From Tyranny to Freedom:
Dutch children from the Netherlands East Indies to Fairbridge Farm School 1945-1946

Nonja Peters

Copyright © 2008 Nonja Peters

ISBN: 9780975751978 (pbk.)

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced , stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means without prior written permission of the author.

National Library of Australia Cataloguing-in-Publication entry

Author: Peters, Nonja.
Title: From Tyranny to Freedom : Dutch children from the Netherlands East Indies to Fairbridge Farm School, 1945-1946 / Nonja Peters.
Edition 2nd ed
Notes: Bibliography.
Subjects: 1. Fairbridge Farm School (Pinjarra, W.A.) – History. 2. Dutch – Australia. 3. Dutch – Indonesia. 4. Repatriation
5. Children and War 6. World War, 1939-1945 – Children – Indonesia.

304.8940598

Cover image: War Quilt Odyssey III from the Odyssey II Quilt Project. The quilt is shaped kimono style to reflect the Japanese Occupation of the Netherlands East Indies - coordinator, Frances Larder (see page 222)

Printed by Optima Digital Print, Perth, Western Australia
Formatting: Jennifer Hill, www.makingbooks.com.au

CONTENTS

To my husband Robert Peters,
illness embattled, courageous.

PREFACE

The research on Dutch Fairbridgeans that has shaped this story emerged from a 2004 meeting of the Peel Tourism Board held at Fairbridge Village Incorporated; here I was shown a pin-up board in the Fairbridge museum, covered with faded and curling photographs of slim young blond-haired children enjoying life at Fairbridge Farm School. Mark Anderson, CEO of Fairbridge Village Inc., mentioned that these children were Dutch but that little else was known about them. I am Dutch; I was born in the Netherlands and came to Australia with my mother and brother in 1949 to join my father, who had migrated nine months earlier. In recent years the focus of my research interests has turned from post-war migration generally to the maritime, military and migration connections the Dutch have had with Australia and Australians over the last 400 years. I found the photographs intriguing: "Who were these Dutch children and what were they doing at an orphanage for British child migrants?" A grant from the Fairbridge Board enabled me to start research. I hoped to establish the political, economic, social and cultural climate under which Fairbridge Farm School had become host to these Dutch children. I began by asking ex-Fairbridgeans (of British origin) if they were resident when the Dutch children were there and if so, what they remembered about the Dutch sojourn at Fairbridge.

The project gained a great deal of momentum from the 2006 bilateral celebrations held in recognition of the 400 years of connections the Dutch have had with Australia and Australians, when a plethora of Dutch media came to Australia looking for stories for the Dutch press. In my capacity as Chair of the Western Australian committee of "Australia on the Map 1606-2006" and researcher of Dutch Australian history and heritage, I met many of the journalists and took the opportunity to discuss this project with them. A reporter, Dheera Sujan, from World Call Up Radio (*Radio Nederland Wereldomroep – Radio Netherlands*), went to air in the Netherlands seeking to make contact with the Fairbridge children who would now be ageing adults. Dheera's request was answered by six people, now all in their seventies. In recent times we have found another seven ex-Fairbridgeans. Eleven live in the Netherlands: Ernst Kollman and his wife Annette Wesley[1] who was also in the Indies and Western Australia at the time but not at Fairbridge; Els Duyser; Willem (known then as Wim) Plink and his sister Louise Plink; Donald Schotel; Winnie

1 Annette Wesley married Ernst Kollmann in 1963.

de Vries; Paul van Es; Beatrix van Es; Adri Geerligs; Connie and Marianne Gleichman. Eduard (known then as Ed) Lumkeman lives in Spain and his sister Nora Acatos in Switzerland. All described themselves as survivors of the Japanese Occupation of the Netherlands East Indies. Today these children, many of whom are now grandparents in their seventies and eighties, continue to treasure the photographs and the memories of their time in Western Australia. Most describe the move out of tyranny into freedom as having had an enduring impact on their lives.

My aim in recounting the history of ex-Dutch Fairbridgeans has been to explore the detail and background of this story with scholarly rigor, while producing a book whose protagonists would see their experiences clearly reflected and acknowledged in an accessible format that will appeal to a broad-based readership. It has never been my intention to present a critique of the "contested sovereignty" of the Indonesian archipelago following Japan's capitulation in August 1945. Readers wanting to gain a deeper understanding of the political or militaristic perspective on Indonesia at this time are directed to renowned scholars in the field — J. D Legge, M. C. Richlefs, A. Vickers and Richard McMillan. My motivation rather, has been to set the scene in all its complexity with reference to the conflicting points of view of the protagonists who experienced or influenced, at grass roots level, this massive socio-economic and political upheaval we call the Pacific War and Indonesian Nationalist uprising.

I already had a keen interest in the Netherlands East Indies. My father was born at the military base in *Tjimahi* in the hills outside Bandung in 1920. My grandfather had taken up a commission there in 1919 with the *Koninklijk Nederlandsch Indische Leger* (KNIL – Royal Dutch Indies Army). Thus my just-married grandparents started a journey to the Indies that would stay with them forever; many years after their return to the Netherlands it remained a highlight of their lives. My grandmother loved her sojourn there. When I was born, it was customary in Roman Catholic Brabant, the province of the Netherlands in which I was born, for the paternal grandmother to be Godmother and name the first born. Hence my name Nonja (the Dutch spelling for the Malay *Nyonya,* a form of address for a married woman in the Indies, or Nonnie, as I was called as a child[2]; my grandmother's choice of name kept her linked to the Netherlands East Indies. This was not easy, as it was not a Saint's name, so they had to prove it was a word, and to do so presented the priest with the music sheet of *Hei Hei Meisje Lief je bent van mij* arranged by Joop

2 F. Gouda, *The Dutch Culture Overseas: Colonial Practice in the Netherlands Indies 1900-1942*, Amsterdam, Amsterdam University Press, 1995, p. 7.

de Leur; the refrain tells a love story about Nonja. When I returned to live in the Netherlands from Australia for two years as a young teenager, I was captivated by Oma's stories about her time in the Netherlands East Indies, by the photographs of my father as a baby with his *Babu (*nursemaid) and of them sipping tea on their patio, served by their Indonesian domestic servants. Viewed from the Australia of the 1950s — where migrants on arrival without financial support could not access decent housing, and had to rebuild their lives in run-down rentals, in one-car garages or, as in our case, two rooms (to house six people) we managed to build from home-made bricks, sand from the river bed and stones for the foundation picked up in the bush — my grandparent's lifestyle in Indonesia seemed unimaginably luxurious. That is, until my social conscience surfaced.

This story was not written to burden the decolonising nation with collective guilt, but rather, to highlight the loyalties, disloyalties, atrocities and power struggles that often take place in war and revolution on both sides of the ledger, and of which innocent civilians, including young children, most often are the victims. The morality of the global events presented here is, as always, dependent upon the lens through which these events are viewed: I try to present all stakeholder positions, where possible from a personal perspective. The story is also about youth in war zones. Too often they appear as uncontrollable perpetrators of violence and atrocities, when in reality they are pawns of governments or leaders who utilise them by 'firing' the flames of their burning youthful ideology. The narrative concludes that as we closed the 20th century it was with "the sad awareness that virtually all major states, and particularly those who prided themselves on their degree of civilisation, have been responsible for major massacres of civilians" — most often the next generation.[3]

In the Part One I review the long-standing relationship between Australia and the Netherlands that began in 1606 and intensified during WWII; Part Two is about War in the Pacific and the First Evacuation into Australia in 1942; Part Three describes the life of Dutch civilians interned in Japanese concentration camps during the Pacific War; Part Four traces the development of Indonesian Independence under the Japanese; Part Five sketches the lives of internees during the *Bersiap* Period of the Indonesian Uprising; and Part Six focuses on the evacuation of ex-internees into

3 Peter Dale Scott, Using Atrocities: US Responsibility for Slaughter in Indonesia and East Timor, 1998, viewed 21 October 2008 at http://www.copi.com/articles/etimorus.html.

Australia for rehabilitation. This is followed by an Epilogue, Postscript, Reference list and three addenda. In the Epilogue I analyse the long-term impact of the events described in this book on the sense of place, identity, belonging and cultural heritage of Netherlands East Indies evacuees from their current standpoint. The Postscript is a vote of gratitude to all the Australian volunteers and parents involved in the rehabilitation of the Dutch children at Fairbridge and to their mothers, whose courage and fortitude kept them alive during their internment under the Japanese and the *Bersiap* period. The first Addendum contains a profile of the quilters whose work is used in the book to illustrate important aspects of evacuees' experiences; the second Addendum lists the sources of the data gathered for this book and the third Addendum lists the evacuees disembarked in Western Australia.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank the interviewees who so willingly shared their life story, photographs and documents with the researchers — Dr Sue Summers, Dr Nonja Peters and radio presenter Dheera Sujan — including the people who responded to Jenny Kohlen's "Can You Help" page in *The West Australian* newspaper, and to ABC Radio's interview with me on this research. They made this study possible. Together these sources added an invaluable dimension to the outcome. I am also very grateful to Dr Sue Summers for her detailed interviews and transcriptions and well-considered organisation of the various types of documentation. Her preparation of the material made it much more accessible for writing this manuscript. I wish to thank Dr Julie Manville for her editorial comments. Regretfully she had to abandon the editing due to serious illness. I would like to acknowledge the skilful editing of Christina Houen, which has greatly enhanced the document's readability. I thank Professor Cora Baldock for her translation of some Dutch text into English, and Fairbridge Village Incorporated, for without their seed funding, the research could not have commenced. A special appreciation also to Frances Larder, for permission to use the images and visual dairies from the Odyssey Quilt project; they greatly enrich this history. I have included a brief profile of the women from the Netherlands East Indies whose images appear in this book in Appendix II: Frances Larder, Wilhelmina de Brey (Frances Larder's mother) and Ineke McIntosh-Eichholtz, apart from Vera Rado, whose experiences are quoted extensively in Part Three; and although the images created by Jo Brinkhorst and Anna Dijkman-Tetteroo are about their experiences in the Netherlands, they are equally relevant to the theatre of war in Asia and Europe.

PROLOGUE

This monograph is necessarily limited by its reliance on memories of the past, the recollections of adults about their childhood experiences, derived from oral history interviews with some who were among Dutch Indies children rehabilitated at Fairbridge Farm School 1945-1946; these are quoted in extracts throughout the text. "Memory", according to philosopher James Booth (with all its limitations), "is centered on an absence, tries to make it present, and in doing so answers the call of the trace.[4]" Archivist Eric Ketelaar, calling these traces "memory texts", contends that in any form, be it a map, a story, a landscape, a building, a monument, a ritual, a performance or a commemoration, they are usually about a "space of contestation" —— a space that "different people attach different meanings to, they remember the same event differently, they focus on different historical truths or myths [about those events]".[5] The book gains potency from the reconstruction of the "contested space" in which Dutch Fairbridgean's experiences are unfolded — the Netherlands East Indies at the time of: the Japanese invasion of South-East Asia 1941-1945; the Japanese Occupation March 1942 to August 1945; and the Indonesian uprising in the aftermath of Japan's capitulation. This was a chaotic and dangerous time when it was never clear how society should function and who was responsible for what. I develop this context with reference to diverse sources, that include archival material, newspaper articles covering events at the time (although these also often exhibit the political bias of the newspaper), personal accounts about the sovereignty of the Netherlands East Indies by diverse stakeholders on the eve of Japanese capitulation, and the memoirs of Netherlands East Indies Dutch who were adults and teenagers during the war, and whose well-documented life stories contribute elements essential to the story that are not available from a childhood perspective.

The Australian perspective on this history is anchored in oral history interviews conducted with British Fairbridgeans, local Australians who recall the Dutch evacuees coming to Western Australia, Dutch ex-Fairbridgeans and three now elderly Australian women who were among the Australians employed to look after them. One of these women, Robyn Wheatley, was the niece of one of the Australian teachers, another, Janie Hardey, was a

4 W. James Booth, "Communities of memory", *On Witness, identity, and Justice*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca and London 2006, p. 114.

5 E. Ketelaar, "From de Vlamingh's Plate to Digital Records," paper presented to the Centre for Advanced Studies in Australia, Asia and the Pacific (CASAAP), Curtin University, 7 August, 2008, p. 6.

driver for the Netherlands Indies Welfare Organisation for Evacuees (NIWOE), and the third, Ella Bone, was recruited as unpaid volunteer by NIWOE to assist with their care. Ella, now in her eighties, was, at 20 years of age, Welfare Officer to the children and later, House Mother to the girls accommodated in Scratton Cottage. She reflects on how often over the years she had "wanted to ring up the manager and say 'do you people know what happened [there] in 1945 and 1946?' However, now this research has happened I can talk with you [about it]".[6]

The sentiments expressed by ex-Fairbridgean, Donald Schotel, in response to the first draft of the manuscript, capture the meaning the narration of this largely untold story holds for these Dutch people:

> This morning I received your report concerning our stay as Dutch children at Fairbridge from November 1945/46, it was sent to me via e-mail by Willem Plink [another of the children]. I have read it, nearly breathlessly, from start to end, and I must confess all my recollections that are normally buried deep in my subconscious (especially my war memories) came over me as a *tsunami* and not free from emotion.[7]

Els Duyser, who was eleven years old when evacuated to Perth, had this to say on reading the first draft of the manuscript:

> Now that I have seen the photographs of this time [of my life] held by the Kollmann family, many memories have come back to me. I am thankful to the Australian government for what they did for the Dutch children. Fairbridge School was a positive step in our further development.[8]

Winnie de Vries, another Dutch Fairbridge child, says of this period in her life that the war, occupation and camp life had effectively deprived her of a childhood: "*Je was geen kind meer*" (she had lost the innocence of childhood). For Winnie and the other Dutch evacuees the Fairbridge sojourn gave them freedom, and the space for the fun and games

6 Ella Bone, interview with Dr Sue Summers 2006.
7 Donald Schotel, pers.com. 2007.
8 Els Duyser, pers. com. 2008.

of childhood lost to them during the years of wartime tyranny. She adds that the children's experiences intensified on arrival in Holland, where they were not encouraged to work through their memories: "[we] couldn't talk about our experiences, the locals would say yes, but *we*….!" It would take another fifty years before the Netherlands started showing an interest in the wartime and post-war experiences of Dutch in the Netherlands East Indies.

As noted by UNICEF, a child is particularly vulnerable to the ravages of war. The physical, sexual and emotional violence to which they are exposed shatters their world. War undermines the very foundations of children's lives, destroying their homes, splintering their communities and breaking down their trust in adults. In times of war, we treat bullet and shrapnel wounds, provide prostheses for mine victims, and house the displaced and evacuees of ongoing conflicts; but they are never the same as before. We are still faced with the rehabilitation of those most vulnerable and least able to cope with the nutritional, environmental, emotional and psychological effects of conflict. The Second World War was a watershed when civilian victims were as numerous as combatants. In this carnage more children were killed or orphaned than at any other time in history.[9]

Given the almost total lack of research on the very substantial wartime and post-WWII evacuation, migration, and resettlement of Dutch Australians, this book will make visible the not inconsiderable role Western Australia played in wartime and post-war events in the region. In addition, it provides Fairbridge Society with another layer of tangible heritage that will not only expand its century-old history and thereby further enhance its potential as a tourist attraction, but also help us to better understand its wider role in the reception and care of children from abroad.

9 www.unicef.org/protection/index_armedconflict.html viewed 21 October 2008: On this website UNICEF notes, in almost all current conflicts, civilians are the majority of casualties, with children suffering disproportionately. According to the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), two million children have been killed by conflict over the last decade; 6 million children have been made homeless; 12 million have been injured or disabled; and there are at least 300,000 child soldiers operating in 30 different conflicts across the globe.

PART ONE: DUTCH AUSTRALIAN RELATIONSHIPS 1602-1949

The Dutch have at various times over the last 400 plus years had maritime, military and migration connections with Australia and Australians. These began in 1606 when the Duyfken, a vessel of the Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie or VOC, also known as the Dutch East India Company, on an exploratory journey of the region, mapped around 300 kilometres of the Gulf of Carpentaria near present day Weipa. This literally put Australia, then know only as the mystical "Great South Land", on world cartographic maps.[10] The Duyfken's journey is the first recorded contact of Europeans with this landmass and its indigenous inhabitants.

This is an image of the hand painted plate by Royal Dutch Delftware Manufactory "De Porceleyne Fles", established 1653 specifically created in 2006 for the 400 years Australia Netherlands 1606-2006 celebrations. The plate is based on the Dutch arrival in Australia. A meeting of two cultures with mutual respect and interest. Done in the traditional form using ancient patterns and designs. Top of the Plate the sun. From the bottom – The six seasons represented by the six semi-circles around the plate with the water and waves at the bottom. Then the vertical lines above represent the land, and the top is the sky line and the sun in the land, and the top is the sky line and the sun in the land of the boomerangs. Artist: Dr. Richard Walley OAM.

Official Programme: Royal Gala Dinner, 30 January 2006
400th Anniversary Australia Netherlands.
Courtesy of His Excellency Stephen Brady, Ambassador of Australia to the Netherlands 2003-2006

10 B. Donaldson, The Dutch Contribution to the European Discovery of Australia, in *The Dutch Down Under* 1606-2006, ed. Nonja Peters, UWA Press, Perth, pp. 4-25: The Dutch East India Company vessel the Duyfken, under the command of Willem Janzoon, made the first official European visit to the Australian coastline.

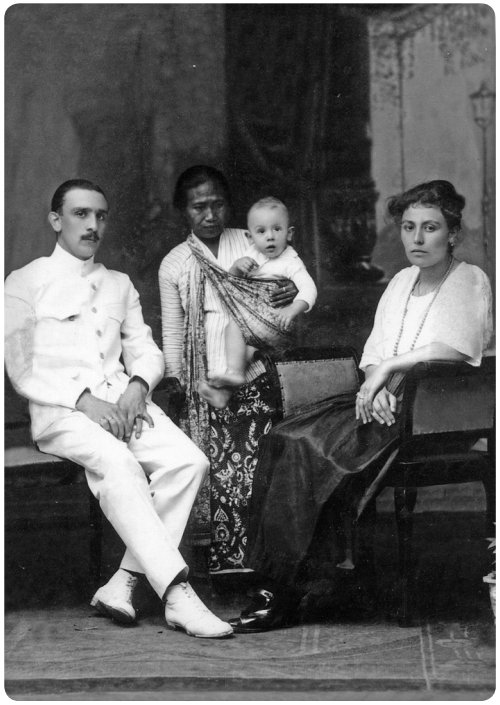
For Frances Larder an enduring childhood memory of the Indies are Javanese paddy fields.
Here she recreates them in one of her contributions to the Odyssey II project.
Courtesy Frances Larder-Bendeler Collection © Frances Larder.

Ships of the VOC began trading relationships in South-East Asia from after March 20, 1602, when representatives of the provinces of the Dutch Republic granted them a monopoly on trade in the East Indies. To maintain this monopoly it was expected that they would fight the enemies of the Dutch Republic to prevent other European nations entering the East India trade. During the course of its 200-year history, the VOC became the largest company of its kind, trading mainly spices — nutmeg, cloves, cinnamon and pepper — and other consumer products such as tea, silk and Chinese porcelain. In the interests of this trade the company established headquarters at Batavia in Java (now Jakarta). And as it expanded, it also established colonial outposts on the Spice Islands (Moluccas), which include the Banda Islands, where they forcibly maintained a monopoly over nutmeg and mace, and trading posts on Deshima, an artificial island off the coast of Nagasaki, as well as in Thailand, India, Sri Lanka and many other places.

The mariners, merchants and passengers on these VOC vessels were the first recorded Europeans to step foot on Australian soil. They did this mainly by chance — after adopting the shorter route to the Indies discovered by Hendrick Brouwer, a future Governor General in the East Indies, from 1611 — while in pursuit of the spice trade. Brouwer reasoned that ships leaving the Cape of Good Hope might make a faster passage to the Indies by crossing the Indian Ocean at lower latitudes, bowling along on the fringes of the "Roaring Forties", and then turning north rather than taking the more apparently direct route through doldrums zones. In 1611, he proved his point, completing the journey from Europe to the Indies in only six months instead of the usual eight months to a year.[11] However, many narrowly missed or came to grief on the Western Australian coast, largely because the instruments used to determine longitude were still in their infancy. Aboriginal oral history tradition has it that the fortunate survivors cohabited with Aborigines. The mystical "Great South Land" was eventually colonised by the British on the Eastern seaboard in 1788 and the Western side in 1826. The Dutch deemed Australia's indigenous population not interested in trade, and trade, not settlement, was always the focus of the VOC. Simon Schama's explanation of this focus is that "the little water-logged Dutch Republic did not possess any natural resources… [and] in early modern times it depended almost entirely on commerce and shipping".[12] The company's power normally extended no further than the reach of

11 Hugh Edwards, *Shark Bay Through Four Centruries* 1616-2000, Shark Bay Shire, Scott Print, Perth, 1999, p. 25.

12 Schama cited by Gouda, 1995, p. 1.



Author's grandparents Jan and Joanna Peters with their son Jan Jnr (her father) and his babu, Tjimahi circa 1921.

the guns in their fortified trading posts, and the local rulers were left to their own devices in internal matters.[13]

The Netherlands East Indies came under the administration of the Netherlands following the collapse of the VOC trading company after its final dissolution on 31 December 1800.[14] At this time a French revolutionary army occupied the Netherlands. This French incursion into the Netherlands had forced the Prince of Oranje, Head of State of the Dutch republic, and his entourage to flee to England. A consequence of this under the terms of the 1788 defence treaty was that Britain could now occupy the Dutch colony in order to stop French expansion overseas, which it did in 1811.[15] The Netherlands East Indies was restored to Dutch control after the Napoleonic era in 1816. During the remainder of the nineteenth century, Dutch possessions in the archipelago and its hegemony were expanded, and reached their greatest extent in the early twentieth century. However, this empire, now positioned right in the middle of the British imperial arc (extending from the Middle East to New Zealand), continued to depend on Britain for its external protection.[16]

For the 350 years the Netherlands traded in or colonised the Indonesian archipelago, more and more Dutch were steadily attracted there. Francis Gouda includes among the categories of Dutch who joined this diaspora: civil servants dispatched there to administer the great Dutch empire in South-East Asia, adventurers, people looking freedom or wishing to live in the wide open

13 C L M Penders, *The West New Guinea Debacle: Dutch Decolonisation and Indonesia 1945-1962*, Honolulu, University of Hawai'i Press, 2002. p. 2.
14 Femme Gaastra, http://www.tanap.net/content/voc/organization/organization_end.html viewed 15 December, 2008.
15 ibid., p.3; also Ube Bosma and Remco Raben, *Being Dutch in the Indies: History of Creolisation and Empire, 1500-1920,* translated by Wendie Schaffer, Athens, USA, Ohio University Press, 2008, p. 85.
16 Penders, p. 3.

Jan and Joanna Peters enjoy afternoon tea on the patio Tjimahi, Java 1921.

spaces among the palm trees of a tropical paradise, and people seeking to accumulate a fortune.[17] According to Jan Bosdriesz and Gerard Soeteman, over time these Dutch fashioned a "paradise blessed with an abundance of crops and people to harvest them capably, deftly and cheaply".[18]

The Dutch who were living in the Netherlands East Indies when Japan invaded in 1942 took this generous lifestyle

17 ibid.

18 Frances Gouda, *Dutch Culture Overseas: Colonial Practice in the Netherlands Indies 1900-1942*, Amsterdam, Amsterdam University Press, 1995, citing Jan Bosdriesz and Gerard Soeteman's Nostalgia and the Re-Imagined Community of the Dutch East Indies, p. 237.

The Lumkeman family: father, a family friend, Nora behind and Eduard in front of Mrs Lumkeman with extended family and friends, and the family's Packard, Surabaya, Java circa 1940.

Eduard Lumkeman and his mother, Surabaya 1940.

for granted. It did not occur to most to consider the injustices and inequalities upon which it rested: "that was how it was", most would say. In fact, if asked to describe their relationships with their indigenous Indonesian employees, domestic servants, and the people in the nearest Kampong, the majority of Dutch would have painted a positive picture of this association and assumed that this was also true for the colonised, feeling justified by the extent to which the Netherlands East Indies Dutch stock was intermixed with Javanese, Chinese, Ambonese or other islanders via past and present marital unions. This is largely because the VOC and Dutch government never had an issue with Dutch men living and breeding with indigenous women. Moreover, if the Dutch men were willing to officially recognise the offspring of these unions, then to all intents and purposes, they would be considered "European" no matter the colour of their skin. That is to say, apart from being denied access to the better schools and top jobs! Understandably, over time, this barrier came to rankle especially among the better educated, and eventually, in the early part of the 20th

century, fostered the emergence of organisations concerned with the notion of independence from Dutch rule.

The Netherlands East Indies (known by the Dutch as Nederlands-Indië, and by the Indonesians as Hindia-Belanda) became modern Indonesia following World War II. It was formed from the nationalised colonies of the former VOC that came under the administration of the Netherlands following the trading company's collapse in 1796. During the nineteenth century and into the early twentieth century, Dutch possessions in the archipelago were extensive. The colony had reached its zenith when Japan occupied the Netherlands East Indies from 8 March 1942 to 15 August 1945. This was followed on 17 August 1945 by Sukarno's declaration of Indonesian Independence. However, it took another four years of conflict and a great deal of international pressure before the Netherlands formally recognised Indonesian sovereignty in December 1949.

From the time of first settlement in Australia by the British and until WWII, the Dutch in the Netherlands East Indies maintained a low-key trading contact with Australia. This contact intensified when the Dutch became part of the American, British, Dutch, Australian (ABDA) Alliance in defence of the South-East Asian Region, and increased numerically in the aftermath of WWII when an influx of up to 120,000 Dutch immigrants, looking for a better life than post-war Europe and the newly formed Indonesian Nation could provide, entered Australia under the mass migration scheme.[19] Around ten thousand of these Dutch were originally residents of the Netherlands East Indies. This group, initially repatriated to the Netherlands, had opted to emigrate to Australia for the better climate on offer and to be closer to their Indies roots. Their oral history accounts and those of Dutch Fairbridgeans of life in the Netherlands East Indies before and during the Pacific War and 'Bersiap' period provide the rich source of information on which this book draws. In Part Two I present a brief overview of some of the more important (to the Netherlands East Indies) aspects of Japan's incursion into South-East Asia, as this is central to the understanding of the Dutch Fairbridgeans' story in this book.

19 J. Elich, "Dutch and Australian Government's Perspectives on Migration:, in *The Dutch Down Under*, ed. N. Peters, University of Western Australia Press, Perth: 2006, pp. 150-161.

PART TWO:
WAR LOOMS IN THE PACIFIC, 1941
AND HASTY ALLIANCES ARE FORMED AGAINST THE ADVANCING ENEMY

The beginning of the war in the Pacific created multiple strategic and tactical issues for allied coalition leaders and their military units.[20] Japan's imperialist goals in China and Manchuria, that began in 1937, were to maintain a secure supply of natural resources and to install a puppet government in China that would not act against Japanese interests.[21] In an effort to discourage Japanese militarism in the area, the Netherlands East Indies stopped selling iron ore, steel and oil to Japan, thus denying it the raw materials needed to continue its activities in China and French Indochina. In Japan, the government and nationalists viewed these embargos as acts of aggression; imported oil made up about 80% of domestic consumption, without which Japan's economy, let alone its military, would grind to a halt. Faced with a choice between economic collapse and withdrawal from its recent conquests, the Japanese Imperial General Headquarters began planning for a war with the Western Powers around April/May 1941.[22]

As the Japanese war machine pushed deeper into South-East Asia the interaction between Western nations increased, culminating in the Singapore Conference on 22-25 February, 1941, when they began the important task of planning a joint Allied defence of the Far East. This set in motion a series of exchanges of military missions, the establishment of liaison officers in each country, and agreed-upon schedules about where forces, resources and defences should be deployed. The interaction also increased trade relations with the Netherlands East Indies, who supplied Australia with petroleum products, rubber, tin, hemp, quinine, mineral turpentine, and gum benzine in exchange for military supplies.[23]

---

20 Steven B. Shepard, "American, British, Dutch, Australian Coalition: Unsuccessful Brand of Brothers", Master of Military Science Thesis, US Army Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth, 2003, p. 1.

21 C L M Penders,. *The West New Guinea Debacle: Dutch Decolonisation and Indonesia 1945-1962*, Honolulu, University of Hawai'i Press, 2002, pp. 9-10.

22 ibid.

23 Jack. M. Ford, Allies in a Bind: Australia and the Netherlands East Indies in the Second World War, published by the Australian Netherlands Ex-Servicemen and Women's Association, Queensland Branch: Loganholme QLD, 1999, p. 17.

The overall command in the Netherlands East Indies lay with Governor General Jonkheer Tjarda van Starkenborgh Stachouwer, and under him were two separate commanders: one for the army, Lieutenant-General H. ter Poorten (Koninklijk Nederlandsch Indische Leger, [KNIL], Royal Netherlands Indies Army), and C. E. L. Helfrich for the Navy. All were aware that to mount a successful defence of the Netherlands East Indies it was essential for the equipment-starved KNIL to modernise its forces, and while Australia faced a similar predicament, it had also realised that the Dutch "capacity to put up any show depended on what [Australia] could do for them".[24]

Jack Ford notes that the KNIL, which would have to take up the cudgel to defend the Netherlands East Indies, was typical of peace-time colonial armies.[25] More like an armed police force, its units were trained locally for the protection of Dutch interests from small-scale attacks.[26] It possessed few heavy weapons and many of those in use were of vintage calibre. From the beginning of the Pacific War, the KNIL had a normal strength of about 41,000 troops, but this was expanded by 1942 to a maximum of 121,210 men; these included the Home Guard. Ford notes that if the Dutch armed forces in the Netherlands had been ill-equipped to fight a modern war, then the situation in the Netherlands East Indies was far worse.[27]

Jan Peters in KNIL uniform circa 1921.

24 ibid., p.15.
25 ibid., p.14.
26 ibid.
27 ibid.

On the other hand, the Royal Netherlands Navy (RNN) comprised a small, well-equipped and highly trained fleet with a naval base at Soerabaja, Java. Its fleet included the light cruisers *De Ruyter* (flagship), *Java* and *Tromp* and the destroyers *Van Ghent, Kortenaar, Piet Hein, Banckert, Van Nes, Evertsen* and *Witte de With*, plus the submarines: K-VII, K-VIII, K-IX, K-X, K-XII, K-XIII, K-XIV, K-XVI, K-XVII, K-XVIII, O-16, 0-19 and 0-20. These were supported by a defensive strike force consisting of eight minelayers, eight minesweepers, 13 motor torpedo boats (MTBs), a gun boat and the training vessel *Soerabaja* which mounted 11 inch guns. These warships were supported by a marine battalion and a Naval Air Service (*Marine Luchtvaart Dienst* or MLD) that comprised 33 Dornier DO24 flying boats and six Fokker TIV W floatplanes.[28]

The Japanese attacked Pearl Harbour on 7 December 1941, and in the next three months overwhelmed much of South-East Asia and the islands to Australia's north. The Philippines fell quickly, along with the Malay Peninsula and the vital British base of Singapore.[29] Following the Japanese victories in December 1941 and January 1942, Allied forces hastily agreed at the first Washington conference in December 1941 to form the American, British, Dutch and Australian (ABDA Command) coalition as one of the first responses to Japanese advances in the region.[30] Ford records:

---

28 Ford, p. 14; Penders, p. 10, describes the Dutch naval strength in the Indies when war broke out in 1941 as consisting of the outmoded cruiser Java, the new cruiser De Ruyter, the modern light cruiser Tromp, seven destroyers, seven outmoded and eight modern submarines, one gunboat, six mine-layers, and eight minesweepers, 23 patrol boats, two supply ships, two tankers and four flying boat tenders. The naval air service had ten old and 30 modern Dornier flying boats, 25 newly delivered American Catalinas, 48 Ryan trainers and ten antiquated Fokker seaplanes. The air force had a sizeable number of new American fighters: Curtiss Interceptors and Brewster Buffaloes, some much older Curtiss Hawks and Curtiss Falcons. However, this warfare equipment and some even older planes were no match for the much faster Japanese Zeros. A few pilots managed to fly their planes to Australia before resistance in the Netherlands East Indies collapsed, but the Dutch air force's ground personnel were left behind and captured. This was disastrous as the escaping planes were nearly all worn out if not obsolete.

29 I. C. B. Dear and M. R. D. Foot, eds, *The Oxford Companion to World War II*, Oxford University Press, 2001, viewed 16 December 2008, http://www.encyclopedia.com/doc/1O129-ABDACommand.html.

30 Ford 1995.

> Japan's initial successes in Malaya and the Philippines reverberated onto the Dutch Plan of defence for the Netherlands East Indies as neither the Americans nor the British were able to provide the substantial reinforcements or equipment purchases needed by the Dutch even after the outbreak of hostilities…. Having taken an active role in Malaya's defence, the Dutch soon became embroiled in the defence of other British colonies – Sarawak, Brunei and North Borneo.
>
> [Throughout] the British clung to their strategy of defending "impregnable" Singapore, so that the doomed naval base swallowed up any British forces sent to the Far East. When Japan declared war on the Netherlands East Indies on 12 January 1942… the Dutch strategy was to defend all major outposts, in the hope that this would delay the Japanese advance on Java long enough for the promised US and British reinforcements to arrive. Thus Tarakan and Menado were the first of the hopeless and forlorn battles [to emerge] that were based on faulty strategy, false promises and military unpreparedness…. [However when] The US… was unable to send reinforcements...through the Japanese blockade to General MacArthur. The Americans re-directed their troop convoys, not to the Netherlands East Indies but to Australia from where they vainly hoped to mount a relief operation for MacArthur's forces.[31]

When the Dutch heard of the attack on Pearl Harbour, to support the British and as agreed upon at the February 1941 conference, they immediately dispatched three Glenn Martin Squadrons and a Buffalo Squadron to airfields at Singapore, and a hunting group of three Dutch submarines to Kota Bahru to obstruct the Japanese forces landing.[32] Such was the speed of the Japanese advance that only ten weeks after Pearl Harbour they attacked Darwin. Eager to secure vital war-fighting resources, particularly oil and rubber, they rapidly moved towards the Netherlands East Indies.[33]

It was in response to the deteriorating Far Eastern situation (and also to calm Dutch fears) that the joint multinational command for the war theatre, ABDA, with HQ at Bandoeng, was activated on 10 January 1942. The Japanese declared

31 Ford, pp. 19-21.
32 ibid, p. 18.
33 Dear and Foot.

Japanese invasion of Java, 'In memory of my Father"(Frances Larder's father died just after liberation). Courtesy Frances Larder Collection, © Frances Larder-Bendeler.

war on the Netherlands East Indies two days later on 12 January 1942. From 15 January 1942, ABDA came under the command of General Wavell, the British supreme commander.[34] From his HQ at Lembang on Java, his area of operations was to cover Burma, the Malayan peninsula, the Netherlands East Indies, Thailand, South China Sea, and the northern and north-western coasts of Australia.[35]

ABDA Alliance Logo, Courtesy Dutch Australian Collection.

