwealth Government Printer, 1933, p. 385.

who were rounded up during the war were supposedly interned based on intelligence that was gathered regarding their political affiliations before the outbreak of war. On the other hand, all Japanese men, women and children were arrested and interned immediately following the Pearl Harbour was attack. A more shocking fact was that Australian-born women of Japanese descent were interned without any justification. This chapter provides detailed accounts of Australian-born women of Japanese descent who were affected by the *Aliens Control Regulations*.

As Kay Saunders has suggested, the incarceration of Japanese in Australia differed greatly to the internment of Germans and Italians due to political affiliations: 'Italians and Germans who had been incarcerated were members of, or at least vociferous public supporters of, banned political groups like the NSDAP (Nazi), fascist or Communist parties'.⁸ According to Saunders and Helen Taylor, there were three reasons why the internment of Japanese did not follow this pattern. The first was that the 'commitment to Japan's war activities was not openly proclaimed'; secondly, the extreme 'national sentiment of the Japanese would lead to acts of sabotage'; and thirdly, Japanese did not assimilate, 'making no attempt to be absorbed into the national life of this country as many Germans and Italians have been'.⁹

From the stories presented in this chapter, it is clear that Australian-born women of Japanese descent were incarcerated based on three significant factors. The first factor was how Australian war-time policy was a reflection of what was happening overseas, especially in the United States and Britain,

⁸ K. Saunders and H. Taylor, 'The Enemy Within? The Process of Internment of Enemy Aliens in Queensland 1939-45'. *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, Volume 34, Issue 1, 1988, p. 23.

⁹ Saunders and Taylor, 'The Enemy Within?', p. 23.

where those of Japanese descent were systematically incarcerated during the war. The geographical proximity of enemy aliens was the second factor. As Saunders has suggested, the threat of invasion seemed more imminent in the north eastern states: 'the vast state's' [Queensland's] geographical vulnerability to attack and, most importantly, the high concentration of enemy aliens on the north-east coast'.¹⁰ In addition, it was the coastal areas of these state's that were regarded as most under threat. Accordingly, Yuriko Nagata found that these women were affected differently by the *Aliens Control Regulations* on a case by case administration, 'depending on the state in which they lived'.¹¹ This was evident in Marie Kazmie's case, who was eventually released from internment provided that she was not to settle or reside in a coastal area.

And thirdly, based on evidence presented in this chapter, it is clear that many women were interned as a result of their Japanese appearance. John Dower's assertion on racial conflict can be applied to the Australian attitudes towards Japan during the Second World War. Dower wrote 'Japan's belated emergence as a dominant power in Asia...challenged not just the western presence but the entire mystique of white supremacy on which centuries of European and American expansion had resisted'.¹² All three factors illustrate the arbitrary nature of the *Aliens Control Regulations* and highlight the different ways in which the *Aliens Control Regulations* were applied to Australian-born women of Japanese descent.

¹⁰ Saunders and Taylor, 'The Enemy Within?', p. 16.

J. Beaumont, I. M. O'Brien & M. Trinca, et. Al, *Under Suspicion: Citizenship and Internment in Australia during the Second World War*. Canberra: National Museum of Australia, 2008, p.127.

¹² J. Dower, *War without Mercy: Race and Power in the Pacific War*. New York: Pantheon, 1986, p. 6.

Imminent threat

The threat to Australia's national security escalated when Japan declared war on the Allied forces in December 1941. However, even in the early twentieth century, the Japanese threat existed. Japan was noticed as a modern fighting force during the Russo-Japanese War 1904-1905 and Australia responded by arguing for a stronger and separate defence force and navy.¹³ The north was also covered by the press when Japan invaded Manchuria in the early 1930s along with Japan's notice of withdrawal from the League of Nations and the termination of negotiations of naval limitation agreements between the major powers.¹⁴ Australia's immigration policies were specifically directed at Japanese immigrants. The community always had that 'instinct to preserve a white Australian or British identity' which had an adverse affect on Japanese residents.¹⁵ Paul Jones writes that this attitude 'marked the anxieties of maintaining a national identity defined as a white nation, as the geopolitical framework of the Empire increasingly came under strain'.¹⁶

Japan had been an ally in the First World War and became a potential enemy leading up to the Second World War. Despite the fact that Japanese communities were always small before the war began, anyone who came under suspicion of Japanese warlike activities was closely watched by the Army, Navy, Secret Services and Police forces. According to Pam Oliver, intelligence gathering became much more sophisticated in the years leading up to the war and 'some intelligence reports were worthy of

¹³ M. Auckland and P. Oliver *et. al.*, *Unexpected Encounters: Neglected histories behind the Australia – Japan relationship*. Melbourne: Monash University Press, 2007, p. xv.

¹⁴ P. Jones and P. Oliver *et. al.*, *Changing histories: Australia and Japan*. Victoria: Monash University, 2001, p. 27.

¹⁵ Jones and Oliver, *Changing Histories*, p. 27.

¹⁶ Jones and Oliver, *Changing Histories*, p. 27.

the language of a spy novel'.¹⁷ The main threat from the Japanese was from the north of Australia and by 1942, the Japanese were in New Guinea and were only 50 kilometers from the southern capital, Port Moresby.¹⁸ The Commonwealth Government felt there was the need to implement firm security measures against enemy aliens, especially Japanese living in Northern Queensland. Japan's aggression down the chain of islands to Australia's north and the bombing of Darwin in February 1942 led to the incarceration of all Japanese residents living in Australia, along with large numbers of Italians who were interned in Queensland. According to Nagata, 'the attack confirmed Australia's fear of the 'yellow peril' and inflamed its anti-Japanese attitudes'.¹⁹

Although it was a general rule that enemy alien women were not to be interned, all Japanese men, women and children were nevertheless incarcerated when Japan entered the war. The internment policy in regard to Japanese nationals living in Australia stated:

The Commonwealth Government proposes to adopt the following policy for the internment of Japanese in Australia in the event of war with Japan:

- (a) Internment of all Japanese males over 16 years within Australia and its territories, excepting those with diplomatic or consular privileges.
- (b) Internment of all Japanese women until they can be transferred out of the country.
- (c) The negotiation with Japan of an exchange of internees other than those required to be held for security reasons.
- (d) Acceptance of Japanese internees from New Caledonia if so required, as well as those from Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony, British Solomon Islands Protectorate and New Hebrides.²⁰

¹⁷ P. Oliver, 'Interpreting 'Japanese activities' in Australia, 1888-1945. *Journal of Australian War Memorial*, Volume 36, 2002.

¹⁸ S. Macintyre, *A Concise History of Australia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998, p. 191.

¹⁹ Y. Nagata, *Unwanted Aliens: Japanese Internment in Australia*. St. Lucia: University Queensland Press, 1996, p. 45.

²⁰ J. P. Weiss, *It wasn't really necessary: Internment in Australia with emphasis on the Second World War*. South Australia, Eden Hills: J. P. Weiss, 2003, p. 144.

By September 1943, it was reported by authorities that there were only 8 Japanese adults who were not interned on record in New South Wales, three male and five female. Although the *Aliens Control Regulations* specified that children should not have been affected by the *Aliens Control Regulations*, there was no record of Japanese children who were not interned.²¹

‘For her own protection’

As we have seen, the Deputy Director of Security for Victoria suggested that Marie Kazmie be interned for ‘her own protection, seeing that she is of Japanese appearance’, suggesting the reason for her internment was to protect her, and not to protect the Australian public.²² This statement alone highlights the racist and paternalistic connotations behind the war-time security measures. Marie Kazmie was born in Australia and should have not been affected by the legislation, but because she looked Japanese, Marie was racially categorized and wrongfully interned.

Marie’s case was put forward to the Alien Tribunal committee and on the 17 June 1942, the advisory committee nevertheless confirmed the original directive:

We the members of an Advisory Committee appointed pursuant on Regulation 26 of the National Security (General) Regulations have the honor to advise that we have heard and considered an application for leave to make objection by Marie Kazmie Hamabata against an order made for her internment...Counsel on behalf of the Minister tendered no evidence and directed no cross-examination to suggest that she had shown any subversive tendencies or was other than a loyal subject of Australia...For her own

²¹ Memo to Director of Security, Canberra, 2 September 1943 Eliza. See ‘Goto, Eliza Helen (Japanese [by marriage - born in England]) [Box 523]’. C123/17221, NAA, Sydney.

²² Memorandum from the Security Service, Canberra to the Deputy-Director of Security for Victoria, 21 August 1942. See ‘HAMABATA Marie (aka Marie Kazmie and Marie Haramata) (7457) [Japanese internee]’. K1171/HAMABATA M, NAA, Perth.

protection, seeing that she is of Japanese appearance, we suggest that her release be conditional on her undertaking not to reside within one hundred miles of the coast line of Australia.²³

After a number of letters of support were sent to authorities, the injustice that had occurred was eventually noticed by the Director General of Security John Mackay, who in July 1942, wrote to the Minister for the Army, Francis Michael Forde who had control over all matters concerning internment

I invite your attention to the fact that there is not one word of the evidence given before the Tribunal attached to these papers. The only reason why this woman was interned, as shown in the file, was in accordance with an instruction issued by the Army.²⁴

Despite the fact that the authorities came to the realization that Marie was wrongly interned, the injustice towards her continued. It was not until October that Attorney General Herbert Vere Evatt revoked Marie's detention order and directed that she be released. Nevertheless, Marie was transferred away from her friends in Geraldton, sent to Victoria and was placed under a restriction order that did not allow her to travel without permission from local police. She was further instructed not to associate with anyone apart from work colleagues and those she was living with; she was to work (as a tailoress) during the day and stay at home in the evenings.²⁵

Even after the war had ended in September 1945, Marie was still placed under the restriction order. As Nagata has pointed out, 'loyalty was not easily proven through Australian friendships and membership

²³ Memorandum from the Security Service, Canberra to the Deputy-Director of Security for Victoria, 21 August 1942. See 'HAMABATA Marie (aka Marie Kazmie and Marie Haramata) (7457) [Japanese internee]'. K1171/HAMABATA M, NAA, Perth.

²⁴ Copy of letter from Director General of Security John MacKay to Minister for the Army, F.M. Forde, 31 July 1942. See 'HAMABATA Marie (aka Marie Kazmie and Marie Haramata) (7457) [Japanese internee]'. K1171/HAMABATA M, NAA, Perth.

²⁵ Declaration made by Attorney-General Herbert Vere Evatt, 13 October 1942. See 'HAMABATA Marie (aka Marie Kazmie and Marie Haramata) (7457) [Japanese internee]'. K1171/HAMABATA M, NAA, Perth.

of local organisations'.²⁶ The Deputy Director of Security in Melbourne stated that because she was of Japanese race and that both parents were Japanese - he overlooked her father's Britishness - there was no intention of revoking the order.²⁷ However, Marie's case went on to be heard again in September 1945 at the Aliens Tribunal committee. She won her appeal and it was determined by the Director General for Security in Western Australia that 'the sole reason for the internment of Marie Kazmie was the fact that she was believed to be of Japanese race'.²⁸ It was ordered that her case be reviewed.²⁹ On 4 October 1945, restriction orders were finally revoked. Marie remained in Melbourne where, according to authorities, she was working as a tailoress in a leading Melbourne shop and was quite happy to remain there.³⁰

The 'day the Japs were interned'

One of the main purposes of implementing the legislation was as a means to control aliens and enemy aliens. There was a genuine and justified fear of invasion. Australian-born Anne Margaret Iwanaga lived with her parents in Cairns, Northern Queensland, where she ran her own laundry business. Anne also

²⁶ Beaumont et. al, *Under suspicion*, p. 134.

²⁷ Memorandum from Deputy Director of Security, Western Australia to Deputy Director of Security, Victoria, 18 September 1945. See 'HAMABATA Marie (aka Marie Kazmie and Marie Haramata) (7457) [Japanese internee]'. K1171/HAMABATA M, NAA, Perth.

²⁸ Copy of letter from Deputy Director of Security, Western Australia to the Deputy of Director of Security, Melbourne, Victoria, 18 September 1945. See 'HAMABATA Marie (aka Marie Kazmie and Marie Haramata) (7457) [Japanese internee]'. K1171/HAMABATA M, NAA, Perth.

²⁹ Copy of letter from Deputy Director of Security, Western Australia to the Deputy of Director of Security, Melbourne, Victoria, 18 September 1945. See 'HAMABATA Marie (aka Marie Kazmie and Marie Haramata) (7457) [Japanese internee]'. K1171/HAMABATA M, NAA, Perth.

³⁰ Declaration made by Director General of Security, W.B. Simpson, 4 October 1945. See 'HAMABATA Marie (aka Marie Kazmie and Marie Haramata) (7457) [Japanese internee]'. K1171/HAMABATA M, NAA, Perth.

fell victim of the most extreme measure of the *Aliens Control Regulations*. On December 8, 1941, 'the day the Japs were interned', Tokitaro and Otsune Iwanaga and their daughter Anne were arrested and taken to the Cairns watch house. It was at this time that the twenty three year old Anne, who was born at Kairi, Queensland, first learned that she had been legally adopted on 31 October 1918 by her Japanese parents.³¹

Anne explained to Nagata how she reacted to the news of her adoption on the day of her arrest:

That morning when the war broke out, police came to the house and went through everything and took us to the police station. During the time we were there, Dad went out of the office and came back. He said, "You're not Japanese". Dad showed me my birth certificate. I was allowed to go home...It was more than a shock...The next day all Japanese were put on a train. They didn't know where they were going. Mum and Dad thought they were being taken away all to be shot.³²

Hence, authorities discovered that Anne's biological parents were of Chinese extraction. Anne's biological father, Charlie Lee Yan, had been born in Canton, China and her mother Maggie, (nee Lin Ding), had been born at Charters Towers, Queensland. Her grandmother was Scottish and her grandfather Chinese. Anne's adopted parents owned a laundry business in Cairns and after they were interned, Anne took over the business.³³ According to authorities, Anne was 'well known to members of the Police Force here and she is also very well and favourably known to the public of Cairns through business'.³⁴ In 1938, Anne accompanied the ladies hockey team from Queensland to Sydney as

³¹ Memorandum from Sergeant to Inspector of Police in Cairns, 9 December 1941 See 'Iwanga, Anne - Queensland investigation case file'. BP242/1/Q25246, NAA, Brisbane.

³² Nagata, *Unwanted Aliens*, p. 67.

³³ Memorandum from Sergeant to Inspector of Police in Cairns, 9 December 1941. See 'Iwanga, Anne - Queensland investigation case file'. BP242/1/Q25246, NAA, Brisbane.

³⁴ Memorandum from Sergeant to Inspector of Police in Cairns, 9 December 1941. See 'Iwanga, Anne - Queensland investigation case file'. BP242/1/Q25246, NAA, Brisbane.

Secretary of the team. A memorandum from a work colleague commented that there 'was no complaint regarding her conduct. She was described as extremely well dressed and appeared to be well off'.³⁵ She received a considerable number of letters and telephone calls. The memorandum did however, suggest some basis for concern regarding Anne's social life: 'She did not mix with the other guests, but it was noticed that her company was sought by men, particularly members of the Army and Air Force'.³⁶ Accordingly, the only complaint made against Anne was that she consorted with members of the Army and Air Force. Anne was apparently perceived to be a security risk, or perhaps was suspected of espionage. American troops were based in many areas of northern Queensland, including Cairns by mid 1942.³⁷

Anne's parents were reportedly interested in the local Japanese Society and Anne was made secretary of the society. Authorities in Cairns, consequently wrote to the Northern Command in Townsville, on 16 December 1941, that 'Annie...is definitely a Japanese sympathiser, she conducted all business affairs and bankings for the aged Japs of Cairns...It is suggested that although Anne ... is only young, she would

³⁵ Memorandum from Sergeant to Inspector of Police in Cairns, 9 December 1941. See 'Iwanga, Anne - Queensland investigation case file'. BP242/1/Q25246, NAA, Brisbane.

³⁶ Memorandum regarding letter from Railway Laundry (where she used to work) from Miss A Isanaga, to Sydney, C.B. Chambers, Pitt St concerning Anne Iwanaga, 2 May 1942. See 'Iwanga, Anne - Queensland investigation case file'. BP242/1/Q25246, NAA, Brisbane.

³⁷ It is well known that relationships between Australian women and American servicemen were disapproved of by the Australian public. There were tensions that existed between Australian and American soldiers over women. As Mairilyn Lake describes, the 'obvious preference of many women for the company of Yanks left Australian men feeling sexually impotent'. [M. Lake, 'The Desire for a Yank: Sexual Relations between Australian Women and American Servicemen during World War II'. *Journal of the History of Sexuality*, Volume 2, Issue 4, 1992, pp. 621-633].

definitely help the enemy in case of an invasion'.³⁸ It was concluded that due to the evidence given above and the above statements made by those who considered Anne to be suspicious, there was

concrete evidence that her sentiments are pro Japanese, and...[authorities were] of the opinion she is definitely an agent for the Japanese invasion. The other Chinese in the Cairns district will have nothing to do with IWANAGA. This alone is suspicious. I respectfully suggest that she be interned, as she is dangerous to be at large and she would not hesitate to help the Japs.³⁹

Suspicious neighbours also told authorities that she was holding parties at night where Australians were not welcome. It would be better for Anne to be 'under safe custody'.⁴⁰

Almost four months later, authorities noted that Anne arranged accommodation and car hire as she had planned to visit her parents in Victoria. She saw her parents every day from 7 to 10 April. Anne was 'unfavourably regarded by the Camp Commandant during her visit to the internment Camp' so consequently, all correspondence was intercepted by a censor.⁴¹ As soon as she returned to Cairns, authorities conducted a search warrant on Anne's premises on 20 April 1942. Nothing was found, but she was nevertheless arrested on 3 May 1942, detained at Cairns and next day moved to Gaythorne Internment camp.⁴²

³⁸ Captain of the I.O. Cairns to the Northern Command in Townsville, 16 December 1941. See 'Iwanga, Anne - Queensland investigation case file'. BP242/1/Q25246, NAA, Brisbane.

³⁹ Captain of the I.O. Cairns to the Northern Command in Townsville, 16 December 1941. See 'Iwanga, Anne - Queensland investigation case file'. BP242/1/Q25246, NAA, Brisbane.

⁴⁰ Captain of the I.O. Cairns to the Northern Command, 31 January 1942. See 'Iwanga, Anne - Queensland investigation case file'. BP242/1/Q25246, NAA, Brisbane.

⁴¹ Memorandum from Constable Ernest O. Redford to Detective Sub-Inspector Birch, CIB, 30 April 1942. See 'Iwanga, Anne - Queensland investigation case file'. BP242/1/Q25246, NAA, Brisbane.

⁴² Memorandum from Constable to Cairns Station, 4 May 1942. See 'Iwanga, Anne - Queensland investigation case file'. BP242/1/Q25246, NAA, Brisbane.

While interned, Anne wrote a number of letters to her parents and friends. In one of those letters, she commented 'I regularly wrote to my parents who had been interned at the internment camp in Victoria. Isn't it natural that we worry about our parents?...The police came to arrest me and said that my sympathies were Japanese'.⁴³ Anne's internment also had an impact on her relationship with her fiancé Australian-born Vivien Williams. Not much is known of Vivien, except that in her letters Anne indicated she was engaged to him and because of her internment, she felt ashamed to speak to him. In a letter to her friend Joan Foulis in Cairns, Anne refers to Vivien as 'Larry':

As soon as this reaches you, will you please wire Mum? Put 'Mothers Day Greetings, to wish you best of luck, health and happiness. Love, Anne.' I forgot to tell you before I left.....I will never forget how good you've all been. Especially you & your mother. It is good of her to take my things home...I suppose you will hear from 'Larry'. I wonder how he will take it. You know I asked him to forget me don't you. Poor kid. Something always crops up to spoil our happiness. Give me news of him whenever you get. Whether its good or bad. He'll have to forget me, 'cos I won't write. I couldn't go to him after this.⁴⁴

She also mentioned him in another letter to her friend Betty Kimmins: 'I'm glad Viv & I had a few happy weeks together anyway after 8 long months of separation'.⁴⁵ Joan replied to Anne, writing that she told all of Anne's friends what had happened to her, especially Vivien. Joan replied 'I told him that he had better watch his steps and also how you felt Anne, but have had no reply for a month, and in his last letter he said that you meant everything to him and no matter what had happened he wouldn't alter any of the plans you made when you last saw him'.⁴⁶

⁴³ Nagata, *Unwanted Aliens*, p. 87.

⁴⁴ From Anne Iwanaga to friend Joan Foulis in Cairns, 6 May 1942. See 'Iwanga, Anne - Queensland investigation case file'. BP242/1/Q25246, NAA, Brisbane.

⁴⁵ From Anne Iwanaga to friend Betty Kimmins, Brisbane, 29 May 1942. See 'Iwanga, Anne - Queensland investigation case file'. BP242/1/Q25246, NAA, Brisbane.

⁴⁶ Copy of letter written by Joan Foulis to Anne Iwanaga, 4 June 1942. See 'Iwanga, Anne - Queensland investigation case file'. BP242/1/Q25246, NAA, Brisbane.

In a letter to her solicitor, Anne emphasized the fact that she did not want her parents to know of her internment:

I do hope you can do something for me Mr Dann for it will just kill Mum and Dad if they know what has happened. If it takes too long, I might ask to be sent to them, for if they [Authorities] do not write to them to tell them of my internment. That would be too hard for them. If I was able to explain to them personally & say the case is in your hands, it would not be so hard.⁴⁷

Anne's letter to Reverend H. Norton, of the Cairns Church of England, expresses bewilderment at being interned:

As you must know it was bad enough when Mum & Dad were taken from me & to be told then of my adoption, & then after months of hard work & suffering to try to keep the business together so that Mum & Dad would have something to come back to, this comes to me...They give no reason for my internment. I've never been out much owing to the shop, & I certainly have not said anything wrong. I've always tried to be good & fair to everyone, so I don't think anyone should wish to do this to me for spite.⁴⁸

Nevertheless, authorities concluded in a confidential document written in that same month:

It is suggested that although Annie Iwanaga is young she would definitely help the enemy in case of an invasion...Annie Iwanaga's sentiments are pro-Japanese and I am of the opinion she is definitely an agent for the Japanese should they arrive in this country and threaten us with invasion...I.O. Cairns recommends internment.⁴⁹

It is important to note that the document illustrates the similarity of expressions contained in memorandums written by the Captain of the I.O. Cairns. Despite the fact that she was a 'British subject', authorities concluded that she was working as an agent and recommended her internment.

⁴⁷ From Annie to Solicitor, Mr E. Dann, 6 May 1942. See 'Iwanga, Anne - Queensland investigation case file'. BP242/1/Q25246, NAA, Brisbane.

⁴⁸ From Anne Iwanaga to Reverend H. Norton, Church of England, Lake St., Cairns, 8 May 1942. See 'Iwanga, Anne - Queensland investigation case file'. BP242/1/Q25246, NAA, Brisbane.

⁴⁹ Copy of Hearing of Objection, Brisbane, 21 May 1942. See 'Iwanga, Anne - Queensland investigation case file'. BP242/1/Q25246, NAA, Brisbane.

In late May 1942, Anne asked authorities whether she could move in with her parents at Tatura camp while the results of her hearing were pending. Anne's thoughts on the tribunal hearing were expressed in a letter to her solicitor:

My case was over in about 10 minutes & my inmates here seem to think this a good sign. I do hope they are right. I am afraid to hope, for fear I shall be disappointed. Thank you again for the good work you have done. I do appreciate it very much.⁵⁰

She wrote to her Camp Commandant:

Would it spoil my chances for release if I should ask to be sent down to them while I am waiting on result of my appeal. If the result of appeal could be available within a week or two I would be content to wait here, but if the reply is going to take weeks and weeks, or months and months, I would prefer to wait with Mum & Dad, if this would be permitted...I am willing to pay the expenses of the trip.⁵¹

Anne knew however that if released, she would not be returning to her home in Cairns. She wrote to Joan the 'charge against me is untrue, but whether the Army believes me is another matter...By the way, I think that I shall not be permitted to return to Nth Qld [north Queensland] for the duration, should I be fortunate enough to be released'.⁵²

Anne was hopeful that she would reunite with her parents and wrote to the Camp Commandant:

Once again I must ask you for assistance. I am writing to my parents of my internment, & I would be very grateful if you would kindly explain the letter to them, for Dad might not understand that there is yet a chance for my release. Please tell them not to worry as I am happy here, & if they get sick worrying over my detainment, it would make unhappy. If I lose my appeal, I'll probably be sent to Camp. 4, & then my parents

⁵⁰ From Anne Iwanaga to Solicitor Mr E. Dann Cairns, 2 June 1942. See 'Iwanga, Anne - Queensland investigation case file'. BP242/1/Q25246, NAA, Brisbane.

⁵¹ Letter from Annie to Camp Commandant, 24 May 1942. See 'Iwanga, Anne - Queensland investigation case file'. BP242/1/Q25246, NAA, Brisbane.

⁵² From Annie to Friend Joan Foulis, Cairns, 22 May 1942. See 'Iwanga, Anne - Queensland investigation case file'. BP242/1/Q25246, NAA, Brisbane.

& I will be together, so tell them not to worry, for it may be better for the 3 of us that way. I knitted 2 pairs of stockings for Mum & am sending them by this mail, please see that she receives them safely.⁵³

Anne eventually wrote to her parents on 9 June 1942:

You will notice that I too am interned, but I do not want you to worry for I have had an appeal, & several Cairns people including the Church of England minister & my schoolteacher...to help me, so we can't do any more now, only wait patiently for word from the Army, as to whether I am to be released or kept in. After my case had been heard, I asked to be sent down to you, but it appears that I must wait here until we hear from the Army.⁵⁴

On the 22 June Anne's appeal was rejected again and she was ordered to remain at Gaythorne Camp, which she did for a further ten months.

Anne's case exemplifies Johann Peter Weiss' observation that the problem with tribunal hearings is that the 'proof of innocence was on the accused, who, in the majority of cases didn't know what he [or she] was accused of'.⁵⁵ While locked away, Anne received devastating news that on 19 October 1942, her laundry business had been subject to arson and all valuables were destroyed in the fire. Her distress was exacerbated when she found out that she was no longer insured because her internment interrupted her mail. The building had been insured with Queensland Insurance Co. Ltd., Cairns Branch for the previous six years, and the policy had expired just twelve days before the arson attack. Anne argued that it was common practice for the company to provide an interim cover note for about a month. As authorities recorded it, Anne 'wants to know could enquiries be made on her behalf as to

⁵³ From Anne Iwanaga to The Camp Commandant, 9 June 1942. See 'Iwanga, Anne - Queensland investigation case file'. BP242/1/Q25246, NAA, Brisbane.

⁵⁴ From Anne Iwanaga to her parents, 9 June 1942. See 'Iwanga, Anne - Queensland investigation case file'. BP242/1/Q25246, NAA, Brisbane.

