

# The Hugo Valentin Centre

Master thesis

## **The Kindertransport in Scotland**

*As Represented in Local Newspapers and  
Kinder testimony*

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## **Abstract**

Despite vast academic interest in the Kindertransport initiative, many aspects of this scheme have been left untouched. This thesis will explore the largely neglected story of Kindertransportees who came to Scotland, whose experience is too often cast behind the shadow of the more documented stories of the English Kindertransport experience. In order to achieve this aim, this thesis will compare Scottish wartime newspaper coverage with later Kindertransportee testimonies in order to elucidate how accurately the Kinder were represented in the Scottish press, and subsequently what this tells us about their overall experience in Scotland.

## Chapter 1: Introduction

From 1938 until 1939, nearly 10,000 Jewish children left their parents behind and absconded from Nazi occupied Europe on a transport initiative, making their way to the safety of Britain. These children were to embark on their new lives in Britain in the midst of the World War II. This initiative came to be known as the Kindertransport.

Around 800 of these youths were sent to Scotland, where they lived for the duration of the war, trying to adapt to local society and rebuild their lives.<sup>1</sup> The Scottish story of these youths is far less documented than the fate of those who ended up in other parts of Britain. In recent years, the Kindertransport has been the subject of great interest in academic spheres as well as in popular culture.<sup>2</sup> Therefore the common narrative has often been to look at the Kindertransport with the notion that it should be celebrated as a highly successful British rescue operation.<sup>3</sup> This often neglects the wider life stories of those children who were brought to Britain, and more specifically Scotland. The current approach to the study of the Kindertransport is to explore the less celebratory side of the scheme. Much of the literature identifies the shortcomings of initiatives put in place by the organisations involved or aims to shed light on the impracticalities. Many scholars aim to discuss the struggles the children dealt with and the emotionality of their journeys. It can be argued that this stance is more realistic and paints a much more balanced picture of the Kinder's experiences. Therefore, there is no end to the research that can be done in order to tell the stories of the former Kinder as accurately as possible and show how their experiences have been portrayed by the press over time.

### Research Problem and Aims

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<sup>1</sup> Frances Williams, *The Forgotten Kindertransportees: The Scottish Experience* (London and New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2014): xiv.

<sup>2</sup> Tony Kushner, "Too Little, Too Late? Reflections on Britain's Holocaust Memorial Day," *Journal of Israeli History* 23:1 (2004): 116.

<sup>3</sup> Williams, *The Forgotten Kindertransportees: The Scottish Experience*, 3.

This thesis will analyse the Kindertransportee journey from their arrival in Britain until the end of the war. The aim of the thesis is to provide an insight into several aspects of the Kindertransportees' experiences in Scotland by specifically looking at the wartime and post-1989 media's portrayal of the Kinder and later survivor testimonies from the Kinder. More specifically then, this thesis will compare newspaper articles between 1938 and 1946 with the much later testimony from adult Kinder and with the recent narrative adopted by the same newspapers during the 1980s-2010s. Through this comparative study, this thesis ultimately wants to assess how accurately the Kinder were portrayed in the media and if and how the media discourse on Kinder changed over the decades. This will allow me to draw some conclusions about the nature of individual remembrance of episodes of traumatic experiences of Holocaust survivors and the media's shifting representation of specific historical episodes and the way they shape the collective memory of the Holocaust. In order to do so, it will look at how positive or negative the experiences of the Kinder were, as portrayed in the press in comparison to the Kinder's own views of their experiences. Therefore, the similarities and differences between press reporting's and kinder testimony will be considered. In doing so, it is hoped that this study will provide a fresh and more concentrated insight into the experiences of the Kinder through their own voices and show the role of the media in shaping a specific-sometimes distorted-public image of the Holocaust and the crucial role of survivors' testimonies in correcting such distortions.

### Disposition

This thesis is divided into four main chapters, namely the introduction, the theory and method, empirical analysis, and the conclusion. The first chapter briefly introduces the main aspects of my thesis. The second chapter has three sections: the first section discusses the previous scholarly literature, followed by a section that lays out the theories informing this thesis, while the third section presents the methodology used in my research. The third chapter, empirical analysis, is divided into four sections. The first section compares newspapers from the period 1938-1946 with testimony from former adult Kindertransportees to assess the religion and identity of the Kinder, looking at both Christian and Jewish responses. Secondly, an analysis of the anti-alien sentiment will be provided. The third section will discuss the period just before the 5 war and immediately after. The final section will look at modern representations of

the Kindertransport in the Scottish press. Finally, the fourth chapter will present the conclusions of this study.

## **Chapter 2: Theory and Method**

### Previous scholarly literature

The motivation for this thesis stemmed from a visible gap in the literature with regard to the Kindertransport in Britain, and more specifically Scotland. No scholar has attempted to analyse the relationship between testimonies and newspaper articles in the context of the Kindertransport and the evolution of newspaper narratives depicting the Kindertransport. Additionally, there is only one published study on the Scottish experience of the Kindertransport and so this thesis has the opportunity to expand on and change the way we understand the experiences of the young children that found shelter in Scotland and the representation of these experiences in Scottish media. Historian Frances Williams, author of *The Forgotten Kindertransportees: The Scottish Experience*, claims to provide a study on a “Scottish experience” of the Kindertransportees. However, Williams used more English newspapers in her study than she uses Scottish newspapers, which at times, made her misunderstand Scottish realities. In other words, it can be said that main aspects of her narrative are distorted by the fact she relied heavily on English media at the expense of Scottish newspapers. For example, in the first chapter, discussing the reception the children received in Scotland, Williams heavily uses *The Times*, a newspaper based in London. This newspaper provides a broader outlook on Britain with a large emphasis on England, but offers a very limited depiction of the children’s experiences in Scotland. Subsequently, it can be disputed how concrete her evidence and analysis is in terms of seeking to know more about the Scottish reception received by the Kinder. Therefore, this thesis has the opportunity to look more closely at the Scottish experience through local Scottish newspapers and Kinder’s testimonies. It is hoped that this will offer a more decisive and truly Scottish interpretation of the Kindertransportee experience and the changes in the local discourses and public memory of the child refugees.

There is a plethora of other literature detailing the Kindertransportees experiences in Britain. This section will review existing studies on the Kindertransport in Britain in order to place this study and its relevance in the current historiography of this field. The research and literature has developed rather a lot since historian Norman Bentwich’s published his 1956 study entitled: ‘*They Found Refuge: An account of British Jewry’s work for victims of Nazi oppression*’. This

celebratory view of Britain's rescue mission is unfavourable and deemed largely one-sided by today's academics. More recently, historians such as Louise London, Tony Kushner and Caroline Sharples emphasise the need to look more critically at Britain's effort in helping refugees flee from Nazi occupied Europe. For example, Sharples argues for the need to go beyond the 'neat narratives' of the scheme and recognise the more complex nature of the Kindertransport.<sup>4</sup> She explains we must go 'beyond the celebratory' and look at it more critically.<sup>5</sup> London, also states that the view that Britain will always welcome the 'genuine' refugee is a 'myth'. She explains that one of the foundations of this myth is that Britain did all it could for the Jewish refugees.<sup>6</sup> This is explained by the fact that the refugees were selected on the basis of Britain's own 'self interests' as opposed to genuine philanthropic criteria.<sup>7</sup> Similarly, Kushner also pushes for a more scathing analysis. He explains that the lack of critical contemplation has resulted in a large amount of 'irredeemable sentimentalism' in the history of the Kinder experience.<sup>8</sup> To an extent, it can be argued that these scholars laid the foundations for a more critical analysis to be adopted in the historiography of the kindertransport.

More extensive studies of the Kindertransport can be found in Vera K. Fast's '*Children's Exodus: A History of the Kindertransport*' and Frances Williams' '*The Forgotten Kinderytransportees: The Scottish Experience*'. Both texts use post-war oral histories to give an insight into the scheme. Both scholars shed light on the positives and negatives of the experiences of the Kinder and provide a more balanced outlook. Williams book offers a unique look into a solely Scottish experience, while Fast aims to provide a British insight. Williams provides balance in her analysis. She expresses that it is "unhelpful" to reduce the analysis of the Kinder's experience into "two opposing camps that advocate either British altruism or kindertransportee

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<sup>4</sup> Caroline Sharples, "Reconstructing the Past: Refugee Writings on the Kindertransport," *Journal of History and Culture* Vol. 12, Issue 3 (2006): 60.

<sup>5</sup> Sharples, "Reconstructing the Past: Refugee Writings on the Kindertransport," 41.

<sup>6</sup> Louise London, "Whitehall and the Refugees: The 1930s and the 1990s," *Patterns of Prejudice* 34:3 (2002): 18.

<sup>7</sup> London, "Whitehall and the Refugees: The 1930s and the 1990s," 18.

<sup>8</sup> Tony Kushner, 'The Kinder: A Case of Selective Memory?' in *Remembering refugees Then and now*, ed. Tony Kushner (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006) 144.

victimhood”.<sup>9</sup> She explains that putting the experiences of these young refugees into either ‘critical narratives’ or ‘successful narratives’ oversimplifies the analysis. She argues that the Kinder’s experiences were far more ‘multifaceted’.<sup>10</sup> Like Williams, Fast provides a critical, yet fair overview. Fast also provides an insightful analysis with regard to evacuation and internment and the trauma many children faced as a result.<sup>11</sup> Overall both Williams and Fast provide a critical yet balanced overview of the kindertransportee’s experience. In turn, this helpfully illustrates the individuality of each former Kinder’s testimony in contributing to the bigger picture.

While these texts hold many informative arguments, both have limitations. Although Fast claims to be conducting research on the ‘British’ kindertransport scheme, it is rather an insight into the ‘English’ experience of the Kinder. Despite mentioning Scotland fleetingly, Fast’s analysis and use of oral testimonies are from mainly English sources and thus shed light on an English experience at the expense of Scotland. Therefore, Fast’s study is useful in providing broader context and shedding light on the extent of trauma felt by the young refugees, but her study only goes so far. She also barely looks at the media’s portrayal of the Kinder, which paves the way for a more detailed study on the media with regard to the Kinder. While Williams pays decent attention to the media, she relies on newspapers to establish context as opposed to using them to support her central arguments. Additionally, despite Williams claiming to provide a unique look at the Scottish experience<sup>12</sup>, sometimes this aim is not realised fully. Namely, her use of *The Times* in portraying a ‘Scottish experience’ can offer a very limited depiction of the children’s stay in Scotland. For example, *The Times* is a national newspaper, published in London, which focuses largely on England. Therefore, this thesis has the opportunity to expand on Williams work by looking more closely at the relationship between how the Scottish press depicted the Kindertransport at various moments in time (during the war and from 1989 on) and the views of the Kindertransportees themselves. While Williams is successful in providing balance to her analysis, she

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<sup>9</sup> Frances Williams, *The Forgotten Kindertransportees: The Scottish Experience* (London and New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2014) 25.

<sup>10</sup> Williams, *The Forgotten Kindertransportees: The Scottish Experience*, 2.

<sup>11</sup> Vera K. Fast, *Children’s Exodus: A History of the Kindertransport*, (I.B. Tauris & Co Ltd, 2011) chapter 4.

<sup>12</sup> Williams, *The Forgotten Kindertransportees: The Scottish Experience*, xxxi-xxxii.

often sits on the fence and provides unclear and indecisive arguments. Namely her open-ended analysis on non-Jewish care of the Kinder and her inability to assess its overall impact.<sup>13</sup> Therefore this thesis has the opportunity to provide a more decisive analysis and give clear answers on whether the Kinder experience was positive and if they were represented accurately in the press.

Furthermore, other studies on the Kindertransport have adopted a more historiographical approach. This allows the reader to understand how primary sources can be used and how they can be applied in a specific context. These texts provide an insight into the memorialisation process of the Kindertransport. Rebekah Göpfert's study, *'Kindertransport: History and Memory'* illustrates how the Kindertransport is remembered in the context of the Holocaust, but also in British memory. She explains that many Kinder were able to come "out from under the shadow of the Auschwitz survivors," whose wartime experiences were usually valued more than the refugees-survivors.<sup>14</sup> This allowed the Kinder to come to terms with what had happened to them. Göpfert also highlights that the U.S. recognises the importance of the Holocaust far more than Britain in terms of collective memory.<sup>15</sup> She explains that the British press celebrated the end of the war as "the last great military achievement of the British Empire", therefore the 'end of' the Holocaust took a back seat.<sup>16</sup> This argument supports the idea that this made the Kinder even more determined to let their experiences be heard later on when they were given the opportunity. Despite Göpfert's analysis contributing to our understanding as well as highlighting the trauma faced by the Kinder, her article does adopt a celebratory tone. Her view of the scheme as a "unique rescue action" paints the memorialisation of the Kindertransport as a triumphant one, which supports a 'happy ending' narrative.<sup>17</sup> This is an unrealistic view, which does not encapsulate the full Kindertransport experience accurately.

Andrea Hammel, Caroline Sharples, Chad McDonald, Ruth Barnett and Edward Timms all shed light on parts of memorialisation connecting to the

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<sup>13</sup> Williams, *The Forgotten Kindertransportees: The Scottish Experience*, 114-115.

<sup>14</sup> Rebekah Göpfert, "Kindertransport: History and Memory," *Shofar: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Jewish Studies* 23, no. 1 (2004), 25.

<sup>15</sup> Göpfert, *Kindertransport: History and Memory*, 26.

<sup>16</sup> Göpfert, *Kindertransport: History and Memory*, 26.

<sup>17</sup> Göpfert, *Kindertransport: History and Memory*, 26.

Kindertransport. All authors argue for a more critical response and address traumatic aspects of the children's lives in Britain.<sup>18</sup> Hammel evaluates the autobiographical literature of three adult Kinder. She argues that many accounts cannot help but explain their trauma, as well as highlighting the contrast between 'narrated child self' and 'narrating adult self'.<sup>19</sup> Like Hammel, McDonald identifies that the Kinder's parents fate can have a profound impact on them, which is evident in their recollections.<sup>20</sup> McDonald argues that the Kinder's parents are non-existent in public memorialization in Britain, yet very central to the Kinder's own memories and narratives. This thesis will build upon this point, as it supports the view that the press perhaps chose to leave out the Kinder's parents from public narrative in order to portray a more celebratory experience.

Sharples and Hammel also draw attention to Britain's memorial culture with regard to the Kindertransport. Both scholars highlight that much of the memorialisation within the Kinder narrative is still celebratory, while arguing that we

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<sup>18</sup> Andrea Hammel, Authenticity, Trauma and the Child's View: Martha Blend's *A Child Alone*, Vera Gissing's *Pearls of Childhood* and Ruth L. David's *Ein Kind unserer Zeit*, *Forum For Modern Language Studies*, Volume 49, Issue 2, (1 April 2013), 202;

Andrea Hammel, "Child refugees forever? The history of the Kindertransport to Britain 1938/39." *Journal of Childhood and Adolescence Research*, 5(2), 132;

Caroline Sharples, "The Kindertransport in British Historical Memory," in *The Kindertransport to Britain 1938/39 New Perspectives*, ed. Andrea Hammel and Bea Lewkowicz (Amsterdam & New York: Editions Rodopi B.V. 2012) 24;

Chad McDonald, "'We Became British Aliens': Kindertransport Refugees Narrating the Discovery of Their Parents' Fates." *Holocaust Studies*, 24:4v(2018) 395;

Ruth Barnett, "Therapeutic Aspects of Working Through the Trauma of the Kindertransport Experience," in *The Kindertransport to Britain 1938/39 New Perspectives*, ed. Andrea Hammel and Bea Lewkowicz (Amsterdam & New York: Editions Rodopi B.V. 2012) 157, 169;

Edward Timms, ; "The Ordeals of Kinder and Evacuees in Comparative Perspective," in *The Kindertransport to Britain 1938/39 New Perspectives*, ed. Andrea Hammel and Bea Lewkowicz (Amsterdam & New York: Editions Rodopi B.V. 2012), 125.

<sup>19</sup> Andrea Hammel, "Authenticity, Trauma and the Child's View: Martha Blend's *A Child Alone*, Vera Gissing's *Pearls of Childhood* and Ruth L. David's *Ein Kind unserer Zeit*," 202.