However, ABDA was seriously hampered by the lack of time available to become a cohesive force, and when it came to defence of the Netherlands East Indies, there were negligible naval and air force troops for Wavell to draw on. The fall of Singapore to the Japanese Army on 15 February 1942, a month after the Allies' joint command was established, is considered one of the greatest defeats in the history of the British Army; the 130,000 troops in the area, under British command, were taken prisoners-of-war (POWs). The shambolic state of organization of the ABDA command also enabled Japanese troops to land along the northern coast of Java virtually unopposed.[36] This embarrassing situation was repeated on 7 February1942 by the humiliating defeat and massive loss of young lives for the Allied fleet in the Battle of the Java Sea.[37] The ABDA alliance were no match for the highly trained, well equipped and well led Japanese'.[38] National animosities and the basic differences between American and British interests were additional weaknesses in the system.[39] The huge losses inflicted by the rapidly oncoming Japanese army

34 ibid.

35 http://users.bart.nl/users/arcengel/Indonesia/1940.htm viewed 20 October, 2008; the major Allied participants: the United States (including forces of the Commonwealth of the Philippines), China, the United Kingdom, forces from other British colonies, from British India, Australia, The Netherlands (as possessor of the Dutch East Indies), New Zealand, Canada, Mexico, Free France and many other countries all took part. The Soviet Union fought two short, undeclared border conflicts with Japan in 1938 and 1939, then remained neutral until August 1945, when it joined the Allies and invaded the territory of Manchukuo, Republic of China, Inner Mongolia and the Japanese protectorate of Korea and other Japanese claimed islands; Doug Hurst, Navy League of Australia, http://navyleag.customer.netspace.net.au/sd_05nei.htm

36 ibid.

37 Penders, p. 12.

38 ibid.

39 Arthur J. Marder, Mark Jacobson and John Horsfield, *Old Friends, New Enemies: The Royal Navy and the Imperial Japanese Navy*, Vol. 2, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1981, pp. 31–2.

motivated Hubertus van Mook, head of the government of the Netherlands East Indies, to leave the Indies for Australia on February 18 to plead for Allied forces to organise an offensive in defence of the Netherlands East Indies.[40] However, General Wavell, having classed the military situation in Java as hopeless, had decided against reinforcing the small British and Australian contingents stationed there with more troops and armour. His decision was to undermine even further the Dutch colonial army's morale, already badly battered by the British and Australian defeat in Malaya and Singapore.[41]

All told, beginning with the sinking of the *Repulse* and *Prince of Wales*, it had taken less than three months after the attack on Pearl Harbour in December 1941 for the whole Allied effort in South-East Asia to crumble. Moreover, since the fall of Singapore this overthrow had included the imprisonment of the vast majority of the British, Indian and Australian Forces, so that the fall of the inadequately armed Netherlands East Indies became a forgone conclusion.[42] ABDA's existence was ultimately therefore painful and short-lived; while its officers and troops fought gallantly, its demise was assured by the speed and efficiency with which Japanese forces gained military, air, and naval superiority, in preparation for landing on Java in March 1942.[43] On 25 February Wavell disbanded the ABDA Alliance and left for Ceylon[44]. The Japanese could not be held back and on 27 February the Battle of the Java Sea began, in which many lives and much equipment were lost. The battle for Java was fought until 8 March 1942, when the Dutch in Java under Governor General Tjarda van Starkenborgh Stachouwer surrendered to the Japanese outside Bandung, where General Imamura of the Japanese 16th Army headed the occupation of Java.[45]

Ford cites General Imamura, who had this to say about the fight for the Netherlands East Indies:

40 http://users.bart.nl/users/arcengel/Indonesia/1940.htm viewed 13 November 2008; Hubertus Van Mook was to be the last Dutch head of government for the Netherlands Indies. In the 1930s, he was an official with liberal, reformist views. In the early 1940s, he was a tireless advocate for the Netherlands Indies, frustrating Japan in negotiations while quietly pleading with Britain and the USA for defense supplies. After the war, in turn he both battled against and negotiate with the new Republic of Indonesia, until he resigned in October 1948.

41 Penders, p. 12.

42 ibid.

43 Shepard, p. 1.

44 Ford, p. 26.

45 ibid: on 17 June 1942, the Netherlands government-in-exile in London set up a consultative board for the affairs of the Netherlands Indies.

> The greatest mistake of the Dutch Government…concerning the defence of the East Indies seemed to be that it transferred supreme command in the Dutch East Indies from Governor-General [Starkenborgh Stachouwer] to general Wavell of Britain, who commanded only 10,000 British and Australian forces altogether. In fact, General Wavell fled by to India by air when the Japanese troops began to land and move in East and West Java, leaving the Allied forces behind. As a result, the remaining Allied forces did not follow the lead of Commander ten Poorten at all, making it very difficult for him to carry out his strategy. I think it was natural that the commander lost the will to fight. Had the Allied forces in Java been commanded by the Governor-General, the Japanese army would have had to face a tough battle.[46]

Anip-Aneta, the official Netherlands East Indies wireless station, in its broadcast on 7 March 1942, laid the blame for the downward spiral on the loss of a great part of the Dutch air force in the unavailing defence of Malaya: "a procedure that carried with it…the risk of the quick exhaustion of Dutch forces, and [the Dutch had taken the risk] in the expectation that reinforcements would soon arrive in the Far East….[and]…those reinforcements never came!"[47]

Although the *Anip-Aneta* message relating to the lack of Allied support was transmitted before the Dutch had officially capitulated to the Japanese on 8 March 1942, the Australian Department of External Affairs had already begun circulating the document: "Proposed Measures to Offset Dutch Resentment at Allied Failure to Send Reinforcements".[48] The document contained a series of placatory actions designed specifically to: avert any resentment the Dutch military and other evacuees might feel about "being left in the lurch"; mollify the Australian public; offset world (Indian, Russian, Chinese) opinion on the loss of the Netherlands East Indies; and to ensure remaining resources — naval and merchant ships, military planes and the oil and bauxite of Suriname and Curacoa — were placed at Australia's disposal.[49]

---

46 Ford, p. 29, cites Anthony Reid and Oki Akira, *The Japanese Experience in Indonesia: Selected Memoirs 1942-1945*, Monograph in International Studies Southeast Asia Series, No.72, Athens, Ohio University Press, 1986, p. 48.

47 Ford, p. 3.

48 Ford, p. 35.

49 ibid.: Australia's main fear was that the Gerbrandy Dutch Government-in-exile in London might, as a result, choose to withhold the co-operation of a large still operational Dutch merchant fleet.

In the document Australians were urged not to resort to "lame excuses" and propaganda about it having been impossible to send adequate reinforcements, but to promote co-operation with Dutch Authorities evacuated here initially in "salvage" operations and later to support them to re-organise in the Netherlands East Indies after hostilities had ceased. Australians were also urged to help re-equip Dutch military forces and give full recognition to the status and worth of Dutch troops, including the ethnic Indonesians. In addition, Australians were asked to protect Dutch assets in the Netherlands East Indies as a gesture of confidence in the restoration of authority, and give Dutch authorities representation on Australian shipping and civil aviation boards.[50]

As far as Australia and the Netherlands East Indies were concerned, the fears incited by the circumstances of war in the region — confirmed by the loss of the *HMAS Sydney* with 645 crew members on board in November 1941, and the bombardment of Broome and Darwin in February and March 1942 — had forged an alliance between governments and their peoples who had until that time virtually ignored each other. The changes this new allegiance brought were of the order that in the weeks leading up to the occupation of the Netherlands East Indies, Australia was to accept evacuees from there and allow its administration to become the only foreign government-in-exile on Australia soil.[51] The new allegiance was not, however, to last. Military historian Jack Ford records that a shift from an amicable to an antagonistic alliance took place early in the war years from 1942 to 1945.[52] In reality, he argues, Dutch from the Netherlands East Indies gained Australian support only so long as their resources were useful to Australia! However, at the same time many alliances at grass roots level were also forged.

Australians develop bonds with Netherlands East Indies Peoples

In the years leading up to the Pacific War, as the Japanese incursion into the region intensified, so too did interaction at a grassroots level between Australian military personnel and Netherlands East Indies Dutch. Countless military

50 ibid.
51 Ford, p. 5.
52 ibid.

personnel made stop-overs there on their way to Australian military bases in Malaya (present day Malaysia), established by Australian military forces, in response to the ever more threatening movement of the Imperial Japanese military into South-East Asian territory.

The following extract, from a letter to Australians from Sergeant R. Zulog, ex-President of the Allied Canteen and ex-President of the [women's] Volunteer Army (VAD) Corps, highlights the comfort Indies Dutch gained from realisation of their geographical proximity to other Europeans in Australia as they were gripped by the fear of impending war in the region. Their insight fosters bonds of friendship but also of expectation:

> One and a half years before the invasion of [the] Japanese in Java, Mrs Walsh, the wife of the British Consul General in Batavia, invited me to have lunch with a group of men from the Australian Air Force. That was the first time I came in contact with the Australian Fighting Forces. So we had a most pleasant day, everybody was very pleased to have met each other and very sorry that the day was over and they had to leave. From that day on I did nothing but organize parties of Dutch and English to meet with private cars and buses, the groups of Australian and New Zealand men in Priok, who were passing through Batavia on their way to Macassar.
>
> When more and more men came through Batavia I started an Allied Canteen and the Dutch army gave us our own bus, which was driven by other men and women and myself, with on all sides the flags of our Allied nations. The canteen was everyday crowded with soldiers, sailors, and airmen. I personally have spoken with hundreds of men — several stayed for days in my house, and from the very beginning to the very end we all liked and respected them immensely. Sailors, soldiers alike; we found them kind, generous and very likeable. We know what good soldiers they were and felt very deeply grateful for what they did and sorry for their wives and children to be left at home. We did what we could to make them feel at home with us and to show our gratitude. We even learned to sing "Waltzing Matilda" which we found not at all easy. All Dutch people made the same resolution to see more of these pleasant Australian people and their country, after the war. We suddenly found out that we had friendly neighbours, close by, and that we know each other and like each other, was very true. I received countless letters from Malacca and from Australia

> where they said the same thing about us….
>
> From Macassar and Malacca they asked me for books and gramophones and records to help the men to get through the boring time war really is most of the time. I sent at least a thousand books, each book had a little picture in it, where a very grateful Dutchman with a friendly smile handed a book to an Australian soldier. I had group photographs made into postcards so that they could send them home by post as a pleasant surprise. [she received countless letters of thanks from Australians.] One mother wrote me a very grateful letter, she was ever so happy with that card showing her boy smiling and cheerful, because he never came back.[53]

The Japanese incursion into South-East Asia not only prompted this influx of Australians into the Netherlands East Indies, it also activated two waves of evacuations into Australia. The first was in January and March 1942, in front of the Japanese Occupation of the Netherlands East Indies; the second in its aftermath in 1945. These bonds of friendship at a grass roots level increased as Dutch from the Netherlands East Indies were evacuated into Australia.

The First Evacuation into Australia from the NEI

The first wave of evacuations to Australia from Java began in January 1942 and ended a few days before the Netherlands East Indies administration capitulated to the Japanese on 8 March 1942. The estimated 10,000 evacuees who made it to Australia at that time comprised ethnic Dutch, those of mixed blood, ethnic Indonesians and ethnic Chinese. Selected to continue the war effort from Australia, they also included members of the Netherlands East Indies Government, bureaucrats, other government clerical employees, military personnel members of the army, navy and air force, and in some instances their families, domestic servants, other civilian refugees and people who had no intention of leaving but were scooped up and brought along in the chaos. Most of the evacuees were transported to Australia on civilian and military transport ships and aircraft.

53 NAA, A1838, Item 401/3/6/1/8, letter from Sgt. Zulog, ex-president Allied Canteen and ex-president VAC Corps to all Australian women, dated 27th January 1946.

Although this wave was a reasonably large-scale evacuation, and it had been an important part of the planning, there was no government plan for a general evacuation.[54] This was in part because too many of the population — 280,000 (80,000 Dutch and 200,000 Indo Europeans) — were of Dutch origin, thus far too many to evacuate. Moreover, the Dutch Administration thought Japanese Occupation would be much like it was in Europe under the Nazis, where life for the majority of people went on as before, but under the Nazi authority's control. Also, Dutch authorities considered it the duty of military personnel to fight to the end. However, the main influence was a constitutional factor; as the Netherlands East Indies was part of the kingdom of the Netherlands, an official evacuation would be deemed abandonment of home territory. Besides, few Netherlands East Indies-born Dutch would have actually wished to abandon their homeland. Given these traditions, it was perfectly natural for Tjarda van Starkenborgh Stachouwer, Governor-General of the Netherlands East Indies, to give orders that wherever possible Dutch civil and military officials should remain behind to share a common fate with the Indonesians. Accordingly, when war became imminent, as planned, only those government and military personnel with relevant skills, such as knowledge of warfare and the equipment to sustain it, and therefore with the ability to help continue the fight from Australia, were given permission to leave.[55] Also, where possible, bachelors in uniform of Dutch, Indo or Indonesian origin were to go in preference to married men who were to stay with their families in the Occupied Zones.[56]

On 9 March 1942, M. Bokhorts, journalist for *Radio Oranje*, noted in his article, 'Evacuation Schedule Concerning the Netherlands Indies', that the Governor-General as well as the highest and lowest bureaucrats and their wives and families were to remain in the Indies despite the Japanese take-over. "Stay at your posts" was the command given to

54 Ford; J. van Dulin, W. J. Krijsveld, H. G. Legemaate, H. A. M. Liesker and G. Weijers, *Geillustreerde Atlas van de Japanese Kampen in Nederlands Indië, Asia Minor*, Zierikzee, 2002; Nederlands Instituut Oorlogs Documentatie (NIOD): ICI054913, Item 12793: Repatriation of Allied Prisoners of War and Internees (RAPWI) — Nederlands Sectie: Richtlijnen voor evacuatie naar buitenland — describes the categories of people under consideration for evacuation out of the Netherlands East Indies and the costs the Dutch government would cover for evacuees rehabilitation which included medical and dental expenses, accommodation and food and clothing and some monies they and their children would receive each week to cover their living expenses.

55 D. Hurst, *The Fourth Ally: The Dutch Forces in Australia in WWII*, self-publication, Canberra, 2001, p. 41.

56 NAA Series A 1608/1, Item T39/1/3, Evacuation, Netherlands East Indies, Burns Philip letter to the External Affairs 26 February 1942; Ford, p. 26; Van Dulin et al, p. 21.

Netherlands East Indies administrators by the Netherlands East Indies Authorities:

> Stay at your posts so long as possible even after capitulation to the Japanese. It will not bode well for restitution of the Netherlands East Indies under Dutch rule to have abandoned our territory. The bond between white and brown cannot be better demonstrated than by the whites staying to support their brown brothers in need.[57]

However, not all Dutch families had accepted the Governor-General's command forbidding evacuation (*evacuatieverbod*). First to leave, in fact, were the wives and children of ship's crews and senior well-informed KNIL officers, pilots and Army air service aircrew who, opposed to van Starkenborgh Stachouwer's policy, had managed to force a back-down from him.[58] Officially, however, evacuations of selected personnel began on the 19 January 1942, just two days after Singapore fell, and then only after the Netherlands East Indies Administration had agreed to cover all financial responsibilities associated with this movement of people. Evacuees were shipped or airlifted out of the naval base at Tjilatjap, the main evacuation centre in Java. Although the Japanese were quick to cordon off the sea route this was not before many lives had been lost at sea trying to escape.[59] Consequently, the greatest evacuation was by air via Broome on the north-western coast of Australia. Broome was chosen because it was the closest port to Java and could take both land-based aircraft and flying boats.[60] Because manifests were not always filled out in the midst of the chaos, the number of allied servicemen and Indies Dutch who made it to Australia can only be estimated. The most reliable reports, by Douglas Gillison, the RAAF's official historian, claim as many as 57 aircraft arrived in Broome in one day, and between 7,000 and 8,000 evacuees passed through it in the fourteen days before the Japanese Occupation. Gillison notes:

---

57 Radio Oranje Broadcast 9 March 1942, Nederlands Instituut voor Oorlogs Documentatie (NIOD): 066 524/14562.

58 Penders, p. 11.

59 See also Hurst, 2001 and D. Hurst, "The Pacific War, 1941-1945", in *The Dutch Down Under 1606-2006*, ed. Nonja Peters, UWA Press, 2006; also Ford, 1999.

60 Hurst 2001, p. 171.

> … [T]he sleepy pearling port of Broome was quickly transformed as local people did all they could to help the new arrivals and aircraft kept coming at a rapid rate….The population temporarily exploded and one US Army Air Corps officer remarked that the overcrowded airfield looked "like La Guardia Field [New York's airport] at its busiest", [since] the entire airfield [was]…covered with planes![61]

Broome did not, however, remain a safe haven. The escape wave came to an abrupt end at 9.30 am on 3 March, when nine Japanese Mitsubishi A6M2 Zero fighter planes and a Japanese reconnaissance plane, on orders to close the evacuation route, suddenly appeared over Broome and launched a devastating attack on the squadron of fifteen (nine Dutch, six Australian and American) flying boats — Catalinas, Dorniers and Short Sunderlands — in Roebuck Bay on the Kimberley coast.[62] Fourteen of these, crammed to the gunwales with Dutch women and children who had fled Java the night before, family members of the crew, remaining VIPs who jumped on at the last minute, and orphans and widows of the Java Sea Battle, were sitting targets. The larger Dorniers each had up to 26 evacuees on board who had spent the previous night on board due to a lack of available accommodation in the town while awaiting onward travel.[63] The aircraft were delayed in their take-off by a combination of low tide and the need to refuel.[64] In any case, Broome was a welcome stop-over for pilots on the 900 km haul from Tjilatjap; some had gone entirely without rest for days.[65]

Eye witness reports describe the massacre as horrific — all the boats burst into flame. Once the attack had commenced, parents, who had previously been watching their children to ensure they did not fall into the water, started pushing them into it in an effort to save their lives. All told 48 (20 children and 28 adults) of the 161 (80 crew and 81

---

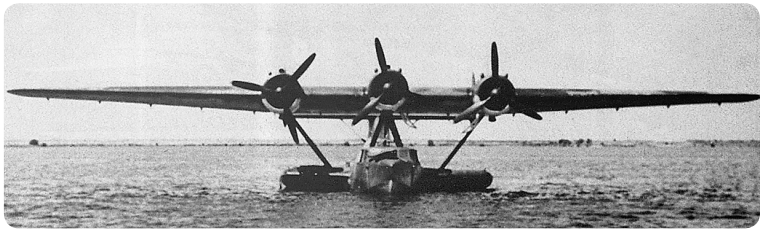
61 D Gillison, "Royal Australian Air Force 1939-1942", *Australia in the War of 1939-1945*, Series 3 (air), Vol. I AWM, Canberra, ACT, 1962, p. 49.

62 Dulin et al, p. 2; the flying boats were protected under Section 59(4) of Heritage of Western Australia Act 1990 on December 20 2002.

63 C. Souter, "Port of refugees: archaeology and oral history of WWII lying boat wrecks in Broome, Western Australia", *The Bulletin of the Australasian Institute for Maritime Archaeology*, Vol. 27, 2003, pp. 115-120; P. van Wijngaarden, and P. Staal, Dornier Do 24: herinneringen aan een legendarische vliegboot. Bergen, Uitgeverij b.v. Bonneville,, 1992.

64 Ford, p. 27; Xav, "They came in the morning, Broome March 1942", in *On the Homefront*, ed. Jenny Gregory, UWA Press, Perth, 1996.

65 M.W. Prime, "Broome's one day war", Shire of Broome, Broome, WA, 1992. [This is a revised edition of Prime's "WA's Pearl Harbour – the Japanese raid on Broome", 1986].



Dornier flying plane of the sort that evacuated Dutch from the Netherlands East Indies into Australia February/March 1942. Courtesy Peters Family Collection.

civilians) occupants on the nine Dutch flying boats were killed.[66] One family lost four of its six children, other children lost both parents. After destroying the flying boats and causing serious loss of life the Japanese fighter pilots shifted their focus to Broome airfield, also destroying all the aircraft waiting there.[67] Two days later the Japanese destroyed the remaining ships and harbour of Tjilatjap.[68] The Dutch enclave at the Perth War cemetery was established specifically for the remains of 25 of the Dutch Broome victims, who were first of all buried at Broome and later exhumed. The remains of the other 23 victims were taken back to Indonesia for burial, though why this occurred is as yet unclear.

The events leading to the fall of the Netherlands East Indies, especially the Battle of the Java Sea — fought as the Japanese approached to invade Java — foreshadowed the arrival a few weeks later of *HMNS Tromp* at Fremantle Port, sent to Australia for repairs from the damage it received in unsuccessfully defending the Netherlands East Indies.[69] Three Dutch submarines, one minesweeper, one cruiser and three auxiliary minesweepers berthed at Fremantle in March 1942.

Among those who made it to Australia was Dr van Mook. He brought General van Oyen, commander of the

66 Silvano Jung, "One-way Flight to Hell: Netherlands East Indies Dutch Refugee Experiences of the Japanese Air Raid at Broome Western Australia, 3 March 1942", ms, p. 28; Jung's article is forthcoming in the Dutch in Western Australia, ed. Nonja Peters, 2009.

67 Xav, "They came in the morning, Broome March 1942" in *On the Homefront*, ed. Jenny Gregory, UWA Press, Perth, 1996, pp. 145-148.

68 Ford, p. 28.

69 D. Hurst, 2006, p. 97.

Netherlands Indies Air Force and 14 members of cabinet, including Mr van der Plas, H. Greutseberg, D. Giebel, Arens, S. van der Molen and P. Bouton and some officers, all of whom had been compelled to leave their families behind in Java.

> "We came here", van Mook said, "to bring together all the expertise under our authority necessary to move the battle forward…." Members of the Royal Marines have also wished to go back into battle. [He also noted how] American ships and Australian troops had done what they could and that there was no question about the quality of their support. But that the Allies needed to understand we had expected more help than had arrived! [And in terms of what had arrived] it was a question] "of too little too late." [70]

On 7 March 1942, *Radio Oranje* noted that "Bandung had fallen", and that "those of our people [left behind] had continued the fight...[but that] they were quickly overpowered as Japan already had eight Japanese Divisions in Java". They also noted the arrival the day before in Adelaide of Dr van Mook, the Lieutenant Governor-General of the Netherlands East Indies and 14 specially selected members of his cabinet. Van Mook established the Netherlands East Indies government-in-exile in Melbourne. Later it was moved to Queensland. Van Mook's administration also leased a number of sites around the country, including the Netherlands Chancellery in Canberra, the Netherlands East Indies Commission offices in Melbourne, and Camp Columbia at Wacol, in Queensland, the eventual base of the government-in-exile.

Estimates of the number of Indonesians bureaucrats and ground staff (Javanese, Menadonese, Ambonese and Indians) among the first-wave evacuees range from 3,000 to 5,000.[71] These Indonesians, who came from all parts of the archipelago, also included merchant seamen stranded in Australia by the war. Upon arrival, they were dispersed to many different cities and country towns, particularly in Victoria, New South Wales and Queensland. They went to military camps, internment camps, seamen's hostels, ships or ordinary houses. Here Australians and Indonesians met one another in ways neither party would have thought possible. Indonesian children were born and went to school

70 The Netherlands Government's Information Service, Radio Oranje, broadcast 10 March 1942, NIOD: 00530/14564.

71 Jan Lingard, personal communication; also Jan Lingard, Inside Indonesia: The First Asian Boat People, viewed 2006 at www,insideindonesia.org/edit68/lingard1.htm; also F. C. Bennett, The Return of the Exiles: Australia's Repatriation of the Indonesians, 1945-47, Clayton, Vic., Monash Asia Institute. 2003.

in Australia, adults married here — occasionally to Australian girls — and some died here.[72] This is at odds with the Australian government's policy at the time of their arrival. Dutch/Australian relations at a governmental level were greatly influenced by the Australian racism of this period, typified by the White Australia Policy, and therefore often marred by the Curtin and Chifley Governments' insistence on limiting the numbers of Indonesians (non-white) personnel that the Dutch wanted to bring to Australia for their administration and forces.[73]

These indigenous Indonesians were joined a year later by 507 political prisoners from Tanah Merah at Boven Digul, West New Guinea, transferred by Dutch authorities to Australia and interned in the prisoner-of war-camp at Cowra, near Casino, New South Wales. They were transported here to prevent them falling into Japanese hands.[74] When the war ended, the Indonesians who had been held prisoner at Cowra until the intervention of the Australian Communist party secured their release, demanded repatriation to Indonesia. Their actions and mission — Indonesian Independence — as I show later, gained the support of many Australians.

When members of Dutch forces first arrived in Australia in March 1942, the Australian people and government welcomed them with open arms. Ella Bone, a young 16-year-old-girl at the time, had recently left school and, at the behest of her father, had volunteered her help to the Red Cross; she found herself right in the thick of it: "As soon as the Netherlands East Indies fell, hundreds of naval and airforce service men fled the Netherlands East Indies and made their way to Western Australia in military transport ships, aircraft or as evacuees."[75] Ella was sent to help the Red Cross women preparing sustenance for the evacuees at Princess May girls' high school, Fremantle (now the Film and Television School). The Red Cross were feeding hundreds of these servicemen who were arriving here in dribs and drabs at all hours of the day and night. Ella notes:

> I don't know how many miles of sausages we would have cooked in a day, [there were] people calling out, make some more tea, or do this or do that…. Nothing had been organised as nobody had anticipated the

72 http://insideindonesia.org/content/view/436/29/.

73 Ford, 2001, p. 6.

74 M. Bondan, "In love With a Nation: Molly Bondan and Indonesia: Her Own Story in her Own Words", J. Hardjono and C. Warner, eds, privately published, Picton, New South Wales, 1995, p. 27.

75 Ella Bone, pers. com. 2008.

> Japanese entering the war, when they did and how they did. This was February/March 1942. …A lot were Indonesian, and later on, we'd invite them home. Everyone seemed to have 'open house' over our way [Claremont], anyhow. They [were] referred to…as black sailors.

A lasting impression for Ella is: "it was war time and everything was busy and everything was jumbled and you had service people from all over the world coming through." Two weeks after the Dutch evacuations the Red Cross moved Ella to the Methodist ladies College to help with British evacuees, the wives and children of military men who had been based in Malaya and Singapore. Since it was the Christmas vacation, boarders' rooms were empty and hence available for this crisis. [76]

Not only did the Dutch evacuees make use of Australian facilities, such as ports, airfields and warehouses; they also conducted joint operations with the Australians. They were seen as protectors against more Japanese hostilities. The Japanese air strikes on Darwin and Broome in February and March 1942, which left over 200 dead and 300 injured, fed this fear.

Members of the Dutch forces operating out of the Port of Fremantle, who were billeted with local Australian families, recall the warmth of their hospitality.[77] When Dutch air force personnel spent time on land, they made friends with the locals. In several cases this led to marriages between Dutch servicemen and Australian women.[78]

Ella Bone's experience with the Dutch began in 1941, before the war broke, at Stott's Business College in St George's Terrace, where she met and struck up a friendship with Elly Koens, a Dutch girl from the Netherlands East Indies who had just completed her schooling at St Hilda's school for girls, as had her older sister Rita, who later married a farmer and settled down in Morawa, a wheat belt town north of Perth. In the pre-war years, boarders at many of the private schools such as Methodist Ladies College (MLC), Presbyterian Ladies College (PLC), St Hilda's, Scotch College, Christchurch Grammar, Hale School and Guildford Grammar, included British children from Singapore and Malaya and Dutch children from the Netherlands East Indies. Ella, who was at MLC, remembers that

76 Ella Bone, interview with Dr Sue Summers, 2006.

77 R. van Velden, "Fremantle's forgotten fleet: A social history of the Royal Netherlands Navy in Western Australia, 1942–1945", dissertation, University of Amsterdam, 1999.

78 Hurst, 2001.

No.18 Squadron ground crew prepare a Mitchell for a bombing raid. Batchelor, NT Australia, 1943. Courtesy Willemsen Family collection.

A group of young Dutch airmen evacuated into Australia from the Netherlands East Indies to keep up the war effort in 1942. Stationed at Batchelor NT, 1942. Courtesy Willemsen Family Collection.

just before Christmas, when schools broke up for the holidays, three Blue Funnel Line Boats, the *Centaur*,[79] *Charon*, and *Gorgon,* would take these overseas boarders home to their parents in Malaya, Singapore and the Netherlands East Indies. In 6 December 1941:

> …as usual we said goodbye to Elly. [Then], a few days later when I was up on the corner of Stirling Highway and Bayview Terrace, a a couple of buses went by full of people, and one had Elly in it who was hanging out the window [yelling]. "Hello, hello!" Their arrival in either Broome or Onslow had coincided with the Japanese bombing of Singapore and Pearl Harbour. [And] since the Australian boat could go no further north it [had no option but to] turn around and come back to Fremantle with its "cargo of kids". [80]

Ella thinks the consular service took control of the situation at that point, and Elly went to stay with her sister in Morawa. However, the situation intensified when about a month later the Netherlands East Indies fell. Within days, an influx of evacuees from there began arriving at Fremantle. It was a great surprise and delight for Elly to find Mrs Koens, her mother, and her sister Lydia among the women and children who had managed to escape to Australia.

Ella recalls the turmoil and the distress of the women and children whose husbands were still there, "and by this time [were] interned by the Japanese and anything could have happened to them."[81] Ella understood the situation better than most, as her father who worked in Singapore, had just escaped home –"and many of his friends from there, who had landed in Perth, desperate for accommodation, had bunked-in with the Bone family at 38 Victoria Ave, Claremont."[82]

---

79 Ella Bone, pers. com. 2008, notes the *Centaur* was bombed and sunk by the Japanese off the coast of Queensland — despite being clearly marked as an Australian Naval Hospital ship —with the loss of many lives, mainly of Australian Army Nurses and ship's personnel.

80 Ella Bone, 2006.

81 ibid.

82 Ella Bone, pers. com. 2008: Towards the end of the War, Elly married Lt Will Leslie-Miller in Brisbane, from Dutch NICA; Their first son was born there. Post-war, the family returned to Indonesia, where Will completed academic studies and the second son was born. Some time later they all went to Holland, where a daughter was born. Will, by now a Professor and Dr. of Philosophy, held posts in Government enterprises associated with economics. Elly and Will travelled to Australia every few years to visit with Rita's family in Morawa Western Australia and Will's brother and family in Victoria. They spent their retirement years in a retirement village in Bilthoven, the Netherlands, where Will died in 1999 and Elly suddenly and unexpectedly in 2008.

Ella thought consular services had found Mrs Koens and daughter Lydia a flat in Collins Street, West Perth, and that Lydia went to school during the war years at St Mary's Church of England Girl's School, that is now at Karrinyup but was then in Collins Street in West Perth. The Bone family continued to keep a friendly eye on the Koens. However, because a lot of other people from the Indies had evacuated here it was not long before they had established an unofficial Dutch Club. Moreover, it appears that many of these women, after organising their children's schooling, would volunteer their services to help with the war effort until liberation, when they could start searching for family still in the Netherlands East Indies or Holland.[83]

Half way through 1942, Elly Koens joined the Netherlands East Indies Women's Army Corp. She stayed at her sister's farm in Morawa and did unskilled nursing duties at the local hospital until then. Elly was eventually made Corporal, and at one time was on General MacArthur's staff. That was in Melbourne, before she served in Wacol, when the Netherlands East Indies Administration took over Camp Columbia from the USA Military forces.[84] A number of young Western Australian women of Dutch origin were recruited by the Dutch military to assist with the war effort.[85] They also recruited Dutch women from the Netherlands and USA.[86]

The Dutch naval personnel stationed in Western Australia at that time operated from a military base in the grounds of the University of Western Australia, previously used by the USA Military. From here in a barracks near what is now the Veterinary School, they ran the Coca Cola social club.[87] As Jan van Hatten notes in his memoir:

> ...we now use the ex Catalina Flying Boat Base at Crawley Bay for our naval base. These are barracks for the land-based navy personnel, including a wet canteen with one of the best dance floors in Perth and they are fully used every Sunday night with a band of live music and no shortage of beer.[88]

83 ibid.

84 Ella Bone pers. com. 2008.

85 N. Peters, "Evacuations into Australia from the Netherlands East Indies, 1942-1948", in *The Dutch Down Under 1606-2006*, ed. Nonja Peters, UWA Press, Perth, 2006, pp. 112-131.

86 ibid.

87 Oral history interview and transcription with naval man Jan van Hatten by Ric van Velden "Fremantle's Forgotten Fleet: a Social History of the Royal Netherlands Navy in Western Australia, 1942–1945", dissertation, University of Amsterdam, 1999.

88 Johannes Loep RNLN Rtd, 22/3/95, Life History recorded by the Maritime History Department, Western Australian Museum.Museum.

Despite the magnificent assistance and facilities offered Dutch first wave evacuees by the Western Australian public, most remained overwhelmed by thoughts and fears about what was happening to their loved ones, left behind to tough it out in the Netherlands East Indies under Japanese Occupation. In Part Three, I describe the fate those less fortunate Dutch had to face, so different from that enjoyed by these early evacuees to Western Australia.

PART THREE: LIFE AS INTERNEES UNDER THE JAPANESE

While Dutch evacuees from the Netherlands East Indies began organising themselves in Australia, the Japanese were reorganising in the Netherlands East Indies, in line with their 'vision and mission to liberate the South-East Asian countries of colonial oppressors'. However, the strict set of measures they issued and the reign of terror they instituted, that slowly became more extreme during the course of the occupation, were in contradiction to their distinctively lofty aims. To eradicate the Dutch influence, they began by putting Dutch people under house arrest or interning them in concentration camps. Not only did they confiscate all their possessions without compensation, they also no longer paid their salaries and pensions. Moreover, the Dutch were warned that every Japanese person and the Japanese flag had at all times to be honoured by being bowed to**.** Japanese dates, times and holidays were introduced (thus the year 1942 became 2602) and Nippon, the Japanese word for Japan, invoked. The Dutch and English languages were replaced by Malay, which became the official language, although Indonesian schoolchildren had also to learn Japanese. Corporal punishment was also reintroduced.[89]

Vera Rado recalls the day the Japanese entered the area where her family resided:

> It was a black day, 8 March 1942, in more than one sense. The oil tanks on the south-western edge of the city were blown up by the Dutch to prevent the precious fuel from falling into the hands of the enemy. From early morning there was a huge pall of black smoke hanging over the city, and against this ominous backdrop we watched the occupying army's progress through our streets. First the tanks with their red/white flags flying, then armoured carriers, trucks, then masses of soldiers on foot and on bicycles. They looked triumphant, but we were trembling with apprehension peeking through the louvres of our front door and windows. What would happen to us? We were totally at their mercy — no laws, no constitution, no army or police to protect us.
>
> Immediately after the occupation we had to register at the Town Hall and obtain an identity card, which

89 C L M Penders, *The West New Guinea Debacle: Dutch Decolonisation and Indonesia 1945-1962*, University of Hawai'i Press, Honolulu, 2002. p. 13.

Bowing to the Japanese at Tenko (assembly), failure to do so often resulted in a beating, Odyssey Quilt Project, War Quilt. © Vera Rado. Courtesy Frances Larder Collection.