⁵⁵ Weiss, *It wasn't really necessary*, p. 296.

whether the Company is prepared to acknowledge any liability in the circumstance...and she feels that she is in danger of suffering an injustice in consequence of her internment'.⁵⁶

In the meantime, Anne requested another tribunal hearing or review of the appeal. In her statement, she explained that she cannot communicate with other Japanese because the only Japanese she can speak is a 'pidjin Japanese' understood only by close friends and her parents, and that not many Japanese in Cairns speak English. Moreover, she 'cannot fit to their ways':

I find this also to be very depressing. I am now 24 years of age, physically healthy and mentally normal and prior to my internment, had hoped to be shortly married. In my moments of solitude, and especially when depressed (which is often) feel upset, because, by internment, I am prevented from being married whilst young...Even my fiancé is a white Australian, showing my desire is to definitely reside in the land of my birth and remain loyal to the British Empire as all Australians should be.⁵⁷

Anne's Tribunal Hearing was held on 29 March 1943. Pam Oliver has written that 'Japanese appeals against internment illustrate the diversity of situations faced by Japanese people who previously had been accepted as 'good citizens'.⁵⁸ This can be applied to Anne's hearing, where the transcripts reveal 'a convergence of mixed sentiments, informal definitions of who could be considered 'Australian' and the criteria by which this was judged, defined national characteristics based on racial theory, and expressions of the difficult nature of the security situation'.⁵⁹ Lieutenant Bateman revealed to the Advisory Committee at the Tribunal Hearing that one of reasons for her internment was because Anne

⁵⁶ Memorandum from Captain to Deputy Director of Security for Queensland, 12 January 1943. See 'Iwanga, Anne - Queensland investigation case file'. BP242/1/Q25246, NAA, Brisbane.

⁵⁷ Letter written by Anne Iwanaga to Commandant, 17 January 1943. See 'Iwanga, Anne - Queensland investigation case file'. BP242/1/Q25246, NAA, Brisbane.

⁵⁸ Beaumont et. al, *Under suspicion*, p. 137.

⁵⁹ Beaumont et. al, *Under suspicion*, p. 138.

'believed herself to be of Japanese descent up to the time of her internment'.⁶⁰ After reading the transcripts, After reading the transcripts, it appears to me that authorities interpreted Anne's testimony to create the impression that Anne was a disloyal British subject . Lieutenant Bateman asked Anne: 'you have no great objection to the Japanese?' Anne responded 'Why should I have'. The next questions followed in an almost repetitive manner:

They have not done any harm to you, have they? *Only just by being interned. My mother and father are Japanese.*

That is the only thing that you have said about the Japanese, is not it? *Yes.*

You have no objection to them invading this country and trying to get it if they can? *I would not like that.*

Do you not think that they are very overcrowded, the Japanese, and that they are entitled to some further lands to put their people in? *What is that?*

You know that Japan is a very overcrowded country. You have heard that, have you not? *Yes.*

And don't you think that they are entitled to some of those islands up north to put some of their ever increasing population in? *That has nothing to do with me.*

If they can get any of these islands, you are not greatly concerned? *I would not like them to do anything to Australia because we have a lot of our interests here.*⁶¹

The second appeal was more successful. In April 1943, Anne was finally released, although subject to a restriction order. Restrictions imposed on her included that she was to 'reside in the area of Tropic of Capricorn and cannot leave without permission; report to the nearest police on arrival and every month afterward; not associate or communicate with enemy aliens except for her relatives; and not engage in any subversive activities or voice opinion that would offend loyal citizens'.⁶² It was concluded by the Director General of Security in Canberra that 'If Miss Iwanaga is not a Japanese then there does not appear to be any reason why she should not be released under restrictions. You might state

⁶⁰ Copy of Anne Iwanaga's Aliens Tribunal Hearing, 29 March 1943. See 'Iwanaga, Anne - Queensland investigation case file'. BP242/1/Q25246, NAA, Brisbane.

⁶¹ Copy of Anne Iwanaga's Aliens Tribunal Hearing, 29 March 1943. See 'Iwanaga, Anne - Queensland investigation case file'. BP242/1/Q25246, NAA, Brisbane.

⁶² Memorandum from Deputy Director of Security, Brisbane, to Director General of Security, Canberra, 8 April 1943. See 'Iwanaga, Anne - Queensland investigation case file'. BP242/1/Q25246, NAA, Brisbane.

whether this course of action is concurred in by you. If so, particulars of the restrictions you recommend should be included in your report'.⁶³ Proving her commitment to Australia was also met with obstacles. Despite the fact that she was interned by the Commonwealth, had lost contact with her fiancé Vivien and had lost all her possessions in the arson attack while interned, Anne expressed interest in joining the Australian Women's Auxiliary Services (AWAS) or the Women's Auxiliary Air Force (WAAAFS).⁶⁴ However, because of the restriction order that was placed on her, her request was denied.

On 25 March 1944, the restrictions on Anne were revoked as a result of her marriage to a British subject, Alan Charles Yeo. Alan was born in Nelmorn, New South Wales and was a Sergeant in the Australian Military Forces (AMF) stationed at Grovely Camp, Brisbane. Anne was scared to visit her parents in case of re-internment so she asked for permission to visit them.⁶⁵ Before her marriage, Anne enquired about her property that she had lost while interned

Shortly before I was sent here from Gaythorne, my friends in Cairns, with whom I left my belongings, informed me that a man from the Military Intelligence had called to inspect my belongings and had taken Japanese English Dictionaries saying they would be useful to him, also a battery set which was used for massaging, and left no receipt...When my parents were Interned 12 months ago, several of their trinkets and papers were seized by the Cairns Police.⁶⁶

⁶³ Letter from Director General of Security, Canberra to the Deputy Director of Security, Brisbane, 8 April 1943. See 'Iwanga, Anne - Queensland investigation case file'. BP242/1/Q25246, NAA, Brisbane.

⁶⁴ Memorandum from District Security Officer, Brisbane to Deputy Director of Security Service, Brisbane, 2 June 1943. See 'Iwanga, Anne - Queensland investigation case file'. BP242/1/Q25246, NAA, Brisbane.

⁶⁵ Anne Iwanaga wrote letter to Deputy Director of Security in Brisbane, 10 December 1943. See 'Iwanga, Anne - Queensland investigation case file'. BP242/1/Q25246, NAA, Brisbane.

⁶⁶ Letter from Annie to The Commandant, Camp 4, Tatura, 16 December 1943. See 'Iwanga, Anne - Queensland investigation case file'. BP242/1/Q25246, NAA, Brisbane.

It is unknown whether Anne was given a response. After the war had ended in November 1945, the Commonwealth Government intended to release and repatriate civilian internees.⁶⁷ Exceptions were made for Australian-born women of Japanese descent, those married to an Australian, and those medically unfit to travel. Anne's parents did not fit into either of these categories and were therefore repatriated. Authorities have noted it was highly likely that they were deported against their will.

In February 1946, Anne sought permission for her parents to return to live in Australia. The outcome of her request is not clear from her files, however, the Director of Security in Canberra stated that 'It is a matter of Government policy whether deported enemy aliens should be permitted to return to Australia so soon after deportation'.⁶⁸ Nagata's research shows that by August 1951, the Commonwealth Government decided to allow the return of former Japanese residents to Australia. Anne's parents, who were now aged in their early 70s, returned in 1953 and were reunited with their daughter. While in Japan, they worked for the Occupational forces as a cook and a housemaid. Anne regularly sent food parcels and worked for their return to Australia.⁶⁹

⁶⁷ Nagata, *Unwanted Aliens*, p. 193.

⁶⁸ Letter from Director of Security, Canberra to Deputy Director of Security in Brisbane, 19 March 1947. See 'Iwanga, Anne - Queensland investigation case file'. BP242/1/Q25246, NAA, Brisbane.

⁶⁹ Nagata, *Unwanted Aliens*, p. 237.

JAPANESE MIGRANT AT 73



Mr. and Mrs. Iwanaga

"All my friends are in Australia — so I come back," Mr. T. Iwanaga, 73 said when he reached Port Adelaide in the Japanese ship Osaka Maru yesterday — a migrant for the second time.

He said he first came to Australia when he was 17.

He was repatriated after World War II.

He found he was lonely in Japan.

"I spent more of my life here than in Japan—so I am really an Australian," he said.

"Australia is a good country—I will stay."

With his wife, who is 74, Mr. Iwanaga visited Adelaide yesterday.

They will go with the ship to Brisbane, where they will live with their daughter, born in Australia, and married to an Australian.

Figure 79: Anne Iwanaga's parents - Tokitaro and Otsune Iwanaga - upon their return to Australia in 1952 after being deported just after the Second World War.

'Japanese Migrant at 73'. *The Advertiser*, 18 December 1952, p. 1.

The fact that Japanese in Australia were deported after the war had ended shows the strength of xenophobic policies that have existed in Australia since Federation. Similar to Marie Kazmie's story, Anne's case raises the question of citizenship status in Australia during the early twentieth century. Both Marie and Anne were British subjects under the *Nationality Act 1920*, however, this was disregarded and as a result, their civil liberties were ignored.

The Unfortunate Story of Mary Ellenor (Lena) Matsumoto

The effects of discrimination that were brought on by the White Australia policy were not only experienced by those of Asian descent living in Australia during early twentieth century. Aborigines were treated as non-British subjects and did not even receive the same entitlements as the 'white' woman.⁷⁰ Mary Ellenor Matsumoto nee Corpus (also known as Lena), was, according to the Deputy Director of Security in Western Australia, a 'natural-born British subject (Aborigine), wife of a Japanese alien but reverted to British nationality'.⁷¹ This meant that Lena was not only affected by the *Aliens Control Regulations* because of her marriage to a Japanese alien, but also fell victim to the treatment that Aborigines had received as a result of the White Australia Policy introduced during Federation.

The concern surrounding Lena's case was because of the preconceived attitudes held by authorities during the early twentieth century. Authorities relied upon a report written by the Commissioner of Native Affairs, F.I Bray. The report was written before Lena was institutionalized and highlighted

⁷⁰ N. Jones, *Number 2 Home: A Story of Japanese Pioneers in Australia*. Fremantle: Fremantle Arts Centre Press, 2002, p. 158.

⁷¹ Copy of Memorandum from Deputy Director of Security in Western Australia to the Director general of Security in Canberra, 30 May 1945. See 'MATSUMOTO Nakio [Kakio] and Elina [Elener] Mary (wife) (8765) [Japanese internee] [aka Mary Ellenor Lena CORPUS]'. K1171/1/ MATSUMOTO N, NAA, Perth.

concern with Lena's association with 'Asiatics and natives', including her relationship with Kakio Matsumoto. In the early 1930s, it was discovered by authorities that Lena resided with Kakio in Darwin. In March 1938, Kakio was charged 'with having unlawfully cohabited' with Lena before their marriage on 29 June 1938. Bray expressed his dismay at the marriage in a report written to the Deputy Director of Security in Perth in July 1943:

Such marriages are unwise for social and national reasons, but evidently similar strong views were not held at Darwin, because...the Japanese was allowed to marry this native woman. Now we are faced with the aftermath. It is a very inconvenient one to the Security Authorities and since I have no place in the Southern areas of Western Australia for the detention of this woman, I can only express my regret at the unhappy circumstances and trust some suitable agreement will be made for the care of the woman and her children in the Eastern States.⁷²

Lena's mother, Maria Emma Ngobing was an Aborigine and her father, Sibero Corpus was Filipino.⁷³

Lena had three children aged from six years old to eleven months when her husband was arrested and interned in December 1941. Lena chose to be interned with her husband in Victoria for 12 months where Lena gave birth to their fourth child, Tatsuro Matsumoto. Five months later, Kakio was reclassified as a Prisoner of War (POW). A POW was an enemy alien 'transferred from overseas...[or] captured in war zones'.⁷⁴ It appears that authorities were keen to apply high security measures against Kakio, who consequently, was sent to Hay internment camp in New South Wales, which meant that

⁷² Report from Commissioner of Native Affairs of the Department of Native Affairs, F.I Bray written to the Deputy Director of Security in Perth in July 1943. See 'MATSUMOTO Nakio [Kakio] and Elina [Elener] Mary (wife) (8765) [Japanese internee] [aka Mary Ellenor Lena CORPUS]'. K1171/1/ MATSUMOTO N, NAA, Perth.

⁷³ Jones, *Number 2 Home*, p. 159.

⁷⁴ 'Wartime internee, alien and POW records held in Perth – Fact Sheet 180'. Date Unknown.

[<http://naa.gov.au/collection/fact-sheets/fs180.aspx>] Accessed:25 March 2012.

Lena and her children endured the separation from her husband and their father.⁷⁵ Lena's mental health started to deteriorate and authorities recommended that she be interned with her husband:

a North West native, Mrs Matsumoto would be an unwelcome guest among the Southern natives and her mental condition would probably deteriorate as a result...it is thought that the most satisfactory solution would be to revert the husband to internee status...and return him to Tatura. He would then be able to look after his family, and his presence at the Camp would no doubt have a beneficial influence on his wife.⁷⁶

The issue of where Lena belonged became difficult for authorities. Director General of Security, W. B. Simpson wrote:

This unfortunate woman has to be somebody's problem and could not be removed to a mental institution unless she is confirmed insane. The suggestion by the Deputy Director of Security for Western Australia that the husband be released cannot be considered on account of his security risk and I have no intention of returning Mrs Matsumoto and her children to an internment camp as no good purpose would be served thereby. The status of the husband could not be changed from prisoner of war to an internee just as a matter of convenience.⁷⁷

Lena's father Sibero Corpus was eighty four years old living at Derby, Western Australia and was deemed 'destitute and enfeebled...incapable of looking after her'.⁷⁸ Lena's mother and other members of her family were living at the Beagle Bay mission near Broome. However, the superintendant of the mission refused to admit Lena given her 'history' of consorting with a Japanese man and mental health. Authorities also noted that 'the only other native settlements are in the South. The Commissioner of

⁷⁵ Jones, *Number 2 Home*, p. 179.

⁷⁶ Jones, *Number 2 Home*, pp. 180 and 181.

⁷⁷ Memorandum written by Director General of Security W. B. Simpson to Deputy Director of Security in Perth, Western Australia, 25 May 1944. See 'MATSUMOTO Nakio [Kakio] and Elina [Elener] Mary (wife) (8765) [Japanese internee] [aka Mary Ellenor Lena CORPUS]'. K1171/1/ MATSUMOTO N, NAA, Perth.

⁷⁸ Memorandum written by Deputy Director of Security in Perth, Western Australia to Director General for Security, 19 May 1944. See 'MATSUMOTO Nakio [Kakio] and Elina [Elener] Mary (wife) (8765) [Japanese internee] [aka Mary Ellenor Lena CORPUS]'. K1171/1/ MATSUMOTO N, NAA, Perth.

Native Affairs states that it would not be possible to place the family in any of these settlements for tribal reasons'.⁷⁹

Mary was not allowed to return to the Broome area because she was considered 'a menace to the safety of Australia' and the Deputy Director of Security, S. Masel, reported that it was 'illegal to transport a native person from North of the 20th parallel of South latitude, due to leprosy reasons'.⁸⁰ Lena and her children were eventually accepted at the Aboriginal station called the Roman Catholic Mission at Balaklava in South Australia.

In May 1944, it was reported by the medical officer that Lena's mental health was deteriorating and that she had mistreated one of her children. It was suggested that her 'attitude to authority and to her co-evacuees is so disturbing that it endangers the reasonable peace and happiness of other half-castes'.⁸¹ The Director General of Security in Canberra, W. B. Simpson, wrote that a medical officer declared her insane and as a result, Mary was escorted to Parkside mental hospital near Adelaide in September 1944. Her children were sent to a convent called the Sacred Heart at Carrieton, 200 miles north of Adelaide.⁸² A short film was produced by her descendents that showed authorities informing

⁷⁹ Copy of Deputy Director of Security, S. Masel, 19 May 1944. See 'MATSUMOTO Nakio [Kakio] and Elina [Elener] Mary (wife) (8765) [Japanese internee] [aka Mary Ellenor Lena CORPUS]'. K1171/1/ MATSUMOTO N, NAA, Perth.

⁸⁰ Jones, *Number 2 Home*, p. 181.

⁸¹ Copy of letter from K. McEwin to W.M. McCoy Esq, 6 May 1944. See 'MATSUMOTO Nakio [Kakio] and Elina [Elener] Mary (wife) (8765) [Japanese internee] [aka Mary Ellenor Lena CORPUS]'. K1171/1/ MATSUMOTO N, NAA, Perth.

⁸² Jones, *Number 2 Home*, p. 184. See also 'Half-castes N.T. to Balaklava South Australia'. NAA, Darwin Office, Series E659, File 1945/2493. Date: 2005. [<http://mc2.vicnet.net.au/home/pmackett/balaklava2.html>] Accessed 5 November 2008.

the character of Kakio that his wife was taken to a mental institution and his children placed in a convent.⁸³

The investigation dossier that concerns Lena and Kakio Matsumoto is held at the NAA in Adelaide and many documents within the dossier were expunged to the public.⁸⁴ The file does, however, provide an insight into the way Lena's case was inappropriately dealt with by officialdom. It also shows that once Kakio was released from internment in October 1946, over one year after the war had ended, Kakio requested funds to assist him in his plight to reunite with his family. In a letter addressed to the Deputy Director of Security in South Australia, Kakio wrote:

The reason for my addressing you – is to ask if you could arrange for my wife's fare from Adelaide to Broome to be paid by the Authorities, please. I am penniless and cannot find the money.

My wife has been [expunged], Adelaide since 19.9.44...and now there is an opportunity for her to go and live with her sister and be looked after permanently. The question of accompanying her on the journey is facilitated because, the Kanegae family, at present interned here are passing through Adelaide in time to catch 'Koolinda' sailing from Fremantle on August 16 and they could pick her up on the way.⁸⁵

The bombing of Darwin in February 1942 scarred Australian residents living in the northern parts of Australia, therefore, due to the potential public dismay that may have followed from the return of Japanese to Broome, Kakio's request was denied. However, the Director General of Security in Canberra wrote to the authorities in Melbourne, Victoria that there 'would in any case be no objection

⁸³ Film directed by S. Usami, 'Kakio's Story'. Shingo Usami/MetroScreen, 2004.

⁸⁴ This file is expunged under Section 33 (1)(g) of the Archives Act, withholding information from the public 'which would involve the unreasonable disclosure of information relating to the personal affairs of any person (including a deceased person'. [See 'MATSUMOTO Nakio [Kakio] and Elina [Elener] Mary (wife) (8765) [Japanese internee] [aka Mary Ellenor Lena CORPUS]'. K1171/1/ MATSUMOTO N, NAA, Perth].

⁸⁵ Copy of letter from Kakio Matsumoto to the Deputy Director of Security in South Australia, 18 July 1947. See 'MATSUMOTO Nakio [Kakio] and Elina [Elener] Mary (wife) (8765) [Japanese internee] [aka Mary Ellenor Lena CORPUS]'. K1171/1/ MATSUMOTO N, NAA, Perth.

to his wife and family being enabled to join him en route to wherever he may be relocated and fares for the family provided accordingly'.⁸⁶ Kakio and his family were eventually reunited in 1948.⁸⁷ It was published in the *Daily News* that Kakio was the 'Last Jap released' from internment. Despite many years of incarceration and separation from his family, Kakio continued to express his admiration for Australia. He was quoted as saying that 'Australia best country. No friend – nothing in Japan. Japan finish 30 years ago'.⁸⁸ It was clear that Lena Matsumoto and her family had fallen victim to the bureaucratic system that had failed many indigenous/Asian women.

Figure 80: Mary Ellenor (Lena) Matsumoto.

Film directed by S. Usami, 'Kakio's Story'. Shingo Usami/Metroscreen, 2004.



⁸⁶ Copy of memorandum written by the Director General of Security in Canberra and sent to Department of the Army in Melbourne Victoria, 10 April 1947. See 'MATSUMOTO Nakio [Kakio] and Elina [Elener] Mary (wife) (8765) [Japanese internee] [aka Mary Ellenor Lena CORPUS]'. K1171/1/ MATSUMOTO N, NAA, Perth.

⁸⁷ Film directed by S. Usami, 'Kakio's Story'. Shingo Usami/Metroscreen, 2004.

⁸⁸ 'Last Jap Released'. *The Daily News*, 20 May 1948, p. 7.

The 'Yellow Peril'

The following case studies show how the *Aliens Control Regulations* affected Australian-born women of Japanese descent in adverse ways. Similar to the plight of Australian-born women married to Italians examined in Chapter Seven, many Australian-born women of Japanese descent were unaware that they were required to register as enemy aliens. Some were also suspected of being involved in espionage because of associating with other Japanese nationals. More importantly, case studies show how the *Aliens Control Regulations* impacted their lives socially and economically.

Born in Mackay, located on the eastern coast of Queensland and married to Japanese national Anashia Yakitichi Shimamura was unaware that she had lost her British status as a result of her marriage and was unaware that she was required to register as an enemy alien during the war. It was reported by authorities that her husband Yakitichi had deserted her nine years prior, however, she was now residing with another Japanese national Senjiro Fujimura, a pioneer in Brandon.⁸⁹ It was reported by a police officer that because she was born in Mackay, 'she considered that she was not compelled to register as an alien. I pointed out to her that she was lawfully married to an alien of Japanese nationality...On being informed of the circumstances she stated that she was sorry for not completing [the] Application'.⁹⁰ Despite her apology, police arrested Anashia and four other Japanese on Monday 8 December 1941, one day after the attack on Pearl Harbour.

⁸⁹ Report made by Aliens Registration Bureau to Townsville district, 2 January 1942. See 'Shimamura, Anashia - Nationality: Japanese/Australian - [no further information]'. BP25/1/ SHIMAMURA A - JAPANESE/AUST, NAA, Brisbane.

⁹⁰ Report made by Aliens Registration Bureau to Townsville district, 2 January 1942. See 'Shimamura, Anashia - Nationality: Japanese/Australian - [no further information]'. BP25/1/ SHIMAMURA A - JAPANESE/AUST, NAA, Brisbane.



Figure 81: Anashia Yakitichi Shimamura.

'Shimamura, Anashia - Nationality: Japanese/Australian - [no further information]'. BP25/1/ SHIMAMURA A - JAPANESE/AUST, NAA, Brisbane.

Hilda Lotte Lipscombe, also known as Lotus, was an Australian-born woman of Japanese descent who was fortunate to have not been interned. Her husband Alfred Lipscombe, a British subject, was employed by Ludowici's Tanners, Lane Cove and returned home on weekends. There was, however, suspicion that arose through the local community that Lotus was not loyal to the British Empire. In February 1941, an anonymous letter was received by authorities

A Japanese woman named Lotus Lipscombe...may possibly be dangerous. She may be under the domination of her Japanese father, whose name, or one of his names, is Y. Watanabe. She has told me he is a Baron. She spent a period of time with him, engaged in some mysterious business on the north coast of Queensland. She has several times commented on the unprotected state of that coastline. Her father travels wisely in the guise of a poultry expert, and she accompanied him as his secretary through China, India, Italy, Germany, and other continental countries, and they lived for a time in Liverpool, England. She is an educated woman and speaks 4 languages, including German. The new wireless station at Londenderry is situated within a mile from her home, and she knew that station was to be built there 18 months before any of the other local people had heard of it. She mentioned that she has a 'private income' which is probably true, for though living rather poorly, she always seems to have plenty of money, more than could possibly be made out of her small poultry farm or her husband's basic wage. She is a friend of the wife of the German, Fischer, who is in internment, and recently spent a fortnight with Mrs Fischer, at Emu Plains. She has received visits from the Japanese Consul and his wife, who is her friend. (not present one, but the previous Consul) For the past two or three years she has appeared to be living under a great strain, and has told me some terrible thing threatens her from Japan.⁹¹

⁹¹ Anonymous letter received by CIB, February 1941. See 'Lipscombe, Hilda Lottie (also known as Lotus Lipscombe) (Japanese [born] - naturalised British subject) [Box 401]'. C123/ 13038. NAA, Sydney.

In response to this letter, authorities interviewed locals who knew Lotus, including the local Post Master, Mr Nutt, who was 'unable to supply any concrete information concerning this woman - only that he viewed her with suspicion'.⁹² Police also interviewed Mrs Longhurst who later admitted to authorities she was the author of the letter and that she had been a close friend of Lotus since 1934. Mrs Longhurst wrote for various newspapers on poultry farming with Lotus. She admitted 'that she had nothing of a concrete nature to put forward concerning any suspected subversive activities of Mrs Lipscombe, other than that she became suspicious of her as she was born of a Japanese father'.⁹³ Mrs Longhurst found out that her father was a Watanabe, and when she questioned her regarding her Japanese sympathies, Lotus 'informed her that she had no time for the Japanese and dreaded the day that they would take Australia'.⁹⁴ Mrs Longhurst also said 'at one time when in Japan she had taken a terrible vow, the nature of which she refused to disclose; but it meant that she would some day have to return to Japan, and also her last-born child [if a male] would have to be taken with her and left in that country'.⁹⁵

Authorities concluded the following that

⁹² Memorandum to Inspector Wilson, MPI Section, 22 March 1941. See 'Lipscombe, Hilda Lottie (also known as Lotus Lipscombe) (Japanese [born] - naturalised British subject) [Box 401]'. C123/ 13038. NAA, Sydney.

⁹³ Memorandum to Inspector Wilson, MPI Section, 22 March 1941. See 'Lipscombe, Hilda Lottie (also known as Lotus Lipscombe) (Japanese [born] - naturalised British subject) [Box 401]'. C123/ 13038. NAA, Sydney.

⁹⁴ Memorandum to Inspector Wilson, MPI Section, 22 March 1941. See 'Lipscombe, Hilda Lottie (also known as Lotus Lipscombe) (Japanese [born] - naturalised British subject) [Box 401]'. C123/ 13038. NAA, Sydney.

⁹⁵ Memo to Inspector Wilson, MPI SECTION, 22 March 1941. See 'Lipscombe, Hilda Lottie (also known as Lotus Lipscombe) (Japanese [born] - naturalised British subject) [Box 401]'. C123/ 13038. NAA, Sydney.

we informed the opinion that Mrs Lipscombe, although an educated woman, is a romantic type who likes to relate colourful stories to intrigue her listeners. Mrs Longhurst is the type who would readily listen to these stories and be impressed by them.⁹⁶

Nevertheless, authorities continued to receive a number of letters from the local community who were concerned about the fact that Lotus was of Japanese descent. Australian resident Margaret Kerr wrote a letter to *The Poultry*, a weekly paper, claiming that Lotus was an 'agent for the Japanese Government investigating the styles of Ancient Embroidery on exhibit at the British Museum, London'.⁹⁷ Authorities interviewed Margaret and her husband, Frank Kerr, who said that they had heard rumors that Lotus was a professional photographer and was providing someone in the navy with certain information. Again, authorities discredited the claim, stating that this 'lad is not of the intelligent type, and his suspicions appear to be purely imaginary'.⁹⁸

Source 82: Hilda Lotte Lipscombe

'Lipscombe, Hilda Lottie (also known as Lotus Lipscombe) (Japanese [born] - naturalised British subject) [Box 401]'. C123/ 13038. NAA, Sydney.