<sup>20</sup> Hammel, "Authenticity, Trauma and the Child's View: Martha Blend's *A Child Alone*, Vera Gissing's *Pearls of Childhood* and Ruth L. David's *Ein Kind unserer Zeit*," 202; Chad McDonald, "'We Became British Aliens': Kindertransport Refugees Narrating the Discovery of Their Parents' Fates." 395.

must look upon the scheme with a more critical glare. Sharples argues that ‘selective remembrance’ is still present with regard to the Kindertransport.<sup>21</sup> She explains that there is a tension in former Kinder’s testimonies between their need to show gratitude and their demand to highlight the more accurate and traumatic side to the scheme.<sup>22</sup> Hammel also explains that for so long, Britain wanted to remember the war as a national victory. This put the Kinder in the background, with them barely being considered survivors.<sup>23</sup> She also argues that for so long, the British media depicted the young refugees as helpless victims forever indebted to Britain. This image was constructed very selectively in the press during the time, with diary entries and interviews being published in the press detailing how great a time the Kinder were having in their new homes.<sup>24</sup> She explains this reinforced the former Kinder’s desire to have their accurate accounts recorded in any way they could in later life.<sup>25</sup>

The works of Barnett and Timms also shed light on the trauma felt by the Kinder and help to change how we should remember this period in history. Barnett, herself a former Kinder, explains that dealing with trauma is a very individual process. She explains that many people were able to cope by ‘splitting off’ that side of themselves and keeping their trauma ‘locked away’, however, this was achieved at an inner ‘emotional cost’.<sup>26</sup> On the other hand, she explains that others were able to confront and address their experiences head on. She explains that for so long, the Kinder were not able to process what had happened due to the fact that

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<sup>21</sup> Caroline Sharples, “The Kindertransport in British Historical Memory,” in *The Kindertransport to Britain 1938/39 New Perspectives*, ed. Andrea Hammel and Bea Lewkowicz (Amsterdam & New York: Editions Rodopi B.V. 2012), 22.

<sup>22</sup> Caroline Sharples, “The Kindertransport in British Historical Memory,” 22.

<sup>23</sup> Andrea Hammel, “Child refugees forever? The history of the Kindertransport to Britain 1938/39.” *Journal of Childhood and Adolescence Research*, 5(2), 141.

<sup>24</sup> Andrea Hammel, “Child refugees forever? The history of the Kindertransport to Britain 1938/39.” 137.

<sup>25</sup> Andrea Hammel, “Child refugees forever? The history of the Kindertransport to Britain 1938/39.” 139.

<sup>26</sup> Ruth Barnett, “Therapeutic Aspects of Working Through the Trauma of the Kindertransport Experience,” in *The Kindertransport to Britain 1938/39 New Perspectives*, ed. Andrea Hammel and Bea Lewkowicz (Amsterdam & New York: Editions Rodopi B.V. 2012), 157.

society would not afford them the status of ‘survivor’.<sup>27</sup> Again, this made them even more determined to come to terms with and talk about their experiences later in life. Timms, argues that the Kinder had extremely traumatic experiences during evacuation in war time Britain. He does this by comparing the experiences of British evacuee children from urban areas to the countryside and the Kinder who were also evacuated from the cities to the towns.<sup>28</sup>

Therefore, despite this extensive literature, no scholar has attempted to delve into the experiences of the Kindertransport by comparing testimonies from the Kinder with press coverage and how the media discourses have changed over time. This is what this study will attempt to accomplish; with reference to the Scottish experience.

### Theory

This section will identify applicable theoretical approaches, which will help to determine and explain the level of representation given to the Kinder by the press during and immediately after the war years and decades later and the the role of Kinder’s testimonies. In order to do this, this thesis looks at the similarities and differences between the press and testimonies from adult Kinder and to the changes in the newspapers’ representation of the Kindertransport after several decades.

Theoretically, then, this study will argue for the importance of survivors’ testimony to correct a distorted or romanticised representation of Holocaust child survivors’ experiences. These survivors, it must be noted, were at the time rather neglected in public discourses in Western society, including Scotland, and did not usually have a voice or influence. Therefore, theoretical approaches will be examined in relation to the importance of eye-witness testimony and also for the impact the media had on creating a certain ‘preferred’ image of a historical event.

Firstly, let us look at the central argument of Alessandro Portelli, a well-known scholar who specialises in oral history and memory studies. Portelli stresses the importance of oral histories, without detracting from the vital part played by the

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<sup>27</sup> Barnett, “Therapeutic Aspects of Working Through the Trauma of the Kindertransport Experience,” 169, for a detailed analysis of the evolution of the role and status of the Holocaust survivor in postwar society, see Wiewiorka, *The Era of the Witness*, 56-144.

<sup>28</sup> Edward Timms, “The Ordeals of Kinder and Evacuees in Comparative Perspective,” in *The Kindertransport to Britain 1938/39 New Perspectives*, ed. Andrea Hammel and Bea Lewkowicz (Amsterdam & New York: Editions Rodopi B.V. 2012), 125.

historian.<sup>29</sup> He explains that his book *The Death of Luigi Trastulli* addresses “the interplay of traditional cultures and industrialisation—the uses of traditional culture by working people as they struggled with and tried to make themselves at home in a world which they built but, to a large extent, they did not choose to make”.<sup>30</sup> Amy Shuman, eloquently summarises Portelli’s main proposition: “the basic premise of this approach is that it is not enough just to make the historically voiceless heard; one must also investigate the conditions of the suppression of voices and memories...”.<sup>31</sup>

This approach can be likened to the testimonies of the Kinder in later life and reporting’s from the press during the war years. For example the adult Kinder can be likened to Portelli’s description of a neglected group of (previously voiceless) people who are trying to find their place in a world, which they contribute to, yet one “they did not choose to make”. The Kinder did not ask to come to Britain and they certainly did not ask to be persecuted by the Nazis and discriminated by some members of British society; yet accidentally they have helped indirectly construct a certain image in British collective memory: that of helpless victims. So it can be argued that through their personal testimony (mainly in the form of oral interviews), in later life, the Kinder are seeking “to make themselves at home,” to obtain a public voice, and set their stories straight. In a way, their testimonies are attempting to rectify a distorted or romanticised image of their own personal histories by sharing these experiences in the public sphere. The ‘survivors’ confronting their past and coming to terms with it can achieve this process. Yet, as Shuman explains, we must also look into the conditions in which the voices or memories of the Kinder were suppressed, this can be accomplished by looking at the role played by the Scottish press.

Portelli, also expands on this point by explaining that different people/groups/societies remember a specific historical event (or period in history) in different ways. This explains how memory and other interests affect or, at times, distort the public representation or depiction of what happened during that specific event or historical period. Portelli explains this argument by comparing competing

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<sup>29</sup> Alessandro Portelli, *The Death of Luigi Trastulli and Other Stories: Form and Meaning in Oral History*, (New York: State University of New York Press, 1991), 56.

<sup>30</sup> Alessandro Portelli, *The Death of Luigi Trastulli and Other Stories: Form and Meaning in Oral History*, xiii.

<sup>31</sup> Amy Shuman, Review article, “The Death of Luigi Trastulli and Other Stories: Form and Meaning in Oral History,” *The Oral History Review*, Vol. 21, Issue 1 (March 1993), 119.

accounts of a labour strike, whereby Luigi Transtulli, a worker, was killed.<sup>32</sup> He uses oral testimony in order to illustrate the different and fluctuating accounts from different people. He explains the conflict between the communist's version of events and the more established governmental response at the time, using two newspapers in order to establish the agendas of both sides of the spectrum.<sup>33</sup> He explains that many oral testimonies still cling to the principles outlined in the press during that time, depending on what side they were on and where their interests lie.<sup>34</sup> This can be likened to the case of the Kinder, who aim to address subjects they have clung on to. It also illustrates that individuals remember things differently and chose to project certain accounts of their memories according to their own personal interests, which Portelli explains can be affected by culture or public discourses, which sometimes can make these testimonies problematic.

Portelli concludes by emphasising the importance of oral history, as well as placing memory in the context of history. He claims that “memory manipulates factual details and chronological sequence in order to serve three main functions<sup>35</sup>.” He refers firstly to the ‘symbolic’ function—a specific event or period that represents a group’s overall experience. Secondly, there is the ‘psychological’ function. This function serves to manipulate the chronology in order to heal and compensate for a lack of power.<sup>36</sup> Lastly, there is the ‘formal’ function, which Portelli describes as the “horizontal shifting” of the time period. This, he explains, accounts for the “chronology” being “rearranged or blurred in order to compensate for the shift”.<sup>37</sup> Portelli, argues that the “discrepancy between fact and memory” increases the worth of the oral testimonies as historical evidence. He explains that the deviation from hard

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<sup>32</sup> Portelli, *The Death of Luigi Transtulli and Other Storties: Form and Meaning in Oral History*, 1.

<sup>33</sup> Portelli, *The Death of Luigi Transtulli and Other Storties: Form and Meaning in Oral History*, 3-4.

<sup>34</sup> Portelli, *The Death of Luigi Transtulli and Other Storties: Form and Meaning in Oral History*, 4.

<sup>35</sup> Portelli, *The Death of Luigi Transtulli and Other Storties: Form and Meaning in Oral History*, 26.

<sup>36</sup> Portelli, *The Death of Luigi Transtulli and Other Storties: Form and Meaning in Oral History*, 26.

<sup>37</sup> Portelli, *The Death of Luigi Transtulli and Other Storties: Form and Meaning in Oral History*, 26.

fact is a creative way of regenerating memory in order to “make sense of crucial events and of history in general”.<sup>38</sup> This applies to the later testimonies of the Kinder. For example, although their accounts may deviate from hard fact, their recollections can tell us much about what kind of experience they actually had and how they interpreted that experience.

Additionally, in order to understand the press and the way in which newspapers can create a certain image or project a certain view of a group, we can look at the theory proposed by historian and political scientist Benedict Anderson. Anderson talks about how nationalism came to be and argues that the media play a substantial role in this. Anderson argues that the development of capitalism and print technology triggered nations to embrace a national language and what Anderson has dubbed an “imagined community”.<sup>39</sup> If each modern nation has developed a national identity and language, this means they are an imagined community of likeness. Therefore, the editors of newspapers (and other printed materials) can decide what language to use, with a view to interconnect with the masses in a certain way.<sup>40</sup> Anderson argues then, that since an imagined community feels pride for their own nation, newspaper editors can take advantage of this patriotism in order to make their stories appeal to the population’s nationalistic mind-set.

This connects to the newspapers articles discussed in this thesis. During wartime, Scottish (and British) newspapers were keen to, and also obliged to project a nationalistic image. This meant that reporting’s of the Kinder were mostly positive so that newspapers could write about how well Scotland and Britain as a whole had done. This allowed readers to be proud of their country and so this nationalistic outlook was beneficial for the country as a whole during wartime. Yet, this had consequences for the representation of the Kinder: the stories that reached the public during the late 1930s and the first half of the 1940s were mostly positive or written in such a way that would highlight Scotland’s achievements in saving these poor children from the Nazi menace.

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<sup>38</sup> Portelli, *The Death of Luigi Transtulli and Other Stories: Form and Meaning in Oral History*, 26.

<sup>39</sup> Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, (Verso, 2006), 36.

<sup>40</sup> Anderson, *Imagined Communities* 61, 62, 114.

Therefore, the preferred image presented in the press can be understood through Anderson's theory on nationalism and the media, which can also be seen to apply throughout this thesis. Similarly, much of Portelli's theoretical approach can be related to the case of the Kinder and their quest to have their voices heard in the form of testimonies. For example, the press created a particular image of the Kinder. This urged former Kinder to express their experiences in a more accurate way. Portelli, explains that memory can be constructed due to conflicting agendas and interest, and this can be linked to the specific agenda of the Kinder to have their stories told against the particular distorted image constructed by the press. Additionally, Portelli's theory on the changing public memory of specific traumatic events illustrates very well the change in the discourse of the Scottish press concerning the Kinder, which took place from the 1980s onwards, due to the changes in society's perception of the Holocaust survivors in general and of Kinder in particular, which influenced the Scottish newspaper editor's agendas. These arguments posed by Portelli can be seen to apply throughout this thesis.

The limitations of using testimonies must also be acknowledged. For example, historian Annette Wieviorka addresses this issue in her book, *The Era of The Witness*, whereby she talks of the surfacing of survivor testimony in mainstream society. Wieviorka highlights the friction between the genres of personal testimonies (memory) and historical inquiry (history): "How can the historian incite reflection, thought and rigor when feelings and emotions invade the public sphere?"<sup>41</sup> Here she explains that the emotionality of testimonies can detract from the hard facts of history and challenge and downplay a historian's argument.<sup>42</sup>

Moreover, Wieviorka also explains that testimonies are driven in a certain way in order to gain attention and sympathy from vast audiences.<sup>43</sup> For example, the testimonies used in this thesis were subject to certain interviewer's guidelines in order to appeal and resonate with a wide audience. For example, Wieviorka highlights some of the problems with Steven Spielberg's Shoah Visual

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<sup>41</sup> Annette Wieviorka, *The Era of the Witness*, (Ithaca & London: Cornell University Press, 2006), 144.

<sup>42</sup> For a detailed discussion on the controversial relationship between history and memory and the ways in which this influences the perception of historical events and historical writing, see Paul Ricoeur, *Memory, History, Forgetting* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004).

<sup>43</sup> Wieviorka, *The Era of the Witness*, 129.

History Foundation. She explains that the foundation's aim was to convey the history of the Holocaust by collecting and editing the video testimonies in order to follow a uniformed structure rendering to specific instructions.<sup>44</sup> Consequently, this resulted in the Holocaust being told through the 'individual'. Wieviorka explains further: "Their goal, then, is quite simply to replace teachers with witnesses, who are supposed to be bearers of a knowledge that, sadly enough, they possess no more than anyone else".<sup>45</sup> Ultimately, Wieviorka aims to explain that testimony evokes sentiment and emotionality, yet is incapable of being able to create a more nuanced historical account. Additionally, as various scholars of memory studies have pointed out, survivors themselves sometimes have their own agendas and other factors-such as forgetting as well as other errors of memory-shape their testimonies.<sup>46</sup> Nevertheless, even with their errors, oblivions, and agendas, survivors testimonies are crucial to a reconstruction of historical events and for the understanding of the dynamics of public representation of traumatic events such as the Holocaust. Therefore, the reader throughout this study should keep these weaknesses and the strengths of personal testimony in mind.

## Method

The newspaper articles included in this study will be used in order to analyse how the press portrays the experience of the Kindertransportees who came to Scotland. Different articles will be collected to cover the period starting from 1938 until 1946. This period represents the start of the Kindertransportees journey, while towards the end of the period up until 1946 illustrates how the Kinder's journey changed and what life was like for them at the end of the war. Therefore, this is a crucial time frame to analyse how the press responded to the Kinder. This time period is also key to observing how the adult Kinder look back on this specific time. Newspaper articles

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<sup>44</sup> Wieviorka, *The Era of the Witness*, 133.

<sup>45</sup> Wieviorka, *The Era of the Witness*, 133.

<sup>46</sup> Portelli, *The Death of Luigi Trastulli*; Ricocur, *Memory, History, Forgetting*; Shoshana Felman Doris Laub, *Testimony: Crises of Witnessing in Literature, Psychoanalysis and History* (New York: Routledge, 1992).

from the 1980s<sup>47</sup> -onwards will also be collected in order to compare their discourses on the Kinder with their previous (wartime and early postwar) coverage and, thus, to be able to examine whether or not they changed their depiction of the Kindertransport.

It must be noted that this thesis aims to find a middle ground between fact and emotionality following the approach of British historian Mary Fulbrook, who argues that this middle ground is important when trying to find a balance between dealing with historical facts, as well as dealing with the inevitable empathy evoked by accounts from the Holocaust, such as the survivor testimonies used in this study.<sup>48</sup> This approach allows the historian to bridge the gap between the past and the present, which is crucial for this study when aiming to bring to life the untold stories of Kinder and the distortions that affected their public representations during the last seven decades.

### Methodological framework

In order to explain more clearly how the method of this thesis will work, I will liken the methodological model employed in the sociological work entitled *From Auschwitz to Americana: Texts of the Holocaust*. This study examined how the Holocaust was depicted in twentieth century US in different genres of texts, such as newspapers, survivor's memoirs and oral testimony. These different texts and their discourses are compared, using 'the unique voices within and between texts'.<sup>49</sup> The authors compare these primary sources in order to illustrate how different types of texts represent the Holocaust. They weigh up the usefulness of each source; yet conclude that none of the

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<sup>47</sup> 1989 was a crucial year for the emergence of Kindertransportees' voices in the British public space (due to the massive 50 year Reunion of the Kindertransport and the establishment of the Kindertransport Association)

<sup>48</sup> Fulbrook, *Theory and Method*, 163.

<sup>49</sup> Gerald E. Markle, Mary D. Lagerwey-Voorman, Todd A. Clason, Jill A. Green, Tricia L. Meade and Mary E. Lagerwey-Voorman, "From Auschwitz to Americana: Texts of the Holocaust." *Sociological Focus*, Vol. 25, No. 3 (August 1992), 179.

texts can portray “a universal experience of the Holocaust”.<sup>50</sup> Thus, they argue that each account of the Holocaust is its own isolated historical judgement, which should be judged as such.<sup>51</sup> Similarly, this thesis will also compare Scottish newspaper reports published during the war and decades after the war at key moments of the commemoration of Kindertransport with personal testimonies of the Kinder recorded much later.

### Newspaper coverage

The main newspaper used in this thesis is *The Scotsman*. This newspaper was chosen due to its profile as a nationwide newspaper, reporting across Scotland. Therefore, *The Scotsman* gives the reader a broad understanding and reflection of Scotland and the attitudes of the Scottish people. Primarily the newspaper is concerned with Scotland’s interests, and so also reported on local matters.<sup>52</sup> This gives a more detailed and personal insight of Scotland as a whole. Considering this study aims to provide a Scottish experience of the Kindertsrnportees who arrived in the country, *The Scotsman* stood out as the most logical newspaper to analyse. Other newspapers are used, but due to the time constraints of this study, this was chosen as the main newspaper.