> we had to carry on us at all times. Cars were confiscated, radios had to be handed in to be sealed, so that only the local stations could be received, and very soon all public servants from the Governor General down to the most junior clerk were rounded up and imprisoned. This included all male teachers, so school ceased altogether.
>
> Some school buildings were used as internment camps, and some continued with native teachers teaching native children. Whenever I passed my old school I could hear the kids singing 'Asia Raya', the song of Free Asia, and there were posters everywhere proclaiming 'Asia for the Asians'. The Japanese were out to extinguish all European influence in Asia and establish their own 'Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere' with Japan as supreme leader. It was part of their ideal to establish Japan as the dominant power in our part of the world and to eradicate all white colonialism — to be replaced by Japanese colonialism, I presume![90]

The loss of prestige the Dutch suffered from the speedy Japanese victory destroyed forever the image of the "white man's superiority and invincibility that the colonial authorities had nurtured so carefully among the masses during colonialism."[91] Although the Dutch were not in a position to become aware of this for some time, the demeaning, degrading treatment meted out to them by the Japanese proved to be yet another nail in the coffin of colonialism. Penders illustrates this with an example from Yogyakarta where the once "all-powerful" Dutch Resident[92] was forced to direct traffic. Such public insults caused irreparable damage to the Dutch reputation especially in the heartland of traditional Java.[93] This degrading treatment of ethnic Dutch and Eurasians had many Indonesians conclude that if the Japanese could defeat this mighty Western nation, so could they. Even Indonesians loyal to the Dutch as domestic servants or employees felt betrayed. By failing to defend their colonial subjects against the Japanese invaders the Dutch had, in their eyes, lost both status and the right to rule. [94]

90 Adrian Vickers, *A History of Modern Indonesia*, Cambridge UK, Cambridge University Press, 2005, p. 84.
91 ibid.
92 ibid.: 'Resident' is the head of a regional government area.
93 ibid., p. 14.
94 Abu Hanifah, cited in Penders, p. 13.

In the period 8 March 1942 to 15 August 1945 it is estimated that the Japanese put between 37,000 and 42,000 Netherlands East Indies Dutch adult males and 22,000 Australians into forced labour as prisoners of war.[95] The two groups were inevitably thrown together, particularly as working parties on the infamous Burma–Thailand railway and the Sumatra railway. By the end of the war, of these groups, some 8,000 Dutch and just over 8,000 Australian prisoners, had died of ill-treatment, starvation, and diseases such as yellow fever, malaria and cholera.[96]

The bulk of the Dutch colonial forces, comprising around 32,000 men, like their British and Australian counterparts, ended up as Japanese POWs. Another estimated 100,000 Western civilians, including children (4,700 in Sumatra and 29,000 in Java), were placed into Japanese civilian internment camps. Ultimately around 30,000 Europeans died in these camps as a consequence of forced labour, untreated illnesses, beatings, starvation, malnutrition and other forms of violence perpetrated on them.[97] They included members of the *Koninklijk Nederlandsch Indisch Leger* (KNIL), the colonial army. The KNIL numbered close to 42,000 men at that time, of whom around 10,000 were Europeans and the remainder indigenous troops comprised approximately 13,000 Javanese, 2000 Sundanese, 5,000 Menadonese, 4,000 Ambonese and 1,000 Timorese.[98]

Within weeks of arriving the Japanese were already interning allied subjects.[99] These prisoners were incarcerated in over 300 camps and were often moved from camp to camp within the Indies.[100] First to be interned were the Dutch military captives who were placed in prisoner-of-war (POW) camps. From there they were transported as forced labour to Japanese timber, engineering, mining, construction and many other projects around the Asia-Pacific region, and to Japan, where they had to work under deplorable and life-threatening conditions. After the POWs, prominent

95 Jan van Wagtendonk, "Testimonies of the Japanese Occupation of the Dutch East Indies", Foundation for Japanese Honorary Debts, 2007. See also their website: www. jesinfo.org.

96 www.awm.gov.au/alliesinadversity/prisoners/captivity.asp, viewed November 2008.

97 John Downer, *War Without Mercy: Race and Power in the Pacific War*, New York, Pantheon, 1986; Until 1949 the returning Dutch authorities held 448 war crimes trials against 1038 suspects. 969 of those were condemned (93.4%), with 236 (24.4%) receiving a death sentence.

98 Penders, p. 11: The KNIL, essentially a police force, was trained and equipped mainly to put down internal disturbance. Consequently, it had only limited capacity to handle an external enemy.

99 Van Wagtendonk, p. 8.

100 http://www.fepowmail.com/publicationhtml viewed 25 October, 2008.

people from the world of business and trade were interned, followed by men of European descent aged between 17 and 60 years, and finally the women, children and older men. Dutch Fairbridgeans were among the Dutch families interned in Japanese camps, where, like other prisoners, their daily intake would not sustain their wellbeing. Vera Rado's father, along with a handful of other Europeans who worked in essential services and industries, was still needed, so they were still free. So too were 172,000 Dutch of mixed blood allowed to stay outside the camps; nevertheless, their existence was severely compromised in many ways. They had to do the work, business and tasks that the Japanese or other Asians had not yet been able to take over, without pay. They were denied access to newspapers and radios apart from Radio Jakarta (Nippon Radio), and expected to constantly pay respect to the "superior" Japanese, who also pillaged and plundered their homes and raped their women. They lacked medicines, suffered hunger, and because they had no income had to barter any belongings they had for food.[101]

Thus it turned out that the Japanese were far stricter, more ruthless and much more cruel masters than the Dutch had ever been. In fact, rather than bringing the freedom the Indonesians craved, the energies of these Japanese were deployed to turning the Indies into a Japanese colony. This they set about achieving with the help of the notorious secret military police the *Kenpeitai*. Directed to suppress any anti-Japanese stance or action, the *Kenpeitai* in turn enlisted the support of the large number of Indonesian informers (Indonesian and Dutch East Indies spies) the Dutch Intelligence Political Information Department or *Politieke Inlichtingen Dienst* (PID) had left behind.[102] The *Kenpeitai* had a reputation for cruelty and for arresting, torturing or beheading someone on even a vague suspicion. Thus minor crimes could attract severe punishments. The Japanese also spent much of 1943 eliminating organisations engaged in the resistance movement and interning the Dutch women who for one reason or another had managed to avoid internment.[103]

Vera Rado, introduced earlier, recalls feeling overwhelmed by an all-consuming sense of anxiety, crisis and terror when "Doomsday [for her family] arrived on 31 August 1943 – the Dutch Queen's birthday":

101 Van Wagtendonk, p. 9
102 Richard McMillan, *The British Occupation of Indonesia: 1945-1946: The Netherlands and the Indonesian Revolution*, London: Routledge, 2005.
103 Verzets Museum (Occupation Museum) online: www.verzetsmuseum.org/, viewed 25 November 2008.

My brother and I had to go to Council chambers in the morning to fill out forms, and when we returned home at lunchtime, our father had already been taken to prison by Japanese soldiers. We were ordered to pack and be ready to be interned also. The delay had afforded my mother the time to figure out what to take in the smallish suitcase we were each allowed. She had the presence of mind — for which I praise her to this day — to pull out the bottom drawer of her dressing table and upend it into her suitcase. It contained patent medicines, including quinine and sulfa tablets. Her act of foresight saved not only my life but that of a few others.

The compound to which we were taken, was surrounded by high stone walls topped with broken glass. There were six large cells with barred doors and huge copper padlocks. Each cell was meant for ten to twelve prisoners, but we were herded into them with about thirty-five to forty women and children. There was a hole in one corner for a squat-down toilet and mats on the stone floor for us to sleep on. At six p.m. the doors were banged shut, and with a sharp click of the padlocks, we were left in no doubt as to our status. We were prisoners of the Japanese. For how long? We barely slept that night on the cold hard floor. The noise of children crying and mothers shouting and wailing was like something out of a nightmare. There was no privacy at all, and the single toilet soon became a source of continuing stench....

Then we moved to Darmo [a women's camp set up in one of the suburbs of Surabaya and formerly a Dutch army barracks]. It held about 6000 women and children whose husbands had been interned. Here we lived for a year on hard work and diminishing food rations. The daily menu consisted of one ladleful of glutinous sago porridge for breakfast plus a five centimetre wide piece of unleavened bread made from cornflour. Half of this piece was meant for our evening meal. At midday we received one cup of boiled rice and a scoop of watery vegetables. Occasionally, with luck, we found one or two small cubes of meat floating in our tin plates, but mostly we had to be content with the taste of that meat. If we complained, the Japanese got incensed, claiming that food was in short supply and telling us we should be grateful for what we got. They looked well fed.[104]

104 Vera Rado, extracts from *In Japanese Captivity: The Story of a Teenager in Wartime Java*, memoir, 2006, pp. 1-11.

VOICES

(Surabaya, Java, 31 August 1943)

Children's voices
plaintive tearful shrill
throughout that first night in jail;
non-comprehending, pleading attention
seeking comfort
of traumatised adults.
Mother's voices
instinctively soothing
becoming irascible in despair;
No words can console the children
Darkness only amplifies their anguish –
their wails end in sobs.
Fear is irrational –
a jail with iron doors
bars and padlocks
a scene of terror for little ones.

Children's voices
crying in unrelieved misery
in desolation, hunger, pain;
At length stilled by exhaustion
depletion.....death.....
Through these voices
echoing forever along
the corridors of time
Human suffering is recorded.
IS ANYONE LISTENING?

As the hard work and diminishing food supply took their toll, hunger, overcrowding, vermin, disease and death ruled internees' daily lives. Conditions were worse in camps with brutal commanders. For Tomas Verwer, this best fits the fifteen months between April 1944 and June 1945, when "lunatic" Captain Kenichi Sonei terrorised the inmates of Tjideng, a camp near Jakarta West Java, by beating and hitting women when the moon was full:

> As a six-year-old I saw with my own eyes how he destroyed a soup kitchen by kicking over the big pots, hurling the huge lids at the women, throwing water on the kitchen fires and finally shaving the women. There were roll calls at the most ridiculous times. These lasted a long time and we had to bow endlessly to the Japanese flag. Sometimes we were woken in the middle of the night and had to walk around the camp. Once a truck full of bread tipped its load into the sand and we were forced to watch without being allowed to eat it. Standing for hours in the hot sun, the constant lack of food, the ordeals never seemed to end. We suffered real hunger. My mother sent me to catch snails and frogs. I got whooping cough and bronchitis and without medicine barely survived the attacks. Because of the lack of food, I did not grow. I was seven years old at the end of war, but no bigger than a four-year-old….[105]

Vera Rado was also at Tjideng under Sonei:

> The worst experiences in this camp were the periodic visits by the supreme commander of all prison camps in West Java, Captain *Sonei.* This man was reputed to be a lunatic in the true sense of the word. He was reported to go out of his mind at full moon, and commit the most brutal atrocities. Every three months or so we had to line up on the *tenko* field, where we had roll call every morning, while Sonei and his interpreter would enter and he would climb up on a dais to elevate himself above us, miserable captives. At a command, we bowed deeply to acknowledge his supremacy over us, and then he would start ranting, raving and shouting at us for about an hour. His diatribe was always the same: We owed deep gratitude to his Divine Emperor for his bounty in providing us with food and shelter. Any complaints and any breaches of rules would be severely punished. When he stopped, came the moment we all came to dread. He would sweep us with a malevolent glare, pick out someone at random from our ranks, and gesture for her to come

105 Van Wagtedonk p. 63.

Internees had to bow to all Japanese. Women were beaten when their children forgot to bow. Odyssey Quilt Project, War Quilt. © Frances Larder Collection.

> forward. This innocent person would then be beaten senseless, until she fell to the ground, where she was given a few hard kicks with *Sonei's* polished boots. Pointing to the unconscious form on the ground before him, he would shout that this was what would happen to those who disobeyed. 'This is your example!' One of his victims died of internal injuries.[106]

Tomas and Vera's memories echo the experience described by countless Dutch civilians who survived the Netherlands East Indies Occupation by Japan.

During Sonei's reign Tjideng camp became grossly overcrowded, its population growing from 5, 286 to 10,300. The Japanese shifted people from scattered regional camps to central camps, in trains with windows covered so that they couldn't look out, to cut back on staffing, ease food distribution and disorient the Dutch.[107] Tjideng, originally a suburb of Batavia close to the government administration offices where many bureaucrats lived, was enclosed by the Japanese with *gedek* (Bamboo fencing). Very often, more than 100 to 150 people were interned in a house built for a single family. The stifling atmosphere that accompanied the overcrowding intensified when the cesspits blocked. To correct this took crews of women who would ladle the stinking excrement into the drains around the house; these drains were meant to catch the excess rainwater run-off during monsoon. They flowed into open ditches on the street side. Willem Plink, aged nine, accommodated along with his mother and sister in Tjideng's Tivelli Laan, had to help keep these open drains from blocking.[108] This work was not just filthy, it was dangerous, since both bacillary and amoebic dysentery were rampant in the camp and there was little soap and water available to clean oneself afterwards. Moreover, this method of unblocking the cesspits caused an enormous stench to hang over the camp.[109] The lack of hygiene combined with the great shortage of water, food and medicines, the overcrowding and scarcity of latrines, created a breeding ground for tropical and contagious diseases, flies, vermin, lice and fleas.

The regime in the camps was also very strict; prisoners in most camps were counted more than once a day.

106 Rado, 2006.
107 http://members.iinet.net.au/~vanderkp/tjideng.html, viewed 13 December 2008.
108 Willem Plink, pers.com., 2008.
109 Elisabeth Payens-Fluyt, qtd. in Wagtedonk, p. 38.

For the slightest disobedience they were meted out the severest punishment. Standing for hours in the sun without drinking, squatting with a bamboo cane between the knee joints, being thrashed with a belt, whip or stick, were just a few examples.[110] Moreover, as the months and years passed and rations were constantly reduced, the death toll rose steadily. As a consequence, at war's end, the internees who had survived were in a terrible state. Lieutenant Nicolai Read-Collins, the Allied Officer put in charge of food supplies to the camps after the Japanese capitulated, noted in his report about his first visit to Tjideng:

> My first impression was of [being] someone who had landed on another planet and who had to talk to people already dead. I got the feeling these were not normal human beings and their reactions did not fit with what one could expect of normal adults.

Vera Rado recalled that after the war, Sonei was tried by a Dutch court in Java and executed by a firing squad as a war criminal.[111] *The West Australian* confirms this in the article "*Camp: Dutch to Try Japanese Commander*":

> The Netherlands Indies Government Information service reports that the Japanese Captain Sonei who was commanding officer of the Tjideng internment camp for women in Batavia, will be tried by a Dutch military court. This is one of the results of the recent discussion at Singapore between juridical staff members of the Supreme Allied Command in South-East Asia, and the Dutch authorities.... [112]

Also interned in Tjideng were Dutch Fairbridgean Paul van Es, his brother, mother and sister Beatrix — that is, until his brother turned ten, when he was sent to a men's camp.

In contrast, Dutch Fairbridgean Adri Geerligs, her mother and two brothers, were allowed to live outside in

110 Van Wagtendonk, p. 28.
111 Willem Plink, pers. com., 2008.
112 *The West Australian*, 26 December 1945, p. 6.

Djombang East Java (where her mother gave birth to her youngest brother in March 1942) until the end of October 1943. Then the family were sent to Surabaya and interned in the Darmo suburb that had been converted into a camp by surrounding it with *gedek* (bamboo fencing). Her father had already been interned since 22 April 1942 in Boeboetan Surabaya. In March 1944, the family was again shifted, this time to Semarang: first to Karang Panas internment camp and later, in November 1944, to Lampersari where they stayed until 8 November 1945.

When the Japanese invaded Java in 1942, Eduard Lumkeman, his mother and sister Nora moved to the house of their mother's sister, "Tante Mans" in West Java:

> She lived with her son in a detached and rather isolated house, halfway between Bandung and Lembang. Here our father thought us safer, because Surabaya was a marine harbour and he expected severe bombings. However Bandung, being a military town, was bombed frequently, the planes were flying just over us. The few interceptors we had encountered, just above our house, were the Zeros (superb Japanese fighters, built by Mitsubishi). Before the war we had a collection for aluminium pans etc. to be used for air planes, unfortunately we could not melt it, Japanese could, so it was sent to there. Well, we got it back! They had their dog fights above our house, we sheltered in the bathroom, which had a concrete ceiling.
> My cousin and I collected shells in the garden after each raid. Soon we had no fighters left…[and] we had a splendid view of the bombers above Bandung, while the flak was missing them by miles, only once [while we were watching] a suspicious [looking] plane, that later proved to be an American B-17 Flying Fortress — get hit and then only slightly.
>
> The house was next to the road where the main troop transports took place to and from the frontier. In daytime the soldiers passed in open trucks and we encouraged them and they gave us chocolate bars. At night the trucks returned with wounded and dead men.
>
> One night Tante Mans inquired from a nearby acquainted and retired soldier, how things developed. He was very upset we were still there, as the Japanese front troops were approaching. So we took our pillow slips with emergency belongings and hitchhiked with an exhausted soldier in his car to Bandung. Here the town was declared an open city, an ultimatum to surrender was given, if not fulfilled it would be bombed

> flat. We spent hours in the shelter with the bombers above us, waiting. The Dutch army capitulated in time and we were saved from being destroyed. Afterwards Tante Mans went back to her house, but it was totally looted. Our father was police commissioner, chief of the traffic department. Back in Surabaya he was soon imprisoned.
>
> One had to bow for every Japanese, if not deep enough one was beaten. One day a Japanese came along and declared the house belonged to Nippon, and we had to leave the next day, leaving everything except clothes and toothbrush. So we went with a colleague's family to another house. This was repeated twice more…Then we were fenced in at Surabaya and finally we were transported in a blinded train to Semarang (Central Java) in 1943, and put first in the Darmo concentration camp.[113]

The frequent shifting between camps, described by most evacuees, was part of a move to further control and disorient internees by moving them away from familiar landmarks. Frank Ellerbeck remembers being transported in either over-full army transport trucks, or being made to walk seemingly endless kilometres with as much baggage as a paper-thin undernourished child could possibly carry[114]. Many Dutch internees also describe the horror train journeys that sometimes transported them between camps, packed like sardines into train wagons without windows, often in stifling midday tropical heat, and given no food and drink for hours on end. The train would stop often but internees were not allowed out. By this time the toilets were overflowing and the stench inside was unbearable and utterly claustrophobic. In some transports men were stood back to back for hours in this stifling heat with not enough room for anyone to sit.

From here it was common, as Frank Ellerbeck notes, to be put in the ever more overcrowded camps that now characterised internment life, as more camps were closed and their inmates dumped in another already overcrowded camp. Dutch Fairbridgean Winnie de Vries, interned with her mother and four-year-old brother, recalls:

> You had to live with other people in a big room together with other women and children. Every time we

113 Eduard Lumkeman, pers. com., December 2007 and 2008.
114 Frank Ellerbeck, pers. com. 2008.

> moved to another camp there was less food and there were a lot of people dying and there was no medicine. One woman, she laid there and already the maggots came out of her body. But she was still breathing and I think there are things that you will never forget.[115]

Her mother coped: "she was a strong woman and her motto was: '*doorzetten*' (persist/persevere). My mother always had it in front of her that her children needed to live. She was not the only [mother], I take my hat off to them all."

Els Duyser and her mother and sister Greet were initially interned in the Darmo women's quarters in Surabaya. Some time later they were shifted to Halmaheira camp Semarang, where they spent the rest of their internment.

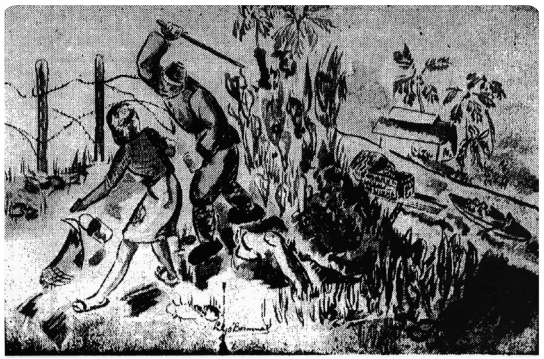
> We three were quartered in very small room without proper beds; we had to sleep on the floor. Over the three years we were interned my mother and sister became as a result seriously ill with malnutrition. I became their nurse as an eleven-year-old child until liberation.[116]

Her Father and brother Jaap were interned in the men's camp in Bandung.

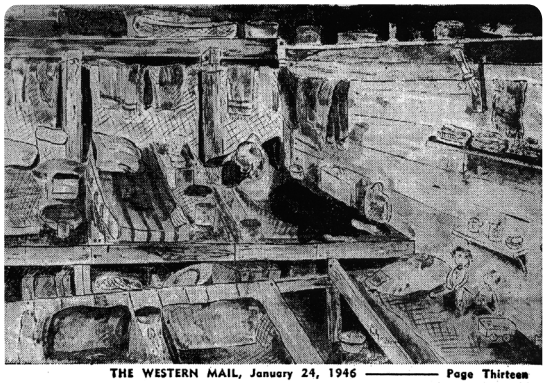
Eduard Lumkeman, his mother and sister Nora, like the Duyser family, were first of all interned at Darmo camp. He recalls:

> …this was a fenced off suburb of Surabaya, west of the Reiniers Boulevard the Japanese began enclosing around November 1942 (the gate closed on 13 January 1943) where although the houses were crowded we still could sleep in beds [but not for long].[117]. We were housed in the Opakstraat, just around the corner of the Sambasstraat, were we lived until our house was declared to be for "Nippon"[use]. Here my mother, sister and I were directed to a space on the upstairs level of the main building. When you came up the stairs you came face to face with the sleeping mat of Beppie Brouwer. I was madly in love with this blonde girl. However, I was so shy that I dared not speak to her (if she reads this please contact me). In the same hall there was also a mother with four daughters. One after the other these children sat rocking backwards and

115 Winnie de Vries, pers. com. 2007.
116 Els Duyser, pers. com. 2007.
117 Eduard Lumkeman, pers. com., 2008. In Malang there was also a woman's camp called "de Wijk". 'Wijk' is Dutch for suburb.



Internees were allowed 35 minutes daily to march to the river, bath and do their washing. Severe penalties were inflicted on those who overstayed their time. This woman was two minutes late returning to the compound.



Water allowance was 200 tins a day, and this had to be carried from the river a quarter of a mile away.

Women and children were forced to work alongside coolies, growing vegetables which were exclusively for the guards.

No privacy was permitted. Even the daily shower was watched by the ever-present guard.

Record of Captivity.

During the almost four years she was held prisoner in a Japanese internment camp at Kandangan in Dutch Borneo, Mrs Lily van Bommel sketched this series of pictures recording aspects of her captivity. In the camp were 74 women and children. They were housed in bare wooden huts within a barbed wire compound. Their treatment was brutal, and anyone receiving food from the indigenous Indonesians to supplement the meagre camp ration of rice and smoked fish, was severely punished. Both women and children were forced to work in the fields with the coolies. [The sketch depicting the women's crowded accommodation is representative of the space allotted civilian internees in internment camps throughout Java and Sumatra]. They were liberated by the Australian 2/31 Battalion.

Courtesy Western Mail 24 January 1946 p. 13.

forwards on a box then after a time they died. The mother was left all alone.

We were later transported in a blinded train to the Gedangang camp at Semarang. Here we had to sleep on the floor. This was the case at all internment camps, not only along the walls but also in rows in the middle of the rooms. Ultimately for each person a space of I think 60 cm (24 inches)….

A poignant memory of this camp is the time of great commotion when girls were selected to be prostitutes for the Japanese. My sister had time to make herself as ugly as possible and luckily was bypassed. I believe a sort of compromise was reached with two women who slept near us, who after some deliberation decided to volunteer for the job. After the war we heard these girls were totally worn out.

A [particularly fearful memory] is a little time later, when boys from the age of ten years were separated from their mothers. They were first of all placed in a sort of *pondok* in the inner courtyard of the camp, where the two boys Bos's mother would come to at night to read to them. We boys were later all moved to Bangkong, a boy's camp, within the city of Semarang.[118]

Here they had to work as forced labour much like the men in men's camps did. Donald Schotel was one of them:

On September 12 1944, a few weeks after my 12th birthday, I was marched from the Halmaheira camp, where I had been interned for the past twelve months with my mother, grandmother and older sister Amy, to Bangkong, an old convent, which up till then was used by the Japanese as a women's concentration camp….Of course I was not marching alone, all the other boys older then ten years marched with me... Already a few weeks before…we were separated from our families, although we were still living in Halmaheira [perhaps to accustom them to the forthcoming separation]. On the day of our departure we were herded into a small square near the main-entrance gate inside the camp waiting to go to our new destination. No contact with our families was allowed. The women were standing some twenty or thirty yards back…

I saw one boy standing with his little teddy bear still in one hand and his small suitcase in the other. I knew him by face, but did not know his name. I don't think he was older then ten. The mothers in the

118 Eduard Lumkeman, email, 2007.

> distance were yelling and crying and trying to get through, to say and kiss good bye. The Heiho's would not allow this, they had their orders no doubt.
>
> It was all so sad and so confusing! I promised myself not to cry. I had to keep saying this to myself, but I kept my promise, I did not cry despite my distressed mother in the distance. She tried to be brave, but did not succeed.[119]
>
> I don't think I quite understood what exactly was happening to us all, I did understand though that something terrible was going on and that, from now on, I was on my own and had to face a new uncertain future alone. And nobody of us knew what lay in that future. After much counting, pushing and shouting at last the gate opened and we were marched out…. Bangkong, [where we were taken] was also in Semarang not far from Halmaheira…Once in the courtyard of our new "home"…a feeling of utter despair came over me. The 40 square yard courtyard was a muddy mess…literally full of debris of all kinds. As already mentioned, till our arrival Bangkong had been a women's camp…it was in the change-over process to become a men's/boy's camp. Women and children (girls and boys below ten years of age that is) were being tranported to Lampersari and Halmaheira while, at the same time, we were coming in. So the whole place was overcrowded with nervous women, crying children and shouting Japs. The women were ordered to make their bunks free for us newcomers, and in doing so were busy throwing out [in the filthy dirty muddy courtyard] everything they did not need anymore, or were forbidden to carry with them to their new destination. We were ordered to sit down between this rubbish and wait! Now we had learned to wait… That was not the problem. The problem was that during this waiting you had plenty of time to think. And then it happened, sitting in the mud, amidst all the shit and shouts around me and waiting for God knows what, I cried for the first time that day.[120]

Elizabeth van Kampen, who was interned at Malang and Banjoebiroe, recalls how two poor mothers at her camp lost their minds when their little boys of ten were taken away to the men's camp.[121] Many of these boys died a lonely death

119 Donald Schotel, memoir, December 2008.
120 ibid.
121 Van Wagtendonk, p. 48.

in these camps. Stefan Anthony recalls that at Pomalaä boys' camp, where he was placed as slave labour, the boys had to dig up nickel and silver for the smelting furnaces. At these camps,

> ….the Japanese replaced toys with a '*patjol*' to dig. As a child I was happy to share my sorrow and joy with my parents. I now could share this only with myself. After an exhausting day of labour I silently cried in my bed. As a child I longed for the warmth and safe arms of my mother. Instead I was given loneliness and emptiness. And when the nights turned colder, I had no blanket to keep me warm. Instead I had a ragged 'kartung' (burlap bag). Everything was taken from me except hope of better days.[122]

Stefan Anthony will never forget the day his friend Wim died at the camp.

> Barely nine years old, unasked and undesired, I was confronted with atrocious acts and crimes of one man against another. The most moving moment I had to live in the three years was the beating of my barrack companion Wim by the Japanese until he died. Barely audible, he whispered to me, "I forgive him for what he has done to me". And after a short break, he continued with difficulty, "But I will never forget what he has done to mankind'. After he spoke these words, he closed his eyes forever. Wim was barely twelve years old.[123]

Many years later Stefan interprets Wim's words to mean "Do not forget yesterday, but also do not forgo tomorrow."[124] Young boys who were taken under the wing of an older male they knew had a better chance of survival. Out of Stefan's team of 20 children only five skeletal children survived the war.[125]

The family of Dutch Fairbridgean Anneke Slik née Jongste's family had to face the tragic loss of a son and brother:

> …just before Christmas we got the message that my brother [interned in a boys' camp] had died. . . I

122 Stefan Anthony in Wagtendonk, 2007, p. 25.
123 ibid.
124 ibid.
125 Van Wagtendonk, p. 25.

> remember people coming to my [bereft] mother, and I feeling forlorn, kicking stones outside because nobody [seemed] to care about me [how I felt].[126]

In the eight months before the war ended, approximately 640 of the approximately 4000 inhabitants of Ambarawa 7 camp died.[127] The population of this camp consisted of a large group of boys aged between ten and 18 years, some men over the age of 45, and a small group of adult invalids. In addition there were 25 nuns who worked the kitchen and camp hospital and mothered the grieving younger boys.

The inmates of some camps recall how during their final week of internment the Japanese were engaging in ever more callous treatment of them. In one camp they refused the inmates food for three days; at another [camp] they unleashed a hoard of aggressive monkeys who would bite them. Then one day unexpectedly the gates opened to let in English and Scottish troops.[128]

However, liberation did not bring much relief for most Dutch Fairbridgeans. Ernst Kollmann, who was in Halmaheira camp and saw the American bombers flying over to bomb the Semarang harbour, recalls:

> I still do remember this as the only true moment of liberation because when the war ended we were still in a war situation. Some weeks later a single plane flew over our camp and dropped leaflets telling us that the war was ended [but] that we had to remain in [camp]. This never gave me the feeling of having been liberated because nothing changed.[129]

Eduard Lumkeman, who had been transported to an empty church at Kali Tjèrret near Gedoeng Djati to chop trees, cut the trunks in lengths of about one and a half metres and stack them on the side of the road, was returned to Bangkong boy's camp. A particular incident that took place at the time of 'liberation' is etched in his brain forever:

126 Anneke Slik née Jongste, 2006.
127 Van Wagtendonk, p. 42.
128 ibid.
129 Ernst Kollmann, pers. com. December 2008.

> Back in Bangkong the two young brothers Eddie and Bebie Hols, who slept next to me, were cheerfully busy making a present for their mother who they would be able to visit the next day at the Halmaheira camp. I knew their mother from my time in Gedangan camp. A big blonde woman who did the heavy work in the kitchens shifting huge drums always had a friendly word for you and was ready to help whoever was in need. Someone in our hall approached me to say that the boy's mother had died. This person said he did not have the stomach to tell them and asked if I would do so because I slept next to them. However I also did not have the stomach they were so enthusiastic and happy about this future event. Even the Catholic priest wouldn't tell them, they were not Catholics and therefore he thought not his problem. Consequently the boys went off joyfully the next day and came back deeply distressed and crying. Their sister, who had met them at the camp fence, told them about their mother's death. This grievous happening is etched in my memory for all times.[130]

To have to cope with losses of such magnitude at any time is incomprehensible but especially so under these uniquely harsh circumstances. Not to have been able to comfort your dying young son or mother would have caused the worst possible feelings of helplessness and despair. To carry on, and secure the survival of your other children or siblings required a great deal of courage.

The 60 "Testimonies of the Japanese occupation of the Dutch East Indies" compiled by members of the Foundation for Japanese Honorary debts are full of stories of lost or missing fathers, brothers, uncles, sons lost on the Burma railway or some other project, of mothers, daughters, sisters, grandmothers, aunties, grandchildren killed by Japanese brutality, dead from starvation or lack of medicine, or simply gone missing never to return.[131] Many children were orphaned by this war.

Another phenomenon mentioned by most internees is being moved from camp to camp. Winnie de Vries's family, moved around during the internment years, is representative. They were interned at: Saint Louis convent in Ambarawa from June 1943; Camp 6 in September 1944: then at Soerakarta (Solo); from 5 January 1945 in the hospital where

130 Eduard Lumkeman, pers. com., 2007.
131 Van Wagtendonk, 2007.

she was born; and finally, from 1 June 1945 until liberation on 15 August 1945, at the notorious Halmaheira camp in Semarang.

In the deprived, cruel camp environment internees survived the most terrible times by holding onto dreams. Sgt. Zulog, who, as I mentioned earlier, sustained herself through the harsh years of Japanese occupation with the memory of the friendships she had forged with Australians and the Netherlands East Indies geographical proximity to Australia, notes:

> In internment camp where I stayed the last ten months of the war, we had a terrible time. They beat us every day, we got nearly mad from hunger. Several women had their hair shaved off in public and many internees were beaten by the native soldiers on the slightest occasion. In one camp they got two days without food and had to bury that same [food] in the ground, they lived on water and a little sugar. We had no news and every day several women died and we had to stand by the gate and watch them going out of prison.
>
> I don't know how many times I tried to console those who lost all hope to remember how near Australia was and that as soon as the war was over we could go to Australia and get rest and peace and good food and send our children there. I had received invitations from I don't know how many soldiers, who asked us to come to Australia after the war and see how grateful they could be. They [internees] felt really too tired and weak too believe that fairy tale, but it was such a relief and such a pleasant secure feeling, that although our own people were far away [in the Netherlands and Britain], with nothing but enemies around us, absolutely helpless and forgotten, there was at least Australia.[132]

Australians not involved in the theatres of war would have found it difficult to appreciate the abject horrors these innocent Dutch and Indonesian civilians suffered, first as internees of the Japanese and then from Indonesian extremist youth freedom fighters(*Pemuda*) on killing rampages in the name of Indonesian Independence (see next section) — so

132 NAA, A1838, Item 401/3/6/1/8, letter from Sgt. Zulog, ex-president Allied Canteen and ex-president VAC corps to all Australian women, dated 27th January 1946.

Liberation when planes flew over and distributed food parcels to the starving internees was a never to be forgotten experience. Odyssey Quilt Project, War Quilt. © Inneke McIntosh. Courtesy Frances Larder Collection.

far were these removed from every day existence in Australia, even during wartime. Although most wars are started and fought by Governments, tribal leaders, megalomaniacs and/or a military junta, it is the lives of ordinary civilians that are most dramatically changed under besiegement.

Even the less dramatic aspects of liberation were anything but normal. Els Duyser recalls red, white and blue painted planes flying over the camp that inmates perceived as signs the war was over. When the planes flew over the camp where Adri Geerligs' family was interned, her mother turned to her and cried: "'*Don't forget it Adri. Don't forget it. Never. Ever. Never.*' And we saw the planes fly over but we were still not liberated".[133] Winnie de Vries, who also remembers "planes flying over the camp and people going crazy and crying, could hardly believe liberation had finally happened."[134]

Donald Schotel who was still in Bangkong camp when a day after his thirteen birthday:

> On the 23 August 1945, two Mitchell bombers with red, white and blue painting on their wings droned over our camp at a very low altitude, while waving with their wings. They came over a few times, dropping leaflets. I didn't catch one, so I did not know what was written on them. I was puzzled, did not realize the meaning of all this. But around me people shouted that the war was over. In the beginning I did not believe them. There had been so many rumours day after day and year after year and never ever had they come true…. So why now? But it was true. In fact war ended on the 15 August, 1945 already, but the Japanese kept this all for themselves for more than a week… For more than a week they had kept rations low and for more than a week people kept on dying unnecessarily….The day the planes came over the Japanese Camp-commandant asked us (no orders any more)…to gather around him because he wanted to make a statement. And there he came, out of his office and under his arm a large wooden box! He needed this box to stand on, otherwise he was smaller than we were and even with the war lost that was an undesirable and unacceptable situation!
>
> So he held his speech, with polished brown boots, big Samurai sword hanging from his belly and

133 Adri Geerlig, pers. com., 2007.
134 Winnie de Vries, email 2007.

> standing on his wooden box. He spoke in a mixture of Malay and Japanese I suppose. Whatever, I did not understand a word of what he said. But no doubt he was explaining the new embarrassing situation he was in.... [However] he did not tell us that plans had been made to get rid of us all in a very definite way in the near future…
>
> Anyway after his speech he asked us if we please, please would be so kind to bow for him for the very, very last time. And we, bloody idiots around him, we did!!! We were so trained during more then three years to obey their stupid orders without thinking, that even his request was an order for us and we did bow! Incredible, but we did bow! All of us! Luckily, immediately after this ceremony someone started to sing the national anthem and another one was busy hoisting an improvised Dutch flag. The Jap then quietly picked up his box and disappeared to his office with shining boots and Samurai sword, not to be seen again that day. From this very day however food rations were doubled immediately. There were no limitations, there was enough food, it was denied us in the past years with irreparable consequences.[135]

Ernst Kollmann asserts "The fact Japan had never ratified the Geneva Convention was another reason they could engage in brutal treatment of POWs and internees."[136] Escapes and attempted escapes were punished by execution — most often by decapitation by bayonet. The Japanese military hierarchy deemed that escape by a prisoner-of-war was the equivalent of desertion.[137] Internment in a Japanese POW or civilian internment camp marked the Dutch and Indies Dutch and all who survived it for life.