⁹⁶ Memo to Inspector Wilson, MPI SECTION, 22 March 1941. See 'Lipscombe, Hilda Lottie (also known as Lotus Lipscombe) (Japanese [born] - naturalised British subject) [Box 401]'. C123/ 13038. NAA, Sydney.

⁹⁷ Report from Mrs Margaret Kerr to W.B. Simpson, 16 April 1943. See 'Lipscombe, Hilda Lottie (also known as Lotus Lipscombe) (Japanese [born] - naturalised British subject) [Box 401]'. C123/ 13038. NAA, Sydney.

⁹⁸ Memo to Sgt 1st Class Campbell, SS, 6 May 1943. See 'Lipscombe, Hilda Lottie (also known as Lotus Lipscombe) (Japanese [born] - naturalised British subject) [Box 401]'. C123/ 13038. NAA, Sydney.

In another case, Eliza Helen Goto was born in Cornwall, England in September 1888. Eliza arrived in Australia and settled in Kogarah, a suburb of southern Sydney, where she owned a laundry business. Her husband George Goto was of Japanese descent and was interned during the war and during their time, Eliza looked after the business as well as her two children. According to authorities,

her husband, is well and favourably known to the Kogarah police and as far as is known his sentiments are pro-British. When asked why she [Mrs Goto] had not registered as an alien prior to this date, she replied, 'I thought that as I was born in England of English parents, I was of British nationality.'⁹⁹

Two months later, Eliza registered as an enemy alien. Authorities believed that Eliza was struggling financially and with her health, accordingly there was no need to restrict her movements:

Despite the fact that she has not reached an advanced age, Mrs Goto is in poor health and seldom leaves her residence. She is also in poor financial circumstances, and we do not consider that there is any reason why her movements should be restricted as far as national security is concerned.¹⁰⁰

Eliza was also brought to the attention of authorities for possessing a wireless, however, Eliza was fortunate that authorities decided not to prosecute her for owning a wireless.¹⁰¹

However, Josephine Fuji was not so fortunate when she too failed to register as an enemy alien. Australian-born of Chinese parents, Josephine resided on Thursday Island and was married to Japanese national Tommie Fuji. Her husband was arrested and interned on 10 December 1941 at an internment

⁹⁹ Memorandum failed to register to Inspector Howard, 8 December 1941. See 'Goto, Eliza Helen (Japanese [by marriage - born in England]) [Box 523]'. C123/ 17221, NAA, Sydney.

¹⁰⁰ Questionnaire completed by the M. P. I. Section, Police Headquarters in Sydney, Date Unknown. See 'Goto, Eliza Helen (Japanese [by marriage - born in England]) [Box 523]'. C123/ 17221, NAA, Sydney.

¹⁰¹ Letter from Crawford Radio inspector to Capt. GHV Newman, 26 March 1942. See 'Goto, Eliza Helen (Japanese [by marriage - born in England]) [Box 523]'. C123/ 17221, NAA, Sydney.

camp in southern Queensland.¹⁰² While her husband was interned, Josephine arrived in Cairns to live with parents. Because she considered herself as Australian-born, Josephine was unaware that she was required to register as an enemy alien. Authorities wrote

When questioned as to why she did not register as an Alien prior to the 18th March 1942, she stated that as she was Australian-born she was not aware that she had to register. She further stated that she was not aware that she had to register as an Alien until she was advised by the Chinese she came in contact with since her arrival at Cairns.¹⁰³

It became well known during the war that the Commonwealth Government had no intention of releasing Japanese internees. In an interview with Nagata, a Government official stated that:

Our government was firm about the Japanese. As far as I remember, we interned the lot and, as principle, we didn't intend to let anyone out. It was for their protection.¹⁰⁴

This was evident in case studies that show that well after the war had ceased, many Japanese remained interned. For example, Shigeno Nakata was born in Halifax, northern Queensland, on 17 April 1899 and was interned at No 4, Tatura internment camp. Shigeno's restriction order was revoked 29 August 1946, but resided in the internment camp until such time as accommodation could be

¹⁰² Report from Aliens Registration Officer, Central Bureau in Brisbane to Cairns Police Station, 18 March 1942. See 'Fuji, Josephine - Nationality: Japanese/Australian - Arrived Cairns on Ormiston 29 January 1942'. BP25/1/ FUJI J - JAPANESE/AUSTRALIA, NAA, Brisbane.

¹⁰³ Report from Aliens Registration Officer, Central Bureau in Brisbane to Cairns Police Station, 18 March 1942. See 'Fuji, Josephine - Nationality: Japanese/Australian - Arrived Cairns on Ormiston 29 January 1942'. BP25/1/ FUJI J - JAPANESE/AUSTRALIA, NAA, Brisbane.

¹⁰⁴ Beaumont et. al., *Under suspicion*, p. 121.

obtained'.¹⁰⁵ Shigeno was not released until 3 July 1947 and intended to reside with her 4 children with Mrs Kitano Annerley at 360 Ipswich Road, Annerley, a suburb south of Brisbane.¹⁰⁶



Figure 83: Josephine Fuji

'Fuji, Josephine - Nationality: Japanese/Australian - Arrived Cairns on Ormiston 29 January 1942'. BP25/1/ FUJI J - JAPANESE/AUSTRALIA, NAA, Brisbane.



Figure 84: Shigeno Nakata

'Nakata, Shigeno and four children [names unknown] - Nationality: Japanese'. BP25/1/ NAKATA S – JAPANESE, NAA, Brisbane.

Conclusion

The case studies in this chapter demonstrate that the application of the *Aliens Control Regulations* generated a greater sense of fear towards the 'alien' during the Second World War. The pattern of war changed when Japan entered the war in December 1941. It became a much more aggressive war. The

¹⁰⁵ Letter from Commonwealth Migration Officer to Terrica House, Adelaide, 10 July 1947. See 'Nakata, Shigeno and four children [names unknown] - Nationality: Japanese'. BP25/1/ NAKATA S – JAPANESE, NAA, Brisbane.

¹⁰⁶ Letter from Commonwealth Migration Officer to Terrica House, Adelaide, 10 July 1947. See 'Nakata, Shigeno and four children [names unknown] - Nationality: Japanese'. BP25/1/ NAKATA S – JAPANESE, NAA, Brisbane.

threat of imminent invasion from the North became real, and Australia, in some cases, chose to ignore protocol concerning women who were exempt from internment. Both Marie Hamabata and Anne Kazmie were Australian-born citizens and as an unmarried woman, under Australian law, were recognized as British subjects. Australian-born women like Marie Hamabata suffered an injustice by being interned. As a British subject living in Geraldton, Marie should not have been subjected to the *Aliens Control Regulations*. This was clear in the documents from the Director General of Security in Canberra, John McKay, who stated that there was no real reason why Marie was interned apart from her Japanese appearance. Marie played down her Japanese ties by stating that her parents had passed away and was adamant that she had no Japanese friends. Despite her plea, she was transferred to Tatura camp, under an isolationist measure that took her away from close friends and placed her in an internment camp over 3,800 kilometers away from her hometown.¹⁰⁷

It was less a surprise considering the political climate of the 'Yellow Peril' that women like Anne Iwanaga were interned. Anyone who expressed any ties with the enemy country was declared a risk to national security. It is important to consider that Anne lived in Cairns, an area that was on high security alert. She was suspected by many to have had pro-Japanese sentiments; she knew how to speak Japanese; was a member of the Japanese Society and consorted with American troops.¹⁰⁸

What the authorities did not consider however, was how the implementation of the *Aliens Control Regulations* led to these women becoming 'damaged' in many ways. Not only were restrictions placed

¹⁰⁷ See 'HAMABATA Marie (aka Marie Kazmie and Marie Haramata) (7457) [Japanese internee]'. K1171/HAMABATA M, NAA, Perth.

¹⁰⁸ See 'Iwanga, Anne - Queensland investigation case file'. BP242/1/Q25246, NAA, Brisbane.

on civil liberties by restricting their movements through internment, but they had a negative impact on personal relationships. For example, Anne endured the separation from her loved ones, which led to the demise of her relationship with her fiancé Vivien, while also forcing her to come to terms with the news of her adoption. In addition to this, her parents were deported in 1945 and she was not reunited with them until their return eight years later.¹⁰⁹ Their story reflects their resilience and personal strength of character.

The story of Mary Eilener Matsumoto reflects how the *Aliens Control Regulations* led to the separation of her family and the decline of her mental health. The decision to intern these women was clearly made by a bureaucratic system that failed these women. Authorities who executed the *Aliens Control Regulations* were clearly part of an arbitrary process, especially when compared to the Australian-born women of Japanese descent living in Sydney, who managed to escape the more extreme measure of the *Aliens Control Regulations*.¹¹⁰

In conclusion, it is clear that Australian-born women of Japanese descent should not have been subject to the *Aliens Control Regulations* during the war. The case studies presented in this chapter show how these women were interned based on the international relations, geographical proximity and race. These women lost their possessions and were displaced within the community during war. The following chapter will discuss how the legislation affected the lives of German Jewish women, who, in hindsight, should not have been subjected to the *Aliens Control Regulations*.

¹⁰⁹ See 'Iwanga, Anne - Queensland investigation case file'. BP242/1/Q25246, NAA, Brisbane.

¹¹⁰ See 'MATSUMOTO Nakio [Kakio] and Elina [Elener] Mary (wife) (8765) [Japanese internee] [aka Mary Ellenor Lena CORPUS]'. K1171/1/ MATSUMOTO N, NAA, Perth.

PART III:

Victims of Circumstance



Figure 85: German-Jewish refugee Helena Beck

Helena Beck – registration papers, 1941. SP11/2 German, NAA, Sydney.

Chapter Six:

'A certain war psychosis': German-Jewish refugee women living in New South Wales during the war

The question of any identity arose in much more crucial manner. I was certainly not a German anymore; I was far from being an Australian; I was not a religious Jew; I refused to accept the classification of a German expatriate or political refugee as a permanent identity as it had no ideological basis. I was just a foreigner in a strange country to which I had not yet any emotional bonds, except gratitude for having been allowed into this country.¹

As Ian Munro argued, the point of formal acceptance by a host country is the beginning of a new and different journey, one that is familiar to, and forgotten by the older generation.² This is reflected in the stories presented in this chapter, which examines the lives of German-Jewish women who were living in Sydney during the war. These women had lost their citizenship rights in their homeland Germany and became stateless as a result of the Nuremburg Laws which were introduced by Adolf Hitler in September 1935. However, a further identity crisis was experienced upon their arrival to Australia. Despite their refugee status, a consequence of having to flee from Germany, German-Jewish women in Australia were classified as 'enemy aliens' at the outbreak of war and subject to the *National Security (Aliens Control) Regulations 1939* (Cth).

¹ H. Liffman, 'In Search of my Identity'. *The Australian Journal of Politics and History: Special Issue On being a German-Jewish Refugee in Australia, Experiences and Studies*, Volume: 31, Issue 1, 1985, p. 14.

² I. Munro, 'Taken in but left to feel shut out'. *The Age*, 22 May, 2010, p. 6.

This chapter reflects the inconsistencies that existed throughout the bureaucratic management of the *Aliens Control Regulations*. However, while the stories presented in this chapter focus on injustices suffered by German-Jewish refugees during the war, it is important to note that other nationals classified as enemy aliens included Jewish women from Austria, Belgium and Hungary, who were profiled as German nationals. Austria ceased to exist as an independent nation during the war, and Belgium was occupied by the Germans up until 1945, which meant that both nation states were incorporated within the Third Reich. Paul R. Bartrop asked: 'How could this have happened?'³ It was clear that the Commonwealth Government was well aware that German-Jewish women refugees were fleeing Nazi persecution, yet they were classified as enemy aliens at the outbreak of war.

From the stories presented in this chapter, German-Jewish refugees were wrongfully categorized as enemy aliens. Interestingly, Bartrop referred to a memorandum that was prepared by the head of Immigration Branch of the Department of the Interior, A. R. Peters, dated January 1939 which defined the term 'refugee' in a way that clearly encompassed Jews of German background. The document clearly shows that the Commonwealth Government was aware that its policy would apply to people who had suffered under the action of the German Government, and quotes the League of Nation's definition of refugee that would clearly apply to German-Jewish refugees:

It is presumed that the Government's policy in regard to refugees is intended for the present to apply to Jews and non-Jews who are suffering disabilities as a result of action by the German Government...A general definition of 'refugee' which substantially conforms to the definition agreed to by the League of Nations is: 'Residents, or former residents, of territory occupied by Germany, who do not enjoy the protection of the German Government, or of any other Government.'⁴

³ P. R. Bartrop, 'Enemy Aliens or Stateless Persons? The Legal Status of Refugees from Germany in Wartime Australia'. *Journal of the Australian Jewish Historical Society*, Volume 10, Issue 4, 1988, p. 271.

⁴ Bartrop, 'Enemy Aliens or Stateless Persons?', p. 272.

Nevertheless, the Commonwealth Government decided to retain the status of enemy alien which encompassed German-Jewish refugees as well as Jewish refugees from Belgium, Hungary and Austria for another four years. German-Jewish refugees were not reclassified until March 1943.

Jewish Migration

There has been a Jewish presence in Australia since the earliest days of European settlement. There were at least six Jewish convicts on board the First Fleet which arrived in 1788 in New South Wales.⁵ During the 1820s Jewish settlement was mainly in Sydney. In the 1830s and 1840s Jewish migrants began to settle in other areas such as Hobart, Port Macquarie, Goulburn, Melbourne, Adelaide, Geelong and Tamworth.⁶ By 1841, there were almost 1,200 Jews living in Australia. The Gold rush in the 1850s and 1860s increased the Jewish population, most of whom arrived from Germany, but there were also smaller numbers from Great Britain and Eastern Europe. By 1861, forty percent of the Jewish population lived in rural areas.⁷ However, during the economic depression in the 1890s there was a decline in the Jewish population in Victoria. Many migrated to New Zealand, South Africa and Western Australia.⁸ Nevertheless, statistics show that overall Jewish settlement in Australia continued to increase. Some of the increase can be attributed to the natural increase of human population – the

⁵ C.A. Price, *Jewish Settlers in Australia*. Canberra: Australian National University, 1964, p. 8. This figure may not be accurate. The archive book makes note that there were eight out of the 751 convicts on the First Fleet and there may have been six more on board. [C.A. Price, *Jewish Settlers in Australia*, p. 8].

⁶ Price, *Jewish Settlers*, p. 27.

⁷ Price, *Jewish Settlers*, pp. 27 and 28.

⁸ Price, *Jewish Settlers*, p. 8.

surplus of births over deaths - but there were also more arrivals than departures of Jewish migrants. In addition, some non-Jewish peoples converted to Judaism.⁹

The introduction of the White Australia Policy (WAP) in 1901 created a climate in which Australian Anglo-Jews encouraged assimilation and played down religious and cultural practices. By the 1920s, there was an increase in inter-marriage and a decline in religious observances and Jewish education within the Jewish establishment in Australia.¹⁰ The 1921 census showed the effects the war had on German migration to Australia. In the 1920s, over 300,000 migrants came to Australia and approximately two thirds of them were assisted. However, only 22,582 Germans arrived and by 1933 the number had declined to 16,842.¹¹ The 1933 census recorded over 23,000 people of Jewish origin living in Australia.¹² When Hitler came to power, Jews immigrated to other countries immediately. Approximately 7,000 Jews migrated to Australia, 2,000 of them from Vienna.¹³ According to Jurgen Tampke, the 'murderous racial and political policies of Nazi Germany...led to a sharp increase in Sydney's German-speaking population'.¹⁴

⁹ Price, *Jewish Settlers*, p. 9. It is important to note that Price wrote that the 'statistical material available for such an assessment is very slight'. [Price, *Jewish Settlers*, p. 9].

¹⁰ M. J Turnbull, *Safe Haven: Records of the Jewish Experience in Australia*. Canberra: National Archives of Australia, 1999. For more information on post war migration, see S. Rutland, 'Postwar Anti-Jewish Refugee Hysteria: A Case of Racial or Religious Bigotry?' *Sojourners and Strangers, Journal of Australian Studies* 77 (2003): 69-79.

¹¹ Price, *Jewish Settlers*, p. 42.

¹² *Census of the Commonwealth of Australia, 30 June 1933*. Canberra: L. F. Johnston, Commonwealth Government Printer, 1933, p. 381.

¹³ J. Tampke, 'The Germans in Sydney'. *Sydney Journal*, Volume 1, Issue 1, March 2008, p. 69.

¹⁴ Tampke, 'The Germans in Sydney', p. 69.

In July 1938, the Commonwealth Government had agreed to accept 15,000 refugees from Germany and Austria; however, the outbreak of war prevented this. During the war, Australia did nonetheless accept 7,000 refugees, many of whom were Jewish.¹⁵ In 1939 an influx of Jewish refugees entered Australia. According to Tampke, these refugees were deeply religious and passionate Zionists.¹⁶ This aptly describes many of the women examined in this study. Hertha Meyer, born in Germany of Jewish background is typical. She was a member of the *Shomrin*, a youth Organisation established in 1939 and affiliated with the Zionist federation.¹⁷ The *Shomrin* was the first Zionist youth movement in Sydney, with its membership consisting predominately of young refugees who arrived immediately before the war.¹⁸

The focus of this chapter is on German-Jewish women who settled in the areas of New South Wales, the majority of whom were refugees residing in the eastern suburbs of Sydney such as Rose Bay, Bondi and Bellevue Hill. The table below shows the ages of 151 confirmed German-Jewish women of the 195 German women examined in this thesis who registered as enemy aliens in New South Wales between 1939 and 1941.

¹⁵ Tampke, 'The Germans in Sydney', p. 69.

¹⁶ Tampke, 'The Germans in Sydney', p. 69.

¹⁷ Questionnaire completed by the MPI Section, Police Headquarters in Sydney. See 'Meyer, Hertha (German) [Box 193]'. C123/6575, National Archives of Australia (NAA), Sydney.

¹⁸ S. Rutland, *Edge of Diaspora: Two Centuries of Jewish Settlement in Australia*. Sydney: Williams Collins Pty Ltd, 1997, p. 319.

AGE	NUMBER OF WOMEN
UNDER 20	18
20-29	30
30-39	42
40-49	29
50-59	19
OVER 60	13

Table 4: Ages of 151 German-Jewish born women living in New South Wales during the Second World War.¹⁹

Most women examined in this study were aged between twenty and fifty years old. One of the youngest women affected by the *Aliens Control Regulations* was sixteen year old German national Gertrud Erna Streker, born in Jaffa, Palestine and who arrived in Sydney in August 1941.²⁰ At the other end of the spectrum, statistics show that sixteen of these women were over sixty years old. Lina Kraemer was the eldest German woman. She registered as an enemy alien at the age of seventy eight years old after arriving in Australia in April 1939 from Haploch, Germany.²¹

The map below illustrates the areas these women came from. Many migrated from eastern regions of Germany with 19 % migrating from Berlin. Other areas include western and northern regions, such as the Rhine, Dusseldorf and Hamburg. It is imperative to note that there were some women who

¹⁹ See Appendix Seven.

²⁰ Questionnaire completed by the M. P. I. Section, Police Headquarters in Sydney, 1941. See 'STREKER Gertrud Erna - Nationality: German - Arrived: Sydney per Queen Elizabeth 15 August 1941'. D4881/3/STREKER, NAA, Adelaide.

²¹ Questionnaire completed by the M. P. I. Section, Police Headquarters in Sydney 6 August 1940. See 'Kraemer, Lina (German) [Box 165]'. C123/5719, NAA, Sydney.

migrated not from Germany as such, but from Vienna, Austria, which at the time was under German occupation.

Figure 86: Map of Germany 1939

German History Documents. No date. [http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc/images/Map_1_english_for_b h-edit.jpg]. Accessed: 25 March 2012.



Prewar Jewish refugees were welcomed for their contributions to the local economy. The German-Jewish women in this study were well educated and ‘brought a more cosmopolitan way of life’.²² Jewish refugees who arrived before 1939 helped establish new industries and increased employment opportunities. Some of these industries were outlined by Senator Henry Foll: ‘optical and scientific

²² S. Rutland, ‘Australian Responses to Jewish Refugee Migration before and after World War II’. *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, Volume 31, Issue 1, 1985, p. 42.

instruments, weaving silk and rayon, textile printing, glove making, fountain and propelling pens, Viennese knitted ware, elastic webbing, cosmetics and Bakelite goods'.²³

The study shows that their fertility rate was fairly low, with an average of one to three children per woman. The 151 files I examined showed that 102 women were married, one was engaged, ten were widows and two were divorced at the time of registration. Thirty one of the 102 married women were in paid work during the war and twenty eight women had worked before they were married. Thirty six women were single and thirty three of them were in paid work. Some women worked as dressmakers, machinists, typist or performed domestic duties for others. This number is significantly higher than the Italian women featured in the previous chapters, who may have had specific problems due to their ethnicity, language and culture which prevented their assimilation within the local community. Comparatively, German-Jewish women who settled in New South Wales just before the war were educated, originating from what was deemed a more sophisticated class and familiar with the English language. Statistics show that 66% of these women were confirmed naturalized British subjects, indicating their willingness to assimilate into Australian society.

Australian Jewish Welfare Society (AJWS)

The support they received from the Australian Jewish Welfare Society (AJWS) was another reason why the German-Jewish women in this study obtained higher employment numbers in the workforce in comparison to their Italian counterparts. The AJWS was formed as an *ad hoc* response to the crisis in Germany and was at first established in 1936 as the German-Jewish Refugees' Fund New South Wales,

²³ Rutland, 'Australian Responses', p. 42

which was located at the Maccabean Hall in Darlinghurst, an inner city eastern suburb of Sydney. The main function of the organization was to assist with immigration and integration of Jews in Australian society. Many women examined for this study were assisted by the AJWS, and were members of the organization during the war. German-born Hilde Kurniker for example, was a single woman with no family and was permitted to arrive in Australia in 1938 because of the AJWS, who assisted in her passage to Australia.²⁴ Additionally, the AJWS provided welfare for those who were struggling financially. German-Jewish born Johanna Marx arrived in Australia in 1937. She lived in Bondi, an eastern suburb of Sydney, during the war and received £2 per week from the AJWS because her husband, Leopold Marx, was unemployed.²⁵

The Commonwealth Government was however, less willing to assist German-Jewish refugees throughout the war period. For example, German Jewish-born Erna Schaul of Double Bay, also in Sydney's eastern suburb of Sydney, wrote a letter to authorities appealing for some assistance:

Dear Sir,

Referring to the regulations about Refugee widows whose sons are in camp I might ask respectfully to bring my own case to your consideration.

My son... Ulrich Schmausch now aged 19 serves in the Labor Company since the beginning of this formation. He is a son from my first marriage and his father was killed from the Nazis in a concentration camp. So my first husband was sick since the boy was 3 years old, I had to bring the boy up by myself and even to earn the living for the family.

Might I be asking to [too] much to get now the same advantages as the refugee widows whose sons are in camp. My second husband Mr Berthold Schaul volunteered for the Labor Camp but got exemption [exemption] because his factory does war work. He wouldn't ask even for any preference, because he couldn't justify as a stepfather. Thanking you in advance for your kindly consideration.²⁶

²⁴ Letter to Acting Secretary for Immigration, A. R. Peters, 30 October 1945. See 'Jospe [nee] Kurniker, Hilde (German - naturalised British subject) [Box 153]'. C123/5269, NAA, Sydney.

²⁵ Questionnaire completed by the MPI Section, Police Headquarters in Sydney. See 'Marx, Johanna (German - naturalised British subject) [Box 128]'. C123/4464, NAA, Sydney.

²⁶ Copy of Letter written by Erna Schaul to Deputy Director of Security, 6 August 1942. See 'Schaul, Erna (German) [Box 98]'. C123/3623, NAA, Sydney.

Authorities refused Erna's appeal, not granting any assistance.²⁷



Figure 87: Johanna Marx

'Johanna MARX - Nationality: German - Arrived Sydney per STRAITHAIRD on 30 Nov 1937 [Box 124]'. SP11/5 MARX, JOHANNA, NAA, Sydney.



Figure 88: Erna Schaul

'Erna SCHAUL - Nationality: German - Arrived Sydney per STRATHEDEN on 01 Feb 1939 [Box 174]'. SP11/5 SCHAUL, ERNA, NAA, Sydney.

The AJWS also privately owned an agricultural training farm for Jewish refugees called the Chelsea Park Training Farm for Alien Jewish Refugees. The farm was located at Baulkham Hills, north west of Sydney, and its function was to train people classified as enemy aliens who were unable to find work in the city. Those who 'graduated' were employed by their Australian neighbours on other farms.²⁸ The farm accepted both men and women and was well known by authorities to be under strict supervision,

²⁷ Response from Deputy Director of Security to Erna Schaul, 14 August 1942. See 'Schaul, Erna (German) [Box 98]'. C123/3623, NAA, Sydney.

²⁸ A. Andgel, *Fifty Years of Caring: The History of the Australian Jewish Welfare Society*. Sydney: Australian Jewish Welfare Society and Australian Jewish Historical Society, 1998, pp. 57-58.

therefore, there was no need for local police to be concerned about the individuals working on the farm from a security point of view.

Another German Jewish-born woman who resided on the farm was Brigitte Littmann. It was stated by authorities that her occupation was a dressmaker and she was making military uniforms without receiving any payment. Authorities stated that this 'alien' and her husband were trainees at the Chelsea Park Training Farm

where they are endeavoring to fit themselves for farm work. The rules of the Farm are very strict and rigidly enforced, therefore the movements of aliens residing at the Farm, are restricted to an extent more than ordinarily.²⁹

Despite the Training Farm being considered as 'the best thing the Welfare Society had undertaken because it enabled people to be trained for work and life (on the land) in Australia', by March 1940, the Training Farm was no longer functioning due to the halt in Jewish migration during the war.³⁰ Military authorities took over the Farm under lease in April 1941 until 1944. After the war, the farm was used to house Jewish youth camps and was eventually sold for £11,350 in 1957.³¹

'Trying to fit in'

As noted in Chapter One, all enemy aliens were required to register and report to the (Aliens Registration Officer (ARO) once a week. The elderly experienced most hardship in regards to registration. Rosa Rosenberg was a seventy one year old widow living in Double Bay. During December

²⁹ Questionnaire completed by the MPI Section, Police Headquarters in Sydney. See 'Littmann [nee Deutschland], Brigitte (naturalised British subject) [formerly German] [Box 229]'. C123/7670, NAA, Sydney.

³⁰ Andgel, *Fifty Years of Caring*, p. 58.

³¹ Andgel, *Fifty Years of Caring*, p 59.

1940, authorities received an anonymous letter stating that they were suspicious of the fact that a number of refugees were gathering around her house, especially on Sundays. The anonymous writer stated that 'A light is on in the bathroom of this place to the early hours of the morning. Recently an explosion was heard in the bathroom whereupon the light was immediately extinguished'.³² Authorities added that Rosa 'had no personal friends' and that 'the family generally are in rather poor circumstances, and are struggling for a living'.³³ This was not the only encounter Rosa had with authorities. As she was growing older and her health deteriorating, Rosa wrote a letter to authorities appealing to be exempt from having to report to authorities each week.