*The Scotsman* has long been known for its impartiality and reliable journalistic style, as well as its balanced political views.<sup>53</sup> For these reasons, it would be believed that the newspaper would report ‘across the board’ about the positives and negatives of the Kinder’s experiences. Therefore, this newspaper was an interesting choice in order to analyse how impartial it really was.

The second newspaper used was the *Daily Record*. This newspaper is based in Glasgow, while *The Scotsman* is published in Edinburgh. This provides

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<sup>50</sup> Markle et al., Mary D. Lagerwey-Voorman, Todd A. Clason, Jill A. Green, Tricia L. Meade and Mary E. Lagerwey-Voorman, “From Auschwitz to Americana: Texts of the Holocaust.” *Sociological Focus*, Vol. 25, No. 3 (August 1992), 199.

<sup>51</sup> Gerald E. Markle, Mary D. Lagerwey-Voorman, Todd A. Clason, Jill A. Green, Tricia L. Meade and Mary E. Lagerwey-Voorman, “From Auschwitz to Americana: Texts of the Holocaust.” 199.

<sup>52</sup> <https://www.britannica.com>

<sup>53</sup> <https://www.britannica.com>

balance to the thesis, with newspapers being used from the two main cities in Scotland. The *Daily Record* has always been known for its pledge to the values of fairness and equality.<sup>54</sup> Moreover, it is known for representing the people of Scotland, especially those who are known for not having a say. In other words the paper historically prides itself on having a “strong social conscience”.<sup>55</sup>

To gain a truly Jewish perspective, this study uses the only Scottish Jewish newspaper, the *Jewish Echo*. The *Jewish Echo* was Glasgow’s own English-language Jewish newspaper, published from 1928 until 1992.<sup>56</sup> Although published in Glasgow, the *Jewish Echo* served and represented all of Scotland’s Jewish communities. Despite representing Scottish Jewry, the newspaper reported not only on local news-including Kindertransport-but also on worldwide news and events connected to Jews across the globe.<sup>57</sup>

### Collection of articles

The newspaper articles for both *The Scotsman* and the *Daily Record* were collected through the British Newspaper Archive, a repository of British media, which was accessed online.<sup>58</sup> As for the *Jewish Echo*, this required a visit to the Mitchell Library in Glasgow, whereby physical bound copies of the newspaper were available.

Due to this thesis being a comparative study of newspaper articles and Kinder testimony, the articles were chosen with the comparison in mind. For example, the themes the articles explore were chosen on the basis that they matched and could be compared to common themes that were addressed in the adult testimonies of the kinder and in the newspapers published from the 1980s onwards. Therefore, the themes of religion, anti-alien sentiment and lastly the period around the end of the war were derived naturally as the most comparable themes between newspaper articles and the Kinder’s memories. Subsequently, these themes were separated into the three main chapters that lead this study.

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<sup>54</sup> <https://www.dailyrecord.co.uk>

<sup>55</sup> <https://www.dailyrecord.co.uk>

<sup>56</sup> [www.coussins.org/gorbals.htm](http://www.coussins.org/gorbals.htm)

<sup>57</sup> Kenneth Collins, *The Jewish Experience in Scotland from Immigration to Integration*, (Scottish Jewish Archives Centre, 2016), 15, 76.

<sup>58</sup> <https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk>

## British media during WWII

The British press had certain responsibilities during wartime. Shortly after the war began, in 1939, the Home Secretary had the capability to curtail press reporting's that were liable to weaken or challenge the war effort.<sup>59</sup> The Government made it clear that they could and would ban any newspaper that was unpatriotic or careless in their reports on the war.<sup>60</sup> The press felt the threat of the Government's censorship powers early on; meaning they mainly cooperated with the government in terms of their reports.<sup>61</sup>

Therefore, the press followed certain rules with regard to the country's national interest. As a result, a strong sense of nationalism was prominent in many newspapers during wartime.<sup>62</sup> The narrative that British democracy would prevail over Nazi terror was a common theme.<sup>63</sup> Subsequently, this lays the foundations for some of the limitations of the press during this time. For example, the rules and regulations that influenced the wartime media did so in such a way that often neglected or romanticised the experiences of the Kinder. This must be considered when the analysis of the newspapers takes place throughout this thesis.

Hammel highlights that there was a need for the Kinder to be represented in the media as vulnerable victims, rescued by Britain.<sup>64</sup> This led to selectivity in the press, with mainly positive publications of the children's experiences.<sup>65</sup> This press

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<sup>59</sup> James Curran and Jean Seaton, *Power Without Responsibility: The Press, Broadcasting, and New Media in Britain*, (London: Routledge, 2010), 55.

<sup>60</sup> James Curran and Jean Seaton, *Power Without Responsibility: The Press, Broadcasting, and New Media in Britain*, 60.

<sup>61</sup> James Curran and Jean Seaton, *Power Without Responsibility: The Press, Broadcasting, and New Media in Britain*, 61.

<sup>62</sup> James Curran and Jean Seaton, *Power Without Responsibility: The Press, Broadcasting, and New Media in Britain*, 62.

<sup>63</sup> James Curran and Jean Seaton, *Power Without Responsibility: The Press, Broadcasting, and New Media in Britain*, 62.

<sup>64</sup> Andrea Hammel, "Child refugees forever? The history of the Kindertransport to Britain 1938/39." *Journal of Childhood and Adolescence Research*, 5(2), 136.

<sup>65</sup> Hammel, "Child refugees forever? The history of the Kindertransport to Britain 1938/39." 137.

narrative supports the idea that Britain had to be portrayed as rescuer, thus reinstating the limitations of the press during this period. Historian Dan Stone supports this idea. He argued persuasively that a “British nationalist narrative of the triumph of democracy” allowed the British to view themselves as superiors against Germany’s Nazi regime.<sup>66</sup> In the post-war years, this allowed Britain to maintain a proud and superior narrative due to their part played in abolishing Nazism, through their defeat of Germany.<sup>67</sup>

### Limitations of the press as a source

It can be said that looking at newspapers as a historical source can be understood as a part of the broader WW II context, and not as part of a distinct phenomenon, such as the Holocaust.<sup>68</sup> This is due to the fact the term or understanding of the Holocaust was not fully realised by journalists when they were reporting during wartime.<sup>69</sup>

Therefore, universally, it is easy to see why reporting’s during the war lacked ‘flesh and blood’ and failed to capture the emotionality and trauma of victims and survivors of Nazism.<sup>70</sup>

Retrospectively, newspapers are only tiny parts of a much larger picture not fully understood at that time. As various scholars have pointed out, the wartime journalists and readers only ‘saw pieces, not a whole’. As a result, “history is easier to

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<sup>66</sup> Dan Stone, “The Greatest Detective Story in History” The BBC, the International Tracing Service, and the Memory of Nazi Crimes in Early Postwar Britain,” *History and Memory*, Vol 29, No. 2 (Fall 2017), 83.

<sup>67</sup> Stone, “The Greatest Detective Story in History” The BBC, the International Tracing Service, and the Memory of Nazi Crimes in Early Postwar Britain” 63.

<sup>68</sup> Gerald E. Markle, Mary D. Lagerwey-Voorman, Todd A. Clason, Jill A. Green, Tricia L. Meade and Mary E. Lagerwey-Voorman, “From Auschwitz to Americana: Texts of the Holocaust.” *Sociological Focus*, Vol. 25, No. 3 (August 1992), 187.

<sup>69</sup> Gerald E. Markle, Mary D. Lagerwey-Voorman, Todd A. Clason, Jill A. Green, Tricia L. Meade and Mary E. Lagerwey-Voorman, “From Auschwitz to Americana: Texts of the Holocaust.” 180.

<sup>70</sup> Gerald E. Markle, Mary D. Lagerwey-Voorman, Todd A. Clason, Jill A. Green, Tricia L. Meade and Mary E. Lagerwey-Voorman, “From Auschwitz to Americana: Texts of the Holocaust.” 198.

tell retrospectively”.<sup>71</sup> Therefore, while newspapers are a useful source, which tell us what particular events captured the interest of the authorities, journalists, and the public during the discussed period, they can only go so far in being used to study a phenomenon that was not yet fully understood. This paves the way for the importance of eyewitness testimonies, in the form of oral testimonies or written memoirs. While as I previously mentioned, eye-witness testimonies have their own limitations and biases, these sources have a crucial role in putting back the human dimension in historical reconstructions.

### Testimonies

The majority of the testimonies used in this thesis are made up of oral testimonies. In my study I used 17 oral testimonies of Kindertransport survivors. Twelve of these testimonies were collected from the Gathering the Voices website.<sup>72</sup> The remaining five oral testimonies were taken from the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (USHMM).<sup>73</sup> The remaining testimonies used in this study are two autobiographies, by Karen Gershon<sup>74</sup> and Rosa Sacharin.<sup>75</sup> A further two testimonies were taken from Karen Gershon’s book of collected anonymous testimonies from Kinder.<sup>76</sup>

While there is an array of accessible testimonies of the Kindertransportees who came to England available either in collected studies or online digitized archives, this was not the case for the Kinder who came to Scotland. Therefore, the testimonies used in this study, oral or otherwise were the only available testimonies that were accessible to use under the time constraints of this study. There are other testimonies of Kinder from a Scottish perspective. These additional

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<sup>71</sup> Gerald E. Markle, Mary D. Lagerwey-Voorman, Todd A. Clason, Jill A. Green, Tricia L. Meade and Mary E. Lagerwey-Voorman, “From Auschwitz to Americana: Texts of the Holocaust.” 199.

<sup>72</sup> <https://www.gatheringthevoices.com>

<sup>73</sup> <https://collections.ushmm.org>

<sup>74</sup> Karen Gershon, *A Tempered Wind: An Autobiography*, (Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 2009).

<sup>75</sup> Rosa Sacharin, *The Unwanted Jew: A Struggle for Acceptance*, (Scotland: Diadem Books, 2014).

<sup>76</sup> Karen Gershon, *We Came As Children*, (London: Gollancz, 1966).

testimonies were not digitized and, thus, required actual visits to the United States or Israel, which were incompatible with the limited time and financial resources available during my MA program.

The oral testimonies gathered from the Gathering the Voices website range in date from 2010-2014. On the other hand, the oral testimonies collected from the online archive of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum range in date from 1989-2010. Subsequently, Karen Gershon and Rosa Sacharin's autobiographies were published in 2009 and 2014 respectively. The anonymous testimonies used in Karen Gershon's *We Came as Children* were first published in 1966.

The Gathering the Voices project is an initiative that conducted interviews of 30 Jewish men and women who were victims of Nazi persecution and came to Scotland to escape Nazi violence.<sup>77</sup> Angela Shapiro, the founder of Gathering the Voices came up with the idea from listening to her mother-in-law, who came to Scotland on the Kindertransport. Shapiro explains, "Like all people we interviewed, she wanted to be remembered as a productive member of Scottish society, rather than merely a victim of persecution".<sup>78</sup> This highlights the wish for the project to emphasize every survivor's individual story. Shapiro also believes that Scottish society needs to preserve Kinder's first-hand accounts to educate future generations.<sup>79</sup>

USHMM is located in Washington DC and was established by the US government to research and commemorate the Holocaust. Its guiding principle states that as a living memorial to the Holocaust, the USHMM "inspires citizens and leaders worldwide to confront hatred, prevent genocide and promote human dignity".<sup>80</sup> It is clear from this statement that their interviews have been collected as part of a broader research and educative project. Such history and moral lessons allow one to face the past, come to terms with what happened and move forward.

### Context of testimonies

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<sup>77</sup> *Daily Record*, 25 January 2013, accessed via [www.dailyrecord.co.uk](http://www.dailyrecord.co.uk)

<sup>78</sup> *Daily Record*, 25 January 2013

<sup>79</sup> *Daily Record*, 25 January 2013

<sup>80</sup> <https://collections.ushmm.org>

In Britain and indeed throughout the world, the Holocaust was not always recognised with such interest. This was especially the case in the immediate decades following WWII.<sup>81</sup> People's traumatic experiences relating to the holocaust were often frowned upon, due to the belief that one should 'look to the future not the past'.<sup>82</sup> In Britain and throughout the world, then, Jews were not so readily seen as victims.<sup>83</sup> It was not until the 1970s that people began to address more frequently the horrors of the Holocaust and realise that victims and survivors were not just people that had been to Auschwitz.<sup>84</sup>

Survivor memory in Britain has advanced swiftly from complete lack of interest to a fully-fledged sphere of institutionalised memorialization.<sup>85</sup> Kushner argues that the Kinder are the greatest example of this. In Britain, a plaque at the House of Commons was erected in 1999 as well as a memorial at Liverpool Street Station in 2004 in memory of the Kindertransport. Films and documentaries celebrating the Kinder's experiences in Britain were also popularised.<sup>86</sup> Therefore this atmosphere of recognition of survivors, especially former Kinder, provided a platform for these victims to talk about their experiences and feel comfortable as well as encouraged in doing so. The last main section of the Empirical Analysis chapter will

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<sup>81</sup> Caroline Sharples, "The Kindertransport in British Historical Memory," in *The Kindertransport to Britain 1938/39: New Perspectives*, ed. Andrea Hammel and Bea Lewkowicz, (Amsterdam & New York: Editions Rodopi B.V. 2012), 17.

<sup>82</sup> Ruth Barnett, "Therapeutic Aspects of Working Through the Trauma of the Kindertransport Experience," in *The Kindertransport to Britain 1938/39: New Perspectives* ed. Andrea Hammel and Bea Lewkowicz (Amsterdam & New York: Editions Rodopi B.V. 2012), 164; however, this does not mean that during the first post war years the survivors were completely silent. As various historians have recently shown, many survivors and their organizations were extremely active in gathering testimonies, testifying in courts, and engaging in public commemorations. David Cerarani and Eric Sundqvist (eds.), *After the Holocaust: Challenging the Myth of Silence* (London: Routledge, 2011); Laura Jockusch, *Collect and Record: Jewish Holocaust Documentation in Early Postwar Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015).

<sup>83</sup> Tony Kushner, "Too Little, Too Late? Reflections on Britain's Holocaust Memorial Day," *Journal of Israeli History*, 23:1 (2004), 117.

<sup>84</sup> Wieviorka, *The Era of the Witness*.

<sup>85</sup> Tony Kushner, "Too Little, Too Late? Reflections on Britain's Holocaust Memorial Day," 123.

<sup>86</sup> Tony Kushner, "Too Little, Too Late? Reflections on Britain's Holocaust Memorial Day," 123.

look at the development of the post-1989 memorialisation process in Scotland, which illustrates the change in narrative in newspapers from wartime until the present.

Consequently, it is easy to understand why so many survivors are eager to have their voices heard and record their story in the form of testimony. Their voices were silenced for so long, and the fact that people showed interest allowed their experiences to be understood by a wider audience, increased their self-esteem, and acquire a new status in society.

This thesis argues for the importance of personal testimonies of survivors-even though not without their own biases and distortions-in writing history. This is due to the evidence that suggests that the press were selective in their reporting's of the Kinder during wartime, and in doing so, did not incorporate the memory of everyone living in Scotland during wartime; namely the Kindertransportees.

### **Chapter three: Empirical Analysis**

#### Historical Context

In 1938-1939 the Kindertransportees arrived in Scotland with nothing but the clothes on their backs. They were sent alone to the United Kingdom by their parents in order to escape the worsening situation in Nazi occupied Europe.<sup>87</sup> In other words they were given a second chance of freedom, being given the opportunity to go to school, play, and be loved by foster parents who would treat the newly arrived foreign children as their own. This ideal description of a rescue mission authorised by the UK which, with open arms welcomed these children into British homes and institutions is, at large the overarching collective memory that exists today with regard to the Kindertransport.<sup>88</sup>

This heroic and celebratory image of Britain's generosity towards these children was largely constructed in the press. The British government was keen to

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<sup>87</sup> Frances Williams, *The Forgotten Kindertransportees: The Scottish Experience*, xxxii.

<sup>88</sup> Caroline Sharples, "The Kindertransport in British Historical Memory" in *The Kindertransport to Britain 1938/39*, 16,17

project a nationalistic mind-set throughout the population and had the power to censor or close down newspapers that did not support a strong and united Britain during wartime. With this in mind, much of the press' reporting's on the Kinder were 'rose-tinted' and aimed to focus on the charity and welcome the children had received. Indeed, even today, the British population are reminded of Britain's great charity. For example, the plaque put outside the House of Commons engraved 'in deep gratitude to the people and Parliament of the United Kingdom for saving the lives of 10,000 Jewish and other children who fled to this country from Nazi persecution on the Kindertransport, 1938-1939'.<sup>89</sup> Therefore, at large, our memory is of the high points of the scheme, while many ignore or are not aware of the deeper and more traumatic experiences the Kinder were faced with when they arrived in Britain and embarked on building new lives at such a young age.<sup>90</sup>

As the war ended, this memory of the courageous efforts of Britain in defeating the Nazi menace lived on. This had consequences for allowing a true representation of the Kindertransportees' experiences to come to life. For example, after the war there was a determination to look to the future. The Kinder were seen as the lucky ones and were not given the victim status that they have today.<sup>91</sup>

This provides a brief historical context for the remainder of this thesis, which will compare newspaper articles with testimony from former Kinder.