During WWII in South East Asia, approximately 142,500 allied military were captured by the Japanese Army and made POWs. Approximately 42,000 of these were Dutch nationals.[138] There were another 100,000 civilians interned by the Japanese in the Netherlands East Indies.[139] Estimates of the numbers who survived the camps differ. About

135 Donald Schotel, memoir, 2008.
136 Kollmann, email, 2007.
137 Willem Plink pers. com. December, 2008.
138 Jan van Wagtendonk, "Testimonies of the Japanese occupation of the Dutch East Indies", Foundation for Japanese Honorary Debts, 2007, p. 95. See also their website: www. jesinfo.org., p.10.
139 ibid.

one in five POWs died during captivity. The stark differences in reported death rates for U.S. soldiers and civilians in German vs. Japanese camps dramatises the nature of the experience of Japan's camps for POWs and internees. Dr. Stenger's figures list 93,941 U.S. military personnel captured and interned by Germany, of whom 1,121 died (a little over a 1% death rate), and 27,465 U.S. military personnel captured and interned by Japan, of whom 11,107 died (more than a 40% death rate).[140] The survivors suffered permanent physical and psychological damage. The main cause of this was the utter cruelty and violence of the regime that oversaw POW camps. It is assumed that Japanese code of honour was one reason for this. The Japanese belief then was that a combatant should never surrender, but should die fighting or commit suicide. Even so, the surrender of allied forces, which the Japanese perceived with utter contempt, in no way justifies the brutal regime and many mass murders the Japanese committed in the Asia Pacific.

There is a consensus among evacuees from the Netherlands East Indies that what ultimately saved their lives was the USA dropping atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. This view is confirmed by Jan van Wagtendonk, who notes:

> Japan's capitulation was the factual end of World War II… During their occupation of the Netherlands East Indies, the Japanese military and their partners were assigned to humiliate, starve and finally kill the Dutch. The death ditches had been dug, the machine guns were poised for action, and the Japanese were waiting for the order to execute. The two atom bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki followed by the quick collapse of the Japanese Empire, prevented the order from being given. The terrible nuclear death saved the incarcerated Dutch and many others in Asia.[141]

The following extract from Tomas Verwers weighs up the cost from the perspective of internees:

> When I stood at the Peace Monument in October 2004, I realized that the atom bomb had exploded 500 metres above me and cost many thousands of Japanese lives. But at the same time, I realized that that same

140 http://www.history.navy.mil/library/online/usprisoners_japancomp.htm#surv viewed November 2008.

141 Jan van Wagtendonk,"Testimonies of the Japanese occupation of the Dutch East Indies", Foundation for Japanese Honorary Debts, 2007, p. 95. See also their website: www. jesinfo.org., p. 5.

> atomic bomb and the one dropped on Nagasaki had saved not only my life, but that of my father, almost blind from malnutrition, my mother's life, that of my uncle, whipped and beaten half to death, my aunt's life and the lives of more than 500,000 prisoners in Japanese camps throughout Southeast Asia. I stood there, torn by these terribly conflicting facts. I collapsed and burst into tears.[142]

The slaughter, violence, cruelty, torture and murder chronicled in these pages are a grim indictment on humanity. We appear to sacrifice civilisation to war. And our children are the victims of the carnage. The legacy for the children, who endured the Japanese internment camps described in this part of the narrative, was not only a loss of close family but of hope for humanity. Sadly, not much has changed in the 60 plus years since the horror outlined in this book took place. To make matters worse for the evacuees, the happiness they felt on liberation following the nuclear bombing of Japan was short-lived. Rather than the freedom they yearned for, they were urged to stay in the internment camps. In Part Four I reflect on the bizarre circumstances that followed Sukarno's declaration of Independence and resulted in the erstwhile Japanese oppressors of the Dutch internees becoming their protectors against Indonesian youth freedom fighters (*Pemuda*).

142 ibid., Tomas Verwers, qtd. in van Wagtedonk, p. 63.

PART FOUR: INDONESIAN INDEPENDENCE UNDER NIPPON 1942-1945

J. D. Legge notes that " The history of organised nationalism in Indonesia is a history of a multiplicity of societies able to enter loose alliances from time to time, but more frequently drawing apart from each other, splitting and regrouping".[143] Despite this "for Indonesians World War Two and their subsequent national revolution started optimistically, kicked off by the enthusiasm of being liberated from the Dutch by the Japanese"[144] The response to the arrival of the Emperor's forces in Bora in 1942, described by Pramoedya Ananta Toer and cited by Adrian Vickers in *A History of Modern Indonesia*, is representative:

> The Japanese had swept rapidly through the Indies early in March, and the people came to meet their army, waving flags and shouting their support for the liberators from the Dutch. With the arrival of the Japanese just everyone in town was full of hope, except those who had worked in the service of the Dutch….[145]

However, on reflection, Toer concludes with acrimony, "there was a bad smell about the whole thing, a stench that rose from the bodies of the Japanese soldiers….The shouts of 'Japan is our older brother' and 'banzai Dai Nippon' would soon be replaced by bitterness."[146] In fact tens of thousands of Indonesians were to starve, work as slave labourers (*romuscha*), be forced from their homes, and die in brutal hand-to-hand conflict before Indonesian sovereignty could be achieved.[147]

Legge observes that "The Japanese Occupation was not a simple substitution of one colonial regime for another. It provided a totally new environment within which forces of Indonesian resistance could grow more rapidly to maturity."[148] After the Japanese had gained control of the country, by March 1942, it became obvious to the radical nationalist and Muslim leaders that instead of the "self government" with which the Japanese propaganda machine had

143 J.D. Legge, *Indonesia*, New Jersey, USA, Prentice Hall, 1964, p. 127.
144 Adrian Vickers, A History of Modern Indonesia, Cambridge, UK, Cambridge University Press, 2005, p. 85.
145 ibid.
146 ibid.
147 ibid.
148 Legge, p. 127.

secured their support, the Japanese mission was to obliterate all vestiges of the former Dutch colonial regime and to command the Indonesian people to support Japan's war aims.[149] Indonesian leaders who wanted to stay in the political limelight could only do so by agreeing to cooperate and within this context try to guide the situation towards the national advantage. Social democrats wishing to remain true to their ideals laid low.[150] Obscurity was, however, not a choice for a committed social democrat such as Mohammad Hatta, because of his high national profile and the fact he had visited Japan before the war. The Japanese, who were suspicious of him, kept him under observation by appointing him head of a bureau to advise army headquarters. Hatta claims he only agreed to this after being assured by General Harada, head of the military government (Gunseikan), that Japan intended to give Indonesia its independence. Penders believes that Hatta was probably forced to comply at gunpoint, as Indonesian independence was far removed from Japanese objectives at that time; and that "radical nationalists, such as Sukarno, who had been cooperating with the Japanese, were now only used as propaganda tools to spread the gospel of the Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere and Greater East Asia slogans of 'Asia for the Asians'".[151]

However, Pramoedya recalls "the initial effect of the Japanese landing was to make the Indonesian young men much more dynamic."[152] Pramoedya claims they were in awe of the Japanese, who had severely dented the glory and prestige of the white man's realm both in mainland Asia and throughout the archipelago. [153]

> Japan…[had] launched a pre-emptive strike that ripped the heart out of the United States' navy at Pearl Harbour, in December 1941, and then took the US colony of the Philippines. Helped by the quasi-neutral governments in Indo-China and Siam (Thailand), the Japanese quickly marched into Malaya and Singapore, and parts of Sulawesi and Kalimantan were under their control by January 1942…. By February 1942, the

149 C L M Penders, *The West New Guinea Debacle: Dutch Decolonisation and Indonesia 1945-1962*, Honolulu, University of Hawai'i Press, 2002. pp. 15–16.

150 ibid., pp. 16, 19.

151 Vickers, p. 87.

152 ibid; Legge, p. 131: The defeat of the Dutch represented not merely the destruction of a system of power. Dutch authority had depended, not just on the crude application of physical force, but upon the cooperation of important traditional elements within Indonesian society. The ability thus to command the loyalty of some Indonesians was shattered forever, by the sudden collapse of the colonial regime under the Japanese advance.

153 Vickers, p. 87.

> Japanese had landed on Sumatra, where they had already encouraged the Acehnese to rebel against the Dutch. The Allied navy's last efforts to contain Japan were swept aside in the Battle of the Java Sea, and the Dutch army crumpled under the Japanese onslaught.[154]

On Kalimantan and Balikpapan, the Japanese Navy, to maintain control of the oilfields, encouraged the nationalists and "quickly stamped out any potential opposition via large-scale massacres of Chinese, local aristocrats, Dutch and anyone regarded as pro-Dutch".[155]

Benedict Anderson notes that from this time onwards:

> …the Netherlands East Indies was no more and Indonesia, however, tenuously, came into existence although not as an independent state. Instead it consisted of three Japanese military commands: Sumatra along with Malaya, under the 25th Army, Java under the 16th Army, and the eastern islands, including Kalimantan, under the Navy. All reported to Singapore, which in turn reported to Saigon, which in turn reported to Tokyo. A 'new order' was proclaimed, Java switched to Tokyo time and the Japanese calendar. Indonesians could now call themselves Indonesians in public, Java's capital changed its name from Batavia to Jakarta, and signs of Dutch rule, like their street names disappeared. But the Indonesians were not yet in a position of real power.[156]

Even so**,** Japan's occupation policies proved to be a major watershed in modern Indonesian history, shaping an entirely different perception in the popular Indonesian mentality regarding colonialism and imperialism. The outcome, particularly among the younger generation, was absolute and total opposition to the return of the Dutch colonial regime, which had, in any case, lost its credibility and prestige by the 1942 defeat.[157] Legge notes that:

154 ibid. p. 88.
155 Vickers, p. 88.
156 ibid.
157 Legge, p. 131.

> Having destroyed the apparatus of Dutch power, the Japanese were confronted with the immediate task of keeping the wheels of routine administration turning and, in the long run, with the need to find some sort of basis in consent for their own regime…. For the first task, the obvious expedient was to use Indonesian civil servants, though these were kept firmly under Japanese control. For the second, the Japanese in due course recognised the necessity of coming to terms with nationalist leaders in the hope of mobilizing their support for the occupation….[However] not until the tide of the Pacific war had turned decisively against them did the Japanese take practical steps to prepare for the establishment of an independent Indonesia, and then, of course, only in order to embarrass the returning Allies.[158]

It is beyond the scope of this book to give a comprehensive account of the rise of Indonesian youth nationalist and other organisations that flourished under the latter part of the Japanese Occupation. Instead, with reference to Anderson's *Java in a Time of Revolution; Occupation and Resistance 1944-1946*, I present a brief overview of the infrastructure of major organisations the Japanese supported and assisted with the recruiting and training of vast numbers of Indonesian youth in readiness to muster for Japanese war aims.[159] Following the Declaration of Independence, it was these organisations that provided the Indonesian revolutionaries with a ready made infrastructure on which to mobilise their vision and mission.

At the start of the occupation the Japanese dissolved all overtly political organisations. However, as the war progressed into 1943 they created the Triple-A Movement, followed by the Pusat Tenaga Rakjat —— Centre of People's Strength, or Putera, with the aim of mobilising popular support and enthusiasm for the Imperial cause. Anderson believes these initial organisations were less successful than those established later, essentially because the war was not yet going badly enough for the Japanese to feel an urgent commitment to political development.[160] However, from late in 1943, a down turn in Japanese military successes motivated them to start creating organisations under their

158 Benedict Anderson, *Java in the Time of Revolution: Occupation and Resistance 1944-1946*, Jakarta, Indonesia, Equinox Publishing, 2006 (first published by Cornell University Press, Ithaca, NY, 1972); see also NIOD: 055257 2 October 1945.

159 Anderson, p. 20.

160 ibid.

auspices that would prove important for their future. The most prominent of the new educational institutions created by the military authorities was the Pembela Tanah Air (Fatherland Defense Force) or Peta. Established in October 1943, Peta was designed by the Japanese sixteenth Army authorities as a decentralised auxiliary guerrilla force that could be deployed in the event of an Allied invasion of Java.[161] To this end, the estimated 37,000 Indonesian youth Peta recruited were required to undertake the rigorous military training that would enable them to accomplish this task.[162]

Anderson notes that Peta was paralleled by a variety of other institutions of scarcely less significance for the future that included the Heihõ (Auxiliary Forces). Founded in mid 1943, as an integral part of the Imperial army, in contrast to Peta, which was stationed in the areas of its recruitment, Heihõ was liable to service Japanese interests wherever required. By the end of the war its manpower was estimated at around 25,000 men. Toward the end of the following year, on December 4, 1944, the Japanese established Barisan Hizbullah specifically to prepare activist Moslem youth for the anticipated defense of Java. However, due to the short time that elapsed before Japan capitulated they were only able to train 500 cadres. [163]

Anderson observes that while these organisations were set up primarily for military purposes, others, such as Seinendan (Youth Corp), inaugurated on 29 April, 1943, were established to secure the more immediate goals of internal security and political mobilisation.[164] Seinenden was developed into a sort of militant, politicised scout organisation that could be employed for mobilising the population behind the authorities for various tasks connected with local defense; for transmitting government propaganda to the young; and as a recruiting base for the expanding Peta. Anderson adds that "if Japanese documents are to be believed then Seinendan eventually numbered more than half a million". The Japanese also established organisations that extended down to the village level. These included the Keibõdan (Vigilance Corp) an auxiliary police force set up to help maintain order and security and watch for spies and saboteurs. Local Keibõdan units were put under the authority of the headman. Moreover, unlike the more political Seinenden, Keibõdan was also open to Chinese youth. Anderson claims Seinenden membership came to number

161 ibid.
162 ibid., p. 25.
163 ibid., p. 27.
164 ibid., p. 29.

well over a million. From March 1944, many Java youth were also drawn into the lower structures of the central political organization the Jawa Hõkõkai (Java Service Association).[165] At its lower levels the Hõkõkai was linked to the villages and urban kampung (neighbourhoods) by the tonarigumi (neighbourhood associations), which usually encompassed about twenty households under a Kumichõ (neighbourhood chief). This large organisational complex was used effectively to maintain surveillance over the population, facilitate the collection and distribution of supplies, disseminate government propaganda, and mobilise all strata of society for rallies, parades, and public rituals.[166]

The *Barisan Pelopor* (Vanguard Corp) the activist vanguard of the *Hõkõkai*, under the nominal leadership of Sukarno and operationally directed by the radical nationalist Dr Muwardi, attracted increasingly politicised youth from all social strata within the larger urban centres of Jakarta. In addition it organised para-military drilling with sharpened bamboo spears.[167] However, in essence its greatest achievement was to teach its members the techniques of mass mobilisation. Through its structure, independent links were created between the élite youths working in the *Hõkõkai* central office and the youths of the non-élite urban wards — the slums and the belt of shanty towns around the fringes of the city.[168]

According to Anderson many of these youth were unemployed, while others were attached to the local *djago* for which Jakarta has always been famous, or to local *pesantren* – Islamic training centres – outside the city limits where many came to study with a *kiyayi* who was renowned as a *silat* (martial arts) expert.[169] Anderson adds that for the youth of all strata who encountered each other through the *Barisan Pelopor*, the experience generated a sense of "mass power through fraternal solidarity".[170] Thus the Japanese political style presented Javanese youth with a means of political life and action that in turn effected a radical critique and, subsequently, a shift from the values and political

165 ibid., p. 29.
166 ibid.
167 ibid., p. 30.
168 Anton Lucas, in Wild and, Carey, pp. 156-57. Robert Cribb, *Gangsters and Revolutionaries: The Jakarta People's Militia and the Indonesian Revolution 1945-1949*, Honolulu, University of Hawai'i Press, 1991.
169 Anderson, p. 30.
170 ibid., p. 33.

ideas Dutch rule had instilled in their fathers, to one that, by contrast, was far more compatible with the traditional world from which most of the youth originated.[171]

By 1945, as a direct result of this training, there had emerged in Indonesia a strong revolutionary ethos that cried out for fulfilment, a state of affairs that was aggravated by the general economic malaise and suffering caused by hunger, malnutrition and social despair.[172] The basis for the Indonesian people's negative feelings against Japan, apart from the brutality and cruelty of their regime, was Japan's deplorable administration of the region. By the end of 1944 into 1945, the Japanese organisation of the food supply failed to cope with a seriously depleted wartime economy that had deteriorated further as a result of crop failure. As a consequence, rice stocks were now well below national requirements, causing widespread famine, malnutrition and disease, medicines and clothing were unobtainable and many people were clad only in gunnysacks, burlap or thin sheets of rubber. Vickers cites Pramoedya who recalls the sartorial inelegance with clarity and remembers with sadness seeing people who had starved to death by the side of the road. This was a poignant image, given that like many people at the time, he too had to survive on only one bowel of rice per day. It is estimated that as many as 2.4 million Javanese died of starvation in these years. Rather than crop failure, these famines were mainly caused by failure to organise distribution and stockpiling by the Japanese, who were also requisitioning trains for military purposes and thus stopped Javanese from travelling to markets to sell their produce, which in turn restricted their everyday economies.[173]

However, the Japanese concessions to independence, which included more Indonesian input at a local government level, had nonetheless encouraged Sukarno to assist them by deflecting the growing hatred for the Japanese among the Indonesian people onto the Allies. Anti-Ally sentiment was incited with, as J. D. Legge notes, such hysterical outbursts as: "we will flatten America, and we will crush England".[174] In fact the reverse was to happen.

171 ibid.
172 Vickers, p. 92.
173 J.D. Legge, *Sukarno: A Political Biography*, Ringwood, Vic., Penguin, 1972, p. 175.
174 ibid., p. 23.

Japanese Capitulation and Surrender

On the morning of 6 August 1945 an American bomb had obliterated Hiroshima. Two days later, on the morning of 9 August Nagasaki was similarly incinerated. Anderson notes that in Jakarta the speed of Tokyo's surrender came as a traumatic shock to the Japanese officers, "like a passenger in an express train brought to an instant dead stop".

News leaked out that on 6 August 1945, the Allies had dropped a bomb that could destroy cities. Although the Japanese were reluctant to admit that they had surrendered, their weak position, together with the food crisis and the rapidly deteriorating military situation, motivated them to accelerate independence. On 7 August 1945 a committee headed by Sukarno and Hatta and 20 members representing a cross-section of opinions and interests of the nation as a whole was convened. A day later, Sukarno, Hatta and Radjiman were flown to Japanese headquarters in Saigon, where Marshal Terauchi urged them to speed up their preparations as Indonesia would be granted its independence in the immediate future. Sukarno, sensing the event was now close at hand, in a now-famous speech, informed Indonesians "the country would be free before the corn ripened."[175]

For Mountbatten, Japanese surrender in the wake of the nuclear bombings had come so unimaginably fast that, when designated "scheduled liberator", he was still thousands of miles away. Moreover he was under orders not to accept any Japanese local surrender in South-East Asia until MacArthur had done so in Tokyo.[176]

On August 15, by which time the news of Japan's unconditional surrender was known among *Pemuda*, they sent a delegation to Sukarno's house to demand he and Hatta declare independence immediately and without reference to the Japanese. These leaders, fearful of a Japanese crackdown, refused.[177]

---

175 Anderson, p. 89.

176 ibid.

177 Vickers, pp. 95 and 97; Anderson, p. 40, notes that the vision and mission of the Asram Menteng 31 established in the early part of the occupation by activist Hitoshi Shimizu (who had earlier been entrusted to work with Pemuda) was to create a core of Pemuda activists who after an initial period of training would pass on the education to potential cadres in the provinces. For example, in Jakarta Tan Malaka and his followers linked up with the leaders of the Menteng 31 group to launch demonstrations, which Sukarno and Hatta — who wished to plan a government and establish new institutions to achieve independence through diplomacy – tried immediately to quell.

Thus, as Adrian Vickers notes, Indonesian leadership was divided in its approach on how independence should be achieved, some wanting to lead the rising passion for struggle, others to follow a more reasoned path.[178] Some hours later Sukarno and Hatta were abducted from their beds, pushed into waiting cars and taken to a small township northeast of Jakarta, where they were again coerced to proclaim independence and again refused. In the meantime the *Kenpeitai* had begun a search for the leaders. The next morning of 16 August, the situation was salvaged by the intervention of the liberal-minded Rear Admiral Maeda, head of the Japanese navy's liaison office in Jakarta who had wide informal contacts in Indonesian nationalist circles and was thus able to contact the *Pemuda* who had abducted the leaders. Maeda talked Japanese military authorities into permitting a declaration of independence, provided it could be worded so as not to contravene Mountbatten's orders directly. The final language worked out in Maeda's house that night ran as follows: "We, the Indonesian people, hereby declare Indonesia's independence. Matters concerning the transfer of power and other matters will be executed in an orderly manner and in the shortest possible time".[179]

After Sukarno's proclamation of independence, the *Pemuda*, who demanded 100% independence without negotiation or diplomacy, were driven by the motto "independence or death", or in the case of Eastern Sumatran *persatuan perjuangan* (struggle or combat) unions, "We'd rather bathe in blood than be colonised again".[180] Consequently, on liberation, as noted by Robert Cribb,[181] these nationalists believed that to keep Jakarta Republican, it was not really necessary to keep Allies or the Japanese in their barracks; rather it was necessary to prevent the restoration of Dutch civil life.[182]

However, Anderson also notes:

> Six weeks were to pass before Mountbatten's so-called liberation forces arrived. In this time Japanese officers with governmental responsibilities continued to obey them. [However] some others sympathetic

178 ibid., p. 82.
179 A. Lucas, 'Revolutionary Youth', in Wild and Carey, pp. 152-160.
180 Cribb, 1991: his research focused on the role the coalition between the Jakarta underworld and a group of younger radical nationalists played in the fight for independence.
181 ibid.
182 ibid.

> to Indonesian nationalist aspirations felt Japan had a responsibility to now implement the independence it had so often offered. Independence was [being] locally proclaimed in town after town, village after village, [voiced] in the passionate language of national revolution: *Merdeka atau mati*, freedom or death! [183]

Hence as Penders argues, this delay proved to be crucial to the Indonesian cause: "It is irrefutable that this long-delayed arrival of the British forces in Java presented the Indonesian revolutionaries with a welcome and highly valuable breathing space in which to reinforce their position".[184] Vickers, in acknowledging the rapidity with which news of the Japanese surrender was broadcast across Indonesia via radio and telegram, adds that in Kalimantan it "was actually Australian Communist soldiers who spread the word of the declaration of Independence and who helped the nationalists organise".[185] The six-week liminal period also enabled the Indonesian leaders to develop a Republican government.[186]

Perceptions of Sovereignty on the Eve of Japanese Capitulation

The views (summarised in the next few pages) of Dutch people and officials and Indonesian and Japanese bureaucrats are representative of how Indonesian Nationalism was viewed in the interested countries in 1945 as war drew to a close. The views are derived from *Born in Fire*, a series of radio interviews, organised by the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) in observance of the fortieth anniversary of Indonesia's independence. These interviews were with people who lived through the experience; they were collected by Colin Wild and Peter Carey in a book by the same name published in 1988.[187] They are therefore first-hand accounts of the situation in Indonesia perceived through particular cultural lenses, which both explain and add to the complexity of the situation.

183 Penders, p. 25.
184 Vickers, p. 97, citing Douglas Miles, *Cutlass and Crescent Moon: A Case Study in Social and Political Change in Outer Indonesia*.
185 Anderson, 1988, p. 90.
186 Colin Wild and Peter Carey, eds, Born in Fire: The Indonesian Struggle for Independence, Athens, USA, Ohio University Press, 1986.
187 A. J. Piekaar, "A Dutch view of the struggle", in Wild & Carey, pp. 198-199, xiv. Piekaar was a colonial civil servant in the Netherlands East Indies before WWII. During the Japanese occupation he was interned. He describes how the independence struggle looked to Dutch eyes.

The Dutch View

A. J. Piekaar presents the Dutch perceptions and the basis upon which it was founded:

> At last, on 15 August 1945, the long awaited hour had come. The nightmare was over. Japan had surrendered unconditionally. After three-and-a-half years the end of the Japanese Occupation of Indonesia was finally in sight. The Indonesian people saw the Japanese depart with feelings of great joy. Not for nothing was there a saying in Aceh, "the dogs [Dutch] have been driven out for the pigs [the Japanese] to be let in." The strains of the Japanese occupation had been unbearable, especially in the last years of war. Two days later, on 17 August, the republic of Indonesia was proclaimed in Jakarta. To most Dutch people this declaration of independence came as a total surprise. This was true for those who had been trapped in the Netherlands East Indies at the time of the Japanese invasion, approximately 1000,000 who had lived under excruciating circumstances, as civilian internees, and another 37,000 as prisoners of war. But it was equally true of the Dutch in the Netherlands themselves, who hadn't the faintest idea of what was going on in the Far East during the years of German occupation, so there was a general tendency to view the republic as a Japanese creation, as well as an implicit faith in the possibility of picking up the threads in Indonesia where they had been dropped at the outbreak of war. No one realised that the relevant hopes and aspirations had, in fact, been overtaken by the course of history. The developments in Indonesia did not occur in isolation, after all, but formed part of a broader process, which, stimulated by World War II, was manifesting itself in other Asian countries as well. The fact is that the Dutch weren't ready yet to see the republic as the exponent of Indonesian nationalism.[188]

188 ibid., p. 200; Ford, p. 14, notes that after May 1940, when the Netherlands capitulated to Germany and its government fled into exile in London, the Netherlands East Indies found itself in a more independent position. As both Europeans and Indonesians in the Netherlands East indies were asking for and exercising greater autonomy in their affairs, the London Dutch decided to appoint a Commission of Inquiry into the political future of the archipelago. The Visman commission (after its Chair Dr F H Visman) created in September 1940, comprised both ethnic Europeans and ethnic Indonesians who had experience of either government or law. The Dutch were proud that Europeans did not hold the majority of positions. Its briefs was to examine the future development of the NEI and then report on the political aspirations of the people of the Indies.

As Piekaar notes, these views prevailed despite the changes to Dutch policy pertaining to the Netherlands East Indies laid down on 7 December 1942, in a radio speech given by Queen Wilhelmina from her exile in England. In it she indicated the possibility of a round table conference being held to deliberate upon a political structure for the kingdom and its territories that would be adapted to the changed circumstances.[189] The structure she had in mind was that of a federated kingdom, of which the Netherlands, Indonesia, Surinam and Curaçao would take part as equals. Each would be allowed to manage its internal affairs independently, using its own resources, but each should at the same time be prepared to assist the others. This structure represented a logical continuation of the so-called ethical policy conceptualised in progressive circles before the war. Indonesia's future status was envisaged as that of an internationally recognised, self-governing, economically independent nation, in which all the different ethnic groups would co-exist peacefully and which would freely decide on its position *vis-á-vis* the Netherlands. Moreover, the federation structure appealed to both progressive and conservative politicians and most bureaucrats, who were, according to Piekaar, looking forward to implementing it.[190] Despite this advance in Dutch thinking about Indonesian Independence during the war, when the news of the proclamation of the Republic came it was dismissed by Dutch authorities in Australia and The Hague as Japanese-inspired, and its leaders including Sukarno were proclaimed traitors.[191]

The Indonesian View

The views of Syafruddin Prawiranegra*,* who headed the emergency government in Sumatra in 1949 while Yogya was in Dutch hands, highlight the reasons for his move from a conservative a to a more radical perspective:

> During the Dutch period I was one of the group usually termed "co-operators". I believed then that the Dutch really did intend to educate us to a level, which would enable us to become independent and handle our own affairs. So I didn't agree with the stand taken by people like Sukarno, Hatta, Syahrir and Yamin,

189 ibid., p. 201.
190 Penders, p. 24.
191 An interview with Syafruddin Prawiranegra in Wild & Carey, pp. 193-196.

who wanted independence immediately, because in my opinion, Indonesians were not yet ready to run an independent country democratically… and too many of our people were still ignorant and unskilled, and there were too few graduates who could work in the economy and in industry. I changed this stand after I saw how the Dutch gave in to the Japanese just like that. This was despite the fact that before Japan invaded, we had submitted a petition to the Dutch to try and get them to form an Indonesian militia so that we could defend Indonesia against the Japanese… So I was very disappointed with the Dutch, and that was the moment I completely lost faith in their aims.

Then came the Japanese, and it became clear that they were even more cruel than the Dutch: I didn't believe that the Japanese could or would free us and offer us our independence.… So I felt that, whether or not we were ready for it, we had to become independent and manage our own affairs. I agreed wholeheartedly with the proclamation of independence, and at that time I actively tried to persuade those of my friends who had initially hesitated, to join in the fight for and defend independence.… When the Dutch held their second police action and Sukarno and most of the ministers were detained, the Dutch had predicted that without Sukarno as president, and without Hatta too, the world would soon witness the collapse of the Indonesian opposition. This was the Dutch prediction. They simply hadn't noticed, hadn't realised, that this revolution wasn't an artificial Japanese creation, but really rose from the convictions of the people and their burning desire for independence. The time was now really ripe for independence, and even though it could be said that the people themselves weren't yet ripe, they were ripened by that time itself.[192]

The Japanese View

Shigetada Nishijima presents the views of a Japanese person sympathetic to the Indonesian nationalist cause. He had found his way to the Netherlands East Indies via a job with the Chiyoda Store, which had branches in Bandung, Jakarta and Malang, Surabaya. He notes that when he arrived in the Netherlands East Indies he began to see the differences between the Dutch and the Indonesians: "…very great differences. The Dutch were, you could say, incredibly rich, but

192 ibid.

as for most Indonesians …their lives were full of suffering."[193] Because of his socialist tendencies, Nishijima's interest was for the Indonesians. He recalls:

> Just as the war was about to begin, most of the Japanese in the Netherlands East Indies were evacuated to Japan. But several friends from the store and I were forced to stay behind to look after the interests of the store….
>
> In December 1941 we were all arrested and sent straight to Australia. We were there for approximately eight months, after which there was an exchange of prisoners. Many of the Japanese held there were allowed to return to Japan, in exchange for American or English people held in Japan.… I returned to Indonesia.[194]

On his return to Indonesia, Nishijima got a job dealing with Indonesian affairs in the office of the chief naval liaison officer, Rear Admiral Maeda. This gave him access to all the leaders, Sukarno, Hatta and others, who told him they believed Indonesia had to become independent. Nishijima recalls it was:

> … that will, that desire, [that] made a great impact on me. Besides, Japan, the Japanese government itself had promised, as it was about to invade Indonesia, that Indonesia would be given its independence. The "Indonesia Raya" and the red and white flag were to be permitted. The radio constantly broadcast this propaganda. As it turned out after the Japanese landed these things were forbidden. The flag was not allowed to be flown, the national anthem was not allowed to be sung, and political organizations were completely banned. They wanted to run things just like the Japanese nation.… Everywhere complaints were heard, and those that did try to work towards independence were arrested, branded as communists, labelled as being anti-Japanese and so on.… In 1943 it was announced in Japan that Burma and the Phillipines would be granted independence. The former Netherlands East Indies would be granted the right of mere political participation, termed 'joining in politics'. This is what made people like Hatta furious.…

193 ibid.

194 "The Story of Japanese", an interview with Shigetada Nishijima, in Wild and Carey, pp. 81-85.

> By that time the tides of war had begun to turn a little and it was retreat, retreat, retreat. The will of the people and not just their leaders had really begun to awaken, so Japan had to change its attitude. But even if the Japanese forces in Java had sympathised with the people, they couldn't have done anything. They had to wait for directions from Japan, from the central command. The central command didn't understand the situation in Indonesia, however. They thought, "Well the people there are not too strong-willed, there are raw materials, and there is oil...so it would be much better not to give them their independence now. If we grant them independence they probably won't go along with the Japanese government anymore". So in September 1944, the Japanese government promised that the Japanese government would grant independence to Indonesia, "at some time in the future".… But certain Japanese were, by now, beginning to realize that Indonesian nationalism was a powerful sentiment.[195]

In February 1945, at a naval meeting in Surabaya led by Admiral Shibata and attended by Maeda, Suzami and Nishijima, decisions were made about independence — when it should be granted and what territory Indonesia should consist of. Nishijima notes that "at that time, leaders such as Maeda, Shibata, and others, were already sure that the Indonesian nationalist movement was like a current of a river, a river which flows. No matter what we did, we couldn't stop it".[196]

The Pemuda View

Adam Malik presents a picture of *Pemuda* activities in the days following the proclamation of independence:

> When we made the proclamation on August 17, the Japanese government and Japanese army had in fact not yet been affected. [Shortly thereafter] various small conflicts with the Japanese broke out. We distributed pamphlets throughout Jakarta, and all through Java. We sent the news through messengers, by telephone

195 ibid.
196 Interview with Adam Malik in Wild and Carey, pp. 108-110.

and also by radio…. We forcibly occupied several offices, the railways, and government buildings. So you see that's when the minor conflicts with the Japanese took place. But the Japanese still didn't want to move out yet. On September 19 we called a mass meeting in Ikada Square, and this proved to be the decisive event. After we had gathered so many people together, the Japanese wanted to open fire and shoot a lot of people, in order to disperse them. However, seeing how excited the people were, they ordered them to disperse peacefully. The people agreed to go…as long as Sukarno came to speak to them. So that's why I fetched Bung Karno from the government offices, and took him to the square. It was in Ikada Square that he was first convinced that the Indonesian people really did want independence immediately. But he was worried because all the Japanese soldiers were at their posts, guns ready. So he just spoke for about three minutes: "Brothers and sisters, I can understand your excitement after the proclamation, and because of that let's guard this proclamation of independence of ours carefully and lets return home quietly". The people were disappointed, really disappointed. We *Pemuda*, after seeing the people's disappointment, began that very night to take control and occupy the Japanese offices. We really wanted to raise our flag; of course there were incidents, but we didn't care.