Figure 89: Rosa Rosenberg

'Rosa Rosenberg [German - arrived Sydney per AORANGI, 8 April 1939. Box 98]. SP11/2 GERMAN/ROSENBERG R, NAA, Sydney.



Authorities rejected Rosa's appeal, but it was suggested that because of her ill health she may be able to write to authorities on a weekly basis instead. Captain G.H.V. Newman of the Intelligence Section wrote:

In reply to your letter...you are advised that no exemption from reporting weekly can be allowed. In view of your age and health...such letter to be witnessed by a Justice of the Peace or by a prominent citizen,

³² Anonymous letter, 16 December 1940. See 'Rosenberg, Rosa (German) [Box 99]'. C123/3636, NAA, Sydney.

³³ Memo to Inspector Wilson, 27 December 1940. See 'Rosenberg, Rosa (German) [Box 99]'. C123/3636, NAA, Sydney.

approved of by your local Alien Registration Officer. It will be necessary for you to make such arrangements with the Alien Registration Officer at Rose Bay in regard to this matter.³⁴

In a similar way to their Italian counter parts, some German-Jewish women also endured loneliness and a feeling of alienation from their community. Ted Cattle wrote that in Britain after the Second World War, migrants felt 'obliged to downplay their own cultural identity and with some groups showing a great willingness and determination to even 'feel British' before they came and to try to 'fit in'.³⁵ In Australia, migrants also felt obliged to downplay their cultural identity. For example, German-Jewish born twenty eight year old Dorothea Chmelnitzki, who came to Australia in October 1938, was required to register as an enemy alien in July 1940. Dorothea emphasized to authorities that she was 'endeavouring to do everything in her power to improve herself both socially and in the use of the English language'.³⁶ She further stated that although 'she was born in Berlin of German parents, she now regards herself as stateless' and would join the New Australian's Club.³⁷ Dorothea's willingness to adopt a new Australian identity as part of their 'new beginning' was common among many German-Jewish refugee women examined in this study.

In some cases, German-Jewish women applied to have their surname changed to a more Anglicized name in order to avoid difficulties during registration processes for enemy aliens. Anna Marie Collin

³⁴ See 'Rosenberg, Rosa (German) [Box 99]'. C123/3636, NAA, Sydney.

³⁵ T. Cattle, *Community cohesion: a new framework for race and diversity*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005, p. 122.

³⁶ Questionnaire completed by the M. P. I. Section, Police Headquarters in Sydney, 18 July 1940. 'Chmelnitzki, Dorothea known as Mrs Shell (German - naturalised British subject) [box 62]'. C123/2782, NAA, Sydney.

³⁷ Questionnaire completed by the M. P. I. Section, Police Headquarters in Sydney, 18 July 1940. 'Chmelnitzki, Dorothea known as Mrs Shell (German - naturalised British subject) [box 62]'. C123/2782, NAA, Sydney.

was born in Berlin in February 1902 and arrived in Australia in October 1939. During the war, Anna lived in Killara, on Sydney's upper north shore of Sydney, and worked as a domestic servant. On 16 June 1940, authorities wrote:

She says her parents and her grandparents are not of the Jewish race, but Protestant Lutheran faith. It transpires that her correct name is Abraham and that owing to her mother's divorce both the mother and the daughter assumed the mother's maiden name of Collin. She was instructed to keep name Abraham - and told authorities that the people she writes to are Dr Gertrud Lansburg, her brother and her mother and sister. She has friends who are half German and Jewish and she speaks English, French and German fluently and states that she hates Hitler and everything German.³⁸

On 18 November 1943, Anna wrote to authorities:

Dear Sir,

I herewith beg to apply for permission to use the name of 'Collin' again.

After my mother divorced my father, Dr. Paul Abraham, in 1904, she was granted the right for herself and her children to readopt the name of 'Collin' which had been her maiden name.

Consequently my school certificate, qualifications and references are made out for Anna Marie Collin and not Abraham.

In 1938 Hitler ordered by decree that every person of Jewish descent who had changed his or her name, had to re-adopt the former name...

Some weeks ago I was informed that owing to some regulation concerning change of names I had to alter the name on my registration card from Collin into Abraham, which I did.

However I would like to use the name of Collin again and would appreciate if you gave me the permission to do so. I may point out that this would save me endless trouble and difficulties as I am known only as A. Collin.³⁹

It is unknown why initially authorities asked Anna to change her name back to her father's name however, it is possible that authorities did not believe that she was of Protestant faith. In January 1944, Anna was granted permission to change her name.⁴⁰

³⁸ Report, 16 June 1940. See 'Collin, Anna [Anne] Marie [German Jewess - naturalised British subject] [Box 40]'. C123/2184, NAA, Sydney.

³⁹ Anna Marie Collin wrote letter to Deputy Director of Security, 18 November 1943. See 'Collin, Anna [Anne] Marie [German Jewess - naturalised British subject] [Box 40]'. C123/2184, NAA, Sydney.

⁴⁰ Letter from Deputy Director of Security to Anne Marie Collin, 14 January 1944. See 'Collin, Anna [Anne] Marie [German Jewess - naturalised British subject] [Box 40]'. C123/2184, NAA, Sydney.

Although most knew how to speak English, there were some German-Jewish women who were isolated from the community because of their lack of knowledge of the English language. For example, Berta Herzberg was a seventy eight year old Jewish refugee widow from Germany who lived with her children in Randwick, eastern Sydney during the war. It was stated on her questionnaire that she did not know any English nor did she have many friends.⁴¹ Another example is Dorithea Sara Jacobus, another German-Jewish refugee who lived with her daughter in Bondi during the war. It was stated on her questionnaire that the 'Alien is a widow aged seventy eight years of age, and is unable to speak English. The information herein was obtained through the alien's daughter with whom she resides and... supported by'.⁴²



Figure 90: Berta Herzberg

'Berta Herzberg [German - arrived Sydney per MARELLA, 14 April 1939. Box 94]'. SP11/2 GERMAN/HERZBERG B, NAA, Sydney.

⁴¹ Questionnaire completed by the MPI Section, Police Headquarters in Sydney. See 'Herzberg, Berta (German) [Box 183]'. C123/6318, NAA, Sydney.

⁴² Questionnaire completed by the MPI Section, Police Headquarters in Sydney. See 'Jacobus [nee Wolff], Dorathea Sara (German) [Box 460]'. C123/ 15069, NAA, Sydney.

On the other hand, German-Jewish women who knew how to speak English experienced a lenient response from authorities. In doing so, many felt the need to contribute to the war effort to feel more accepted in society. They were also motivated by their persecution under Hitler's regime. An example is Charlotte Levin who was born in November 1884 in Liegnitz, Germany. Charlotte lived in Bondi and worked as a language teacher at the Business College in Sydney. Charlotte wrote to authorities on 19 March 1944 offering her services to the Australian war effort:

Sir

Hereby I take the liberty of offering you my services.

I am a refugee alien, 59 years of age, teacher of languages and speak, write and translates French, Spanish, German, and English perfectly. I can also read and translate easy Italian texts. I have studied in England and France, acted formerly as teacher of languages and commercial subjects in Germany and, persecuted under the Nazi rule, came to Australia in August 1936. I belong to the Jewish community. I am in possession of my own typewriter.

I could call on you personally...At present I give a few private lessons and help a friend of mine in a shop over the middle of the day. I should be very happy indeed if you could make use of my services and, trusting to hear favourably from you.⁴³

Authorities responded three weeks later stating that her services were not required at the time, however, if the need would arise she would be contacted. Another example was fifty year old German Irma Translateur, who lived in Wentworthville, west of Sydney. She applied to register her address as a factory under the *Factories and Shops Act 1912 (Cth)*. Because Irma's business contributed to the war effort, making soldiers' chevrons and hat bands, no objection by authorities was made.⁴⁴ Authorities were obviously lenient, allowing Irma to run her business. This emphasizes the shortage of manpower and the sense of nationalism highlighted by the war effort.

⁴³ Letter from Charlotte Levin to Director of Security Service, 19 March 1944. See 'Levin, Charlotte (German - naturalised British subject) [Box 115]'. C123/4093, NAA, Sydney.

⁴⁴ Letter from Deputy Director of Security NSW to Acting under Secretary, Department of Labour and Industry, March 1943. See 'Translateur, Irma (German [born] - naturalised British subject) [Box 168]'. C123/5822, NAA, Sydney.



Figure 91: Irma Translateur

'Irma TRANSLATEUR - Nationality: German - Arrived Sydney per AORANGI on 26 Aug 1938 [Box 203]'. SP11/5 TRANSLATEUR, IRMA, NAA, Sydney.



Figure 92: Charlotte Levin

'Charlotte LEVIN - Nationality: German - Arrived Sydney per STRATHAIRD on 28 Jul 1936 [Box 110]'. SP11/5 LEVIN, CHARLOTTE, NAA, Sydney.

German-born Margot Betty Bing was also willing to contribute to the war effort during the war. Margot lived in Elizabeth Bay, an eastern suburb of Sydney, and assisted her husband manufacturing lamp shades. In response to the manpower shortage, Margot's husband wrote to authorities on behalf of his wife:

My wife was a sales manageress for 10 years at a large metal supplying house in Germany and would be willing to give details of the exact details of construction and design of German gas masks. If this information is helpful to the British Authorities she will be willing to give it to an engineer. She knows the theoretical side of this question.⁴⁵

⁴⁵ Copy of letter from Margot Betty Bing to Authorities, 24 February 1941. See 'Bing, Margot Betty (German - naturalised British subject) [box 62]'. C123/2789, NAA, Sydney.

It is clear that Margot was willing to become less German by offering her services to the Australian military, due to her experience of the racial policies implemented by the Nazis in Germany.

'While my husband is in camp...'

The isolation that was experienced by some of these German-Jewish women was further aggravated by the restrictions placed on their travel and movements, and the wrongful incarceration of their husbands. As noted in Chapter One, the travel and movements of aliens and enemy aliens were also restricted. If an enemy alien desired to change his or her place of residence, it was necessary to report it to the nearest ARO. For example, German-born Alice Pieck lived in Kingsford, while her husband Hans Pieck was interned. Alice appealed to authorities to be allowed to move closer to her husband:

I am a Jewish Refugee and my husband Hans Pieck...is at present in camp.

Before he went into camp we had a mercery and tailoring business at the above address, but the shop has since been closed. We lived on the top of the shop. I now live there with my child, 10 1/2 years old.

I have to pay \$4 per week rent, and I cannot do this now on my husband's military pay.

I have asked the Police for permission to move to No. 9 Holmstr., Kingsford with Mr and Mrs Glaser (English people). It is only a few minutes away from where i am living in the same district. I cannot understand why I have been refused permission. It will be cheaper for me to live with these people, and if I am not allowed to move, I will not be able to pay the landlord the rent, and he might not be able to let me have the place for what I can pay.

I cannot understand why I cannot get the permission as I am not stopped from going one section to the beach and it does not seem proper, as I cannot get a cheaper place five miles out.

I will be able to store a lot of our goods and furniture, a very big glass counter and all the other fittings out of the shop in the gerage [garage] of 9 Holmstr., Kingsford, which will save my running into debt while my husband is in camp, and I will perhaps be able to pay my way.

Trusting you will give me permission.⁴⁶

⁴⁶ Copy of letter from Alice Pieck to authorities, 5 May 1942. See 'Pieck [also known as Peek], Alice (German) [Box 187]'. C123/6417, NAA, Sydney.

With her husband interned, Alice was struggling financially and thought it best to move in with the Glasners because it would be cheaper and closer to her husband. Alice's request to live with the Glasners was rejected.

Figure 93: Alice Pieck

'Alice PIECK - Nationality: German - Arrived Sydney per VIMINALE on 19 Nov 1938 [Box 150]'. SP11/5 PIECK, ALICE, NAA, Sydney.



There were, however, some cases of authorities who were sympathetic. For example, Edith Rosenthal, who lived in Double Bay, applied for permission to visit her husband who was in Queensland. In 1942, Edith was granted permission to change her residential address to live in Queensland. Thirty three year old Erna Berger, who was born in Christburg, Germany, arrived in Australia in 1938 and lived in Surry Hills, an inner city suburb of Sydney, during the war. Her husband was employed with the Australian Employment Company and Erna became exempt from the restrictions in June 1943.⁴⁷ Herta Kramer

⁴⁷ Statement to the Deputy Director of Security in Sydney from Erna, 16 June 1943. See 'Berger, Erna (German - naturalised British subject) [Box 130]'. C123/4505, NAA, Sydney. As noted in Chapter One, the Australian Employment Company was a labouring task force that maintained the war effort and supported the fighting forces. J. Factor, 'Forgotten Soldiers: Aliens in the Australian Army's Employment Companies during World War II'. The Birstein Project. Melbourne: Australian Centre for Jewish Civilisation, 2008.

[http://www.yosselbirstein.org/pdf/eng/other/Forgotten_Soldiers.pdf]. November 2010). Accessed: 12 March 2010.

was born in Berlin, arrived in Australia in November 1938 and lived in Vaucluse during the war. Herta endured the restrictions in the early years of war despite her husband being employed by the Australian Employment Company. Herta applied for a travel permit to visit her husband at the labour camp in order to consult a specialist regarding their son, who had a foot infection. Herta was allowed to visit her husband.⁴⁸



Figure 94: Edith Rosenthal

'Edith ROSENTHAL - Nationality: German - Arrived Sydney per NIAGARA on 20 Nov 1938 [Box 166]'. SP11/5 ROSENTHAL, EDITH, NAA, Sydney.

German Hilda Centawer and her husband Franz Martin Centawer ran a drapery and millinery store in Orange, in the central west region of New South Wales, which required them to travel outside of Orange in order to buy goods that were not on offer by travelers from Sydney. Hilda wrote a letter to authorities in May 1940 asking for permission to travel to Sydney to purchase goods. Nevertheless,

⁴⁸ Memo to Cowra Police station Sergeant FH Germer from MPI Section Sydney, 30 May 1942. See 'Kramer nee Caspary, Herta (German - naturalised British subject) [file contains photograph of subject] [Box 136]'. C123/4714, NAA, Sydney.

authorities refused to grant the permit. Hilda's husband, Franz, approached their accountant James Hunter, who wrote a letter of support:

These people are very hardworking and built up a good business. I have done their work and have known them personally ever since they arrived in this country.
I spoke to them on the phone and pointed out it was nothing against them personally but a 'general' regulation applying to all aliens from an enemy country, whether Jews or not Jews (they are Jews).
It is a hardship particularly for millinery and ladies costumes buying. People in country towns get to know what it is likely to sell and buy accordingly. At the same time manufacturers are generally small men and they dare not risk making more than one sample to show both town and country clients. This necessitates buyers visiting the factories. If one has not the goods then they make the rounds till they get what is needed'.⁴⁹

What is interesting to note is that the Centawers' suspected they were being prosecuted for their religion as they had experienced in Germany. It is not known from her NAA dossier whether the appeal was accepted.



Figure 95: Hilda Centawer

'Hilda CENTER [formerly CENTAWER] - Nationality: German - Arrived Sydney per AORANGI 22 Oct 1938 [Box 30]'. SP11/5 CENTER, HILDA, NAA, Sydney.

⁴⁹ Accountant James Hunter wrote to authorities, 12 Jan. 1942. See 'Centawer [changed to Center], Hilde (German - naturalised British subject) [Box 121]'. C123/4255, NAA, Sydney.

Prohibited possessions

The most problematic of the *Aliens Control Regulations* for authorities was the *Prohibited Possessions Order 1939* (Cth). As noted in Chapter One, the legislation prevented enemy aliens from listening to any broadcast from a wireless. Many women thought that they were permitted to own a wireless set as long as it was not used. German-born Anne Eckardt arrived in Australia in April 1926 and was living in Cremorne, on the lower north shore of Sydney. Anna's husband Johannes Arthur Eckardt was interned during the war at Tatura camp in Victoria. In 1942, a suspicious neighbour, Mr Hatchman from Neutral Bay, an adjoining suburb, made a report to authorities, claiming that a green light was burning from her room at least once a month. Authorities conducted a search which revealed that she was in possession of two wireless sets. Anna believed that because the wireless sets were not turned on, there would be no problem. Authorities claimed she was in breach of the *Aliens Control Regulations*. She responded by saying 'I thought I could have them providing I did not use them, I will make arrangements to dispose of them'.⁵⁰ Despite her plea, Anna was fined £3 and £2.10.0 court costs.⁵¹ No further information can be found in her file on the initial complaint regarding the green light in her room. Nonetheless, Anna's case highlights the war hysteria that existed among the Australian public towards German-Jewish women.

Many women were required to dispose of their prohibited possessions voluntarily. Search warrants conducted by authorities throughout the war found many women in breach of this *Prohibited Possessions Order*. Items that were prohibited included wireless sets, address books, electric torches as

⁵⁰ Statement made by Police, 11 December 1941. See 'Urner, Anna [German] [Box 314]'. C123/10232, NAA, Sydney.

⁵¹ Memorandum to Inspector Watkins, MPI, 17 April 1942. See 'Urner, Anna [German] [Box 314]'. C123/10232, NAA, Sydney.

well as cameras. German Hermine Ellser lived in Richmond with her family, in the rural area north west of Sydney, and told authorities that she valued her camera and did not want to dispose of it through sale. She decided to allow authorities to take possession of it for the duration of the war.⁵² However, as with the files of other people, it is difficult to ascertain from Hermine's whether authorities returned her possessions.

In another case, sixteen year old German Steffi Schweiger arrived in Australia in December 1938 and resided in Maroubra Bay during the war. Steffi worked as a dressmaker and failed to report to her ARO because she did not want to be late to work. Consequently, authorities searched her household. Steffi was fined five shillings with court costs of £2.2.0 and eight shillings for owning a wireless.⁵³ Charlotte Gurke was born in Breslau, Germany in 1904 and arrived in Australia in 1934. During the war, Charlotte was unemployed and lived with her two children while her husband Kuno Hans Wilhelm Gurke was interned at Tatura Internment camp in Victoria. In October 1940, Charlotte voluntarily handed over her camera to authorities for the duration of the war. Two years later however, Charlotte wrote to authorities

I am an enemy alien (German) and about 2 years ago following the restrictions gave up my wireless set. I have just heard that enemy aliens are allowed again to have a wireless and I should be very much obliged if you could let me know whether this is true and if so would you give me permission to hire a wireless receiving set from a local furniture store.

I am living alone here with two small children and would appreciate a wireless very much, particularly in the evenings.⁵⁴

⁵² Report to Commissioner of Police, Sydney, 7 November 1940. See 'Eisler [nee Klement], Hermine (naturalised British subject) [formerly German] [Box 253]'. C123/8505, NAA, Sydney.

⁵³ See 'Schweiger, Steffi [German] [Box 211]'. C123/7111, NAA, Sydney.

⁵⁴ Letter from Charlotte Gurke to R.W. Hamilton Posts and Telegraphs to Deputy Director of Security New South Wales, 27 Oct. 1942. See 'Gurke, Charlotte (German) [Box 280]'. C123/9305, NAA, Sydney.

Four months later, Charlotte's application was rejected by Senior Radio Inspector, W. T. S. Crawford.⁵⁵

Figure 96: Steffi Friedlander

'Steffi FRIEDLANDER [formerly SCHWEIGER] - Nationality: German - Arrived Sydney per ROMOLO 18 Dec 1938 [Box 60]'. SP11/5 FRIEDLANDER, STEFFI, NAA, Sydney.



This following case shows some discrepancies within some police stations during the war regarding the application of the *Prohibited Possessions Order*. Herta Curtis was born in Vienna, Austria and migrated to Australia in 1938 with her husband Kurt Curtis. During the war they resided in Bellevue Hill, in the eastern suburbs of Sydney and when Herta registered as an enemy alien, authorities wrote on her questionnaire:

we are of the opinion that she is of low mentality and would not commit and [any] subversive acts. She is slightly hard of hearing and does not appear to have any views on the institutionalisation other than express regret at having been forced from her home. Her husband is a commercial traveller in typewriter requisites and is away at present and has been for about 2 months.⁵⁶

⁵⁵ Copy of letter from W.T.S Crawford, Senior radio Inspector to Charlotte Gurke, 15 February 1943. See 'Gurke, Charlotte (German) [Box 280]'. C123/9305, NAA, Sydney.

⁵⁶ Questionnaire completed by the MPI Section, Police Headquarters in Sydney, 1939. See 'Curtiss formerley Schmuckler, Herta (German - naturalised British subject) [Box 98]'. C123/3522, NAA, Sydney.

In September 1940, a search was conducted at the Curtis' home and a small camera was found. Before the search, Herta explained that when she and her husband gave it in to authorities, authorities claimed because it was small and cheap they were allowed to take it home. However, once the search was conducted, Kurt surrendered the camera to the local police station in Waverley. According to a statement made by Kurt, he asked for a receipt. The officer in charge told Kurt that he would receive the receipt in the mail within the next two weeks. In November 1940, Herta requested for the return of her camera from authorities for the sole purpose of taking 'only' family photos. Authorities responded by asking for a receipt, however, Herta and Kurt told police that a receipt was not sent to their home. A report was made by the officer who claimed both 'Herta...and her husband were very definite that the camera had been surrendered and impressed me that they were telling the truth about the matter'.⁵⁷ The reports concluded that the camera could not be located and the matter was left unresolved.

Though many were in breach of the *Prohibited Possessions Order*, some were allowed to own and use a camera, but in most cases, these women became emotionally distressed after the pressure that was exerted by authorities. Twenty five year old German Lydia Kaufler lived on her own during the war in Homebush, an inner western suburb of Sydney. She was a successful fashion designer working with several firms in the city. On Lydia's questionnaire form, authorities wrote that:

Friends contacted stated that this alien is well conducted and anxious to comply with the laws of this country and in their opinion loyal to the British Empire...has few friends and occasionally visits her neighbour, and attends concerts at Sydney Town Hall.⁵⁸

⁵⁷ Report to Inspector Wilson, 22 September 1941. See 'Curtiss formerley Schmuckler, Herta (German - naturalised British subject) [Box 98]'. C123/3522, NAA, Sydney.

⁵⁸ Questionnaire completed by the MPI Section, Police Headquarters in Sydney. See 'Kaufler, Lydia Else (German [born] - naturalised British subject) [Box 234]'. C123/7874, NAA, Sydney.

Figure 97: Lydia Kaufler

'Kaufler, Lydia Else'. SP11/2 NAA, Sydney.



In May 1940, Lydia was questioned by authorities as to why she exposed coloured film at Kodak Co in Sydney. Lydia explained that the exposures on the film were her own designs and that she merely took photographs to finish off the remaining film. Overwhelmed by the questioning, Lydia was 'emphatic to the point of tears' and authorities believed that there was no significance in the arrangement of the photographs nor was there any message and she was cleared of any suspicion.⁵⁹

Thirty year old Erna Furnberg lived in Petersham, inner west of Sydney, and worked as a photographer during the war. In October 1940, evidence was produced by Erna to show authorities that she required permission to be allowed to use her camera as photography was her only means of earning a living.

Authorities allowed Erna to use the camera, provided that the following restrictions were adhered to:

it is reported that her work consists mainly of developing photographs, and it is only occasionally that she is required to do outside photography, and the income from the latter source is estimated at only 5/- a week. It would appear that use is approved, additional restrictions would appear necessary to conform with other permits issued; these might include 'between the hours of 9.a.m and 9.p.m; within a radius of 5 miles of the G.P.O. Sydney; photographs not to be taken of prohibited places or in prohibited areas, or

⁵⁹ Intelligence report, 28 May 1940. See 'Kaufler, Lydia Else (German [born] - naturalised British subject) [Box 234]'. C123/7874, NAA, Sydney.

of defence properties, equipment, or personnel in uniform; not to be used on Sundays or public holidays.⁶⁰

Erna's activities were duly noted by authorities as the months passed. Erna was later affected by travel restrictions that were placed on enemy aliens during the war. In August 1942, she wrote to authorities asking for permission to visit her fiancé who was living in Melbourne in order to discuss arrangements for the wedding:

Dear Sir,

I wish to apply for permission to visit Melbourne:

I have been engaged to be married for six months and wish to visit my fiancé to make arrangements for the wedding.

We could not come to a decision in our letters whether it would be wiser for my fiancé to come to Sydney to live here, or for me to go to Melbourne. I hope you will realise that it is of very great importance for us to talk that matter over personally.

I have a Developing & Printing Business here and I am doing quite well. Therefore we both will have to consider that problem very thoroughly...

My reasons for asking for the above...are, that I can arrange for my business to be carried on at this time. My accountant, Mr F. Brady, 12 O'Connell Street, Sydney, has kindly undertaken to do my work during my absence.

I do hope, you will be able to grant me this permission.⁶¹

Erna's application was refused. However, there were some officers who did sympathize with Erna, stating that they interviewed her and she was very distressed that she could not see her fiancée to discuss the issue. One officer stated that 'her explanation re marriage was satisfactory, but have advised her to try to make some decision with fiancé by postal service. Advised her that if no decision

⁶⁰ Memorandum to MPI section, 19 November 1940. See 'Furnberg, Erna (naturalised British subject) [formerly German - born in Austria] [Box 200]'. C123/6797, NAA, Sydney.

⁶¹ Copy of letter from Erna Furnberg to Police Headquarters in Sydney, 24 August 1942. See 'Furnberg, Erna (naturalised British subject) [formerly German - born in Austria] [Box 200]'. C123/6797, NAA, Sydney.

was reached, to submit a further application stating her difficulties'.⁶² One month later, approval was given to Erna to travel to Melbourne; however, there was outrage expressed in regards to this decision by an anonymous member of the community for the reason that they could not use Erna's services because she was on holiday: 'Do you think it is fair to allow Miss E. Fernberg a Refugee Austrian Photographer to travel to MELBOURNE [sic] this week and on a holiday when business was refused to deserving Australians for urgent business'.⁶³



Figure 98: Erna Furnberg

'Erna FURNBERG - Nationality: German - Arrived Sydney per KZM 25 Mar 1939 [Box 61]'. SP11/5 FURNBERG, ERNA, NAA, Sydney.

By 1943, now married, Erna was forced to dispose of her equipment except for her camera and left her business to work as a freelance photographer. In February, Erna called authorities to obtain an extension on her application permit for a camera because at the time she was in a dental mechanics

⁶² Report, 31 August 1942. See 'Furnberg, Erna (naturalised British subject) [formerly German - born in Austria] [Box 200]'. C123/6797, NAA, Sydney.