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<sup>89</sup> Caroline Sharples, "The Kindertransport in British Historical Memory" in *The Kindertransport to Britain 1938/39*, 16.

<sup>90</sup> Barnett, "Therapeutic Aspects of Working Through the Trauma of the Kindertransport Experience," in *The Kindertransport to Britain 1938/39 New Perspectives*, ed. Andrea Hammel and Bea Lewkowicz, (Amsterdam & New York: Editions Rodopi B.V. 2012), 160.

<sup>91</sup> Ruth Barnett, "Therapeutic Aspects of Working Through the Trauma of the Kindertransport Experience," in *The Kindertransport to Britain 1938/39 New Perspectives*, 160.

## Religion and Welcome

This section will compare the reporting's of the popular press with the memories of the Kindertransportees, with particular reference to religion and identity. This will be done partly by looking at the welcome and acceptance of both the Christian and Jewish communities in Scotland. It is important to make this comparison in order to unearth any misconceptions that are currently held in academia with regard to the experiences of the Kindertransportees who came to Scotland. For example, the popular press often had its own agenda and therefore the truth about the children who sought safety in Scotland was often not portrayed in full. At the same time, the testimonies of the Kindertransportees, which were collected much later, may also have some flaws or inaccuracies. Therefore, by comparing the two sources, I can hope to uncover the complexities of and the different perspectives on the children's experiences in wartime Scotland. Ultimately, this chapter will aim to elucidate whether the press misrepresented the stories and experiences of the Kinder who arrived in Scotland.

Firstly it can be said that the popular press in Scotland appeared very one sided in terms of Scotland's tolerance and welcome towards the Jewish children on behalf of the Scottish Christian community. The very popular concept of Britain, but more specifically Scotland, depicted as the 'Christian saviour', ready to rescue the Kindertransportees with open arms was the main theme used in the popular press's articles on the Kindertransport. The apparent tolerance that is portrayed in the newspapers was extended to convey the message that Scotland did not care about the Jewish affiliation of the young refugees and made it clear that the Christian communities in Scotland were ready to welcome refugees from any faith or background. This section will compare the Christian welcome and apparent acceptance reported in the *Scotsman* with testimonies from Kindertransportees later in life.

*The Scotsman* published frequent articles on the great Christian acceptance to all religious backgrounds as well as the great charity they had shown with regard to the Jewish refugees. For example, on the 7<sup>th</sup> of December 1938 a journalist from *The Scotsman* interviewed Reverend R. Celphane Macanna, who stated that Scotland would help the child refugees regardless of "whether they were Jewish refugees, non-

Aryan Christians or Christians from Germany”.<sup>92</sup> Macanna went even further by explaining that when it comes to helping the refugees, Scotland “would not make any distinctions”.<sup>93</sup>

Articles like the one discussed above were not uncommon. In fact there was an abundance of press coverage praising the Church of Scotland for its great Christian charity.<sup>94</sup> For example, another article conveys the views of one minister on behalf of the wider Christian community in Scotland. The Minister stated that “people in Scotland could not understand why a man or a woman should be persecuted simply because he or she was a Jew”.<sup>95</sup> Again, this article portrays the Scottish community to be extremely open minded and ready to embrace these Jewish children into their homes. Therefore, it can be said that the *Scotsman* had a specific agenda with regard to the way in which the Kindertransportees would be portrayed as well as the kind of welcome they received from their Christian counterparts in Scotland.

However, when we look at the postwar testimonies of many of the Kinder, it is clear that the warm Christian tolerance and charity provides only a fragment of the bigger picture. Indeed, by consulting the memories of the Kinder, the problematic façade displayed in the *Scotsman* is easy to detect. Sharples notes that one of the prime difficulties faced by the Kinder was the massive consciousness of being lost in translation—a feeling of being displaced.<sup>96</sup> She argues, “many were torn between retaining their former identity or starting afresh in a new country”.<sup>97</sup> By saying this, Sharples paints a false picture of the situation and makes it seem like the children undoubtedly had a choice in determining the fate of their own identity. A close scrutiny of the Kinder’s testimonies shows the complexity of the children’s situation and disproves Sharples’s argument. In doing so, it will also be possible to show that the celebrated Christian charity and open-mindedness displayed in the *Scotsman* is not altogether true.

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<sup>92</sup> *Scotsman*, 7 December 1938.

<sup>93</sup> *Scotsman*, 7 December 1938.

<sup>94</sup> *Scotsman*, 2<sup>nd</sup>, 5<sup>th</sup>, 6<sup>th</sup>, 7<sup>th</sup>, 10<sup>th</sup>, 16<sup>th</sup> December 1938.

<sup>95</sup> *Scotsman*, 10 December 1938.

<sup>96</sup> Caroline Sharples, “Reconstructing the Past: Refugee Writings on the Kindertransport,” *Journal of Culture and History*, Vol. 12, Issue 3 (2006), 54.

<sup>97</sup> Sharples, “Reconstructing the Past: Refugee Writings on the Kindertransport.” 54.

Survivor Rita McNeill left Germany for Scotland when she was nine years old. She remembers the impossibility of remaining Jewish in her new surroundings. McNeill recalls that during her first Sunday in Scotland, her foster mother wanted to get her ready for church. McNeill remembers telling her foster mother that she went to synagogue, not church. Despite McNeill's efforts to explain clearly that she was Jewish, her foster mother replied; "you'll go where I tell you my lady".<sup>98</sup> McNeill remembers further: "So I had to go to church and I sat at the back and I thought, this isn't right, but what could I do? So I sat there and had to listen to what was going on". Additionally, it was also impossible for McNeill to maintain her former kosher diet in her foster home, which she explains was very hard to come to terms with.

Similarly, survivor Dorrieth M. Sim also recollects: "when I came over the granny got a hold of me...and within a week, I was going to the Sunday school". She also remembers the abhorrence displayed by the nearby Jewish community when they learned that she was to be baptised at the wish of her Christian foster parents.<sup>99</sup>

These examples illustrate the need of the Scottish Christian community to convert the newly arrived Jewish children and that in many cases their hospitality came with the condition that the children should be willing to actively participate in a different kind of religious life. In other words, as the *Scotsman* journalists had made clear, they did not make any distinctions in who was admitted to Scotland. However, when the child entered a foster home, the evidence points to the fact that the Christian families and communities were not so open-minded and certainly were not happy for the children to continue their Jewish religious life under their roof.

Survivor Edith Forrester, who was about seven when she came to Scotland, makes it clear that she was placed in a Christian setting very quickly upon her arrival. It is clear that she completely abandoned the Jewish faith upon moving in with her foster parents. Forrester recalls that her foster Father's sister was superintendent of the Sunday school and so becoming involved with the Christian community in Scotland played a very large part of her early experience.<sup>100</sup>

These testimonies explicitly convey how one sided and at times false the *Scotsman* was when reporting on the great Christian acceptance of children and their

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<sup>98</sup> Gathering the Voices, Rita McNeill.

<sup>99</sup> Gathering the Voices, Dorrieth M. Sim.

<sup>100</sup> Edith Forrester, Gathering the Voices.

Jewish faith. Historian Göpfert explains that even to this day, it is hard to distinguish from the Kinder's memory what was most important: being given the opportunity to be saved from Nazism, to preserve their self-worth, or to continue their Jewish life.<sup>101</sup> It can be said that the two latter points come hand in hand with each other. With this considered, when the Kinder discussed above are remembering their past experiences in Scotland it is clear that it was not possible for them to enjoy the latter two points – self-worth and Judaism - identified by Göpfert.

Despite the evidence suggesting that the Kinder were misrepresented by the *Scotsman* in terms of the welcome and acceptance they received in Scotland, some of the Kinder's recollections confirm the *Scotsman's* coverage. For example, Walter Nachtigall who stayed in Dysart in Fife, but later migrated to the US, recalls a very positive reaction from the Christian community. He went to church every Sunday with his foster family. However, even though his father in Germany was very concerned that his son was going to be converted Nachtigall recollected that after every Sunday service, the minister would stay behind with him and recite with him the Shema<sup>102</sup>. Nachtigall remembers of the local minister as “a very sensitive and caring individual, to whom conversion was the last thing on his mind...he did what he could to retain my Jewish identity”.<sup>103</sup>

Another survivor, Felix Brown remembers that he and his brother were sent to live with a Presbyterian minister of the Church of Scotland. He recalls that all the time he lived with the minister, no attempt was made to convert either him or his brother. However, there were still conditions: he and his brother had to go to church every Sunday as well as Sunday school.<sup>104</sup>

While the memories of the kinder show that there are two sides to the story, it can be argued regardless, however, that the *Scotsman* misrepresented and perhaps even exaggerated the Christian welcome that the Jewish children received. For example, regardless of whether the children were converted or not by their foster families, they were still expected to participate and be exposed to a religion that was

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<sup>101</sup> Rebekka Göpfert . “Kindertransport: History and Memory.” *Shofar: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Jewish Studies* 23, no. 1 (2004), 21-27.

<sup>102</sup> The Shema is the title of a prayer that serves as a centerpiece of the morning and evening Jewish prayer services.

<sup>103</sup> Walter Nachtigall, United States Holocaust Museum (FEB 8 1989).

<sup>104</sup> Felix Brown, World Holocaust Remembrance Centre, Yad Veshem.

not their own. In most cases, this was at the expense of their Jewish faith. Interestingly, Göpfert makes the observation that among the memories of former Kinder, those who moved to the U.S or Israel find it easier to remember their wartime memories and articulate them in a more resolved and harmonious manner.<sup>105</sup> This is evident in the case of Walter Nachtigall who remembers his time in Scotland with complete fondness and nostalgia. Göpfert puts this down to the fact that those who left Great Britain have reunited with family or started afresh. This was the case for Nachtigall, who was joined by his parents and sister in the US. So, it can be said that this has an impact on the way in which memories are made. While, McNeill, Sim, and Forrester all remained in Scotland they also all lost their parents as well as members of their wider family in the Holocaust. Consequently, it is only natural that Nachtigall would construct his narrative and remember his time in Scotland with more positivity. On the other hand, it makes sense that the bitterness of losing family members in the Holocaust should shine through in their childhood memories of Scotland, especially with regard to the testimony of McNeill.

Hammel also explains that this bitterness can be emphasized by the “narrated child self and the narrating adult self”, which means that, for example, when the Kinder remembered incidents from the perspective of their *adult self*, they can put the incidents in their childhood in to more perspective and view them with a greater level of anger and grief.<sup>106</sup> This is perhaps because they look back with more understanding about the events of the time. In doing so, this runs the risk of portraying their *child self* to be more affected by an incident or period in their childhood that did not seem as sad or objectionable to them at the time. It is important for the reader to consider this when looking at Kinder’s memories. Nevertheless, this does not take away from the fact that the *Scotsman* made out that the Kinder were undoubtedly portrayed to be welcomed in to an inclusive Scottish Christian community that were accepting of all faiths, which was absolutely not the case.

When looking at the memory of the Kindertransportees in relation to their religious life upon moving to Scotland, it is important to consider what Göpfert dubs

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<sup>105</sup> Rebekka Göpfert, “Kindertransport: History and Memory,” 24.

<sup>106</sup> Andrea Hammel, Authenticity, Trauma and the Child’s View: Martha Blend’s *A Child Alone*, Vera Gissing’s *Pearls of Childhood* and Ruth L. David’s *Ein Kind unserer zeit*, *Forum For Modern Language Studies*, Volume 49, Issue 2, 202.

as the dilemma between ‘gratitude and bitterness’.<sup>107</sup> This is evident in some of the testimonies. For example, McNeill, when referring to the foster family that took her in, explains that they were very kind people whom she stayed with up until she got married.<sup>108</sup> Therefore this is symbolic of the gratitude engrained in McNeill. At the same time, her bitterness of not being able to follow the Jewish faith in Scotland is also evident (as previously discussed in this chapter). Therefore, it can be argued that the celebrative discourse adopted in the *Scotsman* was a notion that affected the Kindertransportees in their childhood. For example, they clung on to the ‘gratitude’ aspect of their rescue, a quality that was displayed in the press and also probably by their foster parents. These conflicting emotions are not uncommon among the Kinder and can tell us much about the way in which their memory has been constructed.

Having made a comparison between *the Scotsman* and Kinder testimony and memory from the perspective of a Christian welcome and upbringing in Scotland, let us now do the same with regard to the welcome offered from the Scottish Jewish community. This section will compare coverage from the *Jewish Echo* with Kinder’s testimony with regard to the Scottish Jewish welcome and involvement they had with the kinder.

Historians Williams and Kushner both explain that there were efforts made to portray a separation between the Scottish Jewish community and the newly arrived Kinder. Kushner explains that there were concerns that the arrival of the Kinder would summon unwarranted aggression upon the Jewish community already in Scotland.<sup>109</sup> For example, it is interesting that articles in the *Jewish Echo* did not use the word ‘Jewish’ when talking about the Kinder. Most articles described them as ‘refugee children’ or quite simply as refugees.<sup>110</sup> Another article describes them as “German children”.<sup>111</sup> Interestingly, the *Scotsman* also downplays the Kinder’s Jewish heritage. For example, in February 1939, the *Scotsman* pleaded for support for

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<sup>107</sup> Rebekka Göpfert, “Kindertransport: History and Memory,” 24.

<sup>108</sup> Rita McNeill, *Gathering the Voices*.

<sup>109</sup> Tony Kushner, *The Persistence of Prejudice* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1989), 163.

<sup>110</sup> *Jewish Echo* 2 December 1938, , 25 November 1938, December 9<sup>th</sup> 1938, 24 February 1939, 11 August 1939.

<sup>111</sup> *Jewish Echo* 25 November 1938.

the “Christian Refugees”.<sup>112</sup> Other article refers to the Kinder as “non-Aryan Christian Refugees” or merely as “Christian Refugees”.<sup>113</sup> This particular wording came from fears that the Scottish Jewish community would be put in the same category as a potentially ‘financially draining’ group of young Jews from Germany. Williams explains that this made the Scottish Jewish community unduly resentful to the young Kinder, receiving them with suspicion.<sup>114</sup>

Articles in the *Jewish Echo* confirm some of this resentment. One article emphasised the importance of not neglecting the already suffering Scottish Jewish population. One article quoted a leader of the Jewish community: “We are still the foster fathers of the orphans of Glasgow”, suggesting that before the Kinder could be taken care of, Scottish Jewish children must come first.<sup>115</sup> Another article headlined: “Board of Guardians Unable to Support Refugees”.<sup>116</sup> Therefore this shows the Jewish communities initial reluctance to welcome the young refugees.

Despite this early unwelcoming tone, the *Jewish Echo* mainly reported about the Kinder positively, largely reporting on how much the Jewish community had been able to help the children. One article headlined “20,000 Refugee Children Must Be Saved”, the journalist explaining that “Glasgow Jewish Women Pledge Assistance”.<sup>117</sup> In preparation of the children arriving, a correspondent from the *Jewish Echo* interviewed a member of the Jewish Representative Council in Glasgow, who explained that a member of the Jewish community had donated a sum of £2,000 to help find homes for the young Kinder.<sup>118</sup> Another article talks of “The entire Jewish community” having a “desire to relieve the sufferings” of the Kinder.<sup>119</sup> It is clear that the *Jewish Echo* wishes to portray the Scottish Jewish community as welcoming and generous towards the Kinder. For example, an article details a trip the children took to the Scottish island of Rothesay, funded by a Scottish Jewish

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<sup>112</sup> *Scotsman*, 3<sup>rd</sup> February 1939.

<sup>113</sup> *Scotsman*, 11<sup>th</sup>, 18<sup>th</sup> March 1939, 2<sup>nd</sup> August 1939.

<sup>114</sup> Frances Williams, *The Forgotten Kindertransportees*, 7.

<sup>115</sup> *Jewish Echo*, Glasgow, December 9<sup>th</sup> 1938.

<sup>116</sup> *Jewish Echo* 11 November 1938.

<sup>117</sup> *Jewish Echo* 2 December 1938.

<sup>118</sup> *Jewish Echo* 25 November 1938.

<sup>119</sup> *Jewish Echo* 9 December 1938.

women.<sup>120</sup> The article explains that the children had an enjoyable day and were deeply grateful.