The people's spirit had really flared up, and could no longer be restrained. Anyone who was alive at that time will certainly remember seeing how in every village, everything was ready and waiting, and if anyone went into those villages, they would definitely be searched. There was a genuine revolutionary atmosphere; no one was not for us. Psychologically, that was the right time to act, so we did, and it was these actions which caused the conflicts. For example we took over the railway stations at Kota and Manggarai in Jakarta, and then occupied the Japanese offices. If anyone resisted, we would arrest them.[197]

The interview goes on to explain how *Pemuda*'s relationship with the Japanese deteriorated; even President Sukarno could not stop the tide of violence. Sukarno is reported to have told the Japanese that he could not discipline the people and that it would serve their cause better if they retreated, leaving the Indonesians to keep the peace. Malik comments that "the Japanese did not want to do this, except a few individuals, and some of the navy leaders, several

197 ibid., p. 110.

of whom gave us [*Pemuda*] arms".[198] Ten days after the Ikada Square mass rally the first British troops set foot in Jakarta under Lt. Gen. Sir Philip Christison. Less than seven weeks had passed since the proclamation. But with the Allied British and British-Indian troops came Dutchmen, whose presence once again inflamed passions, particularly in the *Pemuda*.[199] Malik goes on to explain that there were outbreaks of violence wherever the tide of nationalist feelings was frustrated or opposed. By far the bloodiest clash took place in Surabaya in October and November 1945, an incident he feels should not have happened. He adds:

> [T]he Allies shouldn't have brought the Dutch along….We saw the presence of these Dutch as provocation…. Brigadier Mallaby was also acting provocatively when he landed at Surabaya looking for the Dutch who had been released from the Japanese internment camps. He also looked for Chinese regarded as being pro-Dutch, and they were given arms too; at that time they were known as *Poh Antui* force. Of course violence could no longer be prevented, and shooting broke out… Yes of course there were many victims. The Allies had more arms. The Indonesians had more people and their spirits were high, but they didn't have enough arms. That's the truth of it.[200]

Anderson notes that the rallies, posters, flags and fliers organised by Pemuda "triggered off a more revolutionary response from the masses, causing clashes with those Dutch and Eurasians who were leaving the Japanese prison camps to return to their 'homes'".[201]

On the day independence was announced the struggle message spread across Java onto other islands, carried by the infrastructure of youth organisations established by the Japanese (as described above) via radio, telegram and word of mouth. In the middle of the struggle for control that ensued, the British arrived with the purpose of restoring Jakarta to the Dutch, releasing internees and repatriating the Japanese troops to Japan.[202]

198 ibid.
199 ibid., p. 112.
200 Anderson, pp. 125-8.
201 Anderson, pp. 125-8.
202 ibid.

In this section I have attempted to give an overview of the ways in which Indonesian nationalism flourished under Nippon rule, and have presented the divergent views on Indonesian independence held by the various stakeholders in this complex violent saga. The next section looks at the internees' lives during the Bersiap period of the Indonesian uprising, and at how the views of the main stakeholders and the actions they generated impacted on the Dutch Fairbridgeans. Many of these remained confined to internment camps after experiencing a liberation that proved not to be a liberation, since their Allied liberators were not yet available to officially accept the Japanese surrender. Instead of freedom, a power vacuum emerged within which the *Pemuda* waged killing rampages against any Dutch people who had decided to leave interment camps and go "home".

PART FIVE: INTERNEES AT THE MERCY OF INDONESIAN FREEDOM FIGHTERS IN POST-WAR CHAOS, 1945-1946

After the surrender of Germany in May 1945 the Australian-based Dutch administrators of the Netherlands East Indies looked forward to the arrival of the Dutch forces, released from operations in the European Theatre; they needed their presence to begin the process of retrieving the colony from the Japanese. They predicted that liberating the colony to re-establish their control would take a lengthy struggle against the Japanese. To that date the Allies had done little to get back the colony — nearly all of it remained under Japanese occupation, largely because the American commander of the South-West Pacific Theatre, General Douglas MacArthur, was only interested in the Dutch territories that would support those of his forces needed in the drive to regain the Philippines: Dutch New Guinea, Morotai, and the Tarakan area of Borneo. Hence Java, Sumatra, Bali and most of Borneo remained under Japanese authority.[203]

However, a great deal was to change on 15 August 1945 when the Japanese capitulated following the atomic destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki on 6 and 9 August respectively.[204] While the end of the war was welcome, its suddenness caught the Dutch administration by surprise, as did the atom bomb, the existence of which they were completely unaware. Japan's unexpected surrender served to complicate rather than support the administration's plan to re-establish their authority over the Netherlands East Indies, since it took place before they were able to organise shipping to dispatch troops to Java.[205]

South East Asia Command commissioned to restore order

From 15 August 1945 until mid-1946, the British-led South-East Asia Command (SEAC) was charged with restoring

203 C L M Penders, *The West New Guinea Débacle: Dutch Decolonisation and Indonesia 145-1962*, University of Hawai'i Press, Honolulu, 2002.

204 Wim Willems, *Uittocht uit Indië 1945-1949*, Uitgeverij Bert Bakker, Amsterdam, 2001, p. 19.

205 Jack M. Ford, Allies in a Bind: Australia and the Netherlands East Indies in the Second World War, published by the Australian Netherlands Ex-Servicemen and Women's Association, Queensland Branch: Loganholme QLD, 1999.

order in Java.[206] According to the terms of the surrender, the Japanese were to maintain order in the period until the Allied forces under Louis Mountbatten could take control. This was due to a decision made at the Potsdam conference to transfer the war theatre from the American MacArthur's Southwest Pacific Command to British Mountbatten's Southeast Asia Command (SEAC).[207] However, this decision was to find SEAC lacking the necessary men, ships, communications, and intelligence files to handle the huge task with which they were now faced. Half a million square miles of land were suddenly added to the million already under their jurisdiction. Eighty million people were added to the forty five million for which they were already responsible. SEAC'S options were also greatly circumscribed by an acute shortage of reliable military forces. There was only one ethnic British division in the Far East, and that was already committed in India and Burma. Mountbatten was therefore compelled to rely on Indian and Gurkha troops.[208]

At the close of war, Allied Command decided that the Japanese on islands east of Java would surrender to the Australian armed forces and those on Java and Sumatra to British troops. Richard McMillan[209] records that on August 13, Mountbatten, SEAC commander, by then charged with liberating the South-East Asia mainland, Java and Sumatra, was unable to accept the Japanese surrender for some time because his resources — ships and troops — were stretched to the limit; it would be six weeks before they arrived to accept the Japanese surrender.[210]

In the Power Vacuum Following Capitulation

During the power vacuum that followed Japanese capitulation, when some Dutch internees in the Batavia area began

206 Willems, p. 20.
207 ibid.
208 Benedict Anderson, *Java in the Time of Revolution: Occupation and Resistance 1944-1946*, Equinox Publishing, Jakarta, Indonesia, 2006 (first published by Cornell University Press, Ithaca, NY, 1972), pp. 132-133.
209 The greater part of information in this section is derived from Richard McMillan's book: *The British Occupation of Indonesia 1945-1946*: Britain, the Netherlands and the Indonesian revolution, London, Routledge, 2005, pp. 24-29.
210 ibid.

to leave the camps to find their homes and move back into them, *Pemuda* extremists, who perceived their return as a reintroduction of Dutch authority, became revolutionary. The initial thrust of *badan perjuangan* (combat or struggle) units' action in Jakarta was to deny freedom of the city to the returning Dutch civilians by a campaign of terror against Europeans.[211] Jan Wagtendonk, President of the Foundation for Japanese Honorary Debts and a former internee, recalls:

> Chaos and anarchy reigned everywhere. Anyone who still had any sort of ties with the Netherlands was abused by the Indonesian freedom fighters. In addition to the people who had opted to remain outside camps, ex-internees who had [already] been freed from camps after the Japanese capitulation also suffered this fate. On East Java, a period began of boykot sampei mati (boycott till death). During this time the rebels and the young ones did whatever they wanted.[212]

Thus, in the six weeks before Allied troops arrived to accept the surrender, re-establish order and repatriate internees and the Japanese forces, the extremist *Pemuda* freedom fighters were committing atrocities on unprotected, seriously ill and debilitated former ex-civilian internees, ex-POWs and ethnic Indonesians and Chinese, who, they perceived, were sympathetic to the Dutch. The rebellion was very violent.

The *Pemuda's* favourite way of terrorising was to surround family houses at night and then massacre their European inhabitants, and every effort was made to threaten living Europeans by the painting-up of slogans or unusual behaviour of young Indonesians near residences to suggest that they had been marked out for imminent doom. Indonesians themselves could do even less to avoid the unwelcome attention of the nationalist youth. It was urban guerrilla warfare in which the attack was carried out and the attackers gone long before help could be summoned and in which the purpose of the action was far less its strategic value than its psychological impact.[213] Strolling Dutchmen were also hauled off the street and strangled or hacked to pieces, their bodies dumped in one or other of the canals. The

211 ibid.

212 Jan van Wagtendonk,"Testimonies of the Japanese occupation of the Dutch East Indies", Foundation for Japanese Honorary Debts, 2007, p. 95. See also www. jesinfo.org.

213 ibid., pp. 65-66.

Molenvliet, a long canal running south from the old city, was a favourite place for such ambushes; so was the main road from Senen to Jatinegara. During this reign of terror, the already colourful vocabulary of Indies Dutch acquired a new word: getjintjangd (getjingtjangd in Dutch spelling) — hacked to pieces.

Stories of personal tragedies from this period abound. It was also not uncommon for family members or friends to disappear forever, or be found murdered, hacked to pieces or decapitated. Whole groups of women and children who, after liberation, left their interment camp for the first time to shop in the nearest village, never returned or were found dismembered.[214] During the weeks before troops arrived it was never clear to the ex-internees what would happen next or who should be held responsible.

Gurkha Battalions and RAPWI Attempt to Restore "Law and Order"

When Mountbatten was finally ready to advance into Java, British Chiefs of Staff had instructed him to have his troops:

> …accept the Japanese surrender, disarm the Japanese, rescue and repatriate Allied prisoners of war and internees and prepare, by the introduction and establishment of Netherlands Indies Affairs officers, for the eventual handing over of the administration to the Dutch civil authorities.[215]

However, given the political situation in India, Mountbatten soon realised he would have little more than six months to carry out the tasks of: rescuing 122, 002 (comprising 91,212 civilians and 30, 790 POWs) incarcerated in approximately 250 camps throughout Java and Sumatra, as well as European prisoners caught up in camps in the interior of Java; repatriating 73,000 Japanese; and restoring law and order before irresistible political pressure would compel the withdrawal of his troops.[216] Moreover, while he was aware that the obedience of the Japanese to their commanders was by no means guaranteed, he was unaware, until after the arrival of his troops, of the strength of the popular support for

214 Dr Margaret Leidenmeijer, (Dutch researcher) pers.com., 2007.
215 McMillan, p. 10.
216 Willems, p. 26.

an Indonesian republic, which, it became clear, was considerable. Moreover, any attempt to reimpose Dutch authority on the island forcibly with inadequate manpower might break the discipline of the Japanese military hierarchy and irrevocably jeopardise the lives of internees — his first priority. In addition, the Dutch had neither the military nor the administrative personnel at hand to bear the major part of the burden of pursuing a tough policy, nor was there any prospect that they would be able to do so for many months. Therefore, it was essential, in his view, to secure the cooperation of the Indonesian leaders in Jakarta with offers of significant political concessions. Although some of these concessions could be made by the British, ultimately for this strategy to succeed, they would need to come from the Dutch, since the British were obliged by the terms of the August 24 agreement to help the Dutch re-establish their authority in Indonesia. He was aware that a liberal Dutch attitude was needed to help alleviate the problems.[217] McMillan notes that what he hoped to achieve was for to the Dutch and Indonesians to kiss and make friends; then he could pull out.[218]

Ultimately, it was the XV Indian Corps, whose strength was approximately 45,000 fighting men, headed by Lieutenant General Sir Philip Christison, that were allocated the task of locating, rescuing and repatriating the prisoners of war and internees and disarming and repatriating the Japanese.[219] They included the 1st Seaforth Highlanders, 1st Indian Infantry Brigade (178th Assault Field Regiment of the Royal Artillery), 1/16th Punjab and 1st Patiala Infantry, Tactical Headquarters XV Indian Corps, Tactical Headquarters 23rd Indian Division and the Advanced Headquarters RAF Netherlands East Indies, which also came under the command of the XV Indian Corps and, in fact, set up a joint headquarters with it. The role of the RAF was to be peaceful, namely the evacuation of prisoners of war and internees and the transportation and supply of ground forces. It could only be used offensively on Christison's orders.[220] The Allied troops were accompanied by the newly formed organization, Recovery of Allied Prisoners of War and Internees (RAPWI), established to repatriate civilians and POWs from Japanese concentration camps throughout the Asian Region; it became operational on 18 August 1945. RAPWI in the Netherlands East Indies was staffed predominantly

217 ibid., p. 135.
218 ibid., p. 134.
219 McMillan, p. 3.
220 ibid., p. 21.

by Dutch ex-internees, who worked under the direction of British commandos.[221]

On 29 September, 1945, the Seaforth Highlanders (the First Brigade of Major General Hawthorne's Twenty third (Indian) Division) and the only battalion available, arrived in Batavia (Jakarta) to supervise the Japanese surrender, 45 days after Japan capitulated! They were accompanied by a small detachment of Dutch military personnel.[222] Willems contends the British were in no position to take risks to restore the Netherlands East Indies to Dutch control, given the small number of troops who were spread very thin on the ground.[223]

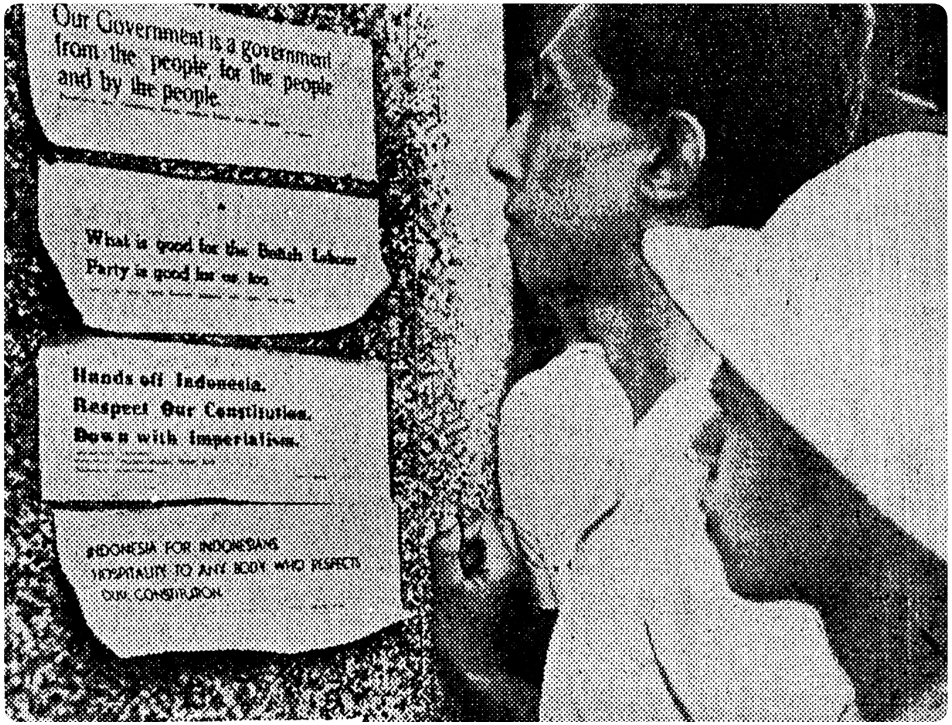
Although the Allied troops arrival was received quietly, they were nonetheless confronted with nationalist flags containing quotations in English about "Indonesia's right to be free from Dutch rule" that had been posted in places where the British could not miss them.[224] RAPWI, who had come with them, immediately set about establishing headquarters at the Hotel des Indes in Batavia (Jakarta). They were joined the following day by a Dutch team who would help them to plan operations. McMillan notes:

> All the teams faced a considerable task and had inaccurate information about both numbers and locations of the camps but had to effect a steady evacuation from the camps so as to maintain the morale of internees. They worked hard to…gain Japanese cooperation.[225]

A small contingent of Dutch colonial officials of the Netherlands Indies Civil Administration [NICA] who had also come in with van der Plas set about re-establishing Dutch rule in the areas already re-occupied. However, van der Plas, who had come straight from the Dutch Administration headquarters at Camp Columbia, Wacol, Brisbane, Australia, soon began to change his tactics when he noticed that the higher echelon *priyayi* (indigenous colonial officials),[226] the

221 Willems, p. 24.
222 ibid., p. 21
223 Willems, pp. 20-21.
224 McMillan, p. 13.
225 McMillan, p. 23.
226 A. Vickers, *A History of Modern Indonesia*, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge UK, 2005. P.36: The Dutch policy of indirect rule turned the kings, regents and other aristocrats into civil servants, albeit ones who retained all the titles and outward signs of ceremonial hierarchy. Under this policy one single term *priyayi*, was used for 'native civil servant'.

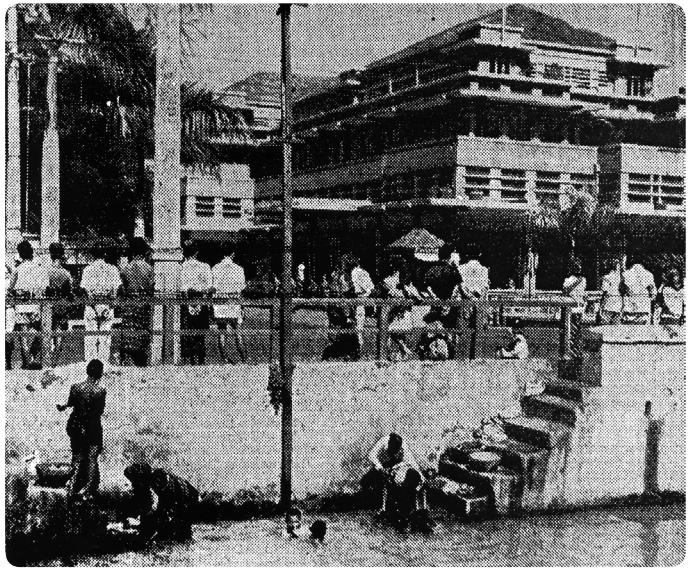
Young Indonesian nationalists shouting their slogans 'Bersiap' *(get ready) and giving their party salute* Merdeka atau mati*, freedom or death. Courtesy: Western Mail 18 October 1945, p. 21.*



Printed slogans posted by nationalists on a city building. Courtesy: Western Mail 18 October 1945, p. 21.

backbone of the former Dutch rule on whom his hopes were based, were siding with the republic. He wrote to Van Mook about his observations: "We have underestimated the size of the anti-Dutch action and the corroding effect of years of anti-Netherlands propaganda. Certainly the Japanese are hated. But we Netherlanders are also…."[227]

As already observed by Shigetada Nishijima, cited in Part Four, the Dutch were powerless to stop the revolutionary tide, as they lacked the necessary armed forces and the internees in the camps were too depleted to take up the cudgel effectively. Moreover, owing to the unwillingness of the Allied Command to release Dutch shipping forthwith from operations elsewhere, it was not until early 1946 that sizeable contingents of Dutch troops could be dispatched to Indonesia.



Hotel Des Indes meeting place for British and Dutch Officers and RAPWI Officials, November 1945.
Courtesy: Western Mail 18 October 1945, p. 21.

Van der Plas, greatly upset by the horrible conditions and the terrible inhumane treatment endured by European women in the Jakarta camps, where he was reunited with his own wife, commented on the precarious food situation caused by crop failure and the general desolate air about the city:

> Everything is in disrepair: roads, sewerage, irrigation…. Even the lamp posts have disappeared. There is a great shortage of drinking water and there are leaks everywhere.… In Batavia on the streets many of the Jap-lovers and employees get about reasonably well attired, but in the interior and also in central Java many people walk around almost naked.…[228]

227 Penders, p. 26.
228 van der Plas, qtd. in Penders, p. 27.

In the midst of the chaos the Red Cross began helping ex-prisoners locate lost members of their families and look for ways to reunite relatives. This was also when internees for the first time started to get hold of information about the whereabouts of family members from Chinese and Indonesian relatives and friends. Informants were harbingers of good or bad news, or a mixture of both. For example, one family, reunited with a severely ill daughter already in a hospital in Batavia, unfortunately only made it there in time to be with her when she died. There were also many families who only heard about the death of a loved one in captivity after the war had ended. In fact, many women whose husbands had died in POW camps, at war's end had to be content with the lock of hair and some nail clippings they were sent to confirm this.[229]

During this time many unexpected personal tragedies came to light — tragedies that were extremely difficult to manage for the severely debilitated remaining family members who had been awaiting news about the fate of their sons, husbands, fathers or brothers. Numerous POWs had died after having been transported to work camps in remote parts of the archipelago to perform heavy labouring in factories, harbours and mines in Japan, on the Pakan Baroe railways and the Burma-Thailand railways, and to construct roads and airport around the Asia region. Others had died squashed together in "hell ships" — unventilated dark holds in which it wasn't even possible to stand up. Another 4,000 Dutch had lost their lives when the Allies bombed Japanese ships, unaware that its cargo was POWs. Many families waited in vain for the return of loved ones who, they later discovered, had died from infectious diseases, starvation and beatings working in the inhumane conditions of slave labour. A large percentage had also died of hunger. Deprived of food, they devoured anything remotely edible, including dogs, cats, rats, snakes, frogs, lizards and snails. The camps were filthy. Fleas, lice, and vermin abounded and outbreaks of diseases like malaria, beriberi, dysentery, amoebic and bacillary dysentery, cholera and pneumonia occurred frequently and few medicines were available.[230]

The British found themselves unexpectedly put under pressure by the challenging behaviour of *Pemuda*.[231] It may well have been their arrival that inflamed the situation and caused violence to erupt, as did a special incident in Surabaya on 19 September. Some Dutch youth, former internees, hoisted the Dutch flag over the Hotel Yamato

229 Van Wagtendonk.
230 ibid, p. 10.
231 McMillan, pp. 24-29.

(formerly Hotel Oranje),[232] where RAPWI had located itself.[233] These same Dutch and Eurasian youth had previously torn down Indonesian patriotic posters. The large crowd of Indonesians that had gathered outside the hotel were outraged by this gesture. Stones were thrown and some shots were fired, and a few Indonesian student revolutionaries climbed to the hotel roof and managed to rip the horizontal blue stripe from the Dutch flag and convert it into the red and white flag of the Republic.[234] This incident is viewed by many as the prelude to the battle of Surabaya, where literally thousands of young Indonesians lost their lives. Vickers, in his *History of Modern Indonesia*, notes that by late September the situation "in the steamy port city of Surabaya was out of hand" because revolutionaries here were not prepared to countenance the return of the Dutch:

> After a series of incidents involving pro-Dutch Eurasians, and in which atrocities were committed against Dutch prisoners, the spirit of revolution arose in all its passionate ugliness. The liberated were drunk with victory. They could do anything and dream of everything. Courage rose like a snake in the grass. Self-confidence and nationalism welled up like froth in beer. As the writer Idrus remembered it, "The cowboys stood in the middle of the road with revolvers on their hips and knives in their belts." The revolutionary hero, a young man with long hair, dressed in coolie trousers made of sacking, bandana on his head, samurai sword at his waist, was born.[235]

Robert Cribb observes that the increasing intensity of fighting and violence over the months of October and November 1945 became known as the *Bersiap* period, from the warning cry "*Bersiap*!" ("Get Ready") with which the young nationalists used to summon their members to do battle with an approaching force considered hostile.[236] This was followed by the nationalist salute "*Merdeka*", their ferocious war cry for freedom, which they would shout as their

232 The Japanese changed its name from Oranje to Yamato. It is currently known as Hotel Majapahit.
233 Anderson, p. 128.
234 Penders.
235 Vickers, p. 98, cites Idrus, "Surabaya", in *From Surabaya to Armageddon: Indonesian Short Stories*, ed. and trans. H. Aveling, Singapore, Heineman, 1976, pp. 1-28.
236 Cribb, p. 63.

fighters entered a street, accompanied by noisy beating of iron stakes against fences and light poles.[237]

However, the Dutch were not the only targets of Pemuda wrath. These radical nationalist youth reserved a special contempt for any Indonesian willing to serve or sell goods to the Dutch.[238] Lurid hand-drawn posters surviving the period display a barely credulous indignation that any Indonesian should stoop to do so: "Dogs of the NICA", they would ask in fury, "Why have you abandoned your own people?"[239]

As the troops struggled to restore order the situation with Pemuda became ever more dangerous. When the 3/3rd Gurkha rifles arrived at Buitenzorg (Bogor) they discovered that Indonesian extremists had taken 1050 Christian Eurasians north to Dapok, on the Batavia-Buitenzorg Road, where they had killed many and abducted others. The Gurkhas arrived on the scene to find many women and children mutilated. They sent the casualties back to Batavia and the survivors to Buitenzorg. In November another 1,000 internees were brought to Buitenzorg from Soekaboemi and 2,250 internees evacuated to Batavia.[240] Reports by RAPWI and other British observers in Java about the Netherlands East Indies, especially Java and Sumatra, described the situation as extremely dangerous. This state of affairs caused Mountbatten to tread ever more warily.

237 *The West Australian*, 26 December 1945.

238 Robert Cribb, Gangsters and Revolutionaries: The Jakarta people's Militia and the Indonesian Revolution 1945-1949, Honolulu, University of Hawai'i Press, 1991, p.63, notes: hundreds of Dutch old colonial hands tell of the warm greeting they received from their old *babu* (nursemaid), *jonggos* (manservant) and *tukang kebun* (gardener) when they finally came home from the internment camps until they became the focus of Pemuda wrath.

239 ibid.

240 McMillan, p. 24.

The Return of the Dutch to Control the Netherlands East Indies Encounters a Major Set-back

The increasing level of danger prompted the British to alter their priorities as ever more fierce fighting broke out between Republicans and the British and the few troops that the Dutch had managed to land in Java.[241] Control of Surabaya was gained at the cost of an intense three weeks of brutal combat and the life of an English General.

In Surabaya, residents of the city knew that SEAC forces had landed at Batavia/Jakarta, bringing with them small numbers of Dutch military and colonial officials. In mid-October 1945, members of the numerous and particularly militant Youth of the Republic (PRI) began a wholesale roundup of Dutch and Eurasians in the city. Many were taken from their homes at gunpoint and loaded onto trucks that hauled them to local prisons. Some were killed by infuriated mobs who followed the trucks shouting "Kill the NICA dogs!" and "Filthy Dutch!" [242]

Henrietta Thomas née Kuneman, who was taken to Surabaya with her mother, noted there were just too few British troops to repel the large contingent of *Pemuda*; she recalls:

> In the next week I learnt the taste of mortal fear. Not once but several times we were in grave danger. While the fighting was in progress, mortar rounds fired by the British were screaming over the house. This was answered by rifle fire from the Indonesians (we were the meat in the sandwich). This did not worry us so much; it was the eerie silences in between the exchanges of fire which were hard to take….Nearly every night we got a visit from a Gurkha soldier, who with a knife in his teeth, would come crawling on his belly from the hospital next door) to bring us some provisions. Then the house next door was invaded…The feeling of no escape is hard to describe.[243]

Accepting the inevitable, RAPWI, recognising that there was a great difference in the level of danger in various parts of Java, began to prioritise evacuation of those Netherlands East Indies Dutch most at risk. For example, while conditions in West Java were dangerous, in Central Java the danger for European and Indisch Dutch was extreme, and worst near Semarang. Many of the Dutch Fairbridgeans in this book were evacuated to Australia from Central Java.

241 Julius Tahija, *Horizon Beyond*, Singapore, Times Books International, 1995.
242 William H. Frederick, *Visions and Heat: The Making of the Indonesian Revolution*, Athens, Ohio, Ohio University Press, 1989.
243 Henrietta Thomas née Kuneman, *From Revolution to Chaos*, memoir, Perth 1990. p. 41.

The cascara seed are reminders of the imperative to grow these seeds in their gardens for the Japanese to produce fuel. The bicycle wheels recall the risks Wilhelmina took to disseminate radio information about the war to the 'underground movement'. Courtesy Frances Larder Collection. ©Wilhelmina de Brey.

Food drops by Allied planes.
Courtesy Frances Larder Collection. © Anna Dijkman-Tetteroo.

The Gurkhas also changed their priorities in Java to a greater focus on the evacuation of internees caught up in the in Central Java crisis.

With the deployment of the relief teams in September and their discovery of thousands of internees in Semarang and in the interior of Central Java, it became clear that a force would have to be dispatched to protect them and gather them in. It had not originally been the British intention to go to Central Java, but military reports confirmed that the severity and volatility of the situation there required their immediate attention. The protection of the internees in Central Java came to assume great importance when it was discovered that Indonesian extremists were surrounding the camps and refusing to let food in.[244] RAPWI then made it its first priority to address the provision of food to internees. This they achieved by organising Allied planes to drop food parcels into camp compounds. However, this was not without its dangers, for if one of the parcels were to land on your head it meant certain death. That aside, for these critically starved individuals the food hampers were a feast: biscuits, milk powder, chocolate, tea, coffee, to name just some of the goodies. However, there was a down side — the tendency to eat and eat — and this was dangerous, as severely starved people can die from overeating. The Gurkhas also organised for leaflets to be dropped into internment camps to keep up inmates' morale:

> We know that your joy, like ours, is great, but do not express that joy by making demonstrations yet. Carry on your work calmly and await the arrival of the Allied troops and of the representatives of your own government, who will come to you as soon as possible to help allied prisoners…be released.[245]

Given the volatility of the situation Gurkha Command deemed it better for ex-POWs and ex-internees to return to or remain in concentration camps, as it would be more convenient for food distribution and would make it easier to defend severely depleted Dutch internees from the lawless bands of Indonesian youth on killing sprees. They were joined by *Indisch* Dutch (considered by the *Pemuda* to be pro-Dutch) who also feared for their lives. Willems notes that the situation had deteriorated to the point that by 1 November 1945 Allied command were now responsible for

244 McMillan, p. 38.
245 ibid.

Graves, from the Odyssey Project War Quilt, © Jo Brinkhorst. Courtesy Frances Larder Collection.

231,750 European and Indisch displaced people relocated in camps for their safety from Pemuda violence.[246] There they were to be guarded by the Japanese army or the army of the Republic of Indonesia [TRI], depending upon the camp's location, but still under the auspices of the British Supreme Army.[247]

Strange Alliances in Dangerous Times

The attitude of the Japanese troops, who until that time been attempting to retake control of Semarang from the nationalists in a rather indiscriminate way, changed abruptly after they captured the prison in Semarang and, to their horror, found that *Pemuda* fighters had rounded up and incarcerated over 200 Japanese soldiers in a cramped cell in Boeloe prison, and had later killed the helpless prisoners by "pumping bullets into them".[248] A British officer reported that this revelation had every Japanese soldier in Semarang "go fighting mad"; "they swept through the town regardless of danger or their own losses like one of the Mongolian hordes of Genghis Khan or Tamerlane."[249] Truckloads of Indonesian prisoners with their hands tied behind their backs were driven into the countryside and never seen again. As the Japanese soldiers captured more weapons from the *Pemuda* they armed Japanese civilians, who joined in the killing. Reports on the estimated number of Indonesians the vengeful Japanese killed during this rampage vary greatly from 390 to at least 2,000.[250] The Gurkha presence, was therefore, welcomed by local Indonesians because it brought an end to retaliatory measures.[251] McMillan notes:

> In the early morning of 19 October, 3/10th Gurkha Rifles under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Edwards arrived in the harbour of *Semerang* [where] they received new operational instructions from 23rd Indian Division Headquarters. These state that henceforth their duties were solely to protect the internees in the town and to maintain "law and order". They also specifically stipulated that battalion

246 Willems, p. 26.
247 Van Wagtendonk, p. 95.
248 McMillian, p. 27.
249 ibid.
250 ibid.
251 ibid., p. 26.

Melb. Argus.
Nov. 30. 1945

AUSTRALIA WILL TAKE ONLY 6,000 DUTCH FROM JAVA

Referring to a reported suggestion by Mr W. MacMahon Ball, Australian Government representative at Allied HQ in Java, that Australia should receive 50,000 women and children as refugees from Java, Mr Chifley said in Canberra yesterday that arrangements had been made to take in a maximum of 6,000 Dutch people, but this was subject to accommodation being available and erection of special buildings not being involved.

Mr Chifley said that he had no knowledge of any undertaking by Australia to send five shiploads of relief stores, including medicines and food, to Java, as reported by Sutan Sjahrir, self-styled Prime Minister of Indonesia.

Mr Calwell, Minister for Information and Migration, said last night that the Federal Government had agreed in principle to the reception for a limited period for recuperative purposes of as many Dutch men, women, and children—particularly women and children — from NEI as Australia's capacity to accommodate them would allow. In view of Australia's own grave housing shortage, certain camp areas might have to be used for housing the evacuees.

Melbourne Argus, 30 November 1945.

Melbourne Herald. 29.11.45.

Should Give Asylum To NEI Evacuees Says ANA Chief

Australia should have no objection to the entry into the Commonwealth of 50,000 Dutch nationals for whom refuge is sought, the chief president of the Australian Natives' Association (Mr V. Dimelow) said today.

He was commenting on a report that the Australian Government representative in the Netherlands East Indies (Mr W. MacMahon Ball) had asked the Commonwealth to accommodate up to 50,000 evacuees in Australia.

"Every decent thinking person must sympathise with men, women and children whose safety is endangered by circumstances over which they have no control," Mr Dimelow said.

COMMON HUMANITY

"In most civilised countries — particularly English - speaking countries — people have realised that, in the interests of common humanity, they owe to people in acute danger the right, at least, of temporary asylum. This policy rightly has been adopted by the Australian Government during the war."

The president of the National Council of Women (Mrs Karl Kumm) said that if the plan were approved by the Government her members would welcome the opportunity to help in the evacuation of Dutch nationals.

Mrs Kumm said that, because the capital cities were overcrowded, accommodation should be sought in large provincial towns where food would be more readily available and emergency buildings could be erected. She suggested, in particular, fruitgrowing districts and other areas where people had large vegetable gardens.

The president of the Australian Women's National League (Lady Knox) said it was Australia's bounden duty to assist Dutch nationals who were in such dire distress.

IN FILTHY GAOLS

Most Dutch women and children would continue to rot in gaols and prison camps in Java if they were not brought to Australia, said a Dutch woman doctor who arrived here with 129 former internees in the motorship Kota-Gede.

She was Dr. Hilde Messing, who, with two other women doctors, cared for 1400 people in the Batavia gaol and, with seven other women doctors, for 14,000 people in Bandoeng camp during the war.

Dutch women and children were still in filthy gaols and camps, and craved milk, eggs and butter to nourish their thin, weak bodies, she declared.

Their precarious supply of medicine and food could be cut off at any moment. Australia was about the only place where they could become normal.

Today's arrivals will spend four months in Victorian guest-houses and private villas before returning to Java.

ACCOMMODATION

The Vice-Consul for the NEI in Melbourne (Mr P. Wessells) said that, at the moment, the only suggestion to house the evacuees was to put them in Army camps, for which no staff would be available.

In Sydney today, the Netherlands Consul-General (Mr J. V. D. Pennink) said the people had been in the hands of Japanese for 3½ years, and would certainly not welcome the prospects of being put into unused Army camps in Australia. Camps should be used only as a last resort.

Melbourne Herald, 29 November 1945.

> members not take sides in "political matters" or enter into political discussions with local leaders. They could however, meet local leaders in conjunction with RAPWI matters and give RAPWI the opportunity to do the same. At a subsequent meeting with the Commander of the Battalion and Indonesian republican leaders in Semarang, among whom was Wonsonogoro, the Governor of Central Java, it was agreed that the Indonesian Republic police force in Semarang would be allowed to retain its own arms but that it would disarm ordinary Indonesian civilians.[252]

At this time the Gurkhas also discovered that there were no camps at Magelang. However, at Ambarawa and Bandjoebiroe, some 40 kilometres (25 miles) away, they found six camps containing over 14,000 people. At Semarang, they discovered yet another five camps containing about the same amount of internees.[253] In the prisons at Semarang and Ambarawa, there were also large numbers of political prisoners of various nationalities, including prisoners-of-war. Consequently, once the battalion was settled at Semarang, they sent detachments to Ambarawa and Magelang to establish a presence and to make contact with internees.