⁶³ Letter written to Minister of Defence, no date. See 'Furnberg, Erna (naturalised British subject) [formerly German - born in Austria] [Box 200]'. C123/6797, NAA, Sydney.

course while also working in freelance photography. Authorities wrote that she 'painted a picture of being deprived of her living and left starving but it is apparent that she wishes to pick her employment and particularly to remain in employment in the photographic business which at the present time is particularly remunerative'.⁶⁴ At that time, only twelve enemy aliens possessed permits for use of photographic apparatus. Authorities concluded that Erna was not allowed to use a camera and that all equipment be submitted to the National Service. It was not until 1944 that Erna was transferred from enemy alien to refugee status. It is not known whether her equipment was returned.⁶⁵

Another example of how strict authorities were regarding the use of cameras was highlighted in the case of German Jewish-born Eleanore Liefmann. Eleanore was born in Offenbach, Germany in 1909 and lived with her husband at Double Bay during the war. On 20 November 1940 Eleanore wrote to authorities asking for permission to use her camera. Authorities responded by claiming that despite the fact there 'is nothing recorded against her of an adverse nature, it is recommended that the application for permission to retain a camera be refused'.⁶⁶ Nineteen year old year old German Irma Merkelbach was also affected by the *Aliens Control Regulations*. She arrived in Australia in November 1938 and lived in Mt Pritchard, south west of Sydney, and helped her father make bags. A search warrant was executed at her home where authorities found Irma in the possession of a camera which

⁶⁴ Letter from Deputy Director Security to Security Service, 2 February 1943. See 'Furnberg, Erna (naturalised British subject) [formerly German - born in Austria] [Box 200]'. C123/6797, NAA, Sydney.

⁶⁵ Letter from Deputy Director Security to Security Service, 2 February 1943. See 'Furnberg, Erna (naturalised British subject) [formerly German - born in Austria] [Box 200]'. C123/6797, NAA, Sydney.

⁶⁶ Response from Authorities to Eleanore Liefmann, 29 November 1940. See 'Liefmann, Eleanore (German - naturalised British subject) [Box 104]'. C123/3772, NAA, Sydney.

had been given to her by her grandmother ten years earlier. Authorities confiscated the camera, however, no prosecution was recommended and Irma was not fined.⁶⁷

After the war had ended, many women continued to be subjected to the *Aliens Control Regulations*. For example, Else Fuhrmann who was born in Germany in November 1891 and arrived in Australia November 1929, wrote a letter on 6 August 1945 to the Deputy Director of Security asking permission to use her wireless. The Deputy Director responded that it was fine for Else to use it as long as she alters the valves in the wireless so she has a limited amount of access to frequency in the area.⁶⁸

Thirty-four year old Selma Finkenstein was a single woman working as a domestic servant and lived in Darlinghurst during the war. Selma was described by authorities as of 'only medium intelligence', 'rather childish in manner and is particular [particularly] hard working and thrifty'.⁶⁹ In October 1940, Selma wrote to authorities asking whether they would return her address book and that the address book had the phone number and addresses of friends that she would like to meet with. It is unknown from her file whether authorities returned this book.⁷⁰

⁶⁷ Report to Officer in Charge of Police, Liverpool, 8 October 1941. 'Merkelbach, Irma [German] [Box 240]'. C123/8054, NAA, Sydney.

⁶⁸ Response from Deputy Director of Security to Else Fuhrmann, 21 August 1945. See 'Fuhrmann, Else Martha Louisa (German) [Box 167]'. C123/5806, NAA, Sydney.

⁶⁹ Questionnaire completed by the MPI Section, Police Headquarters in Sydney. See 'Finkenstein, Selma (German) [Box 75]'. C123/3037, NAA, Sydney.

⁷⁰ Copy of letter from Selma Finkenstein to authorities, 16 October 1940. See 'Finkenstein, Selma (German) [Box 75]'. C123/3037, NAA, Sydney.

German Hertha Lindenberg was born in 1902 and lived in Bondi with her husband during the war.

Hertha ran a boarding house and it was stated on her questionnaire that:

We are of the opinion that at the present we can see no reason to put any restriction on the movements of this alien. Owing to her running a boarding house she has no time to commit any subversive act. She is quite willing and ready to answer questions, and the boarder, Mr Brown is continually on the watch for any subversive utterances or actions. Mr Brown states that he would immediately inform the authorities if anything came under his notice.⁷¹

Hertha had to obtain permission to use an electric torch whilst visiting her husband Alfred in military hospital. He was eventually discharged from the 2nd Australia Employment Company in June 1943.⁷²



Figure 99: Selma Finkenstein

'Selma KATZMANN [nee FINKENSTEIN] - Nationality: German - Arrived Sydney per MAIN on 20 May 1939 [Box 94]'. SP11/5 KATZMANN, SELMA, NAA, Sydney.



Figure 100: Hertha Lindenberg

'Hertha LINDENBERG - Nationality: Stateless, formerly German - Arrived Sydney per TASMAN on 22 Feb 1939 [Box 112]'. SP11/5 LINDENBERG, HERTHA, NAA, Sydney.

⁷¹ Questionnaire completed by the MPI Section, Police Headquarters in Sydney. See 'Lindenberg, Hertha (German - naturalised British subject) [Box 157]'. C123/5413, NAA, Sydney.

⁷² Letter from Deputy Director of Security NSW, Taylor to Hertha, 5 September 1942. See 'Lindenberg, Hertha (German - naturalised British subject) [Box 157]'. C123/5413, NAA, Sydney.

Suspicious Minds

There were many Australian residents who reported their German-Jewish neighbors to the authorities reflecting on the hysteria of the war-time conditions. There were a number of incidents in the files concerning German-Jewish women who were suspected of being spies. Ilse Rosenthal was born in Germany in April 1891, arrived in Sydney July 1938 and resided in harborside Vacluse. Ilse's profession focused on the German language and philosophy. Ilse was a student of Albert Einstein at Berlin University graduating with a PhD in philosophy, Greek and physics.⁷³ She worked as a lecturer at Sydney University and taught at a private school at Hopewood House, Darling Point. Authorities were concerned that if Ilse happened to come across German information regarding the war she would be able to translate the information and pass it on to the wrong people. Ilse's security dossier contained a pamphlet on the schedule of her lectures on modern science that was distributed to university students. This suggests that authorities were deeply concerned with her position as a lecturer which gave her the opportunity to influence others if she chose to do so.⁷⁴ Nothing adverse was eventually found but it was noted that Ilse's husband was employed in 'some very secret work...connected with munitions', work that was given to him by Commonwealth Government authorities when something broke down and no one could be found to fix the problem on a Sunday.⁷⁵

⁷³ A. Smith, 'Encyclopedia of Australian Science – Rosenthal Schneider, Ilse (1891-1990)'. 16 March 2001. [<http://www.eoas.info/biogs/P003165b.htm>]. Accessed: 17 March 2012.

⁷⁴ Pamphlet on schedule of Dr Ilse Rosenthal's lectures, September 1941. See 'Rosenthal nee Schneider, Ilse (German - naturalised British subject) [Box 112]'. C123/4020, NAA, Sydney.

⁷⁵ Unknown author, Memorandum, 12 May 1941. See 'Rosenthal nee Schneider, Ilse (German - naturalised British subject) [Box 112]'. C123/4020, NAA, Sydney.

Figure 101: Ilse Rosenthal

'Ilse ROSENTHAL [nee SCHNEIDER] -
Nationality: German - Arrived Sydney per
AORANGI on 01 Jul 1938 [Box 166]'. SP11/5
ROSENTHAL, ILSE, NAA, Sydney.



Ilse's case study also shows how communication with people in other countries during the war was extremely difficult, and was especially frustrating for Jewish refugees. On 28 April 1940, Ilse wrote to the Controller General of Customs in Canberra, E. Abbott, asking whether she would be able to help her brother, who had fled to Holland, to retrieve his belongings that were in Germany. Ilse wrote:

The only possibility to get his belongings out of Germany and to Holland would be, as he wrote to me, to send the Bill of Lading which is here in Sydney back to Holland to him. He has asked me to forward this Bill to Germany in order to [collect] his things, the last of all his property that was left to him. As he was not allowed to take money with him, he can not buy new things in Holland. I would love to help him in getting his things, and, therefore, I am applying for the permission to send the Bill of Lading to my brother in Holland. As I fear that this last property of my brother might be confiscated by the Nazis, I should be extremely grateful if the permission would be granted to me as soon as possible.⁷⁶

Mr Abbott responded almost three months later, stating that 'Holland is now occupied by Germany and communication with enemy territory is prohibited under the Trading with the Enemy Act...The delay in replying to your letter has been caused by the rapidly changing European situation and is

⁷⁶ Letter from Dr. Ilse Rosenthal to Controller General of Customs in Canberra, E. Abbott, 28 April, 1940. ['Dr. Ilse Rosenthal-Schneider- communication with brother in Holland'. 1940/w/7242, A1539]. A1539/ 1940/W/7242, NAA, Canberra.

regretted'.⁷⁷ It is not clear from Ilse's dossier whether or not she was able to obtain permission later on to assist with her brother's request.

Surveillance was also placed on Julie Sara Fischer who was born in Posen, Germany on 21 January 1912 and arrived in Australia on 5 October 1939. During the war, Julie was living with her husband in Tumby Umbi, a small town near Wyong on the central coast of New South Wales, where she worked as a cook. On 4 August 1941, a statement against Julie was made by Kate Smith, proprietor of a boarding house in Woollahra:

About 5 p.m. on 30th July, 1941, I said to Mrs Fischer, who appeared to be at the time leaving her room to go to another address, 'Are you leaving now, Mrs Fischer, as if you are, I want you to sign my book. I at the time had my alien register in my hand'. Mrs Fischer replied, 'No, I will back in about an hour's time'. I said, 'Are you sleeping here to-night'? She replied, 'I don't know, we may be because I don't know whether the flat will be ready for me, as the people only left that day'. About 1 hour later, Mrs Fischer did not return to my place, and I went into the room which she and her husband had vacated, and saw the attached note on the table, together with the keys of the room. I then reported the matter to Paddington Police Station.⁷⁸

Kate Smith had requested Mrs Fischer to furnish her intended new address in the book which she at the time had in her hand. Mrs Fischer refused to make the necessary entry in the book, and stated that 'she may be returning to sleep at that address, as the flat where she was going may not be ready for

⁷⁷ Copy of letter from Controller General of Customs in Canberra, E. Abbott to Dr Isle Rosenthal, 11 July 1940. ['Dr. Isle Rosenthal-Schneider- communication with brother in Holland'. 1940/w/7242, A1539]. A1539/ 1940/W/7242, NAA, Canberra.

⁷⁸ Statement made by Kate Smith, proprietor of residential Woollahra, 4 August 1941. See 'Fischer, Jula Sara (German - naturalised British subject) [Box 92]'. C123/3462, NAA, Sydney.

her...She then left...and did not return'.⁷⁹ Kate said, 'Yes, I wrote it, but I am very sorry if I did anything wrong'.⁸⁰

Figure 102: Julie Sara Fisher

'Julia Sara FISCHER - Nationality: German - Embarked Batavia per NIEUW HOLLAND [Box 56]'. SP11/5 FISCHER, JULIA SARA, NAA, Sydney.



Anonymous letters written to authorities regarding suspect German-Jewish refugees were a recurrent theme. Anna Gertrud Wendorf was sixty two years old, lived in Elizabeth Bay with her family and stayed at home most of the time during the war. On 23 November 1940, suspicious neighbours reported that they noticed signaling at night coming from Anna's apartment. One month later authorities conducted surveillance of Anna's apartment and saw no signaling and heard no further complaints. A detective and sergeant refrained from interviewing Anna and continued to watch her home.⁸¹

⁷⁹ Memo from Constable Claude Pryor to Inspector Gillam, 22 August 1941. See 'Fischer, Jula Sara (German - naturalised British subject) [Box 92]'. C123/3462, NAA, Sydney.

⁸⁰ Memo from Constable Claude Pryor to Inspector Gillam, 22 August 1941. See 'Fischer, Jula Sara (German - naturalised British subject) [Box 92]'. C123/3462, NAA, Sydney.

⁸¹ Report to Inspector Wilson, MPI section, 23 December 1940. See 'WENDORF, Anna Gertrude and Gertrude Johanna [Security Service, New South Wales, dossier] [Box 13]'. C123/2921, NAA, Sydney.

Thirty five year old German-Jewish Sinna Rotenstein was also placed under scrutiny based on the fact that she was a typist. Sinna was born in Russia and was classified as a German national when she arrived in Australia in May 1939 because of her German parents. Sinna was single, lived at Neutral Bay and worked as a domestic servant. Anonymous persons became suspicious of Sinna because her brother was interned, she spoke German and her neighbours regularly heard Sinna using a typewriter.⁸² In August 1940, authorities interviewed Sinna and found out that her brother was interned at Orange and that she had not seen him since because she could not get sufficient time off to travel and that she could not afford the cost of traveling. Authorities wrote:

Regarding the amount of typing done...she is hopeful of some day obtaining employment as a stenographer and for that reason practices on the typewriter on every opportunity, which also helps to improve her knowledge of English. The number of conversations she would have over the telephone when she would speak in German whilst employed at Slingo's, she maintains were with her brother who was then in Grime's garage at King's Cross, giving her reasons for speaking German that she found it easier to make herself understood.⁸³

Sinna assured authorities that she occupied herself all day with household duties from 7am to 8pm and that at the end of the day she was too tired to go out and she would stay in her room. She also stated that she had no friends and that she had every Friday off where she usually went to the City to have a look around at the shops or attend a picture show.⁸⁴ It became common for women to prove to authorities that they were not involved in espionage, with strategies such as emphasizing that they were lonely and had no friends to become less suspicious and avoid official harassment.

⁸² Letter from Major to Eastern Command, 20 June 1940. See 'Rotenstein, Sinna (German) [Box 149]'. C123/5124, NAA, Sydney.

⁸³ Report to inspector Keefe, 8 August 1940. See 'Rotenstein, Sinna (German) [Box 149]'. C123/5124, NAA, Sydney.

⁸⁴ Report to inspector Keefe, 8 August 1940. See 'Rotenstein, Sinna (German) [Box 149]'. C123/5124, NAA, Sydney.

Other women were fortunate that authorities did not depend on the meaningless assertions made by suspicious members of the community. For example German Jewish-born Rosemarie Sara Meyer was 16 years old when she registered. She lived in Double Bay and was a dressmaker during the war. On 19 January 1942, a letter was written to authorities by Australian-born Francis McGuinnes:

There are foreigners next door to my Aunt's place who hold meetings every week there are several cars parked outside the place, the blinds are always pulled down when they arrive, and you can hear them talking in a foreign language as though they are sending messages, my Aunt's are watching them and when they find anything definite they will inform the military.⁸⁵

Authorities concluded that this source can 'only be regarded as an unreliable person, who little or no reliance can be placed upon'.⁸⁶

Figure 103: Rosemarie Sara Meyer

'Rosemarie Sara MEYER - Nationality: German - Arrived Sydney per NIEUW HOLLAND on 05 Oct 1939 [Box 129]'. SP11/5 MEYER, ROSEMARIE SARA, NAA, Sydney.



'Bloody refo...Go home where you came from': Yvonne Kraemer and Ilona Balog

There were many German-Jewish refugee women who fled Nazi persecution in order to start a new life in Australia. However, the *Aliens Control Regulations* in their new host country disrupted their 'new

⁸⁵ Memorandum regarding statement made by Francis McGuinnes, 19 January 1942. See 'Meyer, Rosemarie Sara (German - naturalised British subject) [Box 89]'. C123/3401, NAA, Sydney.

⁸⁶ Memorandum regarding statement made by Francis McGuinnes, 19 January 1942. See 'Meyer, Rosemarie Sara (German - naturalised British subject) [Box 89]'. C123/3401, NAA, Sydney.

beginning'. Yvonne Kraemer and her family were an example of German-Jewish refugees who fell victim to war-time hysteria and legislation. Yvonne's parents were Johann Alfred Kraemer and Margot Kramer (nee Oppenheimer).⁸⁷ While living in Germany, her father, Johann, was an engineer but could not establish his own air conditioning (central heating) business nor could her mother, who had completed all of her qualifications in dentistry, practice as a dentist. Margot's main aspiration was to become a doctor. However, this was considered not to be ladylike and she was discouraged by her father.⁸⁸

Accordingly, Yvonne's parents decided to leave Germany, particularly when they had realized the Nazis were tightening their grip over the country. On one occasion, her father Johann answered the door to his apartment in Frankfurt to find an SS officer who was looking for a Hans Kraemer. Hans was a common short name for many named Johann. It was soon realized by both Johann and the SS officer that there was another Hans Kraemer in the block of apartments and the SS officer left in pursuit of him. As Yvonne remembers 'that's when they realized it was time to get going'.⁸⁹ Fortunately for the Kraemers, they had left before they were called up by the SS.⁹⁰

A few years after they had married, the Kraemers decided to move to America. However, because Johann was born in Strasbourg, a country which was taken over by the French, the Americans chose

⁸⁷ Some of the reasons why her parents emigrated were because being German-Jewish and living in Germany during the 1930s was extremely difficult.

⁸⁸ Yvonne Kraemer. Personal Interview. 19 August 2008.

⁸⁹ Yvonne Kraemer. Personal Interview. 19 August 2008.

⁹⁰ Yvonne Kraemer. Personal Interview. 19 August 2008.

not to accept the Kraemers and instead, they came to Australia where they had relatives.⁹¹ Yvonne's grandparents on her father's side, Daniel and Klara Kraemer, had lost everything during the First World War and the depression, including a tobacconist kiosk that they owned in a hotel in Strasbourg. Yvonne's father assisted their migration to Australia in July 1939 and they lived with their son and daughter-in-law. Yvonne's maternal grandparents, decided to stay in Germany because they had a lot of money invested in properties there which under the laws that applied at the time, would be confiscated if they were sold. What the Kreamers were not expecting upon their arrival to Australia was the discrimination they experienced that was brought on by the war and cemented by the introduction of the *Aliens Control Regulations*.⁹²

Figure 104: Yvonne's grandmother, Klara Kraemer, September 1939

'Margot KRAEMER - Nationality: German - Arrived Sydney per MS MAGDEBURG on 17 Oct 1938 [Box 102]'. SP11/5 KRAEMER, MARGOT, NAA, Sydney.



⁹¹ Yvonne Kraemer. Personal Interview. 19 August 2008.

⁹² Yvonne Kraemer. Personal Interview. 19 August 2008.



Figure 105: Yvonne's mother, Margot Kraemer, September 1939

'Klara Kraemer [German - arrived Sydney per RMS ORAMA, 18 July 1939. Box 96]'. SP11/2 GERMAN/KRAEMER K, NAA, Sydney



Figure 106: Yvonne's father, Johann Alfred Kraemer, September 1939

Johann Alfred Kraemer. SP11/5 GERMAN/KRAEMER K, NAA, Sydney

After their arrival in Australia in October 1938, the Kraemers moved to Waverley, an eastern suburb of Sydney and began looking for work. However, Yvonne's father was unable to find work and in early 1939, the family moved to Mayfield, near Newcastle, where Johann was hired as a draftsman for the steelworks company called the Broken Hill Propriety Limited (BHP). It was unexplained how Johann was even permitted to work for the steelworks production company in Newcastle, especially as he was classified as an enemy alien. Despite her qualifications, Yvonne's mother was unable to practice dentistry because her qualifications were not recognized in Australia and there was no university in

Newcastle at the time for her to consider gaining local registration. Yvonne was born in 1940 and Yvonne's grandparents had arrived in Australia to live with the family.⁹³

According to Yvonne, one of the main problems with being an enemy alien was that they were not allowed to own a camera and take photos. This is the reason why there are very few photographs of her childhood. Her father had a camera but was not allowed to keep it. He 'sold' it to his friend and it was returned after the war had ended. There was, however, one photograph that Yvonne has managed to find and she has provided me with a copy. The photograph shows Yvonne as a one year old child sitting with her grandparents Daniel and Klara Kraemer. Yvonne can also recollect the weekly trips she and her family made to the local police station on Valencia Street in Mayfield to register and report to their ARO. During the war, her family had no car and since there was no public transport, they had to walk 2.5 kilometers every week. The family eventually established some rapport with the ARO, Sergeant Gleeson. Sergeant Gleeson was well liked and friendly with the family. Yvonne remembered sitting on the police desk and being given a 'lollie' by the Sergeant. Unfortunately, sometime during the war, Sergeant Gleeson was transferred and a 'horrible man' who was nowhere near as pleasant to enemy aliens took over.⁹⁴

During her weekly trips to the Police Station, Yvonne saw a Baptist church or hall and became scared of this building because she was told that she was not allowed to go in there and that they were only allowed in synagogues. One day, while supplied with cardboard and crayons by her father, Yvonne

⁹³ Yvonne Kraemer. Personal Interview. 19 August 2008.

⁹⁴ Yvonne Kraemer. Personal Interview. 19 August 2008.

drew the Baptist church, with a heading 'BBC', which, in Yvonne's eyes, stood for the 'scary' Berlin Baptist Church.⁹⁵ When her parents saw the drawing they were curious to know how their daughter knew about the British Broadcasting Commission (BBC). Almost immediately, the drawing was destroyed, her parents scared that someone would see it and report the 'incident' to authorities.⁹⁶



Figure 107: Enemy Aliens – Daniel and Klara Kraemer with 'Aussie' granddaughter Yvonne, 1942.

Another problem with being an enemy alien that affected Yvonne during the war was that she was not allowed to speak German with her family in public spaces. However, Yvonne's parents knew English very well and adopted the English language in their home during the war. The only time German was spoken in the home was to communicate with her grandparents who knew very little English. Yvonne was told by her mother that whenever they went shopping she 'must not talk to my grandmother

⁹⁵ Yvonne Kraemer. Personal Interview. 19 August 2008.

⁹⁶ Yvonne Kraemer. Personal Interview. 19 August 2008.

when we were out'.⁹⁷ She was told this because Yvonne's mother knew that if her daughter wanted to speak to grandma it would be in German, which could lead to people suspecting them as being German spies. Little did her parents know that because of this, Yvonne experienced an identity crisis as she was growing up in Australia. Yvonne told me that 'I didn't know why [she was told to not speak German] and because of that, that sort of affected me psychologically for many years even as I grew up and grew older. I never ever said much. I was a very shy child'.⁹⁸

Perhaps the most memorable case concerned German Jewish-born Ilona Balog. Ilona's family left Germany in the late 1930s and lived in England for a few years before arriving in Australia. The Balog family settled on Balfour Road in Rose Bay, an eastern suburb of Sydney. However, their arrival was made difficult by the Commonwealth Government. The Balog family was requested to pay a landing fee of £2,200 in addition to having a guarantor, which at the time was a considerable amount of money. In addition, Suzanne Rutland wrote that while the 'government was sympathetic to the plight of the Jewish refugees, the reception accorded by the Australian public, both Jewish and non-Jewish, was on the whole cold and aloof and, in some cases, even hostile'.⁹⁹ According to Suzanne D. Rutland, the Commonwealth 'discreetly discouraged their entry by creating difficulties with the language test'.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁷ Yvonne Kraemer. Personal Interview. 19 August 2008.

⁹⁸ Yvonne Kraemer. Personal Interview. 19 August 2008.

⁹⁹ Rutland, 'Australian Responses', p. 29.

¹⁰⁰ Rutland, 'Australian Responses', p. 29.

Nevertheless, the Balog family was grateful for living in Australia, escaping the horrific conditions that Jews endured in Germany and the constant fear of bombing in England. While they settled, Ilona's father Georg Balog established a clothing manufacturing company in Sydney while her mother Mathilda remained a housewife.

As children, Ilona and her younger sister perceived their journey to Australia as a great adventure. They were happy to leave Europe and were innocently expecting beautiful weather and kangaroos hopping around on the streets. Ilona and her sister were kept busy by meeting up with other Jewish refugees in their area. They formed a youth group, attended the synagogue regularly for social gatherings and became involved in making camouflage netting through a voluntary organization which contributed to the war effort. Some of the activities that Ilona took part in included knitting socks to send to soldiers fighting overseas and waitressing at the American Rest and Recreation centre located in Kings Cross.¹⁰¹

The culture shock was experienced similarly by Yvonne and Ilona Balog. Refugees are most often perceived as 'poor and uneducated'; however, German-Jewish who fled Nazi Germany were part of an influential class who were stripped of their German citizenship.¹⁰² This was certainly the case for Yvonne and Ilona's families. Yvonne's parents came from a large town in Germany where there was more variety of food and numerous ways of entertaining yourself.¹⁰³ Living in a place like Newcastle, and coming from a German-Jewish background, Yvonne was 'very much aware of any difference'.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰¹ Ilona Balog. Personal Interview. 31 October 2008.

¹⁰² Rutland, Australian Responses, p. 29.

¹⁰³ Yvonne Kraemer. Personal Interview. 19 August 2008.

¹⁰⁴ Yvonne Kraemer. Personal Interview. 19 August 2008.

She was 'quiet and withdrawn as a child'; forever conscious of being different; and she 'felt my parents' accent was something I felt I didn't want my school friends to know about'.¹⁰⁵ Ilona explained that her mother experienced a 'culture shock' and believed that Australia was quite backward regarding family life. While living in Germany, Mathilda was used to having a housemaid and never had to do her own housework which was considered to be 'below her standard'.¹⁰⁶

Due to financial difficulties, Ilona left school, abandoning her aspirations of becoming a doctor in order to work as a messenger girl for a law firm in the city. Ilona received 9 shillings per week and saved up for a deposit on a piano which she still owns today. While she was working, Ilona also attended Business College in the evenings. Her work as a messenger girl was short lived and she later worked for the Jewish Welfare Society (JWS). However, shortly after this, her father was called to work for the Employment Company when he turned forty five years old, and Ilona left the JWS to work for her father's company.¹⁰⁷ Ilona's father stayed in the Employment Company for a few weeks and was able to return home after he was rejected by authorities due to ill health.

While Ilona was working as a messenger, resentment was expressed toward her by her colleagues. It has become well known that 'during the depression years...the government believed that there were too many Australians out of work to permit entry to foreigners'.¹⁰⁸ This led to many migrants being subject to hostilities expressed by the Australian public. When asked whether she had experienced any

¹⁰⁵ Yvonne Kraemer. Personal Interview. 19 August 2008.

¹⁰⁶ Ilona Balog. Personal Interview. 31 October 2008.

¹⁰⁷ Ilona Balog. Personal Interview. 31 October 2008.

¹⁰⁸ Rutland, 'Australian Responses', p. 30.

discrimination, Ilona referred to an incident that occurred on the way into the city one day when someone called out to her 'Bloody refo...Go home where you came from!'¹⁰⁹ Ilona was aware that she was perceived as 'different' in many ways. She said 'We were just different and people didn't understand'.¹¹⁰ She knew she dressed differently and spoke English in a different way, so the discrimination experienced was justified in her eyes because in reality, she saw herself as different. Despite these reactions, Ilona was more surprised to find that racism also came from established members of the Jewish community who were afraid that the influx of refugees would encourage anti-Semitism.¹¹¹

At sixteen years of age upon entry in Australia, Ilona was required to register at the local police station in Rose Bay as an enemy alien and report to the ARO once a week. Ilona remembers visiting the police on a weekly basis and commented on how friendly the police staff were. In fact, Ilona remarked at how she looked forward to seeing the police officers and at times, was flirtatious with them. She also remembers having a sarcastic attitude and that she was called into the police station because someone had accused her of being a spy. The police questioned her without revealing who had filed the report her in but were quick to realize that there was no credibility to the story and she was free to leave. Despite the false accusations, Ilona believed that due to the war situation, it was easy for a real spy to pretend that they were Jewish, so again, it was justified. Ilona claimed this kind of suspicion was

¹⁰⁹ Ilona Balog. Personal Interview. 31 October 2008.