In another article, a ‘special correspondent’ of the *Jewish Echo* interviews a young Kinder at Whittingehame Farm School.<sup>121</sup> The school, set up by the Jewish community, had its consecration ceremony during which a correspondent interviews a young Kinder called Hugo Brummer, who spoke “in excellent English”.<sup>122</sup> Correspondent of the *Jewish Echo* explains how the young boy “welcomed the visitors and explained the activities which he and his colleagues carry out”.<sup>123</sup> The correspondent also explains that the young Kinder “expressed his gratitude” and was “very happy and contented”. The correspondent quotes the boy: “We have also our sports activities-our first football team play teams in the surrounding villages”.<sup>124</sup> The correspondent also quotes one of the leaders of the Scottish Jewish community, Rabbi Sallis Daiches, who spoke at the ceremony: explaining that the Jewish community in Scotland “had come to the rescue of children from the German furnace”.<sup>125</sup> In another earlier visit to the school, a young child from Breslau was interviewed and the journalist reported: “Time and time again I heard from them that they were extremely happy in their surroundings and quite contented with their work”.<sup>126</sup> It is clear that a blissful narrative was constructed in the *Jewish Echo* that made the children appear happy and grateful. The interviews in the *Jewish Echo* of young Kinder were clearly very carefully selected and only provide a snapshot of the bigger picture.

Postwar testimonies from some of the Kinder support the idea that the Jewish community was not as welcoming as suggested in the *Jewish Echo*, during wartime. Rosa Sacharin, who travelled on the first Kindertransport at 13 years old, remembers being met and greeted by Rabbi Sallis Daiches upon her arrival in Edinburgh. She

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<sup>120</sup> *Jewish Echo* 11 August 1939.

<sup>121</sup> Whittingehame Farm School was a country estate modified to house around 160 Kindertransportee children, organized by the Jewish community-Kenneth Collins, *The Jewish Experience in Scotland-From Immigration to Integration* p83.

<sup>122</sup> *Jewish Echo* 14 July 1939.

<sup>123</sup> *Jewish Echo* 14 July 1939.

<sup>124</sup> *Jewish Echo* 14 July 1939.

<sup>125</sup> *Jewish Echo* 14 July 1939.

<sup>126</sup> *Jewish Echo* 2 June 1939.

was then taken in by an elderly Jewish couple in Edinburgh and used as a maid.<sup>127</sup> Sacharin also recalls in her published memoirs the lack of warmth and kindness showed to her by the Jewish foster family. She recounts: “one day the older daughter [of the foster family] took me shopping and said to me, ‘You German Jews deserved what was happening to you because you were not good Jews’ ”.<sup>128</sup> Sacharin remembered the psychological impact of those cruel remarks: “I was very hurt. It was also a very stupid statement to make. As Jews and human beings they did not show much understanding of the basic tenants of Judaism”.<sup>129</sup> This recollection from Sacharin explains that the newspapers illustration of the warm and caring Scottish Jewish community was not always true.

Hammel makes an interesting observation about the memories of the Kindertransport children recollected from an adult’s perspective. For example, Hammel explains that in memoirs, “blackshadding” can occur.<sup>130</sup> Hammel defines blackshadding as the adult (who possesses the memory) “seeing the past from the viewpoint of the present”.<sup>131</sup> This is evident in the memoir of Sacharin as she comments that the opinions of her Jewish foster family were ignorant and prejudiced. Hammel would explain this as Sacharin depicting her childhood with her own “age appropriate frustrations”.<sup>132</sup> In other words, as an adult, we are able to look back with hindsight and more understanding of the circumstances. Therefore, perhaps Sacharin portrays her ‘child self’ to have more understanding of the incident than she actually did at the time. Nevertheless, it is clear that the *Jewish Echo* portrayed the Scottish Jews to be far more friendly and accepting than they were. Nachtigall recalls that he received far more love and acceptance from the Christian family he stayed with than he did from a Jewish Doctor and his wife who he was originally placed

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<sup>127</sup> Gathering the Voices, Rosa Sacharin.

<sup>128</sup> Rosa M. Sacharin, *The Unwanted Jew: A struggle for Acceptance*, (Scotland: Diadem Books, 2014), 53.

<sup>129</sup> Rosa M. Sacharin, *The Unwanted Jew: A Struggle for Acceptance*, 53.

<sup>130</sup> Andrea Hammel, Authenticity, Trauma and the Child’s View: Martha Blend’s *A Child Alone*, Vera Gissing’s *Pearls of Childhood* and Ruth L. David’s *Ein Kind unserer zeit*, 205.

<sup>131</sup> Andrea Hammel, Authenticity, Trauma and the Child’s View: Martha Blend’s *A Child Alone*, Vera Gissing’s *Pearls of Childhood* and Ruth L. David’s *Ein Kind unserer zeit*, 205.

<sup>132</sup> Andrea Hammel, Authenticity, Trauma and the Child’s View: Martha Blend’s *A Child Alone*, Vera Gissing’s *Pearls of Childhood* and Ruth L. David’s *Ein Kind unserer zeit*, 205.

with.<sup>133</sup> Likewise, Rachel also recalls her time with a Jewish foster family, stating that her foster family and the wider Scottish Jewish community were cold to her.<sup>134</sup>

Furthermore, the *Scotsman* and *Jewish Echo* also reported on the fact that the Jewish community in Scotland were largely responsible for the care and ‘upkeep’ of the children. Recent historians of the Kindertransport confirm this.<sup>135</sup> While these organisations did help many of the children, many did not feel the benefits. A very one-sided picture is painted in the *Scotsman* and *Jewish Echo*. For example, an article in the *Jewish Echo* explains that the “Jewish Representative Council” in Scotland was attempting to “make direct relations with the Home Office” in order to assume responsibility for the Kinder.<sup>136</sup> The *Scotsman* talks of the “special” work of the Jewish authorities, whereby the Kinder would receive “instruction in Hebrew and religion under arrangements made by the Hebrew congregation”.<sup>137</sup> Additionally, *The Scotsman* also reported on the first group of Kinder to reach Glasgow, explaining that the Jewish community in Scotland were “responsible for the children”.<sup>138</sup>

Conversely, these press reporting’s about the work done by the Jewish community on a more public level does not always match up to the testimony of former Kindertransportees. For example, Survivor Sim, who lived with a Christian family, mentioned in her testimony the lack of support from the local Jewish community. She remembered that leaders of the Jewish community became interested in her situation only when they heard that she was going to be baptised. She explains that the Jewish community wrote to tell her Grandfather who was overseas of these plans for baptism. She recalls that her Grandfather had replied telling the Jewish community: “you never were here for Dorrith when she needed you”.<sup>139</sup> The opinion that the Scottish Jewish community neglected Kindertransportees is confirmed by the testimonies of other child refugees. For instance, survivor George Taylor, who came on the Kindertransport when he was 15 years old, also remembered receiving no help

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<sup>133</sup> Walter Nachtigall, United States Holocaust Museum (FEB 8 1989).

<sup>134</sup> Rachel, Frances Williams’ private collection (FWPC), -Frances Williams, *The Forgotten Kindertransportees* p105,106.

<sup>135</sup> Frances Williams, *The Forgotten Kindertransportees* p98, 99,100

<sup>136</sup> *Jewish Echo* 2 December 1938.

<sup>137</sup> *Scotsman*, 24<sup>th</sup> January 1939.

<sup>138</sup> *Scotsman*, 23<sup>rd</sup> December 1939.

<sup>139</sup> Dorrith M. Sim, *Gathering the Voices*.

or check-ups from the Jewish community in Scotland.<sup>140</sup> Edith Forrester also remembers having no check-ups or having anything to do with the Jewish community in Scotland.<sup>141</sup> Therefore, it can be said that *The Scotsman* and the *Jewish Echo* paint a very one-sided and too positive picture.

It is clear from the findings in this section, that *The Scotsman* and the *Jewish Echo's* articles presented a very one sided picture of the Kindertransportee's situation in Scotland. By comparing these articles with the testimony of the kinder, it is easy to see that their memory often paints a very different picture than the one told in the papers at the time. While it is not fair to say that the coverage of both newspaper's was false, it is fair to say that they did not represent the full or true story of the Kindertransportees and their welcome in Scotland. While many kinder had great memories of their upbringing in a Christian foster family, as reported in *The Scotsman*, others had absolutely no way of maintaining any Jewish religious life. This was not reported in *The Scotsman* at all. Similarly, the same can be said for the way the Scottish Jewish community received and nurtured the child refugees. It is fair to say that both newspapers were keen to portray Scotland as a rescuer and in doing so misrepresented the voices of the young kindertransportees.

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<sup>140</sup> George Taylor, *Gathering the Voices*.

<sup>141</sup> Edith Forrester, *Gathering the Voices*.

## Anti-Alienism

This section will compare the memories of the adult Kinder with newspaper articles in relation to anti-alien sentiment, xenophobia and racism. This section of the thesis will determine whether or not the Kinder's memories match up with the selected newspaper's version of events as they were reported at the time. From the last chapter, we learned that in many instances the Kinder were miss-represented by the press and so this chapter will also determine if this is the case with regard to anti-alien sentiment that was rife before and during WWII.

It is important to establish how we look at and perceive the memories of the former Kindertransportees. For example, it can be argued that the testimonies of former kinder are a symbol of them coming to terms with what happened to them.<sup>142</sup> For instance, they are allowing others to understand their trauma and experiences through memory, which can be therapeutic for them.<sup>143</sup> Not only do the testimonies provide a tangible self-acknowledgement for what happened in their childhood, but it can also be argued that the testimonies allow the former kinder to correct a false public memory. This is particularly relevant when discussing newspaper coverage from the time, which was often very one-sided with clear agendas. Therefore, it can be said that when the Kinder re-evaluate their past through testimony, the recording of their memory is a way of 'biting back' at distorted public memories. Therefore, by doing this they are able to receive recognition for what was for many, a very distressing childhood. They had been deprived from recognition for so long, partly because they themselves felt they were not true 'survivors' and also because society was not ready to hear their stories. Yet, as time went on they found themselves to be the "public embodiment of history," to refer to the notion used by Wieviorka.<sup>144</sup>

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<sup>142</sup> Ruth Barnett, "Therapeutic Aspects of Working Through the Trauma of the Kindertransport Experience," in *The Kindertransport to Britain 1938/39 New Perspectives*, ed. Andrea Hammel and Bea Lewkowicz (Amsterdam & New York: Editions Rodopi B.V. 2012), 169.

<sup>143</sup> Ruth Barnett, "Therapeutic Aspects of Working Through the Trauma of the Kindertransport Experience," 169.

<sup>144</sup> Annette Wieviorka, *The Era of the Witness*, (Ithaca & London: Cornell University Press, 2006), 97.

“Much of the anti-Semitism in Scotland was underground”.<sup>145</sup> A journalist in the *Scotsman* made this statement towards the end of the war. This can be confirmed by the fact that in the early years of the war, an effort was made in the press to minimize if not completely downplay the presence of any anti-Semitism in Scotland.<sup>146</sup> For instance, *The Scotsman* made a point of emphasising the anti-Semitism abroad, especially in Germany.<sup>147</sup> In doing so, the newspaper was able to stress the concept of Britain as rescuer, supporting the idea that Scotland was a safe haven for the refugee children, where anti-Semitism was non-existent.<sup>148</sup>

One article explained that in Scotland, “there was no Jewish problem”.<sup>149</sup> The article continues: “It was notable, too, that Jews in Scotland seldom fell upon the rates and seldom appeared in the Police Courts”.<sup>150</sup> Interestingly, if Scotland had no issue with Jews, why then did *The Scotsman* feel the need to justify the fact that Jews had impeccable character? In the early period of the Kinder’s time in Scotland, it is clear that the press led its readers to believe that no anti-Semitism was present. In fact, the newspaper explains that the British have much to thank the Jews for, namely, the Old Testament.<sup>151</sup> Another article points to the difficulties of young Jews “today” showing sympathy and understanding of their “present” situation.<sup>152</sup> Moreover, another article talks of the need to show compassion and give no cause “for any anti-Semitic or anti-refugee reaction in this country”.<sup>153</sup>

Similarly in a 1939 article from the *Daily Record*, a journalist condemned the presence of anti-Semitism. The journalist urged readers to be sympathetic, advising readers to: “ask a Jewish child refugee why he was driven from his home, why he was torn from his mother and father...what is his crime?”<sup>154</sup> While meant to be sympathetic, this case is ambivalent and could have been interpreted by the Kinder as

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<sup>145</sup> *Scotsman*, 25 May 1944.

<sup>146</sup> *Scotsman*, 9 November 1938.

<sup>147</sup> *Scotsman*, 17, 19, 21, 22, 23, 28 November 1938.

<sup>148</sup> *Scotsman*, 9 November 1938.

<sup>149</sup> *Scotsman*, 9 November 1938.

<sup>150</sup> *Scotsman*, 9 November 1938.

<sup>151</sup> *Scotsman*, 9 November 1938.

<sup>152</sup> *Scotsman*, 26 January 1939.

<sup>153</sup> *Scotsman*, 7 February 1939.

<sup>154</sup> *Daily Record* 20 February 1939.

an example of Scottish suspicion towards them and their behaviour in Germany. Another article entitled “A Victim of Fate”, asked the people of Glasgow to make “these innocent children” at home and give them “the right to live”.<sup>155</sup> So it would be fair to say that in the wake of the influx of Kindertransportees coming to Scotland, one would not expect any of these children to have been subjected to any kind of anti-Semitic experiences in Scotland. Yet, from memories of the former kinder, we find that this was not always the case.

Let us discuss some of the early experiences of former Kinder with regard to anti-Semitism or anti-refugee sentiment. There is much evidence from former Kinder to confirm that Scotland was the safe haven, free from anti-Semitism, as displayed in the discussed newspapers during the time. As previously stated, the testimonies are often a way for the former Kinder to use their memories to face the past and discuss their perception of what happened.<sup>156</sup> At the same time, the testimonies also allow the Kinder to relive positive memories among their overall traumatic experiences. Survivor Sidney Myer explains that he was welcomed into Scotland straight away and did not ever experience anti-Semitism in Scotland.<sup>157</sup> He believes this is because he was allowed to assimilate so well into Scottish society from the outset. Additionally, Isi Meinstein-who arrived in Scotland at 11 years old has fond memories of his reception. He also explains that he had no problems with the people of Scotland and was “welcomed straight away”. He remembers his reception as a whole, and integration at school to be very positive.<sup>158</sup> Bob Mackenzie was taken in by a family in the North of Scotland and recalls being, “one of the community”.<sup>159</sup> He does, however, remember not being allowed to speak or study any German at school, despite him and his foster family pleading to the school authorities. This, it could be argued, was the subject of anti-German sentiment, which many Kindertransportees were a victim of.

Irrespective of the fact many were welcomed and did remain free from anti-Semitic or anti-refugee sentiment, as evidenced above, unfortunately this was not the

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<sup>155</sup> *Daily Record* 13 April 1939.

<sup>156</sup> Ruth Barnett, “Therapeutic Aspects of Working Through the Trauma of the Kindertransport Experience,” 168.

<sup>157</sup> Sidney Myer, *Gathering the Voices*.

<sup>158</sup> Isi Meinstein, *Gathering the Voices*.

<sup>159</sup> Bob Mackenzie, *Gathering the Voices*.

case for all child refugees who arrived in Scotland. As the war began, there was still evidence in *The Scotsman* that upheld the image of Scotland as rescuer. One article explains that there was *no* “desire to treat the large number of German and Austrian refugees as enemies”.<sup>160</sup> Most articles in *The Scotsman* also talks of the fact that the refugee aliens were harmless in this country, had a good character and that the locals need to care for and comfort them..<sup>161</sup>

However, many of the Kinder have memories that argue with the popular discourse that much of the press clung to. Leo Meinstein remembers being called “Berlin” at school by his teacher in Scotland, which he recalls to be humiliating. He explains this incident has ‘stuck with him’<sup>162</sup> Forrester remembers a time when she was at Sunday school, whereby one of the other girls in the class did not want to sit beside her because she was German.<sup>163</sup> She also remembers that people would whisper about her as she walked past in the street.<sup>164</sup> Michael Warton, also remembers the negative attention he received due to his status as a refugee.<sup>165</sup> Marthe also makes note of the xenophobia she experienced in Scotland.<sup>166</sup> Moreover, McNeill remembers that just before the war, people called her a “dirty dog” at school.<sup>167</sup> Although these seem like small incidents, they had rather negative effects on the Kinder as children. It can be said that although there was little outright public disapproval of the Jewish refugee children, as mentioned earlier, much of it came from word of mouth and occurred in everyday life interactions.

Considering there are many instances of negative sentiment towards the Kinder, it can be said that both the *Scotsman* and the *Daily Record* should have more readily reported on the plight and unhappiness of the refugee children as and when incidents occurred. Especially considering the amount of incidents the children can remember, there was obviously a bigger problem with anti-Semitism or anti-foreign

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<sup>160</sup> *The Scotsman*, 5 September 1939.

<sup>161</sup> *The Scotsman*, 12, 16, 18 September 1939.

<sup>162</sup> Leo Meinstein, *Gathering the Voices*.

<sup>163</sup> Edith Forrester, *Gathering the Voices*.

<sup>164</sup> Edith Forrester, *Gathering the Voices*.

<sup>165</sup> Michael Warton, Washington DC’s Holocaust Memorial Museum’s Archive.

<sup>166</sup> Marthe, Frances Williams’ Private Collection found in F. Williams’, *The Forgotten Kindertransportees*, 212.