The Gurkha team enjoyed good relations with the Republican Government so long as they did not infringe their sovereignty. McMillan notes this enabled the team to organise the evacuation of 773 internees to the hospital at Magelang (600 of whom were serious hospital cases). However, another 900 hospital cases still remained. Another 1500 internees required constant medical attention but did not need to go to hospital and 110 were evacuated to the Wonosobo Hill convalescent centre. A number of internees were sent to Soerakarta and Salatiga; however, this had to be stopped because of Indonesian hostility there. Sixty-eight internees were evacuated by air to Batavia so that they could rejoin their families.

Four trainloads of prisoners of war and internees were sent to Surabaya, totalling 1,800 people, 900 of whom were from the camps at Banjoebiroe which had a priority for evacuation in central Java, because sanitation and hygiene

252 McMillan, p. 27. Also available on: http://books.google.com.au/books?id=9u8w10uVYyIC&pg=PR1&lpg=PR1&dq=Richard+McMillan&source=web&ots=tHZi7IQEZ1&sig=qPQ_h77hJuvK4zvqjp6zfFPVXq4&hl=en&sa=X&oi=book_result&resnum=8&ct=result#PPA24,M1 viewed 26 November 2008.

253 ibid., p. 13.

there were far worse than in camps at Ambarawa. However, fighting broke out between the Japanese and the newly constituted Indonesian Republic Forces in Surabaya, and as a result Indonesians forces assumed complete control and disarmed the Japanese. Consequently it became impossible to send more internees to Surabaya. Those who had already been evacuated there along with another 1000 who had gone there from all over Java on their own initiative for protection as suggested, were now, according to a British report, in grave danger.[254]

Victims and Survivors of the Revolution

The Pemuda, now in possession of Japanese weapons, became even more threatening when the seriously undermanned RAPWI began employing Dutch ex-POWs and internees to help them shift the more severely debilitated Dutch internees and POWs in Central Java to recuperative spas in the hills or repatriate them to other countries for rehabilitation. Badan perjuagan combat units of the Independence Movement then embarked on ever more murderous rampages directed at the Dutch, wielding improvised weapons including bamboo spears, machetes and firearms. Consequently, instead of the freedom they longed for, the Dutch were confronted with extreme unrest and guerrilla warfare and, as mentioned before, the supreme irony of their Japanese oppressors becoming their protectors. In some instances an even more bizarre situation emerged. Dutch Fairbridgean Ernst Kollmann, who was nine at the time and in Halmaheira camp with his family, comments:

> So we found ourselves in the odd situation that we were protected by Japanese units under Allied Command but also attacked by Japanese units under Indonesian Command. [255] ….
>
> An additional reason why it was unsafe for us to leave the civilian internment and POW camp, was the excesses of the Indonesian Freedom Fighters. Therefore we sometimes found ourselves caught between the bullets of the Japanese who were defending us and the *Pemudas* trying to massacre us. *Gurkhas* eventually evacuated us in October 1945. [256]

254 McMillan, p. 7.
255 Ernst Kollman pers. com., 2007.
256 Ernst Kollman, interview with Nonja Peters, 2006.

Mrs W. Krijgsveld, who compiled a compendium of *Bersiap* events at Ambarawa Camp from the diaries of seven women and the notebooks of another five, sums up the situation on 21 August 1945, some six days after the war's end:

> Heavy artillery fire from Freedom Fighters flattened half the hospital and was especially heavy near Barrack Ten. People from this barrack subsequently sought shelter in the already overly crowded Barrack Nine where they slept on the floor for two nights. The following night Indonesian freedom fighters again entered the unprotected Barrack Nine and this time herded the inmates onto a grass field when they proceeded to throw live hand grenades into the crowd. Fortunately the Ghurkhas arrived just in time to offer some protection. Even so and despite a number of children and adults having thrown some grenades back at the extremists before they exploded, 13 Dutch died and 125 were injured. A number of the injured also died later.[257]

On other nights the *Pemudas* threw hand grenades into crowded barracks, killing more inmates. Some of the Dutch Fairbridgeans who were later transported from the camp to the city remain thankful they were in the second transport. The first five hundred women and children to leave the camp for the city were assaulted by *Pemuda* who threw hand grenades into the crowded trucks, and when internees tried to jump out the *Pemuda* impaled them on bamboo spears.[258]

Dutch Fairbridgean women and children contend the revolution was even more frightening than their internment under the Japanese, as the atrocities with which they were now confronted were worse even than those inflicted by the Japanese.[259] Dutch Fairbridgean Eduard Lumkeman will never forget the horror he felt when his parents told him the two children of friends of theirs had been murdered. Both were around Eduard's age of 13 at the time: the girl was

257 Chronology of events in Ambarawa: Camp 6, compiled by: W. Krijgsveld (Postbus 165, 9750 A D, Haren); from the diaries of: Miep v/d Kroogt, Mrs. Krijgsveld, Mrs. Ouwejan, Mrs. Tjakkes, Atie te Velde, Ike te Velde, Mrs. Wijna, and notebooks of Mrs. Burgerhoudt and Mrs. van Voorenveld; also from reports of Dr. E.Krijgsveld and from the later (1948) notes by Mrs. Wielenga (fuku-kaitjo), and the books: A Valley in Ambarawa, and Patience and Bluff by Mrs. Petra Groen.

258 Winnie de Vries, pers. com., 2007.

259 Life history of W. Krijgsveld 2002.

doused in petrol and set alight, the boy *getjintjangd* (hacked to pieces).

During the *Bersiap*, Winnie de Vries, her mother and brother were interned for their protection in a local high school building in Semarang. Winnie recalls:

> … one day a little pickup car came up and in the back were many dead (Indonesian, Japanese and Dutch). That is when we heard we were to be protected against *Pemuda* by our former tormentors! Later, when we were going down for a meal there was a lot of shooting going on. [So we thought] "no better we stay hungry than dead!"[260]

Eduard, his mother and sister (who had also been relocated to this building from Halmaheira camp, where Eduard had found his family after leaving Bangkong) recalls his mother receiving a message as to the whereabouts of his father at a camp in Tjimahi. The message also noted that the Japanese had invaded his brother Jan's ship - the *Isaac Zweers* — but that he had escaped from Cilacap to Australia on 13 November 1942. Jan was eventually one of the few survivors when the *Isaac Zweers* was torpedoed in the Mediterranean; so both Mrs Lumkeman's husband and son were alive. However, their troubles were far from over:

> The high school building at Semarang was situated in a rather isolated spot on a slope. During the bersiap period, one early morning, we heard the yelling and singing (*merdeka* and *pottong lèhèr* means to cut your throat) of a crowd of Indonesian people, approaching to slaughter us. The Japanese guards, who had to protect us, were disarmed and arrested some days earlier by the Indonesians, also the Dutch boys of 14 years and older. (They took my friend but not me because they thought me too small, I felt offended!). So only women and children were left in the building. We didn't know that the Japanese in the prison were machine gunned in their cells, next to the cell of the Dutch boys. Somehow other Japanese were informed and they managed to conquer the machine gun and released the Dutch boys. From here the Japanese

260 Winnie de Vries, pers. com., 2008

> started fighting the *Pemuda*. Just when the crowd approached one side of the premise the Japanese arrived at the opposite side and our building became the battlefield. The Japanese won and so we are still alive. After that the Gurkhas came.[261]

At last they could seek greater assistance for Eduard's sister Nora who was very ill at that time from the *djarak* seeds, which are poisonous, which she had eaten to diminish her excruciating hunger. She was just skin and bone and had nearly died.

"Liberated" and desperate to reunite with family, some young Dutch Fairbridgeans took matters into their own hands. Donald Schotel and some of his friends stole out of Bangkong camp:

> We were advised not to leave Bangkong and stay behind the closed gates, because outside the first riots had started and the first killings were a fact. I had learned to obey orders and I was no hero, but on the other hand I wanted to go "home". I wanted to go back to Halmaheira to look to see if my family was still there, if they were still alive.[262]

Travelling by night and trying to stay out of sight by walking close to hedges and shrubbery Donald and his friends finally reached Halmaheira camp only to find it:

> …overcrowded and filthy and [the inmates] women and children looked like ghosts. People did not walk any more they just moved very very slowly. On their arms and legs there was no longer any flesh…. just skin over bone. [They]… all looked so breakable. These first impressions of the Halmaheira camp in September 1945 are carved in my memory and will never leave me. People were staring at me as if I just came from the moon, but nobody spoke to me. I had shoes on, old shoes which were too big for me and which I had taken from the belongings of a man after he died in Bangkong; nobody had shoes anymore at that time. People looked at my shoes in disbelief, but they said nothing. [Starvation had made them]

261 Eduard Lumkeman. pers. com., 2008.
262 Donald Schotel, pers. com., 2008

> apathetic and they uttered hardly a word. On the narrow dusty road was a woman, no, a skeleton, standing and dressed in rags, barefooted, I went on walked past her and then somebody called my name. I turned around — it was my mother. I had not recognized my own mother! She recognized me. Yet it was not more than one year ago that I had last seen her.[263]

Some weeks later, Dutch Fairbridgean, Els Duyser, whose family had spent most of their internment at Halmaheiro, undertook a similar journey to Donald's after the high school in *Semarang* had been transformed into a temporary hospital for the very ill, and her mother and sister had been taken there for extra care. Els, who was eleven years old at the time, was left to her own devices at Halmaheiro, not considered gravely sick enough for admission. She recalls her surprise when the first night

> …my 17 year-old brother Jaap appeared at Halmaheira. As he so much wanted to see our mother and sister, we both sneaked out of the camp and organised a *betjak* to take us there, which was very dangerous. After this escapade we returned to the camp, where we found the leading people were very angry with us for what we had done. Jaap left me alone again and disappeared to Surabaya. Some days later, [again] to my surprise my father appeared at Halmaheira camp, I did not know he was still alive. Shortly after that we were transported to Semarang Harbour in canvas-covered trucks and taken to the hospital ship *MS Oranje* that [eventually] took us to Australia.[264]

Jan Wagtendonk estimates that around 3,500 Europeans died at the hands of *Pemuda* during the Bersiap period and that another 20,000 went missing, presumably having met the same fate.[265] However, more *Pemudas* died in the struggles than Europeans. In 1945 alone, in the first battle at Pekalongan on 3 October 1945, 32 *Pemuda* lost their lives, in Yogyakarta 18. In Semarang, as noted above, 200 Japanese were killed with bamboo spears; the Japanese retaliated by taking 2000 Indonesian lives. It was, however, the battle of Surabaya on 10 November 1945 that became the symbol of *Pemuda's* revolutionary spirit, heroism and sacrifice.[266] This battle is described as equal in intensity to

263 ibid.
264 Els Duyser, pers. com., 2008.
265 van Wagtendonk, p. 95. See also www. jesinfo.org.
266 Lucas, "Revolutionary Youth", in Wild and Carey, p. 155; see also McMillan for a comprehensive account of this battle.

some of the worst World War II battles on European soil. The battle of Surabaya is described as equal in intensity to many of the battles of World War II. More than five hundred bombs were dropped on the city during the first three days of the battle.[267] News of the fighting in Surabaya enflamed the nationalists all over central and east Java, which in turn endangered lives in the large prisoner of war camps in central Java, where POW and internee populations were swollen to more than ten thousand by an influx of Eurasians and other ethnic minorities fleeing the violence of the revolution.

The Gurkhas in the town, supported by air strikes, managed to protect the larger camps, but people in smaller or more isolated places often fell into the hands of the Indonesians. Some of these isolated groups of internees, mostly women, children, and the aged, were tortured, dismembered, or murdered by the Indonesian extremists. At a convent near Ambarawa, the Indonesians found thirty internees, whom they lined up against a wall and used as targets for hand grenades.[268] On 9 December 1945, *The West Australian*'s correspondent in Batavia wrote:

> An Army spokesman said tonight that 150 Dutch and Eurasian internees had been kidnapped within the past few days from South Bandung from an area of the city held by Indonesians because they could not be rescued in time. However, 500 other evacuees had been rescued by Indian troops. A full-scale battle developed between the *Gurkhas* and Indonesian extremists. Those rescued had not eaten for several days and had been under constant attacks from Indonesian extremists. They were hysterical with joy when they reached safety in the northern sector of the town.[269]

The following day, in the article "Batavia Outbreak: Nationalist attack — Serious Fighting Reported", the correspondent notes the break-up by Punjabi troops of two platoons of Indonesians armed with mortars, grenades, machine guns and rifles who attacked the dock area:

> Thunderbolts bombed and strafed Indonesian internees [yesterday] at Ambarawa (the former internment camp that still houses many Dutch) after Mosquitos had dropped leaflets giving the population 13 minutes

267 Mansergh, pers. com. to Christison, 9 November 1945, WOl72/6965, Public Record Office, London.
268 McMillan, p. 27.
269 *The West Australian*, 9 December 1945, p. 9.

> to take cover… [As a result of this] Netherlands [and] Netherlands East Indies troops, including Dutch, Ambonese, and Timorese, will in the future be allowed to protect evacuees and re-establish law and order.[270]

Just over two weeks later, a *West Australian* reporter, in an article titled "Java Survey, National Movement Strong: Teeming Millions Enthralled", observes:

> If the Dutch use force in Java they will be strongly resisted by the Indonesians. After having travelled 1,500 miles through the interior in the past ten days and [having] been given the opportunity to examine the position I am forced to that conclusion. Java is not just experiencing a wave of violence whipped up by the Japanese and inflamed by the arrival of the British and Dutch. The revolution, which began with the Japanese capitulation, has swept the country. Already it has passed through the initial phase when Dr Sukarno (now President) loosely guided the dominant factional and fanatical elements. Now it has reached the phase in which early gains are being consolidated by a handful of shrewd men with a thorough appreciation of the situation. The presence of British and Dutch in the northern ports is being interpreted to the people as a new menace of foreign domination and it is actually serving as the main compelling force in uniting the Central Government. The most striking manifestation of Java's new spirit is that it has dazed most of the population. It is so vicious in its intensity that it is at first incomprehensible. It has touched the tattered peasant in countless villages and paddy fields. It is the passion of every youth. It is symbolised in the savage Nationalist salute that is part of every greeting and is always accompanied by the ferocious yell '*merdeka*' [independence] — their cry for freedom.... It is certain death to dissent. The second most dangerous power in the interior is the youth movement. It has reached the stage where practically every youth is forced to join. It is led by a group of fanatics who talk only fight to the masses. In its ranks lurk extremists causing atrocities and incidents with the British Forces [Dutch forces were not yet back in the Netherlands East Indies].[271]

---

270 ibid., 10 December 1945, p. 10.

271 *The West Australian*, 26 December 1945, p. 5.

This correspondent also noted that Indonesian extremists were selecting only the city's (Bandoeng's) prettiest Dutch girls for kidnapping. The reason is that they fetched the highest price on the prisoner exchange market with British forces; according to a nineteen-year-old Indonesian, the Allies were prepared to hand over ten Indonesian captives in exchange for one girl they had abducted.[272] On 29 and 30 November 1945, the *Melbourne Herald* and the *Argus* also reported on the bleakness of the situation for former Dutch ex-civilian internees in the Netherlands East Indies.[273]

Law and order were not the only problems to beset the Netherlands East Indies at that time. The volatile situation was intensified by the desperate food situation in Java. Indonesia was also experiencing a severe food shortage. Rice yields were down by 50 per cent in some areas. The shortage was critical in Surabaya, where, within the Allied perimeter there were some 400,000 civilians, including peaceful Indonesians, Chinese and Arabs. In some areas there was less than four weeks supply of rice left, the large rice stocks south of Surabaya being too difficult to get at. The desperate food situation in Indonesia was made even worse by the hold-up of fourteen ships carrying supplies in Australia by the Waterside Workers' Union bans imposed towards the end of September 1945.[274]

272 ibid.

273 *Melbourne Herald* and *Argus* newspapers 29 and 30 November 1945.

274 *The West Australian*, 10 December 1945, p.10: In an article, "Control of Netherlands East Indies: Stronger British Policy" published on December 10 1945, *The West Australian* newspaper reported that the Singapore conference of British army commanders and Dutch and French political leaders had agreed that pacification of the Netherlands East Indies was to be pursued by the British with much more vigour and greater military force, and that Britain did not stand pledged to restore Dutch sovereignty in the East Indies. This article also noted that the only issue on which present British military policy remained unchanged was the use of Dutch troops. Dutch troops would not be employed in the actual restoration of law and order, partly with the object of not unnecessarily provoking the Indonesians, and partly because the Dutch were insufficiently prepared. But it was clear that the Dutch were expected to come in later to enable the British to leave the country.

Australians' Response to the Situation

The emergency situation in which civilian Dutch internees and POWs were trapped, as observed by the British troops and reflected in newspaper reports, was confirmed further by Mr McMahon Ball, the Australian Government Political Representative in Batavia at that time. In a communiqué to the Department of Foreign Affairs in Canberra, he makes note of the chaos in Java, including the widespread starvation and sickening atrocities, and how the Dutch women and children were beseeching him to help them gain asylum in Australia. "Theirs", he declared, "is a humanitarian appeal of the most urgent and genuine kind".[275] He recommended Australia offer asylum to 50,000 of the worst cases to survive the three-and-a-half-year-long internment in Japanese concentration camps. However, despite the severity of the situation and Mr Ball's strong plea, Australia only extended an offer for rehabilitation to 6,000. The Commonwealth authorities blamed the grim housing situation in Australia and especially the shortage of building materials generated by the war effort as the main obstacles standing in the way of greater support. The worst cases were transported to the Netherlands when vessels became available.[276]

On September 10 1945, in a memo to the Collector of Customs in Fremantle, Mr A. R. Peters, Acting Secretary of the Department of Immigration, advised that the Australian Government had agreed that Netherlands subjects from the "liberated" Netherlands East Indies would be sent to Australia for recuperative purposes for any period up to six months, provided satisfactory arrangements could be made for their accommodation and provided also that:

- The Netherlands Indies Government would be responsible for their maintenance while they were in Australia and for their ultimate return to the Netherlands Indies, and would supply personnel for looking after them where such care was necessary;
- No persons suffering from dangerous or communicable diseases would be sent here unless prior authority was obtained from the Minister after consultation with the Commonwealth Department of Health; and that
- This general approval was to be subject to further agreement as to numbers to be sent here.[277]

275 NAA 1838, Item 401/3/6/1/8, P59/28.
276 ibid.
277 NAA Series: PP6/1.0 Item 1945?H/595 "Aliens Registration".

Australian Waterside Workers Unions Boycott Dutch Ships

Lamentably, two weeks later on 24 September 1945, when the Australian Waterside Worker's Union advised of a "Black Ban" on all Dutch shipping, the danger to Dutch civilian ex-internees and ex-POWs from Republican guerrilla units increased dramatically.[278] The upshot of the "Black Armada" affair was that until 1947, Australian wharfies would refuse to load Dutch ships as a demonstration against Dutch rule in Indonesia. On 29 November 1945 *The West Australian* and *The Melbourne Herald* confirmed that the wharfies' ban on Dutch shipping would also stop Australia assisting the Netherlands East Indies with the most urgent problem of critical food shortages and of moving from Batavia to the outer Indies some 10,000 Ambonese who had incurred the hostility of the Javanese.[279]

Mary Briggs-Koning, a Netherlands East Indies Dutch Australian and one of the internee caught up in this disaster, notes:

> While people around the world celebrated the end of the war, we...who had survived [Japanese concentration camps] were now at risk of being killed as we were thrust into a civil war — The Indonesian Nationalist Revolution. Consequently the banning of Dutch ships in Australian ports by the Australian wharf labourer greatly diminished assistance to provide us with much needed supplies of food, medicines and a means of leaving the country.[280]

Her sentiments are shared by Sergeant R. Zulog, ex-President Allied Canteen, who concludes her letter to 'all Australian women' as follows:

> **AND NOW:**
> Where are the men who liked us, and where are the men who remember us. Is this Australia? Where do they keep the food we need so badly and [why do they] encourage the Indonesians with their murdering of women and children? Why should a man's war be fought against women and children? And is there a

278 Tahija, 1995.
279 NAA, Series: A1838, Item 401/3/6/1/8.
280 Mary Briggs-Koning, *Footsteps in Memories*, self-published, Hobart, Marken Pty Ltd., 2001.

> war? Is it not over then? Why should all those prisoners of war, women, suffer still six months after the war is over? What have they done except endure impossible degradation, unspeakable humiliation, starvation, sickness and death? Is it for that, that the world calls us free, to have a war, when they felt so full of trust and friendship? It is a stab in the back. I appeal to any woman of all the women of Australia to clear this up — to do something for women in Java. There are still hundreds in danger of their lives, treated worse than any enemy of ours ever did us.
>
> We could take camps and prisons, we know our enemy and expected nothing better. We can take this underground work of the Japanese. God will judge them and the Indonesians. But we cannot take this attitude of Australia. It is worse than anything that happened to us. It is a deep psychological error from the people who are responsible. I hope fervently that you may be able to do something for the women and children in Java who are still prisoners of war. I remain, dear madam, yours faithfully.[281]

Rupert Lockwood estimates that a total of 559 vessels were held up over a three-year period, from 1945-1947.[282] This action was taken in response to the following appeal, received by the Waterside Workers' Federation (WWF) Federal Council from Indonesian trade unions, comprising merchant seamen stranded in Australia for three years by the Japanese Occupation, and Dutch political prisoners transported here by the Netherlands East Indies administration in 1943:

> We appeal to all democratic and peaceful peoples everywhere, and especially to the working class in all countries of the world, to boycott all that is Dutch in all harbours, stores, roadways and other places throughout the world, **in the event of the outbreak of warfare in Indonesia**.[283]

The boycott of Dutch ships, inspired by the Indonesian Political Exiles Association in Mackay and the Brisbane-based Central Committee for Indonesian Independence (CENKIM) and organised by the communist-led Waterside

281 NAA, A1838, Item 401/3/6/1/8, letter from Sgt. Zulog, ex-president Allied Canteen and ex-president VAC corps, to all Australian women, dated 27th January 1946.

282 Rupert Lockwood, *Black Armada:Australia and the Struggle for Indonesian Independence 1942-1949*, Marrickville NSW, Hale and Iremonger, 1982, p. 231.

283 http://workers.labor.net.au/features/200613/b_tradeunion_westie.html, viewed May 2008; also F. C. Bennett, *The Return of the Exiles: Australia's Repatriation of the Indonesians, 1945-47*, Clayton, Vic., Monash Asia Institute, 2003.

Workers Federation (WWF) and the Seamens' Union, was also supported by another 30 unions. The WWF and 13 other Australian Unions sponsored a documentary *Indonesia Calling* by Joris Ivens.[284] The WWF and Communist Party also activated Australians sympathetic to an Indonesian Republic, such as university students, to organise street demonstrations in capital cities around Australia.[285]

The struggle received widespread if sensational coverage in Australian newspapers. The personal careers of individuals played their part. A major change in Australia's political attitude toward the Dutch occurred when the Prime Minister, John Curtin, died in June 1945 and was succeeded by Ben Chifley, a trade unionist, and his foreign minister, Herbert Evatt. This was reflected in Chifley's refusal, despite earlier promises, to allow 30,000 Dutch servicemen to be stationed on Australian territory, as they could later be deployed in the Dutch East Indies.

Robert Menzies, opposition leader at that time, denounced the shipping ban and claimed the unions were running foreign affairs. This was also the opinion of the mainstream press who were simultaneously printing articles about the revolution and its impact on innocent Netherlands East Indies Dutch civilian internees and POWs. In contrast, the Australian Labor Government supported the Indonesian Republic, at least at the United Nations, set up after the war; here Chifley and Evatt played a key role, because they were keen to be seen supporting the rights of newly emerging nations. In this same landscape, children born to Australian women who had married the Indonesian men marooned in Australia during the war and repatriated to Indonesia with them after the war, were denied entry to Australia if their mother died and their Indonesian father didn't want them.[286]

Another contradiction of war is that while so many Dutch POWs, Dutch women and children and Indisch Dutch people were being slaughtered in the Netherlands East Indies, a Dutch film-maker, Joris Ivens, and the Indonesians marooned here for the war years, lobbied for Indonesia's independence. Yet concurrently, Australia was actively interning Italians, Germans and Japanese even if they were naturalised Australians. During World War II Australia

284 Margo Beasley, *Wharfies: the history of the Waterside Workers' Federation*, Halstead Press in association with Australian

285 Nonja Peters, "Evacuations into Australia from the Netherlands East Indies", 1942-1948, in *The Dutch Down Under 1606-2006*, ed. N. Peters, UWA Press, Perth, 2006.

286 ibid., pp. 124-125.

interned enemy aliens under the National Security Act of 1939 in various camps located throughout Australia. Altogether, about 7000 Australian residents were interned at some stage between 1939 and 1946 — mostly German and Italian nationals (4,721 Italian people were interned). Australia also accommodated about 8000 overseas internees during World War II: from the United Kingdom, from Dutch, British and French colonies in the Pacific and South-East Asia, and from the Middle East. These internees were joined in 1940 by another 2500 from Britain, mostly of German or Austrian origin, who arrived in Australia in August that year on the British troopship Dunera.[287]

Quite some time before these media reports were released in Australia, the Indonesian Nationalists who had been released from Australian internment camps, due to lobbying by Australians, had successfully secured the support of Australian waterside unions and the Communist party in their fight for independence from Dutch Colonial Rule. After their release, many actively politicised other Indonesians and encouraged them to disobey the Netherlands East Indies Administration in Australia. They also educated Australians about their struggle, using Independence Committees established in Melbourne, Sydney and Brisbane. A direct result of their lobbying were the 1945 bans Australian waterside workers placed on loading Dutch ships they suspected were carrying arms to be used against the Indonesian revolutionaries. The problem was, as an Australian official noted, "in the eyes of Indonesian leaders, Indonesia was already an independent state."[288] Nationalists urged the Australians to deal directly with the Republican leaders in the islands and argued that their administration was perfectly capable of carrying on civil government functions without any help from the Dutch.

Because of the considerable media coverage the Indonesian revolution attracted in Australia, these unions could hardly claim ignorance of the major impact extremist youth freedom fighters were having on the Dutch in the Netherlands East Indies, yet in their documentary Indonesia Calling the unions scoff at the idea that the ships they are holding up are in fact "mercy ships" needed to supply food and refuge to ex Dutch POWs and internees.[289] *The Melbourne Herald*, November 29 1945, quotes McMahon Ball, the Australian Government representative in Batavia,

287 www.naa.gov.au/whats-on/online/feature-exhibits/internment-camps/introduction.aspx viewed November 2008; museumvictoria.com.au/DiscoveryCentre/Websites-Mini/Karl-Muffler/Internment-during-World, viewed November 2008.

288 Penders, 2002.

289 Indonesia calling, www.ivens.nl/upload/?p=118&t=2&k=2&film=53&details=ja, viewed October 2008.

who describes the food situation in Java as critical, noting the prospect of widespread starvation by February 1946. He also notes the considerable disorder generally in Java and Batavia (Jakarta), and how matters had been worsened by the lack of efficient local administration. Worse still was the sporadic violence and sickening atrocities, which had placed approximately 190,000 ex-internees, in a pitiful condition and in dire need of recuperative care from their three-and-a-half year-long sojourn, in a position where they now also needed temporary asylum. McMahon Ball urged Australia to send all the food ships it could get to the Netherlands East Indies:

> ...theirs [Dutch internees] is a humanitarian appeal of the most urgent and genuine kind.… Australia should at least provide a temporary home for some of them. Some British authorities have asked that Australia should receive at least 50,000 ex-internees in order to enable them to recuperate. Apart from helping Europeans there is a strong case for providing shipping to move from Batavia to the outer Indies some 10,000 Ambonese who have incurred the hostility of the Javanese.[290]

To the physically and mentally run-down evacuees, the violence, death and brutality of *Pemuda* attacks felt like an even greater threat than the threat of death under their Japanese oppressors. This is because the *Pemuda* threat came from a people most Dutch thought their friends. Their perceived disloyalty was therefore a deep disappointment, even major loss, to the many Dutch who believed that a bond of sympathy between brown and white had always existed.[291]

When the Dutch military re-entered the Netherlands East Indies to free their internees and take control of the country, they found themselves confronted by powerful opposition in both Indonesia and Australia. Many Australians, sympathetic towards Indonesian Independence, demonstrated against the Dutch in spite of their own strong racist attitudes. Julius Tahija, an Indonesian in the Netherlands East Indies military forces, who married Jean, an Australian dentist, was astounded at the media debate and coverage Indonesian nationalism commanded in Australian.[292] Moreover, in virtually every Australian capital city university students organised street demonstrations against Dutch

290 NAA A1838 Item 401/3/6/1/8, Letter from Hon. N.J.O Makin, Acting Minister for External Affairs, Canberra, 28 December 1945.
291 Margono Djojohadikusumo, cited in C L M Penders, p. 121.
292 Julius Tahija, *Horizon Beyond*, Times Books International, Singapore, 1995.

rule in Indonesia.[293] Thus Dutch troops making their way to the Netherlands East Indies via Australia found themselves unable to load, unload or victual their ships or disembark their untrained troops even temporarily.[294]

The union's stance was not the only opinion on the subject. On December 26 1945, in an article entitled "Living Standards" in *The West Australian*, the author remarks:

> ...[T]he secretary of the Carpenters' Union states that 'they wanted a better standard of living for the Indonesians than they were getting under Dutch rule.' Has the union ever considered the standard of living our own native races are getting under Australian rule? Australians have no right to criticize other nations on this point.[295]

This is an interesting and relevant observation, given that Aboriginal Australians did not achieve franchise until 1967 — thus for another twenty-one years, and White Australia stayed intact for another 26 years. However, regardless of this protestation, and despite numerous newspaper articles that articulated the terrible plight of innocent Dutch civilians at the mercy of extremist freedom fighters, the bans continued until 1947.[296] This was despite the Dutch having in fact worked tirelessly in defence of Australia and the region during the Pacific War.

Fortunately, there were also Australian diplomats, politicians and members of the public who, faced with the crisis of the various Netherlands East Indies populations (Dutch, Dutch *Indisch* — those of mixed blood — Ambonese, Chinese and other ethnic Indonesians) responded from a humanitarian perspective. Generally this was the group of diplomats, humanitarians and media who also tended to be anti-Sukarno. Australian politicians see-sawed between providing support for the Netherlands East Indies Dutch and supporting Indonesian independence, depending upon the level of influence exerted on them by powerful lobby groups within their portfolios or constituencies. One such group,

---

293 ibid.: "There were horror stories in the newspapers of people who supported the republicans being killed by the Dutch in Central Java and even Jakarta [and of] Republican guerrilla units attacking Dutch soldiers and police and killing scores of people throughout Java".

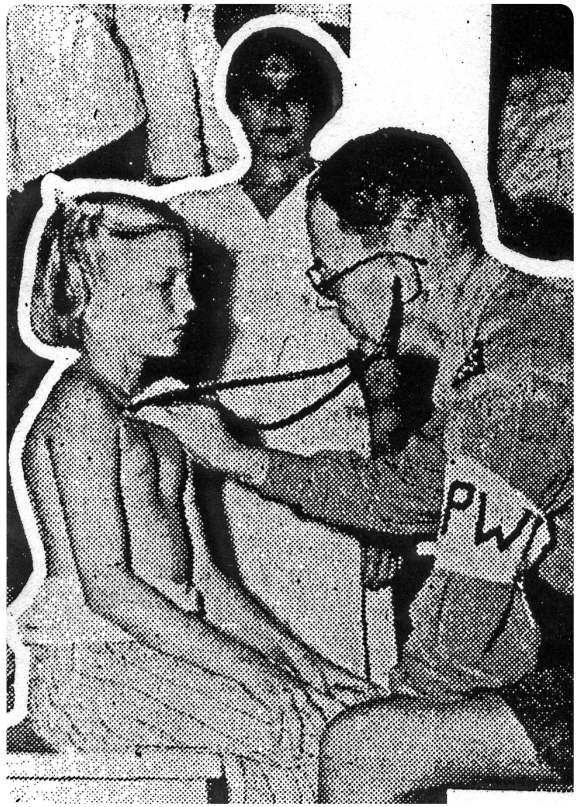
294 *The Sydney Morning Herald* 6 November1945; NAA: A433, Item 1945/2/5745.

295 *The West Australian*, 26 December 1945, p. 6.

296 R. Lockwood, *The Black Armada*; also F. C. Bennett, *The return of the exiles: Australia's repatriation of the Indonesians, 1945-47*, Monash Asia Institute: Clayton, 1993.

the National Defence League of Australian Women's Auxiliary, passed a Resolution at their 1945 committee meeting to send the following message to the Australian Prime Minister:

> In the cause of humanity, it is suggested that the government be asked to do something to succour the women and children who are suffering so intensely at the present time in Java. It has been suggested that the holding up of ships in Australia has had the effect of intensifying this suffering.[297]



Charities also set about raising funds to help ease the suffering of the innocent civilians caught up in this dangerous situation. For example, an article and photographs in *The Western Mail* of 1 November 1945 reports on the old-time ball held at the Embassy Ballroom Ball on 22 October 1945 by the WA Manpower Directorate; it was held to raise proceeds to alleviate the position of peoples in the Netherlands East Indies.

Evacuees were processed to come to Australia from early November 1945. Ernst Kollmann is certain that evacuees were given a choice between Melbourne, Victoria or Perth, Western Australia. And although Ernst's family was sent to Perth on board the hospital ship the MS Oranje, many other families were transported to Australia by aircraft. In fact it was not uncommon during those frenzied times, as for the first evacuation in 1942, for Officers of the joint Dutch-RAAF forces to fly around the clock in whatever aircraft they could lay their hands on. If evacuees were not loaded onto Lockheed Loadstars, B25 Bombers, B25 Strafers and DC10s, they were herded into cargo ships, KPM shipping line vessels, and other ships such as the *MS Volendam*. Anything that

297 NAA Series: PP6/1/0 Item1945/H/595.

OLD - TIME BALL

AT EMBASSY

On October 22 the W.A. Manpower Directorate conducted an Old-time Ball at the Embassy Ballroom. It was stated that proceeds would be used to alleviate the position of people in the Netherlands East Indies.

Lieut G. Lulting, Lieut-Commander L. Kleiman, Miss M. Blake, Lieut Ten Hoet, Miss G. Cunningham, Mrs M. Leys.

Mr and Mrs van Dal's party. Courtesy The Western Mail, November 1, 1945, page 52.

wouldn't sink was used to transport Dutch out of the conflict zone and into a rehabilitation environment.[298] These severely debilitated adults and children were not the very worst cases, as it had been decided earlier (by the Dutch Administration) that after a six-month rehabilitation program, this group could be returned to the Netherlands East Indies to continue their work there.[299] In the next section I recount the experiences of some of the families evacuated to Western Australia, in particular those of the children rehabilitated at Fairbridge Farm School, located in Pinjarra, a country town in Western Australia about ninety minutes drive south from Perth, the capital city.