¹¹⁰ Ilona Balog. Personal Interview. 31 October 2008.

¹¹¹ Ilona Balog. Personal Interview. 31 October 2008.

'understandable because in those days Australia was very...isolated and anything strange that they didn't know they looked at...with suspicion'.¹¹²

After our interview, I was curious to find out more about Ilona's incident with the police. Ilona was never told about who reported her to the police. However, a few months later, after discovering her NAA file which had never before been examined, I returned to interview Ilona once again and showed her the NAA file along with dossiers concerning her parents. Ilona was intrigued about what the authorities had written. I read aloud the two statements made against her. Both statements were made by co workers who knew her while she was working as a messenger. Doris Polson made the first statement on 3 December 1941:

About one month ago whilst I was having lunch in the company of Ilona Balog, I heard Miss Davidson say to her, 'who do you want to see with [win] this war?' Balog replied 'Oh Germany, of course!' Miss Davidson reprimanded her by saying, 'you'd better not say that here, or you'll get put out'.

On another occasion, Miss Balog was at my desk near the telephone and she was idly drawing swastikas on the pad. I said to her 'what are you doing there?' she appeared startled and said 'oh, nothing'. I said, 'the Union Jack would be more in your line'. Balog once passed the remark that the German soldiers were very well-disciplined and excellent fighters. I do know that Balog was communicating with a sailor in the British Navy, whom she met on the boat coming out to Australia. I have read one of the letters from this sailor to Ilona Balog.¹¹³

On the same day, Heather Davidson stated:

I knew Miss Ilona Balog. She was employed for about six weeks by our firm and left about a fortnight ago. Whilst having lunch about a month ago, I said to Ilona Balog, 'who do you want to see win this war?' she said, 'oh, Germany, of course!' I said 'you'd better not say that here, or you'll get put out'. By her demeanour, I am suspicious that her sympathies lie with Germany, as a country- but perhaps not with the leaders of that country. It was noticeable that she never at any time voiced her feelings as being against Nazi Germany.¹¹⁴

¹¹² Ilona Balog. Personal Interview. 31 October 2008.

¹¹³ Questionnaire completed by the M. P. I. Section, Police Headquarters in Sydney, 3rd December, 1941. See 'Balog, Ilona [Hungarian [born in Germany] - naturalised British subject] [Box 524]'. C123/17270, NAA, Sydney.

¹¹⁴ Questionnaire completed by the M. P. I. Section, Police Headquarters in Sydney, 3rd December, 1941. See 'Balog, Ilona [Hungarian [born in Germany] - naturalised British subject] [Box 524]'. C123/17270, NAA, Sydney.

I also read aloud the conclusions that authorities had made about the situation:

She was so frank and open about the matter that we are of the opinion that she was so indignant at such a silly question being put to her that she made the remark fully intending the answer to be bitingly sarcastic and just as silly as the question.¹¹⁵

When asked about how she felt about this incident, she responded by saying that she couldn't remember the women who made the statements because she was not working at the firm for long. Ilona was grateful that the police were actually friendly and recognized her sarcasm. She said 'Unfortunately, I'm so bloody sarcastic...'.¹¹⁶ Ilona continued with her positive response by saying that she could understand why they were suspicious because Australians could not deal with foreigners.¹¹⁷ This view was popular among the German-Jewish refugees who had settled before the outbreak of war. Reverend Katz believed that most were grateful that they were safe despite the mistreatment Jewish refugees received during the war

These regulations were carried out under a certain war psychosis and were understandable to us. What we found unjust and unnecessary was the regulation which made us enemy aliens...After all, we from Germany and Austria were refugees from Hitlerite persecution and had been declared stateless by our former Government; we opposed Fascism and Nazism. Only a madman could have wished to venture hostile action against his new country.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁵ Questionnaire completed by the M. P. I. Section, Police Headquarters in Sydney, 8 January, 1942. See 'Balog, Ilona [Hungarian [born in Germany] - naturalised British subject) [Box 524]'. C123/17270, NAA, Sydney.

¹¹⁶ Ilona Balog. Personal Interview. 31 October 2008.

¹¹⁷ Ilona Balog. Personal Interview. 31 October 2008.

¹¹⁸ Andgel, *Fifty Years of Caring*, p. 37.



Figure 108: Ilona's mother, Mathilde Balog

'Mathilde BALOG SP11/5 BALOG, M, NAA, Sydney.



Figure 109: Ilona's father, George Balog

'George BALOG', SP11/5 BALOG, G, NAA, Sydney.



Figure 110: Ilona's mother, Mathilde Balog

'Ilona BALOG - Nationality: Hungarian - Embarked Liverpool per STRATHMORE [Box 9]'. SP11/5 BALOG, ILONA, NAA, Sydney.

Conclusion

With the evidence presented in this chapter, it is clear that the Commonwealth Government was well aware that majority of German-Jewish women who migrated to Australia just before the outbreak of war were fleeing Nazi persecution. Given the war-time hysteria that existed and the lack of organization within the bureaucratic systems implemented, many women were unfairly subject to the *Aliens Control Regulations* despite being refugees as defined by the League of Nations. In a similar way, the bureaucratic processes that failed German-Jewish women was also extended to Australian-born women married to Italian nationals. Most women were shocked to find out that upon marriage they had lost their British status under the *Nationality Act 1920* (Cth). Clearly, Australian women married to Italians were denied their civilian liberties, the final chapter shows how the *Aliens Control Regulations* impacted on their lives.

Chapter Seven:

The Wives of Enemy Aliens

Much of the legislation with regard to enemy aliens may appear to be severe on Australian-born women who are married to them [enemy aliens] but this is not the fault of the Government...Many difficulties would have been avoided if these women had availed themselves of the law, which has been fought for by women in the past, enabling them to re-establish themselves as Australian subjects after their marriage.¹

(Federal Minister for Health, Mr H.V.C. Thorby, 1940)

On 27 August 1941, Isabella Venuti answered the front door and found two men in uniform standing before her. 'I am Sergeant Jones' said one, 'and this is Constable Doolan, we are from Police Headquarters'. Sergeant Jones asked Isabella what her nationality was and Isabella replied 'By virtue of my marriage I am an Italian, my husband is an Italian'. She also told the Sergeant that she had registered as an alien and claimed Italian nationality. The Sergeant then asked her if she had the necessary permission under the *National Security (Aliens Control) Regulations 1939 (Cth)* to retain possession of a camera. Her response was 'No' and that she did not know that it was necessary to have any permission. In response to this, Sergeant Jones apparently stated to Isabella that he was going to take possession of the camera and report the facts to police. He stated that 'in all probabilities you will be prosecuted for a breach of the Regulations'. As the policemen left the home Isabella pleaded 'I am more than sorry if I have done anything wrong I do not want to break the law'.²

¹ 'Wives of Aliens'. *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 31 July 1940, p. 7.

² Report written by Sergeant Leonard John Jones. See 'Venuti, Isabelle (Italian – naturalized British subject) [Box 78]'. C123/1 3111, National Archives of Australia (NAA), Sydney.

Not only did the *Aliens Control Regulations* have a direct effect on the lives of Italian born women living in New South Wales during the Second World War, the *Aliens Control Regulations* also affected the lives of women who had become Italian upon marriage. These Australian women lost their British nationality as a result of being married to an Italian. This meant they too were subjected to the Commonwealth Government's war-time legislation. The majority of these women were Australian-born, but as a result of their marriage to an alien, they experienced the discrimination brought on by the *Aliens Control Regulations*. Many of their husbands were born in Italy, and arrived in Australia throughout the 1920s and 1930s. In order to retain their British nationality, these women had to prove to the Commonwealth Investigation Branch (CIB) in Canberra that they had no sympathy towards any of the enemy countries who were at war with the Allied forces during the Second World War, especially their husband's homeland. There has been very little research carried out on women who fall into this category, and their stories and experiences raise many issues regarding the treatment of aliens and enemy aliens during the Second World War, as well as citizenship and women's status in Australia during the early twentieth century. The previous chapters in this dissertation focus on ethnicity, appearance and heritage, however, this chapter provides an insight into Australian society and how Australian-born women were affected by the *Aliens Control Regulations*.

Of the eight seven dossiers of Australian-born women that were examined for this thesis, Table five shows the age groups of Australian women married to Italian nationals who registered as enemy aliens in New South Wales during the Second World War.

AGE	NUMBER OF WOMEN
UNDER 20	13
20-29	41
30-39	17
40-49	10
50-59	5
OVER 60	1

Table 5: Ages of eighty seven Australian-born women living in New South Wales during the Second World War.

The majority of women who were affected by the *Aliens Control Regulations* were in the age groups of twenty to twenty nine and thirty to thirty nine. Only three women were under the age of twenty, the youngest being Joyce Mary Lindo, who was born in Canberra and was sixteen years of age with one child when she registered as an enemy alien.³ New Zealand born Kate Schiano was the eldest at sixty nine years old. Schiano was required to register despite the fact that her husband had deserted her prior to the war.⁴

From the eighty seven files that were examined, eighty three women were married, and only three divorces were recorded. The patterns of marriage were very conservative before 1921, however, as we will see, there were many women willing to discuss their marital troubles to authorities and divorce

³ Questionnaire completed by the MPI Section, Police Headquarters in Sydney, 2 August 1940. 'Lindo nee Bartley, Joyce Mary (Italian by marriage – Australian-born) [Box 118]'. C123/1 4181, NAA, Sydney.

⁴ Questionnaire completed by the MPI Section, Police Headquarters in Sydney, 7 August 1940. 'Schiano, Kate (Italian by marriage – born in New Zealand) [Box 147]'. C123/1 5071, NAA, Sydney.

rates continued to increase slightly.⁵ Statistics do show however, that divorce was temporarily increased during the war.⁶ In 1933, number of divorces recorded was 1954. This number increased to 7213 in 1945. It was not until the 1960s that divorce became much more broadly acceptable.⁷

Although they were restricted to a much lesser extent in comparison to their Italian and German Jewish counterparts, Australian women were nonetheless still adversely affected by the *Aliens Control Regulations*. From these eight seven files, only twelve of these women were in paid work during the war and thirty two women had worked before they were married. This suggests that the majority of these women were from a working class background. These women were possibly from the upper strata of the working class being able to leave the workforce after marriage. Most resided in rural in areas before they married an Italian national and later settled in the inner areas of Sydney. Very few women resided on farms, with most women living in the inner areas of Sydney. The majority of the questionnaire forms emphasized the fact that women were 'not employed', and authorities made it clear by stating that their occupation involved 'home duties' or 'domestic duties'.

Most of dossiers examined revealed that women who were Italian by marriage were unaware that they had to register as aliens. Most women believed they were still of Australian/British nationality, and were unaware of losing their nationality upon marriage. Hannah Wilmore Martinuzzi, who was born in Gunning, was one of many who were unaware that they were required to register. Hannah was born

⁵ P. F. McDonald, *Marriage in Australia: Age at first Marriage and Proportions Marrying, 1860-1971*. Canberra: The Australian National University, p. 1975, p. 164.

⁶ Vamplew, *Australians: Historical Statistics*, 47 and 43.

⁷ Vamplew, *Australians: Historical Statistics*, 47 and 43.

on 5 October 1898, and during the war, lived at Kingsford, Sydney. Her husband Santo Martinuzzi was an Italian subject who had lived in Australia for sixty years. Both Hannah and her husband were under the impression that he was naturalized prior to their marriage. Despite Hannah's British nationality and her husband's sixty years of living in Australia, it was concluded by authorities that she had married an unnaturalized subject meaning that her nationality had changed to Italian.⁸ Hannah, therefore, had to comply with the *Aliens Control Regulations* and register. It was not until April 1944 that Hannah regained her British nationality.⁹

⁸ Questionnaire completed by the M. P. I. Section, Police Headquarters in Sydney, 17 August 1940. See 'Martinuzzi, Hannah Wilmore (born in NSW – [formerly] Italian by marriage – naturalized British subject) Box 188'. C123/1 6449. NAA, Sydney.


⁹ Questionnaire completed by the M. P. I. Section, Police Headquarters in Sydney, 17 August 1940. See 'Martinuzzi, Hannah Wilmore (born in NSW – [formerly] Italian by marriage – naturalized British subject) Box 188'. C123/1 6449. NAA, Sydney.

Figure 110:
Hannah Wilmore
Martinuzzi

Hannah Wilmore
Martinuzzi [WWII
naturalized alien]
[box 40]'. SP11/5
Martinuzzi/Hanna
h, NAA, Sydney.

COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA.
National Security (Aliens Control) Regulations.

Form of Application for Registration
(For Alien resident in Australia.)



This form is to be filled in (except as to signature and finger print) in triplicate attend in person, with the triplicate forms, before the member of the Police Force Station nearest to his usual place of abode, and in his presence to sign the application and to allow an impression of his finger print to be taken if required.

Name (in full) M A R T I N U Z Z I Hannah Wilmore
(Surname to be underlined.)

Nationality Italian by marriage Sex Female

Birthplace Gunning New South Wales Date of birth 5.10. 1898.

Place of abode 59 Tunstall Avenue Kingsford,

Place of business (if any) _____

Occupation Domestic duties Married } Strike out the term that does not apply.
Single X }

Date of entry into Australia 4-----

Name of ship ----- Port of debarkation -----

PERSONAL DESCRIPTION: Height 5 ft. 2 in. Colour of eyes Hazel

Colour of hair Brown Build Slight

Notable marks Operation scar on abdomen

Remarks: No papers produced

Date of Application 22.th July 1940.

(THIS SPACE FOR OFFICE USE ONLY.)

Certificate issued—No. 38579 REMARKS: _____



Date 22.nd July 1940. _____

H. Woodcock
(Signature of Aliens Registration Officer.)

Daceyville
(Police Station.)

FINGER PRINT.
(Impression to be made, if required, in presence of Aliens Registration Officer.)

(LEFT HAND)(RIGHT HAND)

Hannah Martinuzzi
(Usual signature of Alien.)

(To be signed in presence of Aliens Registration Officer.)

928 939 81 140 T. H. TERRY, ACTING GOV. PRINTED.

Some police officers were also unaware that these women were required to register as aliens. Alice Duilio was born in Ballarat, Victoria, on 4 July 1911. During the war, Alice lived in Eastern Sydney and took care of her three children. On 13 January 1941, Alice registered as an enemy alien and stated to authorities that the reason why she did not register earlier was because she was advised by authorities there was no need for her to do so.¹⁰ Similarly, Ethel Isabela Doria was 23 years old and was born in Mackay, Queensland. During the war, Ethel also lived in Eastern Sydney and looked after her son, Robert who was 2 years old. Her marriage to Italian Nazzareno Doria meant that she had to register as an enemy alien. However, it was stated on her questionnaire that although she was married to an Italian, she was very

Pro-British, and although she states she did not register as an alien until the 25th September 1940, she states that it was not her fault as when she was residing at Wollongong she accompanied her husband to the Police Station there, when the notices were first issued for aliens to register but was informed by the Sergeant there that it was not compulsory for her to register, and since has not bothered to do so.¹¹

Some Australian women married to Italian men adopted what was described as a 'hostile attitude' when forced by authorities to register as aliens. Most women became angry when they found out that they had lost their British nationality. Authorities made note of this hostility and women who failed to comply with the *Aliens Control Regulations* were eventually prosecuted. For example, because of her marriage to Italian Giuseppe Raffaele, 29 year old Australian-born Catherine Mildred Raffaele was considered to be an enemy alien. Even though the *Aliens Control Regulations* were pointed out to her by Constable K.R.C. Maynard, Catherine refused to register. According to the Constable, Catherine 'still

¹⁰ Questionnaire completed by the M. P. I. Section, Police Headquarters in Sydney 13 January 1941. See 'Duilio [nee Revell], Alice (Italian by marriage) [naturalized British subject] Box 188'. C123/1 11750, NAA, Sydney.

¹¹ Questionnaire completed by the M. P. I. Section, Police Headquarters in Sydney 25 September 1940. Refer to 'Doria [nee Graham], Alice (Italian by marriage) [naturalised British subject – born in Australia] [Box 362]'. C123/1 9736, NAA, Sydney.

considered herself to be an Australian' and that during the 'interviewing and registering, Mrs Raffaele adopted a hostile attitude'.¹² On 20 January 1941, Catherine finally relented and registered. However, it was stated afterwards by the Constable that there was no need to prosecute Catherine: 'Mrs Raffaele and her husband are on the Food Relief at present and under the circumstances I am of the opinion that no good purpose would be cautioned and it [was] pointed out to her that should she again commit a breach of the Regulations, Court action will be taken against her'.¹³ Catherine applied to regain her British nationality and became a naturalized British subject on 6 May 1941.¹⁴



Figure 111: Catherine Mildred Raffaele

'Catherine Mildred Raffaele [WWII naturalized alien] [box 51]'. SP11/5 Raffaele/Catherine, NAA, Sydney.

¹² Report from Constable K.R.C. Maynard to Commissioner of Police, ARO in Sydney, 24 December 1940. C123/1 11819, NAA, Sydney. See 'Raffaele, Catherine Mildred (Australian-born – Italian by marriage – naturalised British subject) [Box 364]'. C123/1 11819, NAA, Sydney.

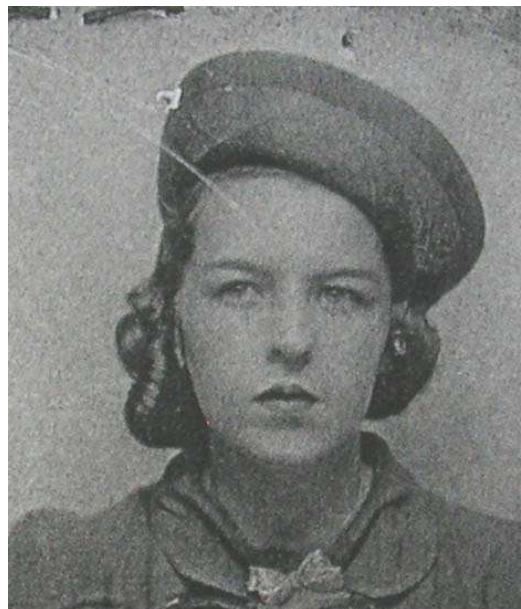
¹³ Report from Constable K.R.C. Maynard to Commissioner of Police, ARO in Sydney, 24 December 1940. C123/1 11819, NAA, Sydney. See 'Raffaele, Catherine Mildred (Australian-born – Italian by marriage – naturalised British subject) [Box 364]'. C123/1 11819, NAA, Sydney.

¹⁴ W.S. Chenoweth, 'Custodian Records', 19 October 1944. C123/1 11819, Sydney. See 'Raffaele, Catherine Mildred (Australian-born – Italian by marriage – naturalised British subject) [Box 364]'. C123/1 11819, NAA, Sydney.

Australian-born Jeanne Rosa was also unaware that she had to register as an enemy alien. It was reported that Jeanne 'stated that her husband made inquiries about her registration last year [1939] but didn't get any satisfaction and she didn't bother about it any further. This alien adopted a rather hostile attitude and did not report until warned by the Police to do so'.¹⁵ On 30 August 1945, Jeanne was fined £1 with 8/- costs.¹⁶ It was found out that there was nothing adverse on the character of Jeanne and no objection was raised against Jeanne.

Figure 112: Jeanne Rosa

'Jeanne Rosa [WWII naturalized alien] [box 51]'. SP11/5 Raffaele/Catherine, NAA, Sydney.



¹⁵ Memorandum from Sergeant B. Begg to Inspector E. B. Caban, 28 June 1940. See 'Rosa, Jeanne nee Allardyce (Australia born – Italian by marriage) [box 57]. C123/1 2666, NAA, Sydney.

¹⁶ Five years later, Jeanne made an application for consent to purchase land in Downing St, Epping. It was reported by Inspector D. A. Alexander to authorities if he could be informed as to whether anything was known by his Department 'against the character of the applicant. The file was then referred to Security Service for notification of Security objection or otherwise and forwarded by that service to him'. See Memorandum from Inspector D.A. Alexander, 13 August 1941. See 'Rosa, Jeanne nee Allardyce (Australia born – Italian by marriage) [box 57]. C123/1 2666, NAA, Sydney.

However, it was noted that she was an active member of the Communist Party of Australia (CPA).¹⁷ It is possible that Jeanne was victimized by the political oppression that was also exercised against the CPA. With the fall of France in 1940, the CPA was banned by the Menzies Government. Later, after the Soviet Union entered the war on the side of the Allies in June 1941, the Australian Labor Government lifted the ban.¹⁸

Even Australian women whose marriages had failed were expected to register. From the 85 files that were examined, there were six cases where women reported to authorities that their husband had deserted them. These women were also unaware that they were required to register as aliens. For example, Helen Alice Margaret Cappadona was born in Tasmania and lived in Surry Hills during the Second World War.¹⁹ Helen claimed that her husband Francesco Cappadona had left her fourteen years ago. She was under the impression that he had become a naturalized British subject. Authorities stated that they were of the opinion that she was 'a victim of circumstances. She parted from her husband...and has had no connections with him or other Italians since that time'.²⁰ On 30 October 1940, Helen wrote to authorities

Dear Sir,

I am writing you this letter inquiring why I have been registered as an enemy alien. I was born in Melton, Mowbray Tasmania. My parents were born in Ireland and my husband was born in Italy and I have not lived with him for fourteen years. I had my husband at the maintenance Court and the case was dismissed as there was no jurisdiction in N.S.W. The police have informed me my husband became naturalised as a

¹⁷ Memorandum from Constable No. 4247 to S.O.I. Bureau Police Headquarters in Sydney, 15 May 1945. See 'Rosa, Jeanne nee Allardyce (Australia born – Italian by marriage) [box 57]. C123/1 2666, NAA, Sydney.

¹⁸ J. Beaumont *et al.*, (eds), *Australia's War 1939-45*. St. Leonards: Allen & Unwin, 1996, p. 95.

¹⁹ Questionnaire completed by the M. P. I. Section, Police Headquarters in Sydney, 26 September 1940. See 'Cappadona [nee McGrath], Helena Alice Margaret (born in Tasmania – Italian by marriage) [Box 297]'. C123/1 9801, NAA, Sydney.

²⁰ Questionnaire completed by the M. P. I. Section, Police Headquarters in Sydney, 26 September 1940. See 'Cappadona [nee McGrath], Helena Alice Margaret (born in Tasmania – Italian by marriage) [Box 297]'. C123/1 9801, NAA, Sydney.

single man. I was registered as an enemy alien on the 24th September, 1940, two days before Election Day. I find it impossible to obtain work as the police told me I must take the name I have been registered under, and I am now almost destitute.²¹

Many women were clearly victimized because of their Italian name. Despite her plea to be regarded as a British subject, Helen was referred to the *Nationality Act 1920* (Cth) and was told by authorities to apply through the CIB in order to regain her British nationality. On 4 December 1940, Helen regained her British status, but because she had been married to an Italian, Helen was required to pay a fee of ten shillings.²²

Thirty-one year old Winifred Gazzi n e Lenehan lived in Sydney with her two children during the war. In July 1942, authorities confiscated a wireless that she owned. Constable William Muirhead Dickson approached Winifred about the wireless. Winifred stated, ‘Yes, I know that Italians are not allowed to have wireless receiving sets, but I am an Australian [...] I have two children born in Sydney. I am only married to an Italian’.²³ The Constable took possession of her wireless and reported that Winifred had been living apart from her husband Gino Gazzi since May 1941. Even though they were separated, Winifred’s husband supported her and their children by contributing money.

²¹ Copy of a letter from Helen Alico Margaret Cappadonia to Hon. E.J. Ward, 30 October 1940. See ‘Cappadonia [nee McGrath], Helena Alice Margaret (born in Tasmania – Italian by marriage) [Box 297]’. C123/1 9801, NAA, Sydney.

²² Report on Interview with Helen Alico Margaret Cappadonia by Officer Brady, 25 November 1940. See ‘Cappadonia [nee McGrath], Helena Alice Margaret (born in Tasmania – Italian by marriage) [Box 297]’. C123/1 9801, NAA, Sydney.

²³ Report from Constable William Muirhead Dickson, 30 July 1942. C123/1 2451, Sydney. See ‘Gazzi, Winifred (Australian-born – Italian by marriage) [0.25cm; box 50]’. C123/1 2451, NAA, Sydney.

Figure 113: Winifred Gazzi

'Winifred Gazzi [WWII naturalized alien] [box 23]'. SP11/5 Gazzi/Winifred, NAA, Sydney.



However, the authorities later discovered that Winifred and Gino were never legitimately married.²⁴ Winifred stated to authorities that she decided to register as an alien in order to safeguard her character, and for the sake of her children. This was despite the fact that her husband had deserted her. Gino was interviewed on 14 August 1942 and made the following statement in regards to Winifred's registration as an alien:

I now definitely state that I have never gone through the form of marriage with Winifred Lenehan who is now known as Mrs Gazzi. I lived on and off with Miss Winifred Leehan as man and wife for the 12 years and there are two children of the union...The children were registered in the name of Gazzi and I signed the papers for that purpose...the purpose of protecting her name and not to throw a slur upon my children...I am very sorry for my past actions and did not intend to do anything unlawful, or supply misleading information. Miss Lenehan registered as an alien but I did not cause or ask her to register as such, that action was solely her own concern. I consider myself morally the husband of [Miss] Lenehan and admit being the father of her children.²⁵

²⁴ Memorandum from Constable W.M. Dickson to Inspector Watkins, 30 July 1942. See 'Gazzi, Winifred (Australian-born – Italian by marriage) [0.25cm; box 50]'. C123/1 2451, NAA, Sydney.

²⁵ Statement written by Constables Gardner and Dickson, 14 August 1942. See 'Gazzi, Winifred (Australian-born – Italian by marriage) [0.25cm; box 50]'. C123/1 2451, NAA, Sydney.

Winifred was also interviewed on the same day. She stated that she met Gino in 1928 and when:

the war broke out, on the advice of friends who did not know that I was only living with Gazzi, I registered at Regent St, Police Station as an Italian Alien, being issued with Certificate No. 29417. This action on my part was done solely to prevent people from ascertaining that I was not married to Gazzi. Even my own relations do not know that I am not a married woman.²⁶



Figure 114: Gino Gazzi

'Gino Gazzi [WWII naturalized alien] [box 23]'. SP11/5 Gazzi/Gino, NAA, Sydney

Winifred's statement clearly highlights issues that deal with morality and decency during the Second World War. Winifred chose to register as an enemy alien rather than allow people to know that she was never married to the father of her two children. Winifred further stated that she felt too ashamed to tell the officers when they had taken possession of her wireless.²⁷ There was an increase in divorce

²⁶ Statement written by Constables Gardner and Dickson, 14 August 1942. See 'Gazzi, Winifred (Australian-born – Italian by marriage) [0.25cm; box 50]'. C123/1 2451, NAA, Sydney.