<sup>167</sup> Rita McNeill, *Gathering the Voices*.

feeling than is admitted to. Yet understandably, the press were often preoccupied with the tribulations of war in Scotland. Consequently, it can be said that the Kinder and their experiences were often distorted in the press. This came from a need to prioritise the positives when publishing articles.

Let us now look at the *Scotsman* and *Daily Record*'s reaction to the evacuation of refugees, while comparing the memory of the former child refugees themselves. In early September Kindertransportees were evacuated once again, but this time within Britain. With the outbreak of war, the Government thought it best to evacuate school children from busy towns and cities to the countryside, where they would be safer from air raids.<sup>168</sup> Naturally, many Kindertransportees found evacuation in countryside Britain distressing. As Fast explains, many of the refugee children were met with suspicion from locals and even 'branded' as spies.<sup>169</sup> The newspaper's reporting's of the refugee's evacuation experience is rather one sided, although there is some evidence to suggest that they acknowledged both sides.

Again, *the Scotsman* largely makes the evacuation of the Kindertransportees to be the product of Scotland's generosity. One article points to the "sympathetic attitude towards the friendly aliens", describing the rather inclusive image of many child refugees sharing lodgings with other evacuees from the cities.<sup>170</sup> Other articles point to the rather idyllic situation of child refugees who have been evacuated. For example, details of a "rugby match" to be played by "evacuee children, natives of the town and German refugee children" point to a pleasant image of evacuation.<sup>171</sup> Furthermore, a similar article points to the young refugees enjoying the benefits of the countryside. It explains that the "German boy footballers" shakes hands with the provost.<sup>172</sup> Additionally, on the 13<sup>th</sup> of December, plans were being made to provide Christmas gifts for evacuee and refugee children in evacuation areas of Glasgow.<sup>173</sup> Other articles point to the care taken to ensure the orchestration of child refugees during

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<sup>168</sup> Vera K. Fast, *Children's Exodus: A History of the Kindertransport*, (I.B. Tauris & Co Ltd, 2011), 61.

<sup>169</sup> Vera K. Fast, *Children's Exodus: A History of the Kindertransport*, 63.

<sup>170</sup> *The Scotsman*, 15 September 1939.

<sup>171</sup> *The Scotsman*, 7 October 1939.

<sup>172</sup> *The Scotsman*, 9 October 1939.

<sup>173</sup> *The Scotsman*, 13 December 1939.

evacuation by the government and other organisations.<sup>174</sup> Yet we see that many former Kinder have very negative memories of their time during evacuation.

For example, Alice Malcolm remembers the first night she was evacuated. The woman that had taken her in discovered that Alice was Jewish and so would not be saying ‘the Lord’s prayer’ at bedtime. Alice was therefore turned back over to the authorities the next day and was told that due to her race it would be more difficult for authorities to look for people to provide hospitality for her.<sup>175</sup> Yet in the *Daily Record* an article pointed to plans for “religious facilities for evacuees” who would be moving out of the city” if war broke out.<sup>176</sup> The *Jewish Echo* also published an article entitled “Evacuees to get kosher food”.<sup>177</sup> Another article also headlined: “Evacuees Receiving Hebrew Education”.<sup>178</sup>

Similarly, Sim remembers being an evacuee in Innerleithen, near Peebles. She recalls going to school as an evacuee of about eight or nine years old. Dorrith explains that the teacher shouted “Germany” at the top of her voice, in front of the class, when she learned where Sim had come from. As a result, boys would also throw stones at her. She also believes that people thought she was a German spy.<sup>179</sup> Therefore these memories provide snapshots into the distress and unfriendly atmosphere that evacuation often created. At the time, the vast majority of these children were suffering in silence. Edward Timms supports the idea that Kindertransportees had a traumatic time during evacuation to the countryside. However, the press most certainly did not pick up on this at the time, instead choosing to paint a very idealistic and accommodating picture of evacuation for Kindertransportees. Timms explains that such Kinder were left with long lasting effects of evacuation.<sup>180</sup>

In order to understand the memories of the former Kinder who talk about their experiences and comprehend why their memory is so useful for this historical study, it

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<sup>174</sup> *The Scotsman*, 14, 28 May 1940.

<sup>175</sup> Alice Malcolm, *Gathering the Voices*.

<sup>176</sup> *Daily Record* 28 June 1939.

<sup>177</sup> *Jewish Echo* 9 October 1939.

<sup>178</sup> *Jewish Echo* 8 December 1939.

<sup>179</sup> Dorrith M. Sim, *Gathering the Voices*.

<sup>180</sup> Edward Timms, “The Ordeals of Kinder and Evacuees in Comparative Perspective,” in *The Kindertransport to Britain 1938/39 New Perspectives*, ed. Andrea Hammel and Bea Lewkowicz (Amsterdam & New York: Editions Rodopi B.V. 2012),125.

is important to understand the context in which their testimonies were recorded. We must consider the power of oral history in conveying the memories of the former Kinder that are used in this study. Portelli explains that using oral history allows one to “reconstruct the dialogue and the conflict between the new and the old, the received and the invented, the individual’s world and that of the others”.<sup>181</sup> For example, this allows us to think about the individual (the Kinder) and the public (Scottish newspapers) and the relationship they had with one another. For example, this point made by Portelli connects to the underrepresentation or one-sided reporting’s that painted a distorted picture of the former Kinder’s childhood in Scotland. Portelli explains that a large part of oral history is the need to “stand up to the big man” and grasp the chance to narrate their story as it actually happened.<sup>182</sup> Again we can see the former ‘helpless Kinder’ eventually being able to stand up to the ‘big man’ i.e. *The Scotsman*, *Daily Record* and *Jewish Echo*, who miss told or at times, completely ignored the Kinder’s experiences. So it can be said that the Kinder’s participation in oral history is a chance for them to tell an ‘untold story’ or correct a false public memory.<sup>183</sup> This leads on to the next topic of internment.

As described by both Williams and Fast, internment for Kindertransportees was naturally very traumatic.<sup>184</sup> With the threat of a possible ‘alien invasion’ climaxing in 1940, society moved closer to the idea that the internment of all ‘foreign nationals’ was the best move to secure the country.<sup>185</sup> This included those children who had travelled on the Kindertransport and had turned 16 during their time in Britain.<sup>186</sup> Interestingly, despite both Williams and Fast providing detailed evidence on the internment of Kindertransportees, neither scholar picks up on the misrepresentation of these children in light of press coverage. Specifically, no mention of the ‘child status’ is declared in the discussed newspapers of the young refugees who were interned. No sympathy is given for the distressing situation many

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<sup>181</sup> Alessandro Portelli, *The Battle of Valle Giulia: Oral History and the Art of Dialogue*, (Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1997), 45.

<sup>182</sup> Alessandro Portelli, *The Battle of Valle Giulia: Oral History and the Art of Dialogue*, 7.

<sup>183</sup> Alessandro Portelli, *The Battle of Valle Giulia: Oral History and the Art of Dialogue*, 6.

<sup>184</sup> Frances Williams, *The Forgotten Kindertransportees* 13-14 and Vera K. Fast, *Children’s Exodus: A History of the Kindertransport*, 68.

<sup>185</sup> Frances Williams, *The Forgotten Kindertransportees*, 13.

<sup>186</sup> Vera K. Fast, *Children’s Exodus: A History of the Kindertransport*, 68.

of the children found themselves in. They had been torn from their homes in Germany once before and now they had settled in Scotland; many were now being ripped away from any familiarities they had found in their new homes. Additionally, little, if any evidence can be found in articles of the difficult time many Kinder had whilst in internment, namely contact with Nazi sympathisers.<sup>187</sup> Therefore, once again, it can be said that the press had a specific agenda: that of portraying the need for internment. This meant the stories of the kinder lay dormant until they decided to talk about their experience later in life.

Let us now review the newspapers with regard to internment. It is clear that *The Scotsman* is in favour of internment. On the 2<sup>nd</sup> of April 1940, *The Scotsman* reported that with regard to enemy aliens, it is “utterly impossible to detect the genuine from the spurious”.<sup>188</sup> Another article mentioned that the ‘aliens’ in Britain have “been educated for two generations to dislike (and fear) the British by Prussianised and Hitlerised Germans”, asking the reader if “a leopard [can] change his spots or an Ethiopian his skin?”.<sup>189</sup> Furthermore, another article justifies the need for tighter controls on the refugees and immigrants at large. For instance, one article explains that “Aliens who have to appear before the Regional Committees can count on a fair and sympathetic hearing”.<sup>190</sup> Moreover, the article continues by stating that “the alien is not being charged with an offence; he is merely required to state the grounds on which he claims a privilege”.<sup>191</sup> It is clear from these articles that the need for internment was normalised and so distracting from any impingement on the needs or rights of refugees. Similarly, an article in the *Jewish Echo* entitled “Resident Aliens Well Treated” explained that the refugees had “been most sympathetically treated by the tribunals”.<sup>192</sup>

However, this press coverage does not capture the traumatic story of Henry Wuga, a Jewish Kindertransportee from Germany who was torn from his foster home in Glasgow. Wuga remembers being arrested for ‘corresponding with the enemy’; in actual fact he was writing letters to his Jewish family still in Germany and

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<sup>187</sup> Vera K. Fast, *Children’s Exodus: A History of the Kindertransport*, 72.

<sup>188</sup> *Scotsman*, 2<sup>nd</sup> April 1940.

<sup>189</sup> *Scotsman*, 3<sup>rd</sup> April 1940.

<sup>190</sup> *Scotsman*, 3<sup>rd</sup> April 1940.

<sup>191</sup> *Scotsman*, 3<sup>rd</sup> April 1940.

<sup>192</sup> *Jewish Echo* 17 November 1939.

other parts of Europe.<sup>193</sup> His memories of his trial are rather different from the ‘guaranteed fair trial’ mentioned in *The Scotsman*. He remembers going to a tribunal in Edinburgh in which a lawyer was arranged for him. Yet, he remembers that the lawyer was not allowed inside during the trial: “I’m here, I’m sixteen years of age, I’m standing [alone] in the High Court in Edinburgh”, he continues by explaining matter-of-factly, “I committed the offence and was found guilty of the offence.”<sup>194</sup> Wuga continually emphasises his age in his testimony and explains this ordeal to be very traumatic.<sup>195</sup> As a result, Wuga was interned in various places around Scotland and ended up on the Isle of Man for a total of ten months. Therefore it is rather clear that the newspapers made internment seem like a harmless, unavoidable necessity in Scotland and usually did not discuss the cases of the internees of Jewish background. The newspapers illustrated the routine-like nature of interment and made it seem that it was completely inoffensive for the refugees. However, from Wuga’s account we can see that it was both harmful and traumatic.

Another former kinder remembers their experience of being interned. Quite contrary to the perceived routine and civilised nature of internment displayed in the newspapers, she remembers: “I was interned as an enemy alien in 1940, a thing that was a great shock to me as, naturally, there was nothing ‘enemy’ about my feelings for this country, and it was a pretty awful moment when I, a girl of 17, was fetched by two policemen and shipped off to an “unknown destination”.<sup>196</sup> Both of these testimonies show the traumatic nature of internment for young refugees. Both accounts were recorded well after the event, yet much time is between both testimonies. The testimony from Wuga was captured around 2010, while the second anonymous testimony was recorded in Karen Gershon’s *We Came As Children*’ around the mid 1960s. Despite the time between the two testimonies, it is interesting to see that both are rather similar. Both state the trauma attached to the experience as well as giving some indication to the apparent lack of organisation attached to the process. Additionally, both emphasise their age in their testimonies. Clearly both individuals have not forgotten this experience and feel that they were too young and

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<sup>193</sup> Henry Wuga, *Gathering the Voices*.

<sup>194</sup> Henry Wuga, *Gathering the Voices*.

<sup>195</sup> Henry Wuga, *Gathering the Voices*.

<sup>196</sup> Karen Gershon, *We Came As Children; A Collective Autobiography of Refugees*, (London: Gollancz, 1966), 91

innocent to be under such scrutiny. Perhaps it can be said that both memories, however far apart, share a common theme: the feeling of ‘duty’ to correct the past and explain what really happened.<sup>197</sup> For example, Annette Wieviorka explains that there is an “acute anxiety” attached to victims of the Holocaust: the feeling that they have been deprived of their own history by somebody “outside the experience that claims to be telling it”.<sup>198</sup> This can be seen as true in terms of the discussed newspapers that normalised and completely excluded any negative reports of the experiences of the Kindertransportees who were interned. Therefore, we can view many of the testimonies of former Kindertransportees as attempts to rectify false information about their past through their recollections.

Moreover, historian Kenneth Collins explains the internment of Kinder from Whittingehame House. Whittingehame House was a country estate near Edinburgh, which was turned in to a farm school, specifically for kindertransportees. Collins explains that during May and June 1940, thirty-six of the older children and staff were removed ‘under armed guard’ from the farm school.<sup>199</sup> With regard to the internment of kinder from Whittingehame House, *The Scotsman* reported on the 13<sup>th</sup> of May that: “A small number of enemy aliens were taken into custody in Midlothian and East Lothian, most of them in the Whittingehame district of the latter county, where refugees had been living”.<sup>200</sup> It is interesting that this article makes no mention of the child status and Jewish background of such ‘enemy aliens’ that were being interned from Whittingehame, or the fact that they were coming from a secure school that was nurturing them. Another article makes comment on the apparent efficient process of rounding up refugees in the Edinburgh area, with little or no trouble involved.<sup>201</sup> Additionally, a refugee testimony featured in the *Daily Record* explained the police monitoring: “the police know everything we do, but they are very kind, and we do not feel that a hardship”.<sup>202</sup> This testimony was obviously carefully selected for the article and aimed to portray the authorities as fair.

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<sup>197</sup> Annette Wieviorka, *The Era of the Witness*, 100.

<sup>198</sup> Annette Wieviorka, *The Era of the Witness*, 101.

<sup>199</sup> Kenneth Collins, *The Jewish Experience in Scotland: From Immigration to Integration*, (Scottish Jewish Archives Centre, 2016), 83.

<sup>200</sup> *Scotsman*, 13 May 1940.

<sup>201</sup> *Scotsman*, 15 May 1940.

<sup>202</sup> *Daily Record*, 22 June 1939.

These articles normalise the process and make it seem rather harmless. Yet we know this was not always the case from Wuga and Gershon's anonymous Kinder testimony. Furthermore, 16 children from Whittingehame were, for a time, interned in a 'barricaded racecourse' in Edinburgh.<sup>203</sup> Nathan, a pupil interned from Whittingehame, remembers the experience to be very traumatic.<sup>204</sup> Another former Kinder called Richard Strauss, was an internee being sent from Glasgow to Canada. He remembers being treated horribly before and during his journey. He remembers that all internees were made to hand over all jewellery, watches and fountain pens before getting on the ship.<sup>205</sup> He also recollects witnessing one man not being able to take his wedding ring off his finger, at which point authorities chopped off his finger. Lastly, he explains that all the internees were packed onto the ship despite severe overcrowding.<sup>206</sup> Therefore, it can be argued that on the subject of internment, the press, at times, grossly misrepresented the Kindertransportees.

Despite severe misrepresentation on the part of the newspapers discussed, it must be said that they perhaps were not fully aware of all the incidents. However, this is no excuse as many would have been made obvious and should have been reported on in order to portray a true and more well balanced picture of the Kindertransportee's experience. Regardless of the fact that internment was undoubtedly traumatic, Wuga did have some fond memories. Although he remembers being subjected to anti-Semitic remarks in the camps, notably by German inmates, he did recall being sad to leave when he was released. He explains that he was allowed to cook, which was his passion.<sup>207</sup>

To conclude, it can be argued that the newspapers did not accurately represent the experiences of the Kindertransportees in Scotland. Evidence suggests that they produced 'rose tinted' accounts of the experiences of the Kinder and downplayed any wrongdoing or anti-Semitism that was inflicted on these children.

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<sup>203</sup> Norman Bentwich, *Jewish Youth Comes Home; The Story of the Youth Aliyah, 1933-1943*, (London: Hyperian Press, 1944), cited in Frances Williams' *The Forgotten Kindertransportees* p14.

<sup>204</sup> Nathan, *Frances Williams Private Collection*, Frances Williams *The Forgotten Kindertransportees* p14.

<sup>205</sup> Richard Strauss, Washington DC's Holocaust Memorial Museum Archive.

<sup>206</sup> Richard Strauss, Washington DC's Holocaust Memorial Museum Archive.

<sup>207</sup> Henry Wuga, *Gathering the Voices*.

From the memories of the former Kinder, it is easy to see their need to ‘bite back’ and correct false public memories. These Kinder’s reactions fit the theoretical findings of memory scholars such as Portelli and Wieviorka as well as Ruth Barnett. These memory theories make sense of the Kinder’s individual recollections and their motives for choosing to speak and the platform they are provided with. Despite some positive memories of the experiences of the Kinder, it is clear that the press had a very one-sided agenda when reporting on the Kindertransportees and so it can be argued that at large the memory of Kinder does not match up with the coverages of the *Scotsman*, *Daily Record* and the *Jewish Echo* from their childhood. This can be reinforced from testimony featured in the articles from the time that reinforce a positive refugee experience.