298 In a small plane, with 18th Squadron members, the Surabaya-Broome flight took about 395 minutes.
299 ibid.

PART SIX: THE SECOND EVACUATION: ARRIVAL AND REHABILITATION

The first transports with evacuees from the Netherlands East Indies began arriving in Western Australia towards the end of November 1945. The WA press reported on the large number of skinny and half-starved Dutch children arriving in West Australian for rehabilitation. Some came on ships, others by air. According to their mode of transport, they were disembarked at Victoria Quay, at the Port of Fremantle if they had travelled by ship, or if they had managed to acquire a place on an aircraft, they entered WA at either a civilian or a military airport.[300]

In the weeks prior to evacuation, Repatriation of Allied Prisoners of War and Internees (RAPWI) medical officers examined evacuees to determine needy cases. Getting evacuees to the ship was all too often a dangerous undertaking. Nora Acatos-Lumkeman, who waited as did others, including Winnie de Vries and Els Duyser, to be evacuated with their families from the high school building in Semarang, recalls:

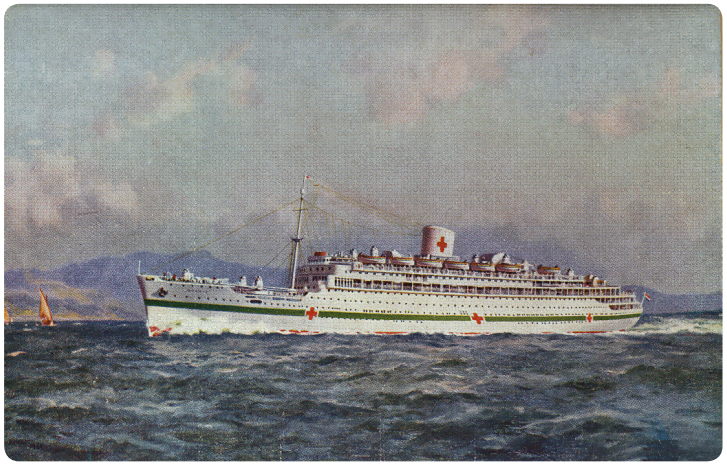
> One day we were told to be ready to leave on the *Oranje*…. Of course full of joy we gave away all our poor possessions we still had managed to keep. About midnight we left on trucks for the bay where the boat was to be in the roads. You can imagine our [feelings of] extreme disappointment when we got there to hear she was nowhere in sight. We were a very frustrated lot coming back to the refuge. Anyhow a couple of days afterwards we were silently woken at 3am for immediate departure. We were hustled (again silently because of the surrounding *Pemudas*) on the trucks under canvas sheets and protected by Gurkhas. We sped through the town and there at large lay the *MS Oranje*. After having been sprayed with DDT, I got a glass of milk and was put straight into the hospital department. I don't think anybody not having lived through all this [violence and danger threatening one's life] can feel what I felt.[301]

Nora's brother Eduard felt happy to find himself on the *MS Oranje*, but also frightened in case the mouth infection with little ulcers and a sore throat he had contracted be noticed and stop them entering Australia. Once on the ship Eduard went straight to bed. It saddened him that he couldn't eat or drink, his throat was so sore nothing would pass

300 *The West Australian*, 17 November 1945.
301 Els Duyser, pers. com. 2008.

by it without extreme pain; he felt envious of the others drinking real milk and having nice food. Luckily he was fit by the time they arrived at Fremantle.[302] Ultimately, the very tense and dangerous times these evacuees had been through left physical and psychological scars that for many, young and old alike, have lasted a lifetime. Every aspect of the evacuees' life over the preceding four years had been characterised by ever increasing difficulties: war, internment, brutality and violence, starvation, illness, and often the death of a family member. It was therefore an enormous relief to be among those chosen for evacuation to Australia.

The *MS Oranje* left Batavia for Semarang on 8 November 1945; it had been delayed at Tanjong Priok harbour by strikes by waterside workers. In Semarang, the embarkation of evacuees from an LST-barge commenced after the second attempt by Gurkhas to avoid *Pemuda* gangs waiting to hold up the evacuee convoys. On November 11, when the embarkation of ex-internees and their baggage was complete, the *MS Oranje* departed for Fremantle with 873 evacuees. They were to be taken to Australia to rehabilitate from the physical and psychological privations of the internment and POW camps in a more moderate climate and calm environment. It was expected that the milder cases among them would, after some months of rehabilitation, be transported back to the Netherlands East Indies to resume their work there.[303]



Hospital ship MS Oranje, circa 1945.
Courtesy Willem Plink Collection.

Jan Kochheim, an ex-internee whose father was head mechanic on board the *MS Oranje*, recalls being welcomed by him and taken to his cabin for a bath, doused with DDT to kill the body lice, and then given clean clothes and a meal. He has never forgotten the amazement on his

302 Eduard Lumkeman, pers. com., 2008.

303 Jan Kochheim in Oranje: tijdschrift, Nederlandsche, en Nederlandsch-Indische gemeenschap Zuid-Pacific, 1942, (Oranje Newsletter for the Indisch Dutch in the South Pacific 1942),p. 278; NIOD:IC Collection, 054928 (2223) Evacuatie.

father's face as he downed his tenth piece of bread loaded with an overabundance of filling. Staff recruited from the Netherlands, Australia and New Zealand provided nursing care for the seriously ill, debilitated evacuees, and they were given nutritious food in a compassionate environment.[304]

Winnie de Vries and her family left on the *MS Oranje* because her little brother was sick and feeble and her mother feared there would be no more transports, even though they still did not know where her father was or even whether he was dead or alive. For Winnie no memory is more vivid and amazing than her embarkation:

> On deck we saw long, long tables covered with white cloth and on it were piles of sandwiches, white bread and all kinds of drinks to choose. Then one moment when I looked out at sea I saw to my great astonishment and shock a piece of that bread in the water! I almost wanted to dive into the water to get it out.... I will never, never forget that scene. We had had so much hunger! The feast [included] chocolate and coffee and milk — as much as you wanted. It was unbelievable. A fairy tale with a happy end![305]

Lingering memories for Adri Geerligs are the embarrassment she felt being deloused with DDT spray straight after embarkation, and the excited remark her three-and–a-half-year-old brother made after boarding the *MS Oranje*: "What a beautiful camp this is!" Adri Geerligs' family was luckier than many, for they had had already been reunited with her father who had also survived internment. Adri recalls the *MS Oranje* berthed in Fremantle on 15 November 1945 and that they were disembarked almost immediately.[306] For twenty-year-old Nora Acatos née Lumkeman, selected for evacuation by her urgent need for medical attention, the experience of arrival in Perth was almost too good to be true. She explains:

> On arrival in Fremantle where the [Waterside Workers Union] strike was going on, I was put on a stretcher on the quay. My first meeting with an Australian was emotional. A man who looked like a beggar approached me and offered a little bag of candies. I will never forget this moment. The sick ones were lucky, as we

304 ibid.
305 Winnie de Vries, interview with Nonja Peters, 2006.
306 Adri Geerligs, email January 29 2008.

> were driven soon by ambulance to Perth (I think it was) Westminster hospital. [Some time later,] being better, we were allowed to sit in the garden and I remember clearly both a girlfriend and I pinching our arms to feel that we were really awake and not just dreaming a sweet dream.[307]

When the *MS Oranje* arrived in Gage Roads outside Fremantle Harbour with its "cargo" of evacuees, because of the strike by the Waterside Workers' Union in support of the Indonesian struggle for Independence, there was no tug waiting to berth them and help to unload and re-fuel the ship.

Paul van Es, whose family had been interned in the notorious Tjideng camp, where his mother had suffered repeated bouts of malaria, recalls it was his little five-year-old sister who was transported straight to the hospital. Evacuees not taken to hospital were looked after by the recently established Netherlands Indies Welfare Organisation for Evacuees (NIWOE), and found all the essential aspects of their Western Australian rehabilitation sojourn had been taken care of for them.[308]

Netherlands Indies Welfare Organisation for Evacuees (NIWOE)

The terms of the evacuees' Australian sojourn were set out in an agreement between the Australian and Netherlands East Indies governments, to be organised and financed by their Department of Economic Affairs under the banner of the Netherlands Indies Welfare Organisation for Evacuees (NIWOE).[309] NIWOE emerged out of the experience of 60 Dutch who were evacuated to Brisbane in March 1945 from Japanese interment camps after General MacArthur had freed the Philippines.[310] The Dutch Indies authorities, in collaboration with the Australian Red Cross, organised their stay. When it became apparent that many more civil internees and POWs from the Netherlands East Indies would need rehabilitation in foreign friendly lands, these organisations and ex-internees decided to set up a welcome committee.

307 Nora Acatos, pers. com., 2007

308 NAA, A433/1, Item49/2/8515: Mr J. Van Holst Pellekaan trade attaché for Netherlands Indies in Melbourne became the central contact person for the new organisation. Netherlands Indies Welfare Organization Evacuees (NIWOE), Brochure, 1945.

309 NAA, A437, Item 1946/6/79: Memorandum dated 10 September, 1945, from A. R. Peters, Acting Secretary of the Department of Immigration, to the Collector of Customs, outlines the policy and procedures for the Netherlands East Indies evacuees.

310 Wim Willems, *Uittocht uit Indië 1945-1949*, Uitgeverij Bert Bakker, Amsterdam, 2001, p.. 278.

Top left: Hay Street, 1945.

Top right: St Gearges Terrace, 1945.

Below left: London Court, 1945. (In 1945 women still dressed up with hat and gloves to go shopping in the city.)

Below right: The Westminster Hospital where the Medisch Centrum was located.

Shortly thereafter, when the Australian Department of Immigration agreed to allow a number of ex-internees to spend six months rehabilitating in Australia, a NIWOE administrative network emerged and a branch was established in every Australian city. Although it was hoped to bring in 14,000 ex-internees at monthly intervals of 1000, the actual numbers rehabilitated in Australia and New Zealand is believed to be closer to 5,000.[311]

From their Perth city office location NIWOE could readily organise programs for evacuees, including their medical and dental care and psychological wellbeing. This was crucial, given that evacuees' health was in serious need of rehabilitation. It was reported that some of the children aged eight and nine looked about four years old, and the fear was that they would remain dwarfs forever. Most evacuees were suffering from beriberi and/or malnutrition and needed to have their health restored to facilitate their repatriation to the Netherlands or back to the Netherlands East Indies. A prime task for NIWOE was organising evacuees' accommodation and childcare, disseminating information about Australian mores, customs and values, schooling and currency exchange and where to shop for clothes. The latter was a necessity because as Ernst Kollmann remarks, and in this he speaks for all evacuees, most of us "arrived in just the clothes we were wearing, and had no money as it had all been taken by the Japanese".[312] Ella Bone recalls that "Because the second evacuation coincided with American sailors departing our shores NIWOE was able to utilise the American accommodation infrastructure for the Dutch evacuees."[313]

The plans for rehabilitation of the evacuees in Perth were led by Mr Jan van Helten, the Chief Welfare Officer, described as a very well organised, pleasant, youngish man of about 40. Before the evacuees' arrival he and his NIWOE staff had been very busy sourcing accommodation for them around the metropolitan area and countryside. Ella Bone recalls van Helten had to administer on behalf of "a bunch of *distraught* [mainly women and children] evacuees". After four years in interment camps most were desperate to find out how family members in the Netherlands East Indies or Netherlands had fared under the Japanese or Nazis, and were anxious to know if they were still alive, so there was lots to do, connecting them up with loved ones and sending messages; Ella notes the Red Cross tracing section were marvellous in the way they managed this difficult task.[314] The Dutch Consul and NIWOE were, therefore, greatly

311 ibid, p. 279.
312 Ernst Kollman, interview, The Netherlands, 2006.
313 Ella Bone, interview with Dr Sue Summers, 2006.
314 ibid.

disappointed when the Dutch ladies who had been evacuated to Western Australia in 1942 were reluctant to assist with the new arrivals. Their reason was that they too wanted to wait and see if their husbands, brothers, and/or fathers were still alive, and if so, to spend all the time they could with them after such a long separation. It was this situation that had prompted Mrs Koens to ask Ella Bone if helping NIWOE was something she would like to do. After all, Ella had spent the war years in a Red Cross uniform, so could anticipate the kind of welfare assistance NIWOE required.[315] Ella was duly recruited as Welfare Officer.

The NIWOE Paper Trail

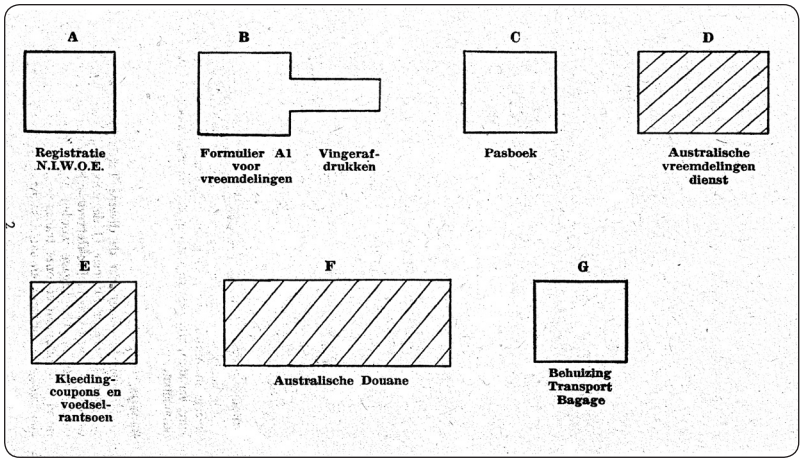
After disembarkation, but before being collected from Fremantle wharf to be processed by NIWOE, the newly arrived evacuees recall being dowsed yet again with DDT. They were also handed a brochure detailing NIWOE's address and that of other Dutch facilities, including: the University of Western Australia where the RNN Officer's Mess was located; further disembarkation procedures relating to their baggage; how NIWOE would process them; some specific information about the sports culture; how they should address and thank Australians; the size and population of Western Australia (which at the 1939 Census stood at 224,800, of whom 82,300 lived in Perth).[316] It also contained a map of the Central Business District, which indicated where they could find the main Post Office, hospitals, Town Hall, universities, libraries and entertainment. It informed them about the tourist landmarks — Swan River, King's Park, National park, Mundaring Weir, and the Zoo — that they might like to see, and named the large department stores where they could shop for clothes and shoes. The brochure also: detailed the many ways NIWOE could assist evacuees during their sojourn in Western Australia; explained the accommodations system; alerted them on how to address accommodation concerns to the NIWOE billeting officer; introduced them to NIWOE's fleet of cars and drivers that they could engage to take them on outings or to doctor's visits; informed them about cultural issues that would promote their relationships with Australians and, last but not least, informed them of the monetary exchange

315 Ella Bone, pers. com. 2008: "Now, 63 years later, I've re-met some of my 'boys' and their their wives, and relived a part of my life that was forgotten and become involved with you, Robert & your project. It's been a great pleasure!"

316 NAA, B6533: Correspondence lists and persona data sheets relating to Dutch evacuees under a scheme operated by the Netherlands Indies Welfare Organisation for Evacuees 1 November 1945 – 31 December, 1947 (see also CA 961 Department of Immigration Victoria Files).

rates. Evacuees were told to treat Australians as equals whatever their status and to say please and thank you also to waitresses and hotel staff, shop assistants and so forth. They were also warned of the staffing shortages caused by the war and the need for them to help where they were accommodated by, for instance, making their beds and in any other way possible, to help alleviate the impact of the shortages.[317]

NIWOE and other relevant Australian authorities then processed them via the seven-task 'tables system' designed by NIWOE to address the many issues related to evacuee's lack of documentation. Each table from A to G represented a specific function, as follows: A: registration; B: Form A1 for Aliens plus finger printing; C: here evacuees were entered into a passbook and furnished with an identification number; at D they were registered as Aliens; at E given clothing and food & tobacco ration coupons, and at F, Australian customs interviewed them. Following documentation, medical checks and bestowal of an identification number, at Table G the evacuees were given the arrangements for transport to their accommodation and the delivery of their baggage. The passbook system adopted by the Netherlands East Indies administration was to overcome evacuees' lack of passports. As part of this process they completed a Registration Form (Form 49) before they reached the port of disembarkation. It was agreed that this form was to be accepted in place of personal statements and that the Netherlands East Indies



The Netherlands Indies Welfare Organisation for Evacuees (NIWOE) Table Processing System Tables A- G: A: Registration with NIWOE; B Proforma A1 for Aliens; C. Passbook; D. Australian Aliens Registration; E. Clothes coupons and food ration cards; F. Australian customs; and G. Accommodation, transport and baggage.

(NAA, B6533: Correspondence lists and personal data sheets relating to Dutch evacuees under a scheme operated by the Netherlands Indies Welfare Organisation for Evacuees 1 November 1945 – 31 December, 1947; NIWOE Brochure 1945).

317 ibid., NIWOE Brochure.

passbook which each adult was given was to be accepted in lieu of passports. The passbook also contained a form to register for dental and medical treatment with the *Nederlandsch Medisch Centrum* (Dutch Medical Centre) located at the Westminster Hospital, 246 Adelaide Terrace, Perth.[318]

On completing NIWOE's paper trail, evacuees were handed a document detailing the procedure they would need to follow should they wish to change the accommodation to which they had been directed, which could be in the metropolitan area or a rural district. Evacuees were then transported to hotel, pension, or lodging house accommodation, or to the Dutch or Australian families who had agreed to billet them.

The evacuees with family members who required hospitalisation faced yet another period of separation. This was particularly hard on the males who at age 10 had been separated from their mothers and placed in boys' camps by the Japanese, and who had only recently been reunited with their families. Such was the case for Eduard Lumkeman. When Nora, his sister, was taken straight to hospital their mother, who was later joined by their father (who came via Sydney), stayed with Nora at Perth. Eduard was placed with Donald Schotel's family and another family in a Hotel in Cuballing. Despite the separation, Eduard remembers it as a nice time when boyhood friendships were able to flourish in a physically and emotionally healthy social setting: "For the Christmas dinner Donald and I caught a goose which I decapitated with an axe! In January 1946 Donald and I went to the Farm school — I think we were [still] a little uncivilised!"[319]

The Ellerbeck and Lindner families, whose fathers or husbands were colleagues and had remained in the Netherlands East Indies, had decided to disembark in Western Australia rather than Eastern States destinations because they wished to return to the Netherlands East Indies as soon as was feasible. After processing by NIWOE the two families (Frank, seven years old, his mother and two sisters aged five and 14 years, and the Lindner mother and seven-year-old daughter) were transported directly to New Norcia where they were allotted accommodation in a large hotel-like structure, which was in reality a building on the Spanish Monastery campus. Frank recalls: "We stayed there for about a month

318 ibid.: aliens' registration letter from Mr A. R. Peters, Acting Secretary Dept of Immigration, to the Collector of Customs, Fremantle, dated 1 November, 1945.

319 Eduard Lumkeman, pers. com., 2007.

and while there delighted in our freedom and enjoyment of the wonderful care we were given. Here we also began the process of freeing ourselves from the trauma of internment". In the camps children were pressured constantly by their mother or other adult caretaker not to make a noise, move or say anything in the presence of a Japanese guard or at *tenko* (roll call) and to bow deeply to any Japanese.[320] After a month the Ellerbeck family was shifted to Perth where they stayed for a week at the Cloisters and then to a house in Maylands. In Australia they were again able to celebrate *Sinterklaas* (on 6 December) and Christmas, which was for many of the children their first experience of a feast.[321] The younger Ellerbeck children did not attend a school in Western Australia; their mothers taught them at home. The older Ellerbeck girl attended the Dutch high school in Burt Hall.[322]

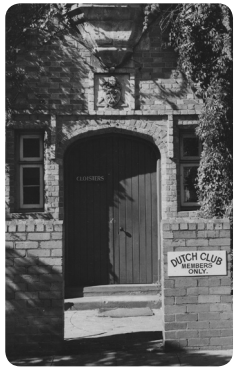
The more fortunate evacuees were those placed in The Cloisters, on St George's Terrace, one of the oldest buildings in Perth. On December 5 1945, *The West Australian* reported that The Cloisters had been taken over as a Dutch Club to house evacuees from Java. A month later, on January 31 1946, *The West Australian* followed up with a critique of the £4,000 refurbishment of the Cloisters, commissioned by NIWOE for the Dutch Government, which they labelled lavish, since it "provided amenities that surpassed those customarily available to the ordinary citizens of WA". The facilities the journalist referred to were the sixty bedrooms, described as "tastefully decorated"; the new cane lounges for the balcony, where NIWOE had already installed sewing machines for residents' use, and radios donated to the club by a Perth firm. The nursery was equipped with swings, dolls and prams, scooters, tables and chairs, beds, children's deck chairs, a rocking horse and a piano.

The Cloisters also had a dining room that seated sixty. Here evacuee residents were attended to by nine waitresses (ten if the relief girl is included). All the dinning room, kitchen, domestic and transport staff wore blue uniforms and one or other of the NIWOE badges. Janie Hardey, a volunteer driver, remembers NIWOE expected her to wear their paraphernalia on her uniforms. For example, "the Netherlands [lion] badge would be worn on caps, the NIWOE badge

320 Frank Ellerbeck, pers. com., 12 December 2008: Frank returned for a visit to New Norcia in August 2008; The Ellerbeck and Lindner families were on the hospital ship *MS Oranje* , the first transport ship loaded with evacuees from diverse camps to leave Java for Western Australia. The *MS Oranje's* passengers were bound for Perth, Sydney, Melbourne and Sydney. Other boats with more refugees for these cities followed.

321 ibid.

322 ibid.



Cloisters entry. 1946

Dutch Club, Perth. 1946

Afternoon tea at the Cloisters. 1946

NIWOE Staff enjoying the conviviality at the Cloisters Dutch Nederlands Club circ. 1946.

Photographs courtesy the Kollmann Family Collection and Janie Hardey.

Janie Hardie (NIWOE volunteer) waits at Victoria Quay, Fremantle harbour for more evacuees to arrive from the Netherlands East Indies circ 1946.

NIWOE staff and evacuees at the Dutch Club, Cloisters, 1945.

or lion pins on the lapels of each shoulder or you could sew the Lion onto your uniform".[323] Janie, now 84, who still has the NIWOE badges that she wore on her Red Cross uniform (see images above), was one of the drivers for the NIWOE fleet of cars (Pontiacs and Dodges). These they used to transport evacuees to various appointments and back and forth to their accommodation. Some of the Australian volunteers and staff formed lasting friendships with the Dutch they cared for or those they ferried around the city or countryside. Janie became friendly with the van den Bosch family and their son:

> …..They were very lovely people. I used to drive them a lot and got to know them well…. I visited them in The Hague when I was on holiday over there, and I stayed with them actually in 1958. They were very hospitable, wonderful.[324]

The NIWOE operation relied heavily on unpaid volunteers and on local networks to help secure them much-needed accommodation. Janie recalls picking up new Dutch arrivals at Victoria Quay and taking them to the Wentworth hotel in William Street owned by Mary Raine, also known to locals as Ma Thomas. Rose Boon, an employee of the Dutch Club, had her mother, who worked at the Wentworth hotel, keep a look-out for when extra accommodation became available. The NIWOE information brochure mentions that the Wentworth hotel was also the venue often used by NIWOE and some of the informal groupings the evacuees formed where they held special events. Another popular place was the Officers' Mess of the Royal [Netherlands] Marines canteen on the University of Western Australia campus.[325]

After having sourced adequate accommodation for the evacuees, the next task of Mr van Helten, the NIWOE Welfare Officer, was to find ways to cope with post-war shortages. For example, the acquisition of adequate food coupons was an especially challenging chore, given that meat, fuel, tobacco and some other items were on the ration list. This scarcity called for innovative thinking and creative cooking. Dutch Club Chefs managed this successfully by serving up chicken and rabbit dishes once a week and fish twice a week. A volunteer recalled with great pleasure the delectable *Nasi Goreng* and other meals served there that were also available to NIWOE's Australian staff.

323 Janie Hardey, interview with Sue Summers 2007.
324 ibid. Janie Hardey also recalls that Mary Stanthorpe worked in the NIWOE Perth office.
325 Jan van Hatten RNLN Rtd, 23/3/99, Life History recorded by the MAritime History Department, Western Australia.

NIWOE badge, button, brooch and pin.

Drivers recruited by NIWOE were later also deployed to take the children and their parents to and from Fairbridge. Pearl Buck[326], now 87, who, like Janie Hardey, was a volunteer driver for the Red Cross during World War II, was one of the battery of drivers NIWOE employed to escort the Netherlands East Indies Dutch around in their fleet of 16 vehicles. Pearl and Janie say it was usual for driving trips to take in a combination of venues that most often included the Dutch Club, Fairbridge Village or Westminster Hospital, where the Dutch had established a medical clinic for the evacuees — *Nederlandsch Medisch Centrum*.[327] Janie notes:

> We came and went mainly from the Dutch Club at The Cloisters, 200 St George's Terrace, opposite the Adelphi Hotel, or the Wentworth Club, Corner of William and Murray Streets Perth, to appointments at the hospital and other sightseeing or shopping outings and to Fairbridge.[328]

The registration of the cars the women drove had RNF (Royal Naval Forces) on them. Janie Hardey, who drove for NIWOE for 10 months from late November 1945, loved most:

> …[driving the] Pontiac. It was a beautiful car, a lovely car, it really was. This American car was probably the best car that I had ever driven at that time. The only thing I found difficult about it was the speedo, which was in kilometres. There was an old Dodge that I also drove, those are the two I remember most.[329]

326 Pearl Buck, interview with Dr Sue Summers, 2006.
327 The Netherlands Indies Welfare Organisation for Evacuees (NIWOE) for the State of Western Australia, information booklet in Dutch.
328 Janie Hardey, 2006.
329 ibid.

In addition to the above tasks the various drivers would take Dutch children with more serious health problems from Fairbridge Farm or other venues to the Dutch medical team at Westminster Hospital for physical and dental checkups. They also took parents to visit their children at the farm school in Pinjarra. This was usually in rotating order, at monthly intervals. These drivers also picked up Dutch from many of the other venues rented by NIWOE to accommodate evacuees.

First Impressions

Among the many and diverse facilities NIWOE leased for these Indisch Dutch were the Ocean Beach Hotel in Cottesloe, the Commonwealth Hotel in North Perth (now known as Hyde Park Hotel), and the Majestic and Wentworth Hotels in the city. The Geerligs family spent their first months in Australia at the Rockingham Hotel, followed by a residence at 9 Francis Street, in Perth inner city.[330] The family of Paul van Es were placed in the Commonwealth, "which" Paul remembers, " seemed to us [like] a sort of Eldorado after the bad experiences of the past four years".[331] However, it was also here that they received the shattering news about their father. Paul continues:

> My father was not yet traced [when we arrived] and later we heard he had not survived the war. During the war he was transported to Japan to do labour for the Japanese where he also died![332]

For Paul, the good times started in Australia:

> My mother was, after recovering, adored by an Australian Air Force Officer [by the name of] Mark Weston who did a lot for our family.[333]

330 Adri Geerligs, pers. com., December, 2008.
331 Paul van Es, pers. com., December, 2008.
332 ibid.
333 ibid.

Lumkeman family on the verandah of the accommodation NIWOE organised for them in Cottesloe, Western Australia. Courtesy Eduard Lumkeman.

Left: Mrs Plink outside the Freemason's Hotel Midland Junction with Betty Morgan daughter of the owners. Courtesy Willem Plink

Right: Some members of the Ellerbeck and Lindner families evacuated to New Norcia circa November 1945. Courtesy Frank Ellerbeck

EVACUEES RECUPERATE

Some of the Dutch evacuees who are recuperating in this State after their ordeal in Japanese internment camps are pictured on this page.

Above and below: Children are entertained in the specially provided nursery.

Seen at the Cloisters, which has been taken over by the Dutch community as their club, are from left to right: Mrs. B. Van Waes, Mrs. S. Van Dierendonck, C.P.O. H. Van Waes and C.P.O. P. J. Van Dierendonck.

An informal group in the lounge of the club.

Left: Dr. Sturm (dentist) examines the teeth of a young boy at the Westminster Hospital where all evacuees are given medical examination and treatment.

Matron J. Stuart dresses an injured toe for Peter Lever, who is a patient at the hospital.

Dr. K. Surbeck, who is in charge of the medical centre, interviews a family from Batavia, before they are given a general health check.

Page Thirty-Six ——— THE WESTERN MAIL, January 31, 1946

Willem Plink describes his family's accommodation in rooms at the Freemason Hotel in Midland, where the Morgan family held the license, with great enthusiasm:

> In September 1945 we were still living in the Japanese internment camp. Yet it was a strange expression given the Japanese exit following capitulation on 15 August. The reasons our family was sent to Australia urgently for rehabilitation were because within four days my mother heard from the Netherlands that her father had been executed there by German SS soldiers, her husband (my father) had died on the Sumatra Railway; and her brother was killed in action near our house. I don't know what went through my mother's head when she nearly lost both her children in Australia as well [her daughter nearly drowned in Pemberton and her son became seriously ill after a tonsillectomy]. Oh well, at least we survived to see better days, even to have a good time.[334]

To Willem, their hotel accommodation was "just heaven" compared to the internment camp environment the family had left behind.[335] Ernst Kollmann recalls that when his family (parents and two boys Guus and Ernst) arrived, around November 1945, they were placed in a hotel in Applecross, where they stayed until the family's move to Fairbridge, which Ernst thinks was late in November 1945.

On arrival in Western Australia, Winnie de Vries' mother and four-year-old brother were allocated a room in the King Edward Hotel, Hay Street, Perth. Winnie de Vries has never forgotten her brother's surprised cry as they entered the lobby: "Oh Mam, this is a nice camp!" He was only two years of age when the family was interned, and his entire experience so far had been of filthy camps, lice, dirt and yelling women and children:

> In the Hotel we had a favourite playing ground: the elevators. There was a young Australian man (Jack). I liked him a lot…until he once called me "pigtails"; over was my "love" for Jack. However, in the lounge we sat silently and sweet in the big chairs listening to the men there, while feeling with our hands in the sides of those chairs looking for small coins because men easily lose their small coins from their pockets.

334 Willem Plink, 2007.
335 ibid., 2006.

> We loved to go to the Fish and Chips shop opposite the Hotel. We then sat down — also my mother — on the floor to eat the chips. Food in the hotel was good, but this was so much more fun![336]

Winnie is full of praise for the friendly Australians they encountered. A highlight was being asked to an Australian home for a "real" high tea. She has forgotten whether the invitation was from Shirley King or May Aylmore; both were "cheerful young women of about 20 to 25 years old, employed by the hotel to clean the hotel rooms and as waitresses."[337] She treasures especially the autograph book Shirley King gave her in which May Aylmore had written "Pal of my cradle years". "Isn't that sweet!" she adds.

Jim Williams, an Australian boy of about fifteen at the time, who lived in Randall Street, near the corner of the Commonwealth Hotel, remembers the Dutch kids that stayed there because he used to sell papers from outside the hotel. "They were very tall and skinny, with ribs sticking out, and a yellow colouring (possibly jaundiced). Most had arrived wearing homemade 'cloppity' old sandals that they had made from anything they could lay their hands on in the interment camps."[338]

> ...I got yapping to them, made conversation with them, they came from Java, and I took them down the street to play football or cricket with an old fruit case and a piece of picket fence for a bat.[339]

Jim thought there were some thirty mothers, fathers and children mainly about ten years of age, pretty well behaved, and very much in awe of Australia, and also a little apprehensive about what was to come. On reflection he is both amazed and impressed, for:

> …they didn't tell stories about their experiences in the war, [instead] they were more interested in what they could see around them in Perth and in what they were going to eat. They were never late for meals![340]

---

336 Winnie de Vries, email, 2007.
337 ibid., email November, 2008.
338 Interview with Jim Williams by Dr Sue Summers, 2006.
339 ibid. Now known as the Hyde Park Hotel, at that time it still had a Chinese market garden at the back of it and Mr and Mrs Turkington were its licensees.
340 ibid.

Jim remembers that in Perth at that time everything was on the move:

> There was lots of money, plenty of Americans and troops, plenty of Dutch submarines in Fremantle during the war years…. There were dads coming home, new marriages, and a brand new batch of kids. There were also a lot of Dutch from the sub[marines]s who found themselves an Australian girl and remained in Australia.[341]

Jim's cousin married sub mariner Dirk van Reiswijk and this served to retain Jim's interest in this piece of Western Australia's history.

The accommodation ——in hostels, homes and pensions — that NIWOE had secured for the evacuees was far superior to anything the younger ones among them had ever known. However, their most obvious delight was in the comfortable beds NIWOE had leased especially to alleviate discomfort on their thin and emaciated bodies. The accommodation allocated certainly gained NIWOE a big stamp of approval from evacuees, as this extract from a letter written on 29 November, 1945 at Rockingham, Western Australia by Mrs Geerligs (Adri's mother) to her brother in the Netherlands, shows:

> We have a princely life here in this free, democratic country. [I write this from] a magnificent deep blue bay and glorious beach, a good hotel, new clothes, [and] an abundance of sumptuous fruit… [It is almost] unbelievable…this transition from tyranny to freedom! Like a fairytale out of '1001 Nights'. [342]

NIWOE's next task was to ease evacuees' anxiety about having to wear their worn-out camp attire. Most had arrived in Australia wearing only the threadbare and tattered clothes that had seen them through internment. Many were barefoot, although some remember walking on bits of wood attached to a rubber strip of an old car tyre. The children were embarrassed by their shabbiness. Donald Schotel remembers that on his first evening in Perth, his older brother:

---

341 ibid.

342 Extract from a letter written by Adri Geerlig's mother to her brother in the Netherlands on 29 November, 1945, from her hotel in Rockingham and cited by Adri Geerligs in an email 14 December, 2008.

> … strolled up and down St Georges Terrace in amazement at all the lights and richness, [but] clothed in old and torn-up Japanese soldier-trousers and dilapidated Japanese army boots.[343]

On reflection, he notes, "I think the Australians might have been far, far more amazed at the sight of such a vagabond on their St George's Terrace!" Yes, indeed so they might, given that in 1945 it was usual for Australians to dress up to go to town. Women wore dresses, handbag, hats and gloves and men wore suits. Photographs taken during evacuees' Western Australian sojourn indicate that many of the older boys continued to wear the battered army hats, overcoats and jackets they were issued on arrival, or had been issued with just before leaving the interment camp in Java. Clothing was in short supply around the world and evacuees had no money.

As Ernst Kollman points out, "On arrival in Australia we were destitute for the Japanese had confiscated all our money and material possessions including any jewellery."[344] Ella Bone recalls how she and a couple of other volunteers would get the evacuees — a couple of families at a time — and take them shopping for clothes to Boans, Foy and Gibson, Aherns or Moores: "The Dutch government had given them a certain amount of money…[to purchase] half a dozen dresses and pairs of shoes. You know, those sorts of things. To make them feel nice**."**[345]

Another important issue confronting NIWOE was the children's schooling up to Dutch curriculum standard — how and where this should take place. At war's end, Netherlands East Indies ex-internee Dutch children aged nine years or younger had never been to school, and the older children had four years of education to catch up on. NIWOE and evacuee parents eventually decided that rehabilitation of the younger children and their assimilation to the norms, values and customs of a democratic society would best be achieved at Fairbridge Farm School in Pinjarra, separated from mainstream Australian society. In contrast, the older children would remain in Perth and attend classes at the makeshift high school that had already been established by the evacuees of the first wave in 1942. Henriette Thomas née Kuneman, one of the older Dutch children among the evacuees, describes the Dutch High School in the rooms of St George's Cathedral as: "… still not a proper high school, but it was a beginning, although not easy for us after

343 Donald Schotel, pers. com., 2007.
344 Ernst Kollmann, 2006.
345 Ella Bone, 2006.

present.