²⁷ Statement written by Constables Gardner and Dickson, 14 August 1942. See 'Gazzi, Winifred (Australian-born – Italian by marriage) [0.25cm; box 50]'. C123/1 2451, NAA, Sydney.

rates during the war and although the war saw more social tolerance of divorce, the reputation of being an divorced mother clearly influenced Winfred's decision to register as an enemy alien rather than allowing others know that she was an divorced mother. As a result, both Gino and Winifred were fined for 'supplying false and misleading information'.²⁸ Authorities did, however, return the wireless set to Winifred.²⁹

Russian born Tasea Guigni arrived in Australia in October 1916 as part of the Gonzales Opera Company. Tasea was a dresser and her husband Ivon Nosmolov was a carpenter. The Company dissolved two years later and Ivon died a year after their second son was born in 1919. In November 1920, she married Italian Giulie Giacomo Giugni. However, after thirteen years of marriage, Tasea left Giulie because he was a 'loafer' and a drunk who could not hold down a job.³⁰ During the war, Tasea was required to register as an enemy alien even though her husband had left her in 1925. It was stated on her questionnaire that

She is actually a 'white' Russian having left Russia before the Communist regime, she is very mild in her demeanor, she has no Italian sympathies having not seen her Italian husband for the past 15 years. She is greatly influenced by her two sons, both of whom regard themselves as Australians and are particularly sensitive as to their foreign name and are making representation to the Commonwealth government for a legal change of name.³¹

²⁸ Memorandum from Constable Dickson to Inspector Watkins, 17 August 1942. See 'Gazzi, Winifred (Australian-born – Italian by marriage) [0.25cm; box 50]'. C123/1 2451, NAA, Sydney.

²⁹ Report from Police Commissioner, 15 September 1942. See 'Gazzi, Winifred (Australian-born – Italian by marriage) [0.25cm; box 50]'. C123/1 2451, NAA, Sydney.

³⁰ Report to Inspector Keefe, 29 July 1940. See 'June, Tasia alias Guigno Tasea (Italian) [Box 76]'. C123/1 3061, NAA, Sydney.

³¹ Questionnaire completed by the M. P. I. Section, Police Headquarters in Sydney, 23 July 1940. See 'June, Tasia alias Guigno Tasea (Italian) [Box 76]'. C123/1 3061, NAA, Sydney.

In order to change their name, Tasea and her two sons were required to comply with Clause 26 (1) and (2) of the *Aliens Control Regulations*. Enemy aliens were required to inform the nearest Aliens Registration Officer (ARO) and a notice was to be completed, 'in duplicate...producing in person to the [ARO] such notice and the certificate of his registration as an alien'.³²

During the war, many of these women were placed in a difficult position and experienced anxiety, depression, distress and uncertainty. The enforcement of the *Aliens Control Regulations* simply made their experiences worse. One of the youngest woman who was subjected to the *Aliens Control Regulations* was Joyce Mary Lindo. When she registered as an enemy alien, Joyce Mary was sixteen years old. She was born in Canberra and lived with her husband John Lindo and her son in Sydney during the war. Although her husband did not leave her, Joyce was worried about him and the various troubles he was in with authorities. After being married for a few months, Joyce wrote a letter to the authorities', claiming that she noticed a 'terrible difference' in her husband.³³ She wrote:

One day last week I frightened him by saying I would leave if he did not tell me what his troubles were....
He tried to explain, but said that I could not understand, for what he had must be kept a secret until he's

³² *National Security (Aliens Control) Regulations, Statutory Rules 1939, No. 88. (m)* taken out of *Statutory rules made under Commonwealth Acts During the Year 1939. Also Prerogative Orders, etc., with Tables and Index*. L. F. Johnston, Commonwealth Government Printer, Canberra, 1939, p. 413. National Security (Aliens Control) Regulations, Statutory Rule no. 88 of 1939, Regulation 26 (1) declared that an 'alien shall not for any purpose assume or use, or purport to assume or use, or continue the assumption or use of, any name other than that by which he was ordinarily known on the date on which these Regulations come into force unless he has, in accordance with these Regulations, previously notified the aliens registration officer nearest to his place of abode that it is his intention so to do'. [*National Security (Aliens Control) Regulations, Statutory Rules 1939, No. 88. (m)* taken out of *Statutory rules made under Commonwealth Acts During the Year 1939. Also Prerogative Orders, etc., with Tables and Index*. L. F. Johnston, Commonwealth Government Printer, Canberra, 1939, p. 413, p. 413].

³³ Copy of letter from Joyce Mary Lindo to Commissioner of Police, W.J. Mackay, July 1940. See 'Lindo nee Bartley, Joyce Mary (Italian by marriage – Australian-born) [Box 118]'. C123/1 4181, NAA, Sydney.

sure of what he's doing I [don't] know what he means by it, but he [seems] so sure of what he has in mind he said if he had the money and friends he should be able to show to the world his invention, moreover and for the considerable time he's been in Australia he is very shy, and hates asking for a stranger's help. I'm terribly upset about the whole matter, because the Doctor ordered [him] away for a couple of days I am suffering from a nervous breakdown, and with Gods wish next month shall be a mother. I hope you understand and forgive me for writing confidentially but I pray and feel sure you will grant me this favour....I am an Australian-born in Canberra and quite realize the Country's danger [but] we love each other and of course I [don't] write to you with the intention to harm him...Just now I feel like drowning myself I'm that upset...please do not let him know I wrote to you I want it kept secret from him.³⁴

It was later found out by authorities that John Lindo had ideas for inventions that were 'fanciful and ridiculous'.³⁵ It was noted by authorities that he had no mechanical knowledge or experience and that he had promised to make drawings of the inventions, however, when the police called two weeks later, John claimed he had no time to do them. Authorities concluded that they 'are satisfied that he is a humbug and further notice need not be taken of him'.³⁶

Further inquiries showed that John Lindo had trouble with the Bankruptcy Authorities in 1934, and served up to three months in the Debtors Prison at the State Penitentiary. It was stated in an interview conducted with Lindo that he had in 'the past told his wife tales about all his money he was to make out of his inventions and also kept his true financial position from her, and now when it is likely that

³⁴ Copy of letter from Joyce Mary Lindo to Commissioner of Police, W.J. Mackay, July 1940. See 'Lindo nee Bartley, Joyce Mary (Italian by marriage – Australian-born) [Box 118]'. C123/1 4181, NAA, Sydney.

³⁵ Copy of memorandum from Sergeant E.R. Shaw and Constable L.W. Prat to Inspector 1/c Keefe, 26 July 1940. See 'Lindo nee Bartley, Joyce Mary (Italian by marriage – Australian-born) [Box 118]'. C123/1 4181, NAA, Sydney. One of these ideas was to 'suspend an aeroplane by use of gas inflated [balloons], some twelve or fourteen miles in the air, where they could remain without using fuel'. Another was to 'fix a fine wire to a bullet and fire it at some enemy object, thereby one end of the wire would remain in the rifle and the other to the object hit by the bullet'. Copy of memorandum from Sergeant E.R. Shaw and Constable L.W. Prat to Inspector 1/c Keefe, 26 July 1940. See 'Lindo nee Bartley, Joyce Mary (Italian by marriage – Australian-born) [Box 118]'. C123/1 4181, NAA, Sydney.

³⁶ Copy of memorandum from Sergeant E.R. Shaw and Constable L.W. Prat to Inspector 1/c Keefe, 26 July 1940. See 'Lindo nee Bartley, Joyce Mary (Italian by marriage – Australian-born) [Box 118]'. C123/1 4181, NAA, Sydney.

she may learn of his imprisonment regarding his bankruptcy, together with the fear that he may be interned, he is a worried man'.³⁷ Due to his mental instability, authorities believed that there was no need to restrict his movements any further.³⁸

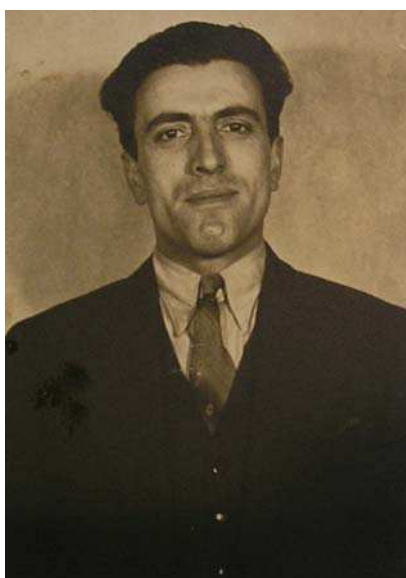


Figure 115: John Lindo

'John Lindo [naturalized alien] [box 37]'. SP11/5 Lindo/John, NAA, Sydney.



Figure 116: Joyce Mary Lindo

'Joyce Mary Lindo [WWII naturalised alien] [box 37]'. SP11/5 Lindo/Joyce, NAA, Sydney.

While her husband was interned, 31 year old Doris Edith May Gremmo n^èe Weingaertner was forced to live on the charity of others. Doris was born in England and arrived in Australia in 1927. She lived in Randwick with her two children while her husband was interned at Orange. It was noted by authorities that Doris was 'comfortably off before her husband was interned, but now has to live on the charity of

³⁷ Copy of memorandum from Sergeant E.R. Shaw and Constable L.W. Prat to Inspector 1/c Keefe, 26 July 1940. See 'Lindo nee Bartley, Joyce Mary (Italian by marriage – Australian-born) [Box 118]'. C123/1 4181, NAA, Sydney.

³⁸ Copy of memorandum from Sergeant E.R. Shaw and Constable L.W. Prat to Inspector 1/c Keefe, 26 July 1940. See 'Lindo nee Bartley, Joyce Mary (Italian by marriage – Australian-born) [Box 118]'. C123/1 4181, NAA, Sydney.

others since his internment'.³⁹ In September 1940, Doris was caught by authorities smuggling letters to her husband in his camp. Doris told authorities that she had approached a number of people to help her post the letters to her husband, including a wool buyer residing in Melbourne, Mr Sheppard.⁴⁰ Doris's husband, Giovanni Gremmo, was a personal friend of Mr Sheppard, and he wrote a message to his wife, advising her to ask Mr Sheppard for financial help. He also expressed his frustration over Doris using others to send her letters and not sending the letters herself.⁴¹

Doris followed her husband's instructions and wrote a letter to Mr Sheppard which asked for his financial help. In doing so, Doris referred to herself as Greta and her husband as Nino:

I hate having to write to you like this, but Nino said if ever I was in trouble to write to you. I feel if anyone can help you can. He has been interned and so far I have been able to keep going with the little money we have saved but find it impossible to go on any longer.

I have the little girl you saw who is now aged 3 1/2 and one week ago had my second daughter. If I had not my two babies to think of I could get work. I am sure you, as a father, can see how handicapped I am. Nino being in an Italian firm is not allowed to draw any salary until the war is finished and no allowance is made to my babies or myself.

...Forgive me for writing like this but in war time when one has babies to think of and finds ones so called friends slipping away it is very hard. As you know Nino's people are in Italy and all my people are in England so it is impossible to obtain help there. And I feel so very alone. Also the question of nationality has arisen and I find I am considered not English but an Italian, and, an enemy. I have tried all ways to get help through the Government but the answer is always the same – 'Why should they help an enemy.' I would be awfully grateful if you could help me.⁴²

³⁹ Report from Sergeant Samuel J. Sharp & G. Waldock, 12 September 1940. See Gremmo, Doris Edith May (Italian by marriage, born in England) [Box 288]. C123/1 9554, NAA, Sydney.

⁴⁰ Report from Sergeant Samuel J. Sharp & G. Waldock, 12 September 1940. See Gremmo, Doris Edith May (Italian by marriage, born in England) [Box 288]. C123/1 9554, NAA, Sydney.

⁴¹ Army Department, R. Lister, 'Statutory Declaration', 5 November 1940. See Gremmo, Doris Edith May (Italian by marriage, born in England) [Box 288]. C123/1 9554, NAA, Sydney.

⁴² Report from Sergeant Samuel J. Sharp and G. Waldock, 12 September 1940. See Gremmo, Doris Edith May (Italian by marriage, born in England) [Box 288]. C123/1 9554, NAA, Sydney.

Clearly, Doris and her children could not survive whilst her husband was interned. Doris resented having to ask Mr Sheppard for financial help and expressed her frustration with the discrimination that she was experiencing.



Figure 117: Doris Gremmo

'Doris Gremmo [WWII naturalized aliens] [box 25]'. SP11/5 Gremmo/Doris, NAA, Sydney.



Figure 118: Giovanni Gremmo

'Giovanni Gremmo [WWII naturalized alien] [box 25]'. SP11/5 Gremmo/Giovanni, NAA, Sydney.

The letter also demonstrated that it was difficult for Giovanni to withdraw money to help support his family because of his Italian nationality. This was due to the control the Commonwealth Government had over property held or managed by persons, firms, or companies in the Commonwealth on behalf of enemy subjects. The *Aliens Control Regulations* covered any 'legal or equitable rights in or arising out of real or personal property; balances or deposits at banks; dividends, interest, or share of profits;

and debts due to enemy subjects'.⁴³ In September 1939, the Assistant Treasurer Percy Claude Spender stated that 'the property subject to the regulations would not be confiscated, but would merely be controlled by the Commonwealth until the present war terminated'.⁴⁴

Despite their friendship, Mr Sheppard ignored Doris's appeal. Doris then asked her friends, Mrs Hearnshaw and Mrs Clarkson, however, they also refused and claimed they 'were too British to stoop to such actions'.⁴⁵ Italian born Mrs Bottero did however, help Doris smuggle the letters into camp. As a result, authorities requested that it

Would be advisable to change this woman's address, away from Mrs Bottero, and also to restrict her future movements, and we would respectfully suggest that if Gremmo or Bottero be allowed to interview visitors at the camp, these visitors should be kept under strict watch as to activities in that camp.⁴⁶

Other women who were dependant on welfare assistance included Marie Teresa Sara De George n e Patterson and Dahlia Margherita Buete. Marie was thirty years old when she registered as an alien. She lived in Harris Park with her husband and three children. It was noted by authorities that during her interview she answered all questions in a straight forward matter and had well respected parents. Because Marie was in poor circumstances and was in receipt of food relief, authorities believed there was no need to further restrict her movements from a national security point of view.⁴⁷ Dahlia Margherita was also thirty years old when she registered and lived at Eastwood during the war with

⁴³ 'Enemy Property in Australia: Regulations for Control'. *Sydney Morning Herald*, 28 September 1939, p. 10.

⁴⁴ 'Enemy Property in Australia: Regulations for Control'. *Sydney Morning Herald*, 28 September 1939, p. 10.

⁴⁵ Report from Sergeant Samuel J. Sharp & G. Waldock, 12 September 1940. See Gremmo, Doris Edith May (Italian by marriage, born in England) [Box 288]. C123/1 9554, NAA, Sydney.

⁴⁶ Censorship report – Copy of letter from Doris Edith May Gremmo to Giovanni Gremmo, 28 September 1940. See Gremmo, Doris Edith May (Italian by marriage, born in England) [Box 288]. C123/1 9554, NAA, Sydney.

⁴⁷ Questionnaire completed by the M. P. I. Section, Police Headquarters in Sydney, 19 August 1940. See 'De George (nee Paterson), Marie Teresa Sara (Italian by marriage – born in NSW [Australia] [Box 193]'. C123/1 6579, NAA, Sydney.

her two children. It was stated by authorities that there was no need to restrict her movements any further because she also received welfare assistance and was in the process of obtaining a divorce after her husband Giuseppe Buete was deported after being found guilty of blackmail.⁴⁸

Italian Salvatore Mineo had left his Australian-born wife Gladys Mineo for eighteen months when authorities made enquiries into Japanese callers frequently meeting at her house. When authorities interviewed forty two year old Gladys Mineo, resident of Blayney, a country town in the central west, they found out that her husband left her for no apparent reason. Because he failed to support his wife and children, there was a warrant for his arrest.⁴⁹ Gladys claimed that she had no Italians residing with her and that she barely had sufficient accommodation for her family which consisted of five children. Regarding the Japanese callers, Gladys stated that 'no people of that colour should be permitted to enter her home and could not think why such allegations should be preferred against her and her family'.⁵⁰ Authorities concluded that there was nothing in the home that indicated to them that there was any anti British feelings or movements and that there was no need for the matter to be investigated any further.⁵¹

⁴⁸ Questionnaire completed by the M. P. I. Section, Police Headquarters in Sydney, 21 August 1940. See 'Buete, Dahlia Margherita [naturalised British subject – formerly [Italian by marriage] [Box 247]'. C123/1 8290, NAA, Sydney.

⁴⁹ Report from Constable and Detective Sergeant to Inspector 2nd Class Wilson from MPI section, 3 January 1941. See 'Mineo [also known as Miner], Gladys (born in Australia – Italian by marriage) [Box 359]'.

⁵⁰ Report from Constable and Detective Sergeant to Inspector 2nd Class Wilson from MPI section, 3 January 1941. See 'Mineo [also known as Miner], Gladys (born in Australia – Italian by marriage) [Box 359]'.

⁵¹ Report from Constable and Detective Sergeant to Inspector 2nd Class Wilson from MPI section, 3 January 1941. See 'Mineo [also known as Miner], Gladys (born in Australia – Italian by marriage) [Box 359]'.

Australian Women who were Italian by marriage during the Second World War also found it difficult to find a job. An example of this was found in the dossier of Australian-born Elizabeth Fagioli. Elizabeth lived in Turramurra during the war and prior to her marriage to Italian Mario Fagioli, was a self employed musician. After their marriage in England, Elizabeth and her husband who was forty seven years old and a Captain in the 6th Alpini Regiment of the Italian Army, went to reside in Milan, Italy. When he retired, Mario became the Italian representative for a British firm known as Filma Oil Burners Ltd. Elizabeth and her mother arrived at Fremantle and travelled to live in Sydney in April 1940. She informed authorities that if she had known that Italy was going to enter the war she would not have left her husband in Italy, as she felt that it was her duty to be with him at the time.⁵²



Figure 119: Elizabeth Fagioli

'Elizabeth Fagioli nee Griffith [WWII naturalized alien] [box 19]'. SP11/5 Fagioli/Elizabeth, NAA, Sydney.

On 6 July 1940, Elizabeth made a declaration under Section 18A of the *Nationality Act* maintaining her British nationality. Fourteen days later, Elizabeth made an application for a position in the Australian

⁵² Copy of a report written by Sergeant E.R. Shaw and Constable L.W. Pratt to Inspector Keefe, 23 July 1940. See 'Fagioli, Elizabeth Winifred [Born in Australia – Italian by marriage] [Box 279]'. C123/1 9269, NAA, Sydney.

Broadcasting Commission (ABC) as a reader and translator in Italian.⁵³ However, under the *National Security Act 1939* broadcasting stations were prohibited places for any enemy alien. Despite an outstanding reference that was written on her behalf by her solicitor, W.W.R. Swinson, Elizabeth's application to work for the ABC as a reader and translator in Italian was rejected. Authorities stated that:

As far as we can ascertain Mrs Fagioli is an excellent type of person, but having in mind the fact that she is happily married to a man who is an enemy alien and possibly an Officer in an Army at present at War against the British Empire, we consider grave consideration should be given to her application before appointing her to a position that may enable her to acquire knowledge of interest to her adopted country.⁵⁴

Australian-born women who became Italian by marriage were also affected by the Prohibited Possessions Order. Similar to Italian born women, they had to apply to the Post Master General for a permit to possess a wireless apparatus of any kind. Italian Anteo Frare was married to Australian-born May Rosetta and thought that because he was married to an Australian, he was exempt from *Aliens Control Regulations* imposed upon enemy aliens. In July 1942, Anteo was interviewed at his home in Sydney, where a wireless receiver was found in his possession. Anteo claimed that he gave £15 to his

⁵³ Copy of a report written by Sergeant E.R. Shaw and Constable L.W. Pratt to Inspector Keefe, 23 July 1940. See 'Fagioli, Elizabeth Winifred [Born in Australia – Italian by marriage] [Box 279]'. C123/1 9269, NAA, Sydney.

⁵⁴ Copy of a report written by Sergeant E.R. Shaw and Constable L.W. Pratt to Inspector 1st Class Keefe. See 'Fagioli, Elizabeth Winifred [Born in Australia – Italian by marriage] [Box 279]'. C123/1 9269, NAA, Sydney. Documents regarding Elizabeth's sister, Nola Fagioli, were also found in Elizabeth's dossier. A statement was made by Lady Mackay, wife of Lieutenant General Ivan Mackay, against Nola. Lady Mackay met Nola at a gathering at Mrs Swinson's house and was very upset when she found out that Nola's husband Marco Fagioli was serving with the Italian army. Mackay was also troubled by some of the comments made by Nola, particularly when she claimed that Australia should not be fighting the Italians and how Italy had no intention in getting involved in the war. See statement made by Lady Mackay, 4 June 1941 in 'Fagioli, Elizabeth Winifred [Born in Australia – Italian by marriage] [Box 279]'. C123/1 9269, NAA, Sydney.

wife about five years ago to purchase it because he did not 'understand much about it'.⁵⁵ Constable Gardner asked whether it was licensed in his name and Anteo replied 'I don't know, I left that to my wife as she is a British subject'. Gardner then asked 'Do you switch it on and off'. Anteo's response was 'No, I never interfere with it as it is only used for the children'.⁵⁶ Nevertheless, the wireless was found in his possession and Constable Gardner told Anteo that he would report the matter and claimed he would be prosecuted.⁵⁷

Constable Gardner also interviewed May Rosetta and asked her whether she has ever tuned in to any broadcasts. May Rosetta told the Constable, 'Well it is no good of me telling lies, we do use it every night. The children listen to stories...it is entirely my fault, and I will have to put up with the consequences'.⁵⁸ The Constable took possession of the wireless and claimed that it 'is possible that a prosecution will follow'.⁵⁹ No prosecution was imposed on May Rosetta. Authorities suggested that if she and her husband desired to have the wireless returned, an application form for written permission was required to be sent to the Senior Radio Inspector in Sydney.⁶⁰

⁵⁵ Statement written by Constable Joseph John Gardner to M.P.I. Police Headquarters, Sydney, 14 July 1942. See 'Frare, May Rosetta (Italian by marriage – born in NSW [Australian] [Box 193]'. C123/1 6584, NAA, Sydney.

⁵⁶ Statement written by Constable Joseph John Gardner to M.P.I. Police Headquarters, Sydney, 14 July 1942. See 'Frare, May Rosetta (Italian by marriage – born in NSW [Australian] [Box 193]'. C123/1 6584, NAA, Sydney.

⁵⁷ Statement written by Constable Joseph John Gardner to M.P.I. Police Headquarters, Sydney, 14 July 1942. See 'Frare, May Rosetta (Italian by marriage – born in NSW [Australian] [Box 193]'. C123/1 6584, NAA, Sydney.

⁵⁸ Report from Constable to Inspector Watkins, 9 September 1942. See 'Frare, May Rosetta (Italian by marriage – born in NSW [Australian] [Box 193]'. C123/1 6584, NAA, Sydney.

⁵⁹ Report from Constable to Inspector Watkins, 9 September 1942. See 'Frare, May Rosetta (Italian by marriage – born in NSW [Australian] [Box 193]'. C123/1 6584, NAA, Sydney.

⁶⁰ Copy of letter from Deputy Director of Security to May Rosetta Frare, 18 October 1943. See 'Frare, May Rosetta (Italian by marriage – born in NSW [Australian] [Box 193]'. C123/1 6584, NAA, Sydney.

Australian women who returned from Italy after June 1940 found themselves to be victims of circumstance. As noted in Chapter One of this thesis, the *Nationality Act* stated that Australian women married to a foreigner lost their British nationality. This meant that 'Australian wives of Italian nationals found that they had conflicting identities'.⁶¹ For example Patricia Volterra was born in Sydney on 1 October 1907. During the war Patricia lived at Darling Point and stayed at home, looking after her only child Sara Volterra, who was born in London. Patricia was married to Italian Gualtiero Volterra in 1928, and was required to register as an alien. Patricia met Gualtiero in Italy whilst studying piano. At the age of thirteen, Gualtiero passed musical examinations that entitled him to the diploma of Professor of Music. When he was twenty, Gualtiero traveled Europe and performed in musical recitals before he returned to live in Italy. As Gualtiero was of Italian Jewish origin, 'he was subjected to many indignities by the fascists in Italy'.⁶² Finding his position intolerable, Gualtiero took his wife and daughter with him to live in Paris and then moved to Switzerland. Patricia's father, T.H. Kelly made representations to the Prime Minister of Australia and obtained a permit for their entry into Australia.⁶³

⁶¹ R. Pesman, Chapter One: 'Australians in Italy: The Long View' in B. Kent, R. Pesman and C. Troup, ed, *Australians in Italy: Contemporary Lives and Impressions*. Clayton: Monash University Press, 2010.

⁶² Report to Inspector Keefe, 10 July 1940. See 'Volterra, Gualtiero (Italian) [Box 194]'. C123/1 6606, NAA, Sydney.

⁶³ Report to Inspector Keefe, 10 July 1940. See 'Volterra, Gualtiero (Italian) [Box 194]'. C123/1 6606, NAA, Sydney.

Figure 120: Patricia and Gualtiero Volterra.

'Australian Wife of Visiting Painist'. The Argus, 29 July 1946, p. 6.



Gualtiero and Patricia came to Australia with the intention of abandoning the discriminative attitudes that they had experienced overseas. However, both experienced these attitudes living in Sydney.⁶⁴ Patricia's parents, Mr and Mrs T.H. Kelly were well known in Sydney. Patricia's father, Thomas Herbert Kelly was a Lieutenant Colonel in charge of the Intelligence Branch during the Great War and was considered to be 'a well to do businessman in the city'.⁶⁵ Thomas Kelly was knowledgeable about music and its history, playing violin or viola in the Sydney Amateur Orchestral Society. He was also well a well educated linguist and a member of the Dante Aligheri Art and Literary Society which promotes Italian culture and language.⁶⁶ Patricia's mother Ethel Knight Kelly nee Mollison was a well known actress and

⁶⁴ Report to Inspector Keefe, 10 July 1940. See 'Volterra, Gualtiero (Italian) [Box 194]'. C123/1 6606, NAA, Sydney.

⁶⁵ Report to Inspector Keefe, 19 November 1940. . See 'Volterra, Gualtiero (Italian) [Box 194]'. C123/1 6606, NAA, Sydney.