## The end of war

“We all came in transit”.<sup>208</sup>

This quote sums up the assumed destiny of the Kindertransportees from their arrival in Britain. From the outset, the status of the children that were afforded shelter was always that of trans-migrants.<sup>209</sup> Yet as the war drew closer to its end, things became more complicated. Many had spent the best part of their childhood’s in Scotland and the possibilities of reuniting with the parents they had left behind were obviously uncertain. In the years they had spent in safety, many of the Kinder wanted to embark on their lives as fully fledged Britons.<sup>210</sup> This chapter will compare the memories of the Kinder with *The Scotsman* and *The Daily Record*’s responses to the Kindertransportees destiny around the end of the war. While perhaps *The Scotsman* captured the sense of rescue, which it is true that many Kinder felt, the newspaper did not recognise the deep and more complicated problems the Kinder talk of in their testimonies. Like the other chapters in this study, this one shall also determine the level of representation the Kinder received in the press as well as the newspaper’s ability to report on the plight of the Kinder accurately.

It is clear that memories have been constructed in different ways depending on the person and their experiences in Scotland. As historian Barbara Engelking has noted, the Holocaust was an ‘uprooting revolution’, which brought about the obliteration of time, and thus clear links could not be made between the past, present and future.<sup>211</sup> After the war, many of the Kindertransportees were looking for a way in which they could incorporate their past experiences into the ‘history of their lives’.<sup>212</sup> The Kinder looked to rebuild the ethics of goodness that had decayed at the end of the war. Lifton explains this is why many choose to ‘bear

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<sup>208</sup> Karen Gershon, *We Came As Children*.

<sup>209</sup> Claudio Curio, “Invisible” children; The selection and integration strategies of relief organisations,’ *Shofar: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Jewish Studies*, 23 (Fall 2004), 41-56.

<sup>210</sup> Karen Gershon, *A Tempered Wind: An Autobiography*, (Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 2009), xv.

<sup>211</sup> Barbara Engelking, *Holocaust and Memory*, (Leicester University Press, 2001), 252.

<sup>212</sup> *Ibid.*

witness' to Nazism in the form of testimonies or otherwise.<sup>213</sup> Yet many of the Kinder were not seen as true survivors for so long. As stated in the previous two chapters, it can be said that the fact that the Kinder were often silenced and not recognised as survivors made them even more willing to make their voices heard decades after the war. Additionally, survivors also wanted to correct the distorted public narrative, produced by the wartime and early postwar media.

Towards the end of the war and in the immediate decades thereafter, the fate of Jews and what is now widely known as the Holocaust was downplayed if not completely ignored in Britain.<sup>214</sup> This was the case for many reasons. Mainly, it was because the British government did not want the Jews of Europe to be depicted as individuals that had suffered more than the brave British soldiers that were returning from war.<sup>215</sup> They wanted Britain to be remembered as the tolerant country that could take pride in defeating Nazism.<sup>216</sup> As Patrick Wright explains, the WWII was and to a large extent still is remembered as an “over-riding moment of national dignity and worth”.<sup>217</sup> Therefore, nationalism played a large part in this period of British history and this was echoed in the press.

Let us review articles from *The Scotsman* and *The Daily Record* with regard to the fate of the Kinder in Scotland. Regardless of the stance each article takes with regard to the Kinder, there is one common theme: the need to portray Britain as rescuer. In May 1944, discussions were taking place in Edinburgh regarding the “Problem of Jewish Refugees”.<sup>218</sup> The article centred on a “Mrs Dugdale” whose family was responsible for creating a school in Edinburgh “for the training of young refugees from the Nazi terror”.<sup>219</sup> Another article in October 1944, entitled ‘Angel of

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<sup>213</sup> R. Lifton, *The Nazi Doctors*. New York: Basic Books Inc. 1986 , 117-130.

<sup>214</sup> Tony Kushner, “Loose Connections? Britain and the ‘Final Solution’” in *Britain and the Holocaust: Remembering and Representing War and Genocide*, ed. Sharples, Caroline and Jensen, Olaf (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 51.

<sup>215</sup> Tony Kushner, “Too Little, Too Late? Reflections on Britain’s Holocaust Memorial Day p116.

<sup>216</sup> Kushner, “Too Little, Too Late? Reflections on Britain’s Holocaust Memorial Day,” 118.

<sup>217</sup>Patrick Wright, *On Living in an Old Country: The National Past in Contemporary Britain* (Oxford University Press, 2009), 25.

<sup>218</sup> *Daily Record*, 22 May 1944.

<sup>219</sup> *Daily Record*, 22 May 1944.

Glasgow' talked of a Scottish lady that had helped 40,000 dependent refugees find homes or hostels in the Glasgow area.<sup>220</sup> The articles tend to focus on the heroic actions of Scottish individuals, rather than the plight of the refugees. This illustrates the strong sense of nationalistic feeling that was rife during this time.

The same can be said for *The Scotsman*. Regardless of each view that is posed by *The Scotsman*, it is clear that the aim of the newspaper is to prove that Scotland has been the rescuer. It is obvious that the plight of the kinder past or present, is often a secondary if not ignored issue for *The Scotsman*. For example, articles make reference to the amount of money Scotland has had to spend on the refugee in order to provide shelter and safety.<sup>221</sup> The paper even reports on the fact that at a conference to address the refugee problem in Edinburgh, discussions were "mainly concerned with what Scotland has been able to do for these unfortunate people".<sup>222</sup> Even in the articles that talk of the need to keep the children in Britain, the children's predicament is often portrayed as a secondary issue after the need to illustrate the celebratory rescue of these poor children before and during the war.

This view of nationalism displayed in the press can be related to Anderson's *Imagined Communities*. Anderson argues that the emergence of print-capitalism allows nations to embrace a national language to communicate to the masses, advancing the modern nation and what Anderson dubs as an "imagined community".<sup>223</sup> Anderson explains that the newspaper is a 'cultural product' that uses certain language in order to converse with the masses.<sup>224</sup> Moreover, because an imagined community feels patriotism for its own nation, the media are able to take advantage of this by using patriotism to appeal to the masses' jingoistic outlook in order to push forward a certain ideal.<sup>225</sup> Anderson sees the newspaper as akin to a "one-day best seller", sold for "ephemeral popularity".<sup>226</sup> Therefore, we can see that newspapers play a crucial part in fostering nationalism. This is evidenced in the discussion of *The Scotsman* and the *Daily Record* above, as well as the *Jewish Echo*.

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<sup>220</sup> *Daily Record*, 12 October 1944.

<sup>221</sup> *Scotsman*, 21 March 1944.

<sup>222</sup> *Scotsman*, 21 March 1944.

<sup>223</sup> Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 36.

<sup>224</sup> Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 61,62.

<sup>225</sup> Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 61.

<sup>226</sup> Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 34,35.

It is clear that both papers are keen to encourage enthusiasm for a celebratory narrative their readers can find pride in. This helps to explain the very one-sided narrative of the experiences of the Kinder in Britain.

We shall now look at the opposing views of both *The Scotsman* and the *Daily Record* with regard to the fates of the young refugees that were in Scotland. Firstly, the view that the refugees should return to their homelands shall be explored. Before the war's end, there were already significant debates in the press that deliberated over the Kindertransportee's futures. An article in *The Scotsman* pointed to the need for them to return home and become a part of the process of rebuilding the homes and communities they left behind.<sup>227</sup> The article pointed to the sadness of the refugee's eventual departure, but stresses the need for them to participate in the restitution of "free and liberal institutions" back in their home countries.<sup>228</sup> Another article on the same day explains that there will be pressure from the refugees and their hosts to put in place initiatives, which will allow the Kinder to rebuild their lives in a place outside of Scotland.<sup>229</sup> The article continued by explaining with regard to the refugees, "it is obviously undesirable that they should be competitors for employment in a post-war depression".<sup>230</sup> As time went on this nationalistic sentiment continued and articles made further reference to the need for refugees to be established back into their own homes, the hope that many would migrate to Palestine and also the fact that many refugees themselves, wanted to move on and leave Scotland.<sup>231</sup> An article commented, "The refugee children look forward to going to the liberated countries".<sup>232</sup> Therefore, it is clear from this evidence that *The Scotsman*, at times, wanted to raise the apparent importance of the need for the children to leave Scotland, sometimes even portraying them as an economic threat, despite the newspaper's failure to address the problems connected with this simplistic view.

Similarly, *The Daily Record* also pushed the view that the refugees should return home. In November 1945, an anonymous letter published in *The Daily Record* expressed the opinion that the refugees should return home: "One would have

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<sup>227</sup> *Scotsman*, 21 March 1944.

<sup>228</sup> *Scotsman*, 21 March 1944.

<sup>229</sup> *Scotsman*, 21 March 1944.

<sup>230</sup> *Scotsman*, 21 March 1944.

<sup>231</sup> *Scotsman*, 15 June, 26 July, 28 July, 26 August 1944, 8 January 1945.

<sup>232</sup> *Scotsman* 29 June 1944.

thought that the time had come for those already in this country to go home and make room for our heroes to live”.<sup>233</sup> The letter continued: “Do not tell us that the new houses when they come on the market are for foreign refugees, it looks like it.”<sup>234</sup> Again, this shows the power of the certain newspapers in spreading nationalistic feeling. By choosing to publish a letter explaining that refugees are likely to take newly built state housing, this strengthens chauvinistic principles and ideals. Another article entitled ‘Want Back to Reich’ explained that at a “Free German Movement” meeting in Glasgow the decision to allow “refugees in this country wishing to play their part in the democratisation of their homeland” was passed by the board.<sup>235</sup> This article obviously wants to portray the need for the refugees to play their part in the democratization process as crucial and something they should want to be a part of. However, when we look at the testimonies of the Kinder, it is clear that this was not as simple as it is made out to be in this article. This will be discussed later in this chapter.

Now that the view that the refugees should return to their homelands has been addressed, the stance that they should remain in Britain will now be reviewed. The newspaper pointed to the fact that many of the Kinder in the Glasgow area “looked on Glasgow as their home, having spent the best years of their life there and having been treated as human beings”.<sup>236</sup> Another article explained: “These children have been brought up and educated in this country and know of no other allegiance”.<sup>237</sup> It also explains the fact that many have become very well integrated and loyal, having served in the Civil Defence and Home Guard as they came of age.<sup>238</sup> Therefore, this illustrates the fact that many of the children had come to know of Scotland as home and their proposed eventual departure would be harder than first anticipated. This more positive stance in *The Scotsman* can be attributed to the need to emphasise the refugee’s innocence and victim status, in order to highlight that Britain

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<sup>233</sup> *Daily Record*, 23 November 1945.

<sup>234</sup> *Daily Record*, 23 November 1945.

<sup>235</sup> *Daily Record*, 26 November 1945.

<sup>236</sup> *Scotsman*, 21 March 1944.

<sup>237</sup> *Scotsman*, 25 April 1944.

<sup>238</sup> *Scotsman*, 25 April 1944.

saved them.<sup>239</sup> For example, the articles discussed above highlight everything Scotland has been able to offer the young refugees.

Moreover, other articles in *The Scotsman* talk of the productive nature of the Kinder as well as the good they have brought for the country. One article explains, “Refugees, so far from being a drain on the country of their adoption, may be an asset”.<sup>240</sup> Even in March 1945, one article headlined: “Refugees In Britain-Not Necessarily A Burden To The Country”.<sup>241</sup> The article continues by explaining that the Kinder could be beneficial for the country by providing new perspectives as well as contributing to their adoptive communities. All in all, it explains that it is “not true” that they are “a burden to the community”, by explaining the work they may have done for the country during war time or their fresh “continental outlook” that could benefit the country.<sup>242</sup> Regardless of the positive or negative reporting in the press, it is clear that the main theme is to highlight all that has been offered to the young refugees. This does not capture the trauma felt by the Kinder nor his or her own dilemma of choosing which path to take when the war ended.

Now that *The Scotsman* and *Daily Record* has been analysed, testimonies from the adult kinder will now be addressed. One aspect, which *The Scotsman* does not seem to touch on, is the sense of trauma felt by Kindertransportees as the war was approaching its end. With many camps being liberated and Kinder learning of the fates of their parents, it is surprising that this was not reported on more widely. Memories from former Kinder express the heart-wrenching trauma that they found themselves to be in. One anonymous Kinder recalls this period: “It had taken a long time to accept that my parents were dead, and that family as it had been would never return”.<sup>243</sup> This seems to be a common theme with the Kinder. It is obvious also from McNeill’s testimony that she did experience trauma due to the unknown fate of her mother. She explains how she could never accept the fate of her mother and did not want to believe that she would never see her again. She also explains that she refused to change her name to that of her foster family’s through fear that her mother

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<sup>239</sup> Andrea Hammel, “Child refugees forever? The history of the Kindertransport to Britain 1938/39.” *Journal of Childhood and Adolescence Research*, 5(2), 137.

<sup>240</sup> *Scotsman*, 17 August 1944.

<sup>241</sup> *Scotsman*, 10 March 1945.

<sup>242</sup> *Scotsman*, 10 March 1945.

<sup>243</sup> Karen Gershon, *We Came As Children*, 121.

would never find her with a different name.<sup>244</sup> She always held on to the fact that she was told as a child-when leaving Germany-that her mother would eventually follow her to Scotland. She never did. It was later discovered that she had died in Riga.<sup>245</sup> An excerpt from Karen Gershon's autobiography also explains the fact that it was rather hard to come to the understanding that her parents had perished: "I think, the subliminal realisation that I needed to get a hold on a bit of my future to help me across the changeover from wartime to peace, which, for me, would mean being confronted with the fate of my parents".<sup>246</sup> Gershon, who was in Edinburgh at this time, explains that this was very difficult to come to terms with.

Engelking explains the difficulty that is attached to coming to terms with loved ones who died in the Holocaust. Like the Kinder discussed above, and many others discussed in this study who lost their parents to the Nazis, they found it hard to accept. Engelking explains this is due to the fact they could not mourn properly.<sup>247</sup> For example, she explains the date of death is often unspecified; there is no individual grave, as well as the fact that there is nobody else present that knew the person they lost.<sup>248</sup> Therefore, Engelking explains, it was often "impossible to part with the dead who have not been mourned".<sup>249</sup> In turn, this explains the strong attachment the Kinder often have to the past as well as the loved ones they left behind. This is evident in their recollections. Consequently, it can be said that both *The Scotsman* and *The Daily Record* did not capture the sense of trauma and the great loss felt by many of the Kinder who were left in Britain. Chad McDonald also explains the fact that despite the fate of the Kinder's parent's largely being written out of history, parents play a large part in the Kinder's own narrative.<sup>250</sup> McDonald argues that the parents of the Kinder should be talked about more often.

Unlike this rather sad tone connected to the Kindertransport experience, other testimonies do confirm the more celebratory role of Scotland and, it can be said,

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<sup>244</sup> Rita McNeill, *Gathering the Voices*.

<sup>245</sup> Rita McNeill, *Gathering the Voices*.

<sup>246</sup> Karen Gershon, *A Tempered Wind: An Autobiography*, 177.

<sup>247</sup> Barbara Engelking, *Holocaust and Memory*, 248-249.

<sup>248</sup> Barbara Engelking, *Holocaust and Memory*, 248-249.

<sup>249</sup> Barbara Engelking, *Holocaust and Memory*, 249.

<sup>250</sup> Chad McDonald, "We Became British aliens": Kindertransport refugees narrating the discovery of their parents' fates." *Holocaust Studies*, 24:4v(2018), 395.

support the view that they were rescued by Britain. For example, with reference to her foster parents in Glasgow, Ursula explains she thanked them “for their help to get me out of Germany-they had saved my life after all”.<sup>251</sup> Bob Mackenzie, who arrived in Scotland in 1939, named his oral testimony “Britain’s Generosity”.<sup>252</sup> He also supports the reporting’s in *The Scotsman* that attested to the usefulness of the refugees.<sup>253</sup> For example, he was a part of the RAF. He had settled in Scotland and did not want to return to his homeland. Even after acquiring the knowledge that his parents had survived the war, he explained that he did not want to return to Germany to live with them. He explains that he was “used to the freedom in this country”.<sup>254</sup> Likewise, Forrester had no intention of returning to Germany. She explains that she had come to call her foster parents ‘mum’ and ‘dad’ and had “no desire” to return.<sup>255</sup> She explained “Scotland was the country for her”.<sup>256</sup> Wuga also explains that she had decided to make Scotland her home, stating in her testimony that she did not even have any desire to speak German anymore.<sup>257</sup> These testimonies point to the fact that for many, Scotland could be looked upon as the rescuer in the narrative of Kinder memories.

Yet, it can still be argued that that the two newspapers discussed above still failed to dig deeper and understand the true feelings of distress and up rootedness that many of the Kindertransportees felt. For example, even for those who could look fondly on their experiences and the generosity given to them in Scotland, they did not come out of the journey unscathed. Ingrid Wuga explains that she felt “very at sea”. Forrester, who had nothing but positive words to say of her experiences states that she still struggled: “I have to confess with shame to this day” that she felt nothing for her father in Germany at the end of the war (her father survived the war).<sup>258</sup> She explains that she had fought the need to return and visit him for so long. Additionally, she also

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<sup>251</sup> Bertha Leverton, and Shmuel Lowensohn, *I Came Alone; Stories of the Kindertransports* (England: The Book Guild, 1990), 226 (testimony of Ursula).