DUTCH CHILDREN.

Gratitude to Cathedral.

For several months about 50 Dutch children have been receiving education in the schoolroom in St. George's Cathedral grounds. It was conducted by Dutch, with the consent of the Dean and Chapter, for the benefit of children whose schooling had been interrupted by four years in Japanese internment camps in the Netherlands East Indies. The room was gladly made available by the cathedral authorities and relations between all the parties concerned have been most amicable.

However, as the time is approaching when the visitors will be repatriated to Holland, a delightful little ceremony was conducted in the room last Friday. The children themselves planned to make a gift to show their appreciation and invited the Dean (the Very Rev. R. H. Moore) and Mrs. Moore to meet them at morning recess.

The headmaster explained the purpose of the gathering, after which a girl student made a neat speech in perfect English. Handing Mrs. Moore a bouquet, she said: "Let me, as you in Australia would put it, say it with flowers." The headmaster then presented Dean Moore with an envelope containing £15/10/ in notes, "with which to buy for the cathedral a gift which would be a mark of the thankfulness of the students." After that the company sang what appeared to be the equivalent of "For they are jolly good fellows" and cheered.

The Dean and Mrs. Moore, in acknowledging the gifts, said they hoped that the children would soon be restored to their homes. There would be happy memories of the association. The Dean praised the good behaviour and orderly demeanour of the boys and girls, who ranged from small children to those in their late teens. "Except for the chalk on the floor," he said, "one would never have known that five classes were meeting day by day and so many boys and girls coming and going."

West Australian Newspaper
2 September 1946.

Perth, Hollandse HBS, Snt. Georges Cathedral

1. Henk Horn 2. Piet Horn(deceased) 3. Wouter Cohen Tervaart. 4. Jan Noordhoek (deceased) 5. Hetty Bodaan
6. Lies Admiraal 7. Irma Meysen (or Meissen) 8. Amy Schotel 9. Dick Bodaan 10. Mieneke de Quant 11. Joop Breunesse
12. Ieneke Lever 13. Mr Lever (teacher) 14. Rob Borger 15. Mr van Helten (NIWOE, Welfare Officer)
16. Mrs Geerligs (teacher) 17. Otto Bodaan 18. Greet Duyser 19. Joop Noordhoek 20. Hetty de Rijke
21. Wynand Noordhoek (deceased) 22. Marijke Nijhof 23. Mr Nijhof (teacher) 24 Thily van Boetzelaer 25. Hetty Ellerbeck
26. Roel Hobé 27. Gilles Overbeek de Meyer 28. Jetta Overbeek de Meyer (deceased) 29. Frans van Geen

having had virtually no schooling for four-and-a-half years."[346] On 2 September 1946**,** when the end of the refugee's stay in Western Australia was approaching, *The West Australian* noted:

> For several months about 50 Dutch children have been receiving education in the schoolroom in St George Cathedral grounds. It was conducted by the Dutch, with the consent of the Dean and Chapter, for the benefit of the children whose schooling had been interrupted by four years in Japanese internment camps in the Netherlands East Indies. The room was gladly made available by cathedral authorities and relations between all the parties concerned have been most amicable.
>
> However, as the time is approaching when visitors will repatriate to Holland, a delightful little ceremony was conducted in the room last Friday. The children themselves planned to make a gift to show their appreciation and invited the Dean (the very reverend R.H. Moore) and Mrs Moore to meet them at morning recess.

The headmaster explained the purpose of the gathering, after which a girl student (Donald Schotel's older sister Amy) made a neat speech in perfect English. Handing Mrs Moore a bouquet, she said: "Let me as you in Australia would put it, say it with flowers." The headmaster then presented the Dean with an envelope containing £15/10/- in notes, "with which to buy for the cathedral a gift which would be a mark of the thankfulness of the students." After that the company sang what appeared to be the equivalent of "For they are jolly good fellows" and cheered.

The Dean and Mrs Moore, in acknowledging the gifts, said they hoped that the children would soon be restored to their homes. There would be happy memories of the association. The Dean praised the good behaviour and orderly demeanour of the boys and girls, who ranged from small children to late teens. "Except for the chalk on the floor," he said, "one would never have know that five classes were meeting day after day and so many boys and girls coming and going.[347]

The minutes of St George's Cathedral make reference to the Dutch children from the Netherlands East Indies using Burt Hall, a building adjacent to the Cathedral. These records indicate that 490 Dutch children attended the St George's

346 Henrietta Thomas née Kuneman, memoir, 1990, p. 48.
347 *The West Australian*, 2 September 1946.

Cathedral facility following the first evacuation out of the Netherlands East Indies in January and February 1942. Most were placed in the care of congregation members until more permanent accommodation became available. However, little information from this period has been kept by the church, apart from two photographs and a more recent find — three bronze vases — with an inscription of thanks from Dutch children.[348] Many Dutch Fairbridgeans had older brothers and sisters who attended the Dutch high school, and some had parents who taught there (Adri Geerligs' mother was one); however, not a great deal more information has come to light about the school's governance.[349]

It is not clear what motivated NIWOE to enter into negotiations with Fairbridge Farm School established by Kingsley Fairbridge near Pinjarra in 1934 to accommodate British migrant orphans. We do know that, as British migration had dried up during the war, much of the school was now almost empty. Therefore it provided a great opportunity, and after gaining permission from Dutch parents, NIWOE enrolled around 70 of the younger Dutch children at the school. Here the children were to undertake a rehabilitation program on a number of levels, with the first priority always being to restore their physical health. The second priority was bringing the children's education up to the Dutch curriculum standard appropriate for their age, and the last was introducing them to the mores, values and manners of their culture. Their teachers found that the children needed discipline. They had lived in such appalling conditions in the prison camps that the teaching of manners had been near impossible**.** Thus all the important elements of growing up had been denied them as internees of the Japanese. To learn all these things from scratch, so much later in life than one normally does, was not going to be an easy transition for children who had never sat behind a school desk or eaten with a knife and fork at a dinner table.

To make matters worse, many of the children were still under the stress of not knowing if their fathers or brothers or grandfathers, interned in men's camps or Prisoner-of-War camps, and other relatives in the Netherlands East Indies and in Holland, had survived the war. Ella Bone recalls:

> Well we saw all these kids running amuck [laughter]…. [They were] running up and down St Georges Terrace and Hay Street — they were just bored, they had nothing to do much and they were just *free* for

348 Minutes of St George's Cathedral 1946; Henriette Thomas (née Kumemam), memoir, 1990.
349 Adri Geerligs, pers. com., December 2008.

> the first time as well in their lives, [well for] as much of it as they could remember. I suppose they had had no discipline, except for the Japanese, and I suppose what their mothers, their parents had imposed on them. You know, "be quiet: you can't sing, you can't whistle, you can't do anything". They hadn't been to school for four years and some who were nine or ten years old had never been to school. And for the first month, I suppose, they were living in all these hotels around the place, and getting re-kitted and, as I say…being helped to make connections with family in Europe. And when all those initial procedures had been completed, of course, the kids were just running *mad*![350]

Why the Children Thought They Were Sent to Fairbridge[351]

The children gave other reasons as to why NIWOE had chosen Fairbridge Farm School in Pinjarra for their rehabilitation. Some thought it was to stop the younger 'feral' children from running amok throughout Perth city. Anneke Slik née Jongste would agree; she loved playing in the elevator where her family was accommodated, "…up/down, down/up, we made a lot of noise".[352] They all relished their new freedom. Anneke thought NIWOE began liaising with Fairbridge Farm School after consultation with parents, following complaints by the Australian public about this type of behaviour.[353]

The children's rehabilitation was indeed going to be a major undertaking. Ella Bone, a welfare officer with NIWOE, reiterated the challenges involved:

> ...most of the younger ones had never been to school and had scrounged food where possible for most of

350 Ella Bone, 2006.

351 The facts and individual experiences described in this section are drawn from the following documents: 'Chronology of events in Ambarawa: Camp 6', compiled by W. Krijgsveld (Postbus 165, 9750 A.D. Haren); the diaries of: Miep v/d Kroogt, Mrs. Krijgsveld, Mrs. Ouwejan, Mrs. Tjakkes, Atie te Velde, Ike te Velde, and Mrs. Wijna; notebooks from Mrs Burgerhoudt and Mrs. van Voorenveld, reports from Dr. E.Krijgsveld and from the later (1948) notes by Mrs. Wielenga (Fuku-kaitjo) and the books: A Valley in Ambarawa, and Patience and Bluff by Mrs. Petra Groen.

352 Anneke Slik née Jongste, interview, 2007.

353 ibid., 2006.

> their young lives. Survival had taken all their time and this involved finding something to eat and trying to avoid aggravating the Japanese guards. Hence few were aware of the societal mores, values, procedures and customs of everyday life in a free society….[354]

Ella believes few Australians knew much about the children's plight or were (for that matter) interested:

> I mean after the war everyone was busy trying to sort out their own lives, locating their husbands, brothers and so on. Coming back from New Guinea and from wherever else they had spent the war years. It was quite a different environment to now with shortages of all sorts of things.[355]

As Ella notes — and this was also true for the Dutch in the Netherlands when the children were repatriated — most Australians were overwhelmed post-war by the challenges and tragedies the war had inflicted on them.

Mark Anderson, CEO of Fairbridge Village, points out that it was also the war that had made Fairbridge available. Without the war Fairbridge would have continued to be used exclusively for British orphans:

> Up until the Second World War ... the children who came out here were from the UK.... As much as possible Fairbridge was set up on family home principles. So when the children came out to Western Australia they had house-mothers and lived in a cottage. Each cottage was treated like a family home and then they'd catch up with the other children during the day at school.... Then, during the Second World War — because the Germans had sunk quite a few passenger boats — a lot of the passenger transport in shipping had stopped, because it just wasn't safe anymore. So there were some [UK] Fairbridge children still at [the school] but...towards the end of the Second World War you then had the Dutch refugee children.... The site could accommodate up to 400 young people. It had fifty-five buildings. The town is spread over thirty hectares.... We don't run the farm anymore but certainly in the days when the Dutch refugee children were here....it was fully operational. And...during the war, when most children in WA were eating bread and dripping, on the farm, where there was a dairy, a butcher and a baker...the kids had fresh farm milk,

354 Ella Bone, 2006.
355 ibid.

> bread and eggs to restore their physical and mental strength every day. There were pigs on site and so they had meat and sheep and everything like that. So their diet in those days, for Dutch children, and strengthening themselves, was very very fresh products — probably even more so than for children living outside Fairbridge.[356]

As things have happened, the history of Fairbridge has been greatly enriched by the rehabilitation of Netherlands East Indies child evacuees. It was the perfect non-threatening environment, where NIWOE and the children's parents could address any "problematic behaviours" the children were displaying that had by then generated a battery of complaints from locals.

The children all blame the years in Japanese camps for their lack of social awareness of the norms, values and customs of everyday life. Internment by the Japanese in concentration camps had reduced their existence to endurance. "To survive", Willem Plink and Ernst Kollman declare, "[we had become a]...pretty rebellious and quite wild bunch". The behaviours labelled problematic were, Ernst asserts, a major legacy of camp life:

> Not only were former civilian internees easily identifiable by their thin frames, poor clothing and by children far too small for their age, but also by the children's behaviour: camp behaviours were "survival behaviours" and included taking advantage of what the moment presented — especially food — or a chance at some education, which the Japanese prohibited. However, this behaviour quickly created problems for our Australian hosts who had never needed to engage in similar activities.[357]

Ernst, who refers to himself and his friends as survivors, children of the internment camps, insists: "Our attitude was fight for yourself otherwise you will die; and so we *organised* everything that we could. Food and whatever we could get." However, this attitude was not appreciated in Perth city because "whatever we saw we picked up and took for ourselves, it was a habit.... No, it was not stealing, we say 'organised' [laughter], not stealing, because you need food!"

---

356 Mark Anderson, CEO Fairbridge, extract from an interview with him by Dheera Sujan of Wereld Omroep Radio, The Netherlands, at Fairbridge Village Inc., Pinjarra, 2005.

357 Ernst Kollman, interview with Dheera Sujan, 2007.

To stay alive in an internment camp environment you had to develop survival strategies. Moreover most of the children had bartered but had never had to deal with a money economy. Every day they had been witness to death, illness and cruelty. For example the children interned in Ambarawa camp in Central Java would not have failed to notice that when Dutch doctors signed a petition requesting better food, especially for sick internees, they were made to stand in the sun all day without food or water. The deplorable internment camp procedures meant these children had lived with enormous stresses for most of their short lives. Consequently, when they found themselves free in Australia the impact was incredible. In the new setting it was difficult for the children's parents to discipline their children for a number of reasons. Parents were thoroughly depleted physically or mentally depressed and many felt these children deserved some space, given the many years they had spent locked in terror and deprivation. Willem Plink described the rigors of internment as being especially stressful for children because the Japanese usually never beat those they regarded as children, instead:

> ...if [for example] I did something wrong, it was my mother who would be beaten for that, or one of the other people who were with me who were responsible for guiding me — and that was terrible. Also, in the perception of the Japanese of that period, you were an adult from the age of ten onwards. At that age young boys were transferred to a men's camp where they were also expected to perform hard labour.[358]

Consequently, and Ernst's words are relevant for them all:

> In Australia it was paradise; we got food again, we got drinks again and we were free! We were no longer forced to bow to the Japanese. Nor did we have to fear beatings [of significant adults] by the Japanese. So that was all over now and we were free. We could play, and go around. The Australian people were marvellous. They invited us, welcomed us, they helped us that is apart from the...harbour workers. It was a very different world, because the Australians were very nice to us, they helped us. That was a good experience.[359]

358 Willem Plink, 2006.
359 Ernst Kollman, 2006.

Now for the first time in their living memory they could move around freely. Their running up and down St George's Terrace and Barrack Street, up and down the elevators, making a lot of noise, was an expression of this recently discovered liberty. Regrettably, Australians who had no understanding of the deprivation that had characterised their young lives for nearly four years, viewed their boisterous and irrepressible play as an example of lack of parental control. Hence the search by NIWOE for a safe place for the camp children to recuperate, to become accustomed to a healthy diet and to accept some discipline, and where they could be introduced to the norms, values and customs of everyday life in a non-war zone, and educated in the intricacies of the Dutch schooling system in which they would soon need to function.

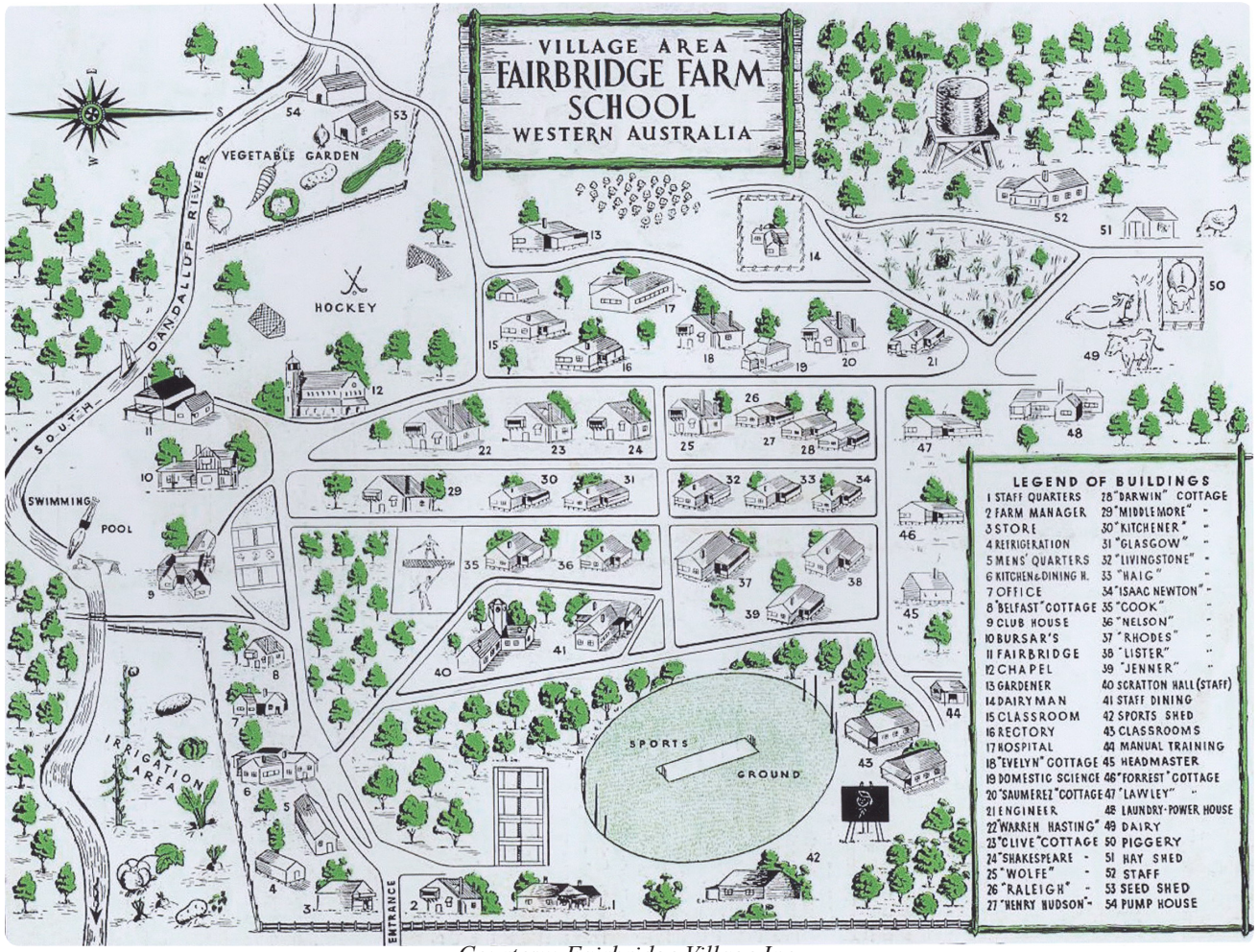
Dutch children rehabilitated at Fairbridge Farm School 1945-1946. Courtesy: Dutch Fairbridgeans.

Courtesy: Els Duyser.

Kingsley Fairbridge Farm School

Negotiations with Fairbridge Village Farm School for the children's sojourn there were undertaken by Mr H. J. Blok and Mr J. van Helten, both representatives for the Netherlands Indies Government Department of Economic Affairs under the banner of NIWOE, one as economic attaché, the other in a welfare capacity. In a letter to the school dated November 18 1945, Blok confirms the tariff arrangements agreed upon for accommodation between Fairbridge and the Netherlands East Indies Administration. NIWOE would pay 25/- per week for each child and 35/- per adult.[360] Accommodation costs were also to include personal laundry. In the letter, NIWOE agreed to an additional proviso

360 NIWOE office was in Room 408, 4th Floor, CML Building, St Georges Terrace, Perth (NIWOE Brochure).



Courtesy: Fairbridge Village Inc.

put forward by Fairbridge, that the school be permitted to call in the local doctor to attend to sick children.[361] NIWOE appointed Ernst Kollmann's parents as Dutch Director-General and Dutch School Director.[362]

However, before Fairbridge could become fully operational the directors needed to recruit extra staff to handle the demands placed on them by the Dutch evacuees. This was proving difficult because the war-boosted economy was giving Australians hitherto unheard of workplace choices. In a bid to speed up the situation, on 3 November 1945, Mr Grant, the acting Principal of Fairbridge, placed the following advertisement in *The West Australian*: "Wanted, married couple. Cook, laundress, waitress, to cook and look after Dutch evacuee children, good wages and conditions.[363] Apply National Service Office". Fairbridge's most urgent staff needs were married couples for house parents, two welfare officers, a lady teacher and a nurse. NIWOE assisted the staff recruitment process by offering additional generous conditions – to pay all existing and new staff a bonus of 10/- per week for the entire Dutch sojourn, which was then a substantial sum of money.[364] I am unable to verify the exact numbers of Dutch children who attended the school. Ernst Kollmann maintains that 70 Dutch children were rehabilitated at Fairbridge, Donald Schotel thought it was around 100.[365] The archival documents available record fluctuating numbers over the period the Dutch school was operational.[366]

The school also had an Acting Australian Principal, Mr C. P. Grant. Ella Bone describes Mr Grant as:

> …a nice sort of administrator, a fatherly figure who was approachable, because I suppose that was his nature and because he would have been well aware of the population sample he was dealing with. And so you can't be rigid. And probably grateful to Fairbridge, because he would be on the staff of the Fairbridge organization, [and] probably Dutch people coming in gave him a bit of income although his wife seemed just to be an assistant to him I think.[367]

361 PRO 3027A/151, Netherlands East Indies Government to Principal of Fairbridge, dated 18 November 1945.
362 Ernst Kollmann, pers. com., 2007.
363 *The West Australian* 3 November 1945.
364 PRO 3027A/151, Netherlands East Indies Government to Principal of Fairbridge, dated 18 November 1945.
365 Ernst Kollmann, 'Een Klein Jaar op Fairbridge: Kamp kinderen komen op Adem', Moesson Het Indisch Maandblad, March 2006, pp. 28-29.
366 ibid.
367 Ella Bone 2006.

In contrast, Robyn Wheatley (née Sinclair), the Australian-born niece of Stan Healey, the principal school teacher at Fairbridge Farm School during the 1930s and 1940s, and to whom Mr Grant was an authority figure, as she was 12 years old at the time, describes Mr Grant as "very remote, a ghostly figure always in the distance. He always wore a suit, a hat, and moved with the help of a walking stick".[368] Robyn says she was never privy to his Christian name but believes the initial 'C' stood for Charles. "Yes, I'm afraid so; he *looked* like that [a Charles]". Robyn thought more kindly of Mr Brayne, the Anglican Minister, whom she describes as a kind and gentle man with a moustache and dark hair, stocky but shortish; he had suffered an injury at some stage, as he walked with a limp, a slight drag to the left leg. The injuries carried by both these men suggest staff operating in the teaching profession during the war were often people who had been declared unfit for military service. This particular summer of 1945, Robyn had been invited by her uncle to spend the school holidays at Fairbridge bunking in with the Dutch girls in their dormitory and joining in their activities.

The plight of the Netherlands East Indies evacuee children and their proposed Fairbridge sojourn attracted a great deal of media attention. On page 23 of the *The Western Mail* on 14 February 1946, a reporter, after a visit to Fairbridge, wrote:

> The children's ages range from six to fourteen. Some have lost their father, others have not seen their fathers for years. Some of their mothers are in hospital. There are four children from the one family in Fairbridge. Their father died in a prison camp, and their mother is still in hospital in Perth.

Consequently, for children such as these whose lives had for nearly four years been chaotic — disrupted by violence, starvation, brutality and now further dislocation, loss and grief — it was important to re-establish routine and a sense of security in their lives. This was especially the case for the children who had lost parents in the Netherlands East Indies or whose parents were still seriously ill, recovering in hospital until they were well enough to take on a more active parenting role. The hoped-for outcome was that a sojourn in a buffer zone of transition such as Fairbridge was able to provide would not only enrich and re-educate but also help reinstate a sense of continuity in these Dutch

368 Robyn Wheatley, 2006.

Mrs Kollmann and son Guus enjoy afternoon tea with friends at Wolfe Cottage, circa 1946. Courtesy the Kollmann Family Collection.

Mr van den Bosch, Mrs Kollmann, Anneke Slik née Jonste, Mrs Jongste and Nurse Oliver relax on the steps of Arthur Scratton Memorial cottage, circa December, 1945. Courtesy Anneke Slik née Jongste.

Fun, freedom and good food rehabilitate the emaciated ex internee Dutch Netherlands East Indies children resident at Scratton Memorial Cottage, circa November 1945. Courtesy Anneke Slik née Jongste.

Afternoon tea birthday celebration at Cook Cottage, where many of the younger children were accommodated, 1946. Courtesy the Kollmann Family Collection.

L-R: Mrs van Es, Mr and Mrs van den Bosch and Mrs van de Trasch with some of the children from Shakespeare Cottage. Courtesy the Kollmann Family Collection.

The Uljée family with residents of Cook Cottage circa December, 1945. Courtesy the Kollmann Family Collection.

Residents of Woolfe Cottage: Hans Greeuw, Henk van der Vloot, Wim Bennekom, Eelco Tacoma, Jan Jansen, Heintje Versteegh, Robert Haversmidt, Hans Jansen, Wim Plink, Ernst Kollman, Loesje Plink, Wim Bussink, Dolf Bodaan, Donald Schotel, Eduard Lumkeman, Cootje Versteegh, Mrs Kollmann, and Mrs Versteegh. Courtesy the Kollmann Family Collection.

children's lives. And even more importantly, that it would restore their sense of identity and belonging, ingredients essential to successfully meeting the challenges of everyday life.

NIWOE's financial inducement helped Fairbridge successfully recruit married couples, kitchen, dining room, laundry and office staff, social workers and a lady teacher. Shortly after this, one Dutch and two Australian nurses also took up the challenge. It was their job to take care of the children's everyday health care needs and any accidents that occurred at the school. As a result, by 17 November 1945, when Fairbridge increased its kitchen staff by three more persons, it was in a position to cater competently for the first forty Dutch children and five Dutch adults already resident there and the fifty more due to arrive any time.[369] The staffing problem was also assisted by the invitation extended to Dutch people to register as teachers, leaders or houseparents; this call brought in a string of parents to help with various duties – as teachers, leaders, housemothers or kitchen staff, among them Mrs van Es, Mrs Rodrigo, Mrs Pijpers, Mrs van Vliet, Mrs Greeuw, Mrs Bennink and Mrs Jongste.

The teachers and volunteers at Fairbridge also mixed with the farm hands and their wives employed to attend to the farm. Ella Bone recalls that she and other members of staff often played dominoes, snap or cards games with the farm hands and their wives on their free evenings.[370]

The children were accommodated in a number of the cottages Kingsley Fairbridge had constructed to house the British orphans. Each cottage had its own house-mother or parents. The two maps contained in this book depicting Fairbridge Village Pinjarra Western Australia, including the Farm School, both show the layout of farm cottages relative to other facilities. The Kollmanns were house parents at Wolfe cottage, where Willem and Loesje Plink were also residents. The Dutch children also mention being housed in Arthur Scratton, where Mrs Bennink and Mrs Jongste were housemothers to the girls and in Shakespeare, where Mr and Mrs van den Bosch were houseparents along with Mrs Rodriges and Mrs van Es. Mrs Pijpers and Mrs van Vliet were also house parents, possibly at Cook cottage which accommodated the youngest evacuees.

Welfare Officer Ella Bone, who was later also House Mother at Scratton Cottage, describes the evacuees' quarters as minimalist:

369 NAA Series, PP6/1/0 Item 1945/H/595.
370 Ella Bone, 2006.

> The children just had their bed. There was a community wardrobe for each cottage, but at the foot of each bed they had, you see them around a bit now, a canvas batting with pockets that you could put your shoes in. They had these things in the camps apparently and some of them brought it with them. And there they put all their possessions in these pouches. They had all been hand sewn with little scraps that they had in their camp time. All the children also wanted a *goeling* - a sort of long sausage pillow. Ironically called a 'Dutch Wife' even the adults wanted them. In the heat of the tropics people slept with them between the legs![371]

House mothers were expected to see that everyone got up in the morning and that they got off to school on time. The older children had to make their own beds. There was a bathroom approximately 3m x 3.5m which had two baths in it and house mothers had to make sure that they all had their baths at night.[372] The children remember with pleasure the large dining room that doubled as a lounge for festive events and the two classrooms where they attended their first classes, although they also had many lessons outdoors. However, the most important aspect of Fairbridge was that it reinstated routine into their previously disturbed lives.

Daily Routine at Fairbridge

The routine at Fairbridge was regimented and structured around the fact that children had special needs. When the children arrived at the farm school, the few British orphans still around were mainly girls between the ages of fifteen and eighteen; there were fewer boys, as there had been no top-up during the war years from 1939 to 1946. David Buck is a former British child migrant to Fairbridge, who was a student at Perth Modern School at that time but returned to Fairbridge during his school holidays, as they were still his legal guardians. He recalls some fifty to one hundred Dutch children were accommodated there. He thought them especially privileged because:

> …apart from doing the daily chores such as making beds they were treated as guests. They were not

371 Ella Bone, 2006; the description of the *"goeling"* was provided by Nora Acatos née Lumkeman, pers. com. 2007.
372 ibid.

> expected to contribute to the farm work like the British children, instead they could spend their time riding horses and swimming.[373]

While he does not have specific memories of individual Dutch children, he does clearly remember being asked to take two or three of them with him mustering, then falling off his horse and landing face-first in a freshly-laid cow pat! Another of the British orphans enthusiastically described his first love as one of the blonde Dutch girls, whom he adored from afar. Ella remembers "a lot of [British orphans] coming back [to Fairbridge] on weekends" and Nora Lumkeman and her being invited over to their club house to join in their social events.[374]

Although the Dutch children were in the same age range as British orphans accommodated at the school, in contrast to the British, as we have seen, few of the younger children had experience of education because of their internment ordeal. In the camps, education from anyone other than a parent had to be purchased with a frog or some snails. A humorous consequence of this experience was that when little boys chased the girls with frogs and snails at primary school, after their repatriation to Holland, the Netherlands East Indies girls would retort "give them here we are used to eating them", much to the dismay of the young lads!

The Kollmann boys considered themselves especially lucky; their parents, with whom they were reunited, had come as teachers and houseparents to Fairbridge with their children. However, many other children were without their parents, who would visit them at Fairbridge once a month. So at first, some were homesick and lonely. Adri Geerligs was always tearful when her parents left to go back to Perth after a visit.[375] Anneke Slik née Jongste, who desperately wanted to go to school again, but whose only sibling, a brother, had died in the boy's internment camp, thought her parents very brave:

> …we [mother, father and I] were just reunited after many years of separation [yet they] let their [only] child go. And it was so good to be there [with other] children, food, love, and fellowship.[376]

373 Telephone interview with David Buck by Dr Sue Summers, 2003.
374 Ella Bone, 2006.
375 Adri Geerligs, pers. com., 2008.
376 Anneke Slik née Jongste, 2006.

However, Anneke's mother did come down to Faibridge later to work in the kitchen. In contrast, Winnie de Vries wasn't at all happy about being sent away because her father was not yet reunited with the family and she wanted to stay in Perth with her mother until that happened. His return was a sad time — an old man at forty-two, he couldn't even hold a cup in his hands. He never recovered and died at sixty. Once Winnie got to the school she soon began to enjoy the normalcy of childhood again, that is until she heard a rumour that someone had seen her mother with a man.

> I was so angry that I succeeded in going to Perth. How? I must have had a lift with some one and been dropped off in front of the hotel. I ran up the stairs and stormed into the room yelling: 'And where is *Pappie*?' There was no *Pappie*; it happened to be the husband of her friend [and she was not seeing him romantically].[377]

The schooling tempo at Fairbridge was initially very slow; the routine they were following was in line with NIWOE's mission and vision. Their brief was first and foremost to restore the children's physical health via nutritious food, sport and rest, and only secondly to help them catch up to the educational standard of their peer group in the Netherlands. The importance of schooling came to the fore as the children's physical and emotional well-being grew stronger.[378] The most important facet of their time at Fairbridge was the predictability of their daily schedule. This was both enlightening and humane, especially in such authoritarian, paternalistic times. When I (Nonja Peters) arrived in Australia in July 1949, the state and primary schools I began attending in 1950 had no idea how to treat foreigners. They wanted only that we migrants forget our cultural backgrounds and become Australians, which of course was unchartered ground for us.

However, life at Fairbridge wasn't all fun all of the time; there were visits to doctors and dentists, and bouts of childhood illnesses. For example, when Willem Plink had his tonsil and adenoids removed in Perth, he nearly died from the complications that occurred. Moreover, upon his return to Fairbridge he had to attend the dispensary every day:

377 Winnie de Vries, 2006.

378 Plink, Geerligs, de Vries and Kollmann all confirm this daily Fairbridge schedule.

> ...so the nurse could give me a penicillin injection. However, this was the time they used thick needles. So I would run out of the classroom quite fast, then remember and walk progressively more slowly, and even slower when I saw the nurse. However, it was absolutely necessary [to have it] but 61 years later I still become anxious when I have to contemplate having an injection.[379]

This was more than Willem's mother could tolerate. She could hardly cope in Australia; having lost her husband, father and brother during the war, she was totally without the emotional reserves to deal with the serious complications of Willem's tonsillectomy and the near drowning of Loesje her daughter at a nature park near Pemberton.[380] As studies on the effect of trauma on humans were still in their infancy, support for her emotional troubles was very limited.

Fairbridge nurses had also to deal daily with the more severely traumatised among the children, who were identifiable by their nightmares and bedwetting. Ella certainly recalls episodes of distress among the young children:

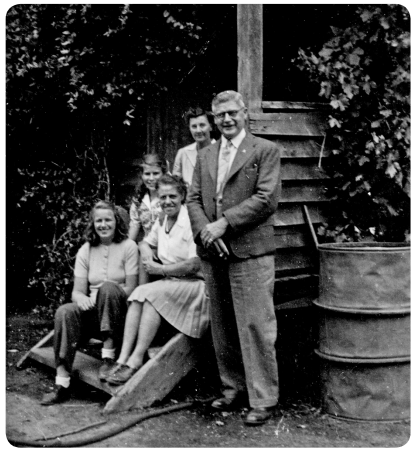
> I can think of a couple of the little ones, three and four years of age, they were backwards, they regressed, well we see it now in the post-war of our own servicemen, as PTS (Post Traumatic Stress Syndrome). They started to revert to loss of control of bowels and urine, that sort of thing. Because everything was so new to them and if they did something wrong — whether it had happened in the camp — you know where the parents might growl, don't do that, and looking back, what we know now, from modern psychology, I would say some of that was easily demonstrated down there with that. Oh, I think they just said, come on I'll go and change you again, I don't think it was recognised then as what we know it now![381]

Dutch support staff were encouraged to come to Fairbridge to assist with the rehabilitation of the more demanding cases of trauma and with outbreaks of contagious illnesses. It was a childhood epidemic that brought 21 year-old Nora Acatos, née Lumkeman, Eduard Lumkeman's sister, to Fairbridge:

379 Plink, 2006.
380 Plink, pers. com., 2008.
381 Ella Bone, 2006.

Mrs Moate, Sister Warburton, Sister Obee and Mrs Lauwers outside the Fairbridge Farm School Infirmary. Courtesy:The Kollman Family Collection.

Miss Oliver (Nurse), Welfare Officer Ella Bone and House-mother Nora Acatos née Lumkeman who also helped nurse sick children outside the hospital circa 1946. Courtesy: The Lumkeman Family Collection.



From L-R Ella Bone, Mrs and Mr Jongst, Behind Anneke Jongst and Nurse Oliver in front of the hospital where Anneke was treated for mumps along with many of the other Dutch Fairbridgean children. This was taken shortly before her father was repatriated to the Netherlands East Indies. Courtesy: Anneke Slik née Jongste.

> …the mumps broke out at the school and I, being 21 years of age and having some experience with sick children in the camp, was asked to come to nurse the little patients. I became a cottage mother afterwards together with Ella Bone. I also gave gymnastic lessons and Ella played *Kasti* with the children — a sort of Indonesian rounders. We had a good time together full of laughter. Those were days in paradise! [382]

Anneke Slik, née Jongste, recalls that:

> Apart from an outbreak of mumps there was also an outbreak