⁶⁶ M. Rutledge, 'Australian Dictionary of Biography – Kelly, Thomas Herbert (1875-1948)'.
[<http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/kelly-thomas-herbert-6924>]. 11 November 2011.

author during the late nineteenth century. The Kelly family held a number of social gatherings which attracted the media's attention. It was also well known by the public that Patricia had married an Italian. As a result, the Kelly family received a number of anonymous letters and phone calls regarding Gualtiero and other Italians living in Sydney. Australian resident Jim Donald wrote a column which was published in the Truth Sydney newspaper on 12 January 1941. He wrote that towards the end of November 1940, 1100 enemy aliens

were admitted to Australia. Most of the Italians, and many of the Germans of this quota, are still at liberty. Yet we read that the Advisory War Council met on Thursday to discuss TRACKING DOWN SPIES. It is to laugh. Every man Adolf and Antonio on that refugee roll call should be under lock and key. Aye, even unto the Dago husband of the daughter of one of our leading socialites. But such things are not done. We pity our poor aliens – we should imprison 'em.⁶⁷

Donald was clearly disappointed with the publicity Gualtiero was receiving during the war for his concerts.

Figure 121: Gualtiero and Patricia Volterra with their daughter Sara. The Volterra family was constantly in the media which caused public discontent.

'Arrived from Italy Yesterday'.
Sydney Morning Herald. 23
 December 1939, p. 4.



⁶⁷ Memorandum with newspaper cutting regarding Patricia Volterra from Eastern Command, Sergeant George H. Hawkins, no date. See 'Volterra [nee Kelly], Patricia (Italian [by marriage - born in Australia]) [Box 202]'. C123/6839, NAA, Sydney.

More public discontent towards the Kelly family came from Elizabeth Bay resident, Mrs D.V. Russell, who telephoned authorities in November 1940 saying that she resented the fact that Gualtiero was 'still mixing in society, and that if the investigating officers were to ring her she would perhaps be able to give them some information'.⁶⁸ After investigators questioned Mrs Russell, it was revealed that she could not provide any useful information regarding her claim. Authorities reported that she

stated that she had never met the man Volterra but had seen him walking about the streets, and knowing that he was an Italian and that he has only been in Australia for a short time she was opinion that he should be interned as well as all the other Italians. She further stated that she had never heard him say anything which was subversive and does not know whether he is a member of the Fascist Party or like organisation.⁶⁹

Authorities wrote that since his arrival in December 1939, Gualtiero had

not done any class of work, but has been maintained by his father in law... [Gualtiero] states that he often walks to Kings Cross for the purpose of doing some shopping and attending his dentist, but discontinuation of his walks was that his mother in law had received several letters and on one occasion a telephone call informing her that her son in law should be interned with the rest of Italians.⁷⁰

Patricia and her family were also subjected to the *Aliens Control Regulations*. In January 1941, Patricia wrote a letter to the Commissioner of Police in Sydney, asking for the renewal of her driver's licence. Patricia claimed that she wished to renew her licence was for the purpose of driving her mother because they did not have a chauffeur.⁷¹ In December 1941, Patricia wrote once again to the Commissioner, claiming that she needed the licence to evacuate her daughter in the case of an

⁶⁸ Memorandum addressed to Inspector Keefe, MPI section, 20 November 1940. Report to Inspector Keefe, 10 July 1940. See 'Volterra, Gualtiero (Italian) [Box 194]'. C123/1 6606, NAA, Sydney.

⁶⁹ Memorandum addressed to Inspector Keefe, MPI section, 20 November 1940. Report to Inspector Keefe, 10 July 1940. See 'Volterra, Gualtiero (Italian) [Box 194]'. C123/1 6606, NAA, Sydney.

⁷⁰ Memorandum addressed to Inspector Keefe, MPI section, 20 November 1940. Report to Inspector Keefe, 10 July 1940. See 'Volterra, Gualtiero (Italian) [Box 194]'. C123/1 6606, NAA, Sydney.

⁷¹ Letter from Patricia Volterra to the Commissioner of Police in Sydney, 3 January 1941. See 'Volterra [nee Kelly], Patricia (Italian by marriage – born in Australia) [Box 202]'. C123/1 6839, NAA, Sydney.

emergency and her father, who was unwell. Despite her plea, the Commissioner refused the renewal of Patricia's driving licence.⁷²

In January 1941, Patricia's father wrote to the MPI authorities asking them if they could renew his daughter's driving licence. Thomas Kelly wrote that they did not employ a chauffeur and that his daughter was helpful to his wife in driving her about in their motor car. He wrote that his wife was 'busily employed in many charitable and war work activities' and made special note that he was a retired Lieutenant Colonel in the Commonwealth Military Forces and during the last war, he was the officer in Charge of the Intelligence Section of the General Staff 2nd Military District.⁷³ Patricia's father also wrote,

I am a director of the Bank of New South Wales, a Director of Tooth & Co. Ltd., Managing Director of The Sydney Smelting Company. I have been an Alderman of the City of Sydney and of the Municipality of Woolahra. I am known personally to the Prime Minister and the State Premier and also to the District Commandant, Lieut. General Miles.⁷⁴

Despite the status of her father, authorities nonetheless refused the renewal of Patricia's licence.⁷⁵

However, her father's own rather suspicious activities in the years preceding the Second World war may have also had some bearing on his daughter's treatment. Thomas Kelly was not only a prominent businessman, but also a member of the Institute of Public Affairs (IPA) which was well known for its

⁷² Letter from Patricia to Secretary E.J. Baldwin, 14 December 1941. See 'Volterra [nee Kelly], Patricia (Italian by marriage – born in Australia) [Box 202]'. C123/1 6839, NAA, Sydney.

⁷³ Copy of Letter from T. H. Kelly to Officer in Charge, M. I. P, Sydney, 22 January 1941. See 'Volterra [nee Kelly], Patricia (Italian by marriage – born in Australia) [Box 202]'. C123/1 6839. NAA, Sydney.

⁷⁴ Copy of Letter from T. H. Kelly to Officer in Charge, M. I. P, Sydney, 22 January 1941. See 'Volterra [nee Kelly], Patricia (Italian by marriage – born in Australia) [Box 202]'. C123/1 6839. NAA, Sydney.

⁷⁵ See 'Volterra [nee Kelly], Patricia (Italian by marriage – born in Australia) [Box 202]'. C123/1 6839, NAA, Sydney.

fascist tendencies before the war broke out. According to Shane Cahill, Kelly was also a regular confidant of visiting Japanese naval squadrons.⁷⁶



Figure 122: Filberto Quaglia

'Filberto Quaglia [Italian – arrived Australia per ROMOLO, c. 1939. Box 151]'



Figure 123: Giovanna Quaglia

'Giovanna Quaglia [WWII naturalized alien] [box 51]'. SP11/5 Quaglia/Giovanna, NAA, Sydney

While there were women who were clearly victimized by the *Aliens Control Regulations*, there were others who sympathized with the fascist cause and were, arguably, a risk to national security. Jean Quaglia is one example. Jean was born in Sydney and during the war lived at Kirribilli with her husband and two children. Jean's husband, Filberto Quaglia, was one of the leading members of the Fascist Party in New South Wales and was interned. Jean struggled to support her children but continued to support her husband's fascist cause. This was especially evident in a letter that Jean had written to

⁷⁶ S. Cahill, 'The Fascist Mob'. *Overland* 189, Summer 2007. [<http://overland.org.au/previous-issues/issue-189/feature-shane-cahill/>]. November 2010. See also D. Cottle, *The Brisbane Line: An episode in capital history*. Leicestershire: Upfront, 2002.

family friends, Mr and Mrs Costa. On 7 January 1942, Jean thanked Mr and Mrs Costa for their financial aid, but also wrote 'Let us hope that this year will find everyone happier – and may God judge which side may win – for me – I will always be loyal to my husband'.⁷⁷

Jean's loyalty to her husband was also evident when she applied to retain her British nationality in October 1945. There was no security objection raised, but authorities made reference to letters that they had intercepted in regards to her husband. It was stated in a memorandum to the Acting Inspector of the CIB in Sydney to keep in mind that Filberto was one of the leading members of the Fascist Party in the state of New South Wales. Before the war had broken out in April 1939, Filberto wrote to the Secretary of the Fascio in Sydney, and referred to his wife Jean, whom he believed would help the fascist cause if it was required of her to do so:

I understand that as you say, my wife and children will have nothing to fear, materially, here they would be certain of good nourishment and of personal safety; but my wife does not intend to renounce her Italian nationality even in the case of war and wishes to follow my fortunes, that is become interned if the Italians are interned. It may be that on account of the large numbers of Italians in this continent, there will be no adequate means of interning them, and the repercussions in the sugar industry would be very grave in the case of Queensland. However, if the internment were disagreeable, finally the sentinels would hold us prisoners but they would spare us the daily ragings and humiliations which we should have to suffer being free and in contact with an exasperated and hostile public...So while thinking that for the sake of their safety and nourishment, the children would be better here, I think, perhaps egoistically that on the whole we would feel much more in place in Italy, because I would have the satisfaction of doing my duty as Officer in the Navy, my wife would do hers as a Red Cross Lady, while the children would do fairly well and safe with my sister in the country.⁷⁸

⁷⁷ Copy of letter from Jean Quaglia to Mr & Mrs I. Costa, 7 January 1942. See 'Quaglia, Jean [also known as Jean] (naturalised British subject) [formerly Italian by marriage – born in Australia] [Box 253]'. C123/1 8492, National Archives of Australia (NAA), Sydney.

⁷⁸ Report from Deputy Director of Security for New South Wales to Acting Inspector, Commonwealth Investigation Branch, Sydney, 8 October 1945. It was also noted in the memorandum that both Jean and Filberto sent their wedding rings to the Italian General Consul at the time of Abyssinian War. See 'Quaglia, Jean [also known as Jean] (naturalised British subject) [formerly Italian by marriage – born in Australia] [Box 253]'. C123/1 8492, NAA, Sydney.

Although Jean was loyal to her husband, she claimed that she would always be loyal to her native country. In response to his letter, Jean wrote:

You will notice that I do not use the fascist year any more; as it is true what we read, our King has abolished it, and as my first loyalty has always been to the King, I obey, even if it is painful – one thing at least I can do well is that of obeying...⁷⁹

Jean's story is a good example of why the *Aliens Control Regulations* were implemented during the war. Those who sympathized with the fascist cause were clearly considered to be a threat to the nation's security, especially when it was considered by authorities that it was further possible that fascist men who were interned could rely on well organized women's groups to perform their intelligence work.⁸⁰

Another example of a woman who was loyal to her husband was Katheleen Taranto. Kathleen was born in Narromine on 14 November 1905 and resided on Cleveland St, Moore Park in Sydney. She took care of her daughter whilst her husband was interned at Orange. It was stated on her registration form that she did not associate with anyone except for her two friends and that she was 'known to surrounding shop keepers, who do not like her personally, but can say nothing against her as being Anti-British'.⁸¹ Because she failed to register as an alien, authorities claimed that supervision of Kathleen was necessary. When answering question 43 on her registration form, authorities wrote:

⁷⁹ See 'Quaglia, Jean [also known as Jean] (naturalised British subject) [formerly Italian by marriage – born in Australia] [Box 253]'. C123/1 8492, NAA, Sydney.

⁸⁰ Confidential report addressed to Army Headquarters, Victoria Barracks, Melbourne, 'Internment of Women. Elena Giovenale', 21 November 1941. See 'Giovenale, Elena (Italian) [box 71]'. C123/1 2955, NAA, Sydney.

⁸¹ Questionnaire completed by the M. P. I. Section, Police Headquarters in Sydney, 22 July 1940. See 'Taranto, Kathleen (Italian) [Box 94]'. C123/1 3518, NAA, Sydney.

This woman stated to us that she knew a lot of Italians who should have been interned instead of her husband. She refused to give us the names of these Italians. She further stated that...she would sell the shop and also reside near [her] husband...She seems to be in full sympathy with her husband, and admitted that she mixed freely with the Italian community. We would say that although Australian-born, she has decided Italian sympathies, and should be kept under supervision.⁸²

On 8 October 1940, a letter posted by Kathleen to her husband Anthony Taranto, was intercepted by authorities:

I suppose you [were] disappointed that we could not go to Orange but believe me dear-that it was no fault of ours. I think it is dreadful the way we are treated in this country [.] They talk of British rights but they have none when I don't get [justice!] You poor thing can't expect any. I don't know why we was [were] stopped from going in to see you. They said it was an [on] account of a woman found in the camp with you men. What a shame that the officers have women going to see them at all times. I am sure that it was one of their friends & must have been Australian...The 'Queen Mary' goes out this week about Thursday...goes with one of the boys on it and he said [things] [are] very bad on the other side[,] well dear-that [is] their brawl[,] not ours...I suppose when things start in the East that is the time you people will get it, me included....I had a visit from the police today...Well dear-cheer up. I will never give up hope.⁸³

Figure 124: Kathleen Taranto

'Kathleen Taranto [Italian by marriage – born in Australia. Box 155]'. SP11/2 Italian/Taranto K, NAA, Sydney.



⁸² Questionnaire completed by the M. P. I. Section, Police Headquarters in Sydney, 22 July 1940. See 'Taranto, Kathleen (Italian) [Box 94]'. C123/1 3518, NAA, Sydney.

⁸³ Letter from Kathleen Taranto to her husband Anthony Taranto, 8 October 1940. See 'Taranto, Kathleen (Italian) [Box 94]'. C123/1 3518, NAA, Sydney.

Twenty days later, a Detective Sergeant requested that Constable Hollis 'interview Mrs Taranto and obtain, 'if possible, an admission as to whether she is the writer of the attached letter, also if she still upholds the sentiments expressed therein'.⁸⁴ On the same day, a report based on an interview with Kathleen was submitted. It stated that Kathleen apologized for writing the letter and claimed that she wrote it because she was very annoyed that 'the internees' wives who had visited Orange the previous Sunday were only allowed to speak to their husbands through a wire fence'.⁸⁵ When questioned regarding the statement 'I wish they would intern me', Kathleen explained that it was expensive for her to visit her husband at Orange and that she would have been better off to be interned with her husband. Authorities concluded that 'she very much regrets having [made] the statement that a woman had been found in the camp with the men, and that Officers have women going to see them at all times; as her husband had since informed her that there was no truth whatever in the allegations'.⁸⁶ There was an order issued against Taranto that required authorities to keep her under constant surveillance and to let this letter 'pass'.⁸⁷ However, another letter was intercepted by authorities, which led them to believe she was a threat to national security. As a result, Taranto was not allowed to become naturalized.⁸⁸ It is not clear from the files if and when Kathleen was granted naturalization.

⁸⁴ Memorandum from Detective Sergeant to Constable Hollis, 28 October 1940. See 'Taranto, Kathleen (Italian) [Box 94]'. C123/1 3518, NAA, Sydney.

⁸⁵ Memorandum from Constables to Inspector Keefe, 28 October 1940. See 'Taranto, Kathleen (Italian) [Box 94]'. C123/1 3518, NAA, Sydney.

⁸⁶ Memorandum from Constables to Inspector Keefe, 28 October 1940. See 'Taranto, Kathleen (Italian) [Box 94]'. C123/1 3518, NAA, Sydney.

⁸⁷ Note written by authorities, no date. See 'Taranto, Kathleen (Italian) [Box 94]'. C123/1 3518, NAA, Sydney.

⁸⁸ Copy of letter from Intelligence Section, Eastern Command, G.H. Newman to Kathleen Taranto, 8 April 1942. See Taranto, Kathleen (Italian) [Box 94]'. C123/1 3518, NAA, Sydney.

Figure 125:
Kathleen Taranto
under
surveillance.

'Taranto
Kathleen (Italian)
[Box 94]'. C123/1
3518, NAA,
Sydney.



Comparatively, Italian women who were in breach of the *Aliens Control Regulations* were required to pay a higher fine than women who were Italian by marriage. For example, sixty one year old Mareaninna Palise lived in Australia for twenty seven years and was fined £3.0.0 8/- after failing to register as an alien during the war.⁸⁹ On the other hand, twenty six year old Australian born Jeanne Rosa n e Allardyce, married to Italian Renato Rosa, was unaware that she had lost her British nationality, and failed to register. As a result, Jeanne was required to pay a much lesser fine of £1 8/- in court costs.⁹⁰ There were also cases of Australian born women who were in breach of the *Aliens Control Regulations*, but were not required to pay a fine. For example, as mentioned earlier, Catherine Mildred Raffaele failed to register as an alien and was issued with a warning to comply with the *Aliens Control Regulations*.⁹¹ In addition to these claims, Italian women who desired to become a naturalized British subject were required to pay a prescribed fee of £5. However, in the case of a woman who was a British subject prior to her marriage to an alien, a payment of only 5s was required.⁹²

⁸⁹Copy of letter from Deputy Crown Solicitor George A. Watson to Crown Solicitor, 3 July 1942. See 'Palise, Mareannina (Italian) [box 69]'. C123/1 2919, NAA, Sydney.

⁹⁰Memorandum from Constable B, Begg to Inspector of Police, Sergeant E.B. Caban, 28 June 1940. See Rosa, Jeanne n e Allardyce (Australian born – Italian by marriage) [box 57]'.C123/1 2666, NAA, Sydney.

⁹¹W.S. Chennoweth, 'Custodian Records', 19 October 1944. C123/1 11819, Sydney. See 'Raffaele, Catherine Mildred (Australian born – Italian by marriage – naturalised British subject) [Box 364]'. C123/1 11819, NAA, Sydney.

⁹²*Official year book of the Commonwealth of Australia, no. 32.-1939*. Prepared under the instructions from the right Honorable Treasurer., D.Phil., Ph.D., CommonwealthStatistician. L.F Johnson, p. 405.

Figure 126: Mareaninna Palise

Palise, Mareannina (Italian). SP11/2 Italian, NAA, Sydney.



Another example that illustrated the different ways in which Italian women were subjected to authoritative measures involved the case study of Italian Marta De Palma. As was noted in Chapter One, Marta was in breach of the *Aliens Control Regulations* after authorities found her wireless set in the possession of another Italian. Despite the fact that the wireless set was disconnected and the valve was missing, Marta was fined £2 and 9/- court costs and authorities took possession of the wireless. In 1944, Marta asked for the return of her wireless, yet authorities refused to return the set despite the fact that Italy surrendered over a year and a half earlier in July 1943.⁹³ However, this is contrary to the wireless that was returned to Winifred Gazzi. As noted in Chapter Seven, the wireless that was taken away by authorities in July 1942, and was returned to Winifred two months later despite the fact that she was fined for misleading authorities about her marital status.⁹⁴ It was obvious that in some cases Italian born women were discriminated against by authorities in comparison to women who were Italian by marriage. It was possible that authorities perceived Australian born women, as the title of this chapter suggests, as victims of circumstance.

⁹³Copy of letter written by Director of Posts and Telegraphs in Sydney, Jack Malone to Marta De Palma, 2 January 1945. See 'Ciccolella, Marta or De Palma, Marta (Italian) [Box 84]'. C123/1 3279, NAA, Sydney.

⁹⁴ Report from Police Commissioner, 15 September 1942. See 'Gazzi, Winifred (Australian born – Italian by marriage) [0.25cm; box 50]'. C123/1 2451, NAA, Sydney.

Conclusion

In many ways, the *Aliens Control Regulations* had a negative impact on the lives of these women under consideration in this chapter. Being married to an Italian, Australia/British born women were subjected to the restrictions of the *Aliens Control Regulations* introduced by the Commonwealth Government during the Second World War. The majority of these women were unaware that they had lost their British nationality on marriage, and that they too were classified as aliens and enemy aliens. It is clear from the evidence presented in this chapter that there was confusion over the nationality and status of these women, and that it was only during the war that these questions were raised. Not only were these women forced to register as aliens and enemy aliens, but society was unsympathetic towards their predicament. Most women who became Italian on marriage found it difficult to cope on their own, especially when they had to look after their families while their men were interned during the war. Most case studies presented show that authorities aimed at applying the law equally and that justice appeared to be applied. This was especially evident regarding the case of Patricia Volterra, who, despite her highly cultured and influential background, was affected by the *Aliens Control Regulations* as a result of her marriage to Volterra. The risk to national security continued to be a primary concern for the Commonwealth Government. Women who expressed anti-British views or sympathy for any Italians living in their community were kept under constant surveillance by the Commonwealth Government authorities. It was not until the majority of these women became naturalized citizens that they were considered to be exempt from the restrictions of the *Aliens Control Regulations*.

Conclusion

In the struggle for freedom we may lose freedom; our efforts to preserve life may cause us to lose the things that make life worth living.¹

(Labor Politician, Maurice Blackburn)

This thesis provides an analysis of how the *National Security (Aliens Control) Regulations 1939 (Cth)* affected the lives of German, Italian, Japanese and Australian-born women classified as 'enemy aliens' during the Second World War. It highlights the subjective nature of the Regulations and how women were impacted by the legislation in various ways. This thesis is the first study to provide a historical analysis of these women who have been neglected in account of Australia's war-time experience. It presents detailed accounts of 750 women based on archival documents held at the National Archives of Australia (NAA), majority of which had never before been examined.

The conclusions drawn from this thesis demonstrate that the *Aliens Control Regulations* were overbearing, fundamentally unjust and largely unnecessary. This concurs with Lamidey's argument that the *Aliens Control Regulations* were 'carried out without due regard to humanity and social justice'.² Although the main objective of the *Aliens Control Regulations* was 'to ensure that aliens, resident in Australia, enemy and otherwise, could in no way become a danger to the country nor impede the progress of the war either individually or in association with others', there were many civilians living in Australia who suffered unnecessarily under the legislation.³

¹ Commonwealth, *Hansard – Second Reading Speech*, House of Representatives, 8 September 1939, 180, (Maurice Blackburn).

² N. Lamidey, *Aliens Control in Australia 1939-46*. Sydney: N. Lamidey, 1974, p. 1.

³ Lamidey, *Aliens Control*, p. 1.

The legislation was created at the peak of Australia's war-time security measures, carrying with it the objective of restricting one's individual liberty if there was any real danger 'that the individual will act in a way that prejudices the war effort'.⁴ Over 50,000 non-British migrants were classified as aliens and subjected to the *Aliens Control Regulations*. As witnessed in Chapter One, the fact that the National Security Bill 1939 (Cth) was debated extensively during Parliament highlighted the government was well aware of the risk to civil liberties involved, in particular, the impact that it would have on minority groups living in Australia.

It was not until 1941, nine months into the war that the government formed a national corporate body to deal with the threat of unnaturalized aliens who were perceived as the 'enemy within'. The women under study were caught up in the war hysteria at the time and subject to discrimination and racism brought on by the war. As evidenced in Chapter Two, the Australian public condemned Italy's entry into the war and expressed their resentment against Italians living within the community. Consequently, Italian passengers on board Italian motor vessels *Remo* and *Romolo*, who were returning to their homeland, were among the first to be imprisoned for sailing in Australian waters as Mussolini declared war on the Allied forces.

The most extreme form of restriction enacted was Clause 20 *Aliens Control Regulations*, which recommended the internment of enemy aliens considered to be a threat to national security. Although the main objective of this Clause focused on the politically active 'European male enemy alien', there were cases of women who were affiliated with political organizations and so became the potential targets of internment policies. Chapter Three highlighted the complex issues surrounding the registration process and internment policy among women who were either first,

⁴Lamidey, *Aliens Control*, p. 4.

second, or third generation Australians of German descent and Australian-born, all of whom were conserving German culture and openly expressing their support for the rise of Nazi Germany. Interestingly, the treatment that many women received from authorities during the war differed immensely. For example, Manda Gertrude Thiele was interned for openly expressing her pro German views. On the other hand, Pauline Stark, who was leader of the women's Nazi Party in Australia, was only placed under certain restrictions. Many show how local authorities interpreted and applied the *Aliens Control Regulations* differently.

Life for Italian women in Australia during the Second World War was often difficult and was further complicated by the introduction of the *Aliens Control Regulations*. We saw in Chapter Four how many were left on their own to look after the family business or the farm, while also taking care of the extended family. It was even harder for women who migrated to Australia from Italy. Not being able to speak or understand the English language made it difficult for these women to assimilate into Australian society. There were cases of Italian women suspected of working as spies for the enemy and were reported to authorities by suspicious neighbours. Clearly, the war placed these women in a difficult position where many experienced distress and uncertainty. The enactment and subsequent enforcement of the *Aliens Control Regulations* made the situation worse.

While the internment Regulation did not apply largely to Italian women, it was the other features of the *Aliens Control Regulations*, such as the regular reporting to the local Police Station, general treatment by authorities and the indirect effects of internment that affected them during the war. It was clear that the internment measure was introduced for security reasons. However, from the evidence presented, there seems to be an underlying issue concerning race and 'fear of the other' that is highlighted throughout some case studies, especially those concerning Italian and Australian-

born women of Japanese descent. Although most German and Italian women were not largely affected by the internment measure, this was not the case for Japanese living in Australia. The Japanese threat of imminent invasion in December 1941 highlighted xenophobic policies introduced by the government. All Japanese, including women and children, were interned after Japan attacked Pearl Harbour. As evidenced in Chapter Five, the internment policy against all Japanese was purely based on race. The Australian-born women of Japanese descent in this chapter were interned based on their Japanese appearance and should never have been affected by the *Aliens Control Regulations*.

Other 'victims of circumstance' included German Jewish refugee women. Not only were German Jewish refugee women wrongfully classified by authorities as enemy aliens, their situation was made worse when the majority of their husbands and male relatives were interned or conscripted by the Allied Works Council during the war. Despite their refugee status, these women had to endure the restrictions imposed upon enemy aliens throughout the war. Over 6,500 refugees were affected by the *Aliens Control Regulations* and later re-classified as 'refugee aliens'. Chapter Six highlights the women who were affected by the bureaucratic failures.

The *Aliens Control Regulations* also affected the lives of Australia-born women who lost their British status as a result of their marriage to an Italian national. Their nationality changed to Italian, which meant they too were subject to the government legislation. The complexity of the issue on the nationality and status of these women is evident in a number of case studies examined in Chapter Seven, particularly women who were unaware they were required to register as an alien. Not unexpectedly, Australian women at first adopted a 'hostile attitude' towards authorities. However,

later on, the majority of these women regained their British status through the *Nationality Act 1920-1936*.

This thesis has provided stories and experiences which raise many issues reflecting the treatment of German, Italian, Japanese and Australian-born women subject to the *Aliens Control Regulations*. Very little research has been undertaken on how the *Aliens Control Regulations* affected the lives of migrant women and Australian-born women during the Second World War. The aim of this thesis is to present a voice for these women, and concentrate on their experience of the 'war hysteria', isolation, racism and victimization that existed during the war.

These stories also reflect issues that are relevant to contemporary society. Events such as the Cronulla riots and the Tampa crisis show how discrimination continues to exist towards minority groups within Australia. Also, the heightened security fears after the 9/11 attack led to the introduction of terror laws in Australia that included a telephone hotline to 'dob in' suspicious behavior – a method that proved to be not so different to the statements made by the Australian public to police during the Second World War against their 'alien' neighbours. The fear and concern from all parts of Australian society is reminiscent of the *Aliens Control Regulations* that was experienced over seventy years ago. Once again, based on their heritage and ethnicity, innocent women will be caught up in the government's legislation.

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