<sup>252</sup> Bob Mackenzie, *Gathering the Voices*.

<sup>253</sup> *Scotsman*, 17 August 1944, 10 March 1945.

<sup>254</sup> Bob Mackenzie, *Gathering the Voices*.

<sup>255</sup> Edith Forrester, *Gathering the Voices*.

<sup>256</sup> Edith Forrester, *Gathering the Voices*.

<sup>257</sup> Ingrid Wuga, *Gathering the Voices*.

<sup>258</sup> Edith Forrester, *Gathering the Voices*.

explains: “I always vowed...that I would never marry unless it was a Jew that I married”.<sup>259</sup> Looking back now, Forrester explains that she was wrong to think like that. It can be said that this testimony can be linked with survivor’s guilt. Engelking explains that many were touched for life by their experiences. This often took the form of guilt for surviving the war while others did not. Considering Forrester’s mother had died at the hands of the Nazis, perhaps she vowed only to marry a Jew as a sign of “indebtedness”.<sup>260</sup> Engelking explains that that this “indebtedness towards the dead takes on the form of obligations after the war”.<sup>261</sup> Gershon also talks of her own survivor’s guilt in her autobiography.<sup>262</sup>

Therefore, it is clear that the two newspapers discussed were accurate in their reports of the rescue that was provided to an extent. Yet, at the same time, those who could call Scotland their home also felt the affects of their experiences. It can be said that the newspaper only went so far with their accounts of these refugee children and decided only to look at the celebratory view, while ignoring the more ‘ugly’ side affects these children felt as a result. It is also clear that in no way were the kinder seen as survivors or to large extent even victims of the Holocaust. Barnett explains that they were viewed as the ‘lucky ones’ despite their deep inner pain.<sup>263</sup> It is obvious that British society did not understand their trauma during this time.

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<sup>259</sup> Edith Forrester, *Gathering the Voices*.

<sup>260</sup> Barbara Engelking, *Holocaust and Memory*, 246-247.

<sup>261</sup> Barbara Engelking, *Holocaust and Memory*, 247.

<sup>262</sup> Karen Gershon, *A Tempered Wind: An Autobiography*, 182.

<sup>263</sup> Ruth Barnett, “Therapeutic Aspects of Working Through the Trauma of the Kindertransport Experience,” 169.

## Recent (post-1980s) Newspaper Discourses

This section will look at the discussed newspapers in the context of the time in which adult kinder were giving testimony and bearing witness. This began to take place in the late 1980s and has continued to develop up until the present day. This section will illustrate how the survivors' experiences and narratives were depicted from a contemporary perspective and show how the memorialization process has developed after several decades. Additionally, this chapter will also discuss how Kinder' testimonies evolved over time; comparing wartime testimonies with their more recent recollections.

Wieviorka and Portelli explain that through a changing society and the evolution of the survivors' life trajectories, memories and testimonies can develop and change. Wieviorka explains that society's popularisation or 'Americanisation' of the Holocaust allowed testimonies to thrive, thus changing the individual and collective narrative of Holocaust and its memory.<sup>264</sup> Similarly, Portelli argues that a person giving testimony is the victim of a changing society, whereby the story that they tell changes and develops, as they do as a person, with the passing of time. He explains, narrators "are both the same person and a different person".<sup>265</sup> Therefore, as the press changed its narrative of the Kindertransport with the passing of time, testimonies of the kinder also changed.

In the late 1980s and early 1990s we can already see a marked change in the newspaper coverage on the Kindertransportees. In 1989 the *Jewish Echo* published an article entitled "Holocaust: the silence of history" which emphasises that much of the details of the Holocaust, including those related to the Kindertransport, were silenced after the war and not talked about.<sup>266</sup> This is evident from articles in the previous chapter that tend to downplay the plight of persecuted Jews after the war, instead choosing to focus on the positives. The article continues by highlighting the

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<sup>264</sup> Annette Wieviorka, *The Era of the Witness*, 96/97.

<sup>265</sup> Alessandro Portelli, *The Death of Luigi Trastulli and Other Stories: Form and Meaning in Oral History*, 61.

<sup>266</sup> *Jewish Echo*, 28 April 1989.

importance of testimony in breaking the silence.<sup>267</sup> Another article also explains that the “knowledge of the Holocaust must be kept alive”.<sup>268</sup>

Another example of this change in time of press coverage is illustrated by the timeframe when both *The Scotsman* and the *Jewish Echo* published articles of Kinder gatherings. In 1989-when survivors commemorated 50 years since the arrival in Scotland -the *Scotsman* published an article stating “Holocaust survivors to hold reunion”.<sup>269</sup> The article continues: “Scottish Jews who escaped from Nazi Germany before the Holocaust will confront painful memories when they travel to London for a special reunion”.<sup>270</sup> Similarly, the *Jewish Echo* published an article entitled “Transportkinder get together”.<sup>271</sup> Both articles stress the importance of the Kinder coming together and sharing their experiences after five decades from their arrival in the UK, an opportunity some had not had before. The *Scotsman* explains in the article that many of the former Kinder “have lived most of their lives without coming into contact with their fellow travellers”.<sup>272</sup> Likewise in the *Jewish Echo*, the article explains “of those that lived in Scotland, some were fostered by non-Jews and had little contact with the Jewish community until now”.<sup>273</sup> The article also explains that many of the kinder were putting plans in place to set up their own association in Scotland, whereby they would meet annually, thus creating their own community (and agent) of memory.

These 1989 articles show how the memorialisation process has changed. For example, it became acceptable for survivors to talk and share their experiences. Sim, a former kinder explained that many people were “frightened to talk about what happened to them because they did not want to embarrass people”.<sup>274</sup> This shows the shift of people being able to talk more openly about their experiences and address the negatives of their childhoods, despite the potential detrimental public image consequences. The fact that the *Scotsman* refers to the Kinder as ‘survivors’ is

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<sup>267</sup> *Jewish Echo*, 28 April 1989.

<sup>268</sup> *Jewish Echo*, 12 May 1989.

<sup>269</sup> *Scotsman*, 20 June 1989.

<sup>270</sup> *Scotsman*, 20 June 1989.

<sup>271</sup> *Jewish Echo*, 22 May 1992. (transport was a less popular terms previously used).

<sup>272</sup> *Scotsman*, 20 June 1989.

<sup>273</sup> *Jewish Echo*, 22 May 1992.

<sup>274</sup> *Scotsman*, 20 June 1989.

evidence that the kinder have a much more recognised status as survivors of the Holocaust.<sup>275</sup> This is in stark contrast to the wartime and early postwar culture, whereby survivors were silenced and the negatives were swept under the carpet. Therefore, this time period represents an era when survivors emerged with a new and enhanced status, whereby they were more comfortable to talk about what happened.<sup>276</sup> Society at large was also more willing to hear these stories.<sup>277</sup>

Despite the benefits of coming together and creating a stronger community of memory as well as the visible shift in society allowing the kinder recognition for their traumatic past, it can also be argued that this can also have some challenging consequences. Namely, the affect this had on the accuracy and genuineness of the remembrance process and of the historical narratives of the Holocaust. For example, this new climate in which more and more survivors' testimonies was recorded had limitations. The fact that the kinder were in regular contact with fellow kinder (through reunions and associations) before or during the time in which they were giving testimonies highlights limits to testimony and its accuracy. While sharing experiences with others who lived through similar experiences can be therapeutic, it can also tarnish historical authenticity. For example, other survivors can perhaps influence their fellow survivors and change their original outlook, and change (or add) specific details of their recollections. This illustrates that many testimonies will not be reproducing the exact version of what survivors experienced during the war or of what they remembered before engaging with a formal and ritualistic frame of public remembrance. Portelli backs this up by explaining that "no story will be repeated twice in identical manner. Each story we hear is unique".<sup>278</sup> Yet, Wieviorka explains that despite these shortcomings, "an encounter with the voice of someone who has lived through a piece of history" gives the historian an insightful look into that time period, regardless of precise historical accuracy.<sup>279</sup>

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<sup>275</sup> *Scotsman*, 20 June 1989.

<sup>276</sup> Annette Wieviorka, *The Era of the Witness*, 97.

<sup>277</sup> Annette Wieviorka, *The Era of the Witness*, 97.

<sup>278</sup> Alessandro Portelli, *The Death of Luigi Trastulli and Other Stories: Form and Meaning in Oral History*, 61.

<sup>279</sup> Annette Wieviorka, *The Era of the Witness*, 132.

With time passing, newspaper reports continue to show a more realistic side to the experiences of the Kinder. Articles in *The Scotsman* and *Daily Mail* emphasise how much has changed in terms of the memorialisation process since the war years. Unlike the newspaper reports of the 1940s, articles nowadays focus on the harder aspects of the Kinder's experiences. *The Scotsman* and the *Daily Mail* both talk about the trauma the children felt when leaving their parents, issues with adjusting to a new environment, and internalizing the loss of their parents. *The Scotsman* talks of former Kinder Forrester, who had "no idea she would never see her beloved 'Mutti' again", explaining that she was "terrified" when she arrived in Scotland.<sup>280</sup> Another article about a Kinder reunion explains that "much of what they say is about loss".<sup>281</sup> The *Daily Record* talks about the Kinder losing their parents. One article explains how former kinder Otto Deutsch explained "how his family were killed by the Nazis 70 years ago simply because they were Jewish".<sup>282</sup> Another article detailing the life of former Kinder, Harry Bibring, also explained that he never saw his parents again.<sup>283</sup> These publications show how much has changed in terms of the way we remember the Holocaust and its survivors. In the previous chapter we discussed how the newspapers at the end of the war were more focused on what Scotland had been able to provide for the Kinder, while downplaying if not completely ignoring the fate of their parents and the difficulties encountered by the Kinder.

Other articles also touch on topics that were not mentioned in newspapers during the war. For example, *The Scotsman* explains that former Kinder Steven Brent still remembers that one of the teachers from school when he arrived in Scotland was anti-Semitic.<sup>284</sup> Steven also talks about the fact that he was miserable when he arrived and it took him a long time to adjust.<sup>285</sup> Similarly, the anti-Semitism experienced by Sacharin is also recorded in *The Scotsman*.<sup>286</sup> The *Daily Record* also mentions the memories of Sim, who found it really hard to adjust in Scotland at

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<sup>280</sup> *Scotsman*, 28 May 2018.

<sup>281</sup> *Scotsman*, 20 May 2007.

<sup>282</sup> *Daily Record*, 20 September 2015.

<sup>283</sup> *Daily Record*, 11 June 2016.

<sup>284</sup> *Scotsman*, 7 May 2008.

<sup>285</sup> *Scotsman*, 7 May 2008.

<sup>286</sup> *Scotsman*, 20 May 2007.

first.<sup>287</sup> If we look at some of the articles published at the time, we can see a very different story. For example, in January 1939, there was article in *The Scotsman* titled “Thanks From a Jewish Refugee”.<sup>288</sup> The article explains that one of the Kinder, named as David Gold, wanted to “thank Glasgow for the kindness” shown to him and the fellow refugees. Similarly, an article in the *Jewish Echo* also explains how well the children are settling in.<sup>289</sup> One of the Kinder, Hugo Brummer was interviewed, “speaking in excellent English” for the opening of Whittingehmae Farm School for the refugees. In the interview he expressed his gratitude, showing great eagerness to explain that “our first football team play teams from the surrounding villages”.<sup>290</sup> These interviews were clearly very selective, with children being chosen to speak based on how good their English was and so immediately looking settled in their new environments.

This shows how one-sided reports on the kinder could be, while the more recent newspaper articles paint a more realistic picture image. In 2010 an article in the *Daily Record* tells the traumatic story of Wuga, who was interned as an enemy alien, which had a profoundly traumatic impact on him.<sup>291</sup> Yet during the war and internment, we can see an overwhelming amount of articles pointing to the kind treatment of enemy aliens during this time.<sup>292</sup> One such article included a testimony from a Kinder that stated, “most of all we are grateful to be apart of the community.”<sup>293</sup> It is clear that testimony from Kinder included in the press has changed dramatically. It is obvious that during the war, the Kinder and, especially, the newspaper editors wanted to project a grateful and optimistic image when the topic was discussed in the press. Additionally, another testimony from a refugee girl featured in the *Daily Record* draws on her and other Kinder’s experiences as maids: “Many of the Mistresses are very kind and thoughtful, and treat their refugee domestics as one of the family. Some just want a servant. It is only natural”.<sup>294</sup> Yet,

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<sup>287</sup> *Daily Record*, 25 January 2013.

<sup>288</sup> *Scotsman*, 2 January 1939.

<sup>289</sup> *Jewish Echo*, 14 July 1939.

<sup>290</sup> *Jewish Echo*, 14 July 1939.

<sup>291</sup> *Daily Record*, 4 June 2018.

<sup>292</sup> *Jewish Echo* 20 October 1939, 17 November 1939, 5 July 1940.

<sup>293</sup> *Daily Record* 22 June 1939.

<sup>294</sup> *Daily Record* 22 June 1939.

from much later testimonies from Kinder, we see that many Kinder hated their time working as a maid and felt exploited. This was the case for survivor Sacharin, as previously discussed in the section on religion.<sup>295</sup>

Therefore, it is clear from these findings that the public memory of the Kinder has changed over several decades.

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<sup>295</sup> Rosa Sacharin, *Gathering the Voices*.

## **Chapter four: Conclusion**

This thesis aimed to comparatively study newspaper articles (recorded at different moments in time) and adult Kinder testimony in order to determine the similarities and differences between these two historical sources and how they shaped the memory of the Kindertransport. In doing so, this thesis sought to provide a more accurate reconstruction of the experiences of the Kinder in Scotland.

The findings from the research conducted in the first section of the Empirical Analysis chapter show that Scottish newspapers depicted a distorted image- too optimistic and rosy- of the Kindertransport and the reception and welcome that the young refugees received was often conditional. Namely the need to convert the Kindertransportees to Christianity or influence them to take part in a different religious life was often the price these young children had to pay in order to receive care and nurture. Yet the wartime newspaper articles felt the need to stress that the young refugees were being welcomed into a community that accepted ‘all backgrounds and religions’. The *Jewish Echo* also portrayed a overly positive image of the Kindertransportees life in Scotland and did not discuss their problems.

Indeed we see the same pattern in the second section. Despite the harsh treatment many Kinder felt under regulations implied during wartime, the press felt the need to downplay or completely ignore any mistreatment of the young refugees. In reality, even for the Kinder that have fond memories of their time spent in Scotland, recall being subject to some form of anti-immigrant (if not outright anti-Semitic) attitudes. Irrespective of this, newspaper articles maintained a façade that portrayed the Kinder to be unscathed by the routine policies of wartime Britain.

The last section also emphasises how around the end of the war, newspapers were quick to highlight the achievements of Scotland in rescuing and nurturing the Kindertransportees. The reports made regarding the future’s of the Kinder in Scotland were split in to two opposing camps, underlining the need for them to leave or highlighting the benefits of why they should stay. Regardless of the stance, the articles fail to pick up on the obvious trauma and heartache the Kinder would have been feeling.

The theoretical model adopted in this thesis can best explain the relationship between the wartime articles and the articles published decades later, and the adult testimonies of the kinder. Anderson’s theory on the media and nationalism explains

why the wartime newspaper articles reported on the Kinder in such a specific way, while Portelli's and Wieviorka's theories explain the different narratives of the testimonies given from the Kinder and the way media discourses and collective public memory changed over time. Both Wieviorka and Portelli argue that every memory or even recorded testimony is logged at a particular instant in time and so it is inevitable that political and ideological frameworks of that particular time and environment will shape a memory.<sup>296</sup> So quite simply, these political and ideological frameworks that influence a memory at a specific moment are inevitably going to change due to societal changes. This explains how a changing society with its evolving political and ideological frameworks inescapably changes public narrative-such as those disseminated by the press- and collective memory as well as individual testimony. Therefore, by looking at how the public memory of the Kindertransport has evolved in Scottish newspapers, it is clear to see that during the war, the Kinder were not accurately represented in wartime newspapers-in spite of their reputation for impartiality and reliability- as they are today and that survivors' detailed testimonies had a major role in providing a more accurate and complex understanding of the Kindertransport.

To conclude, the findings of this thesis make it clear that, at large, the Kindertransportees were not accurately portrayed in the newspaper articles published in Scotland, especially during wartime and the early postwar years. Although some similarities between the articles and testimony exist, the traumatic and more devastating segments of the Kinder's journey were usually absent. This bypassing of a more sympathetic and realistic picture of the experiences of the Kindertransportees during wartime was the result of the need for Britain to project an image of national unity, strength and success and focus on the needs of a country at war.

It is hoped that this study has helped in contributing to the shift from a more celebratory view of the Kinder's time spent in wartime Britain to a more critical and realistic standpoint.

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<sup>296</sup> Wieviorka, *The Era of the Witness*, 137; Portelli, *The Death of Luigi Trastulli*, 61.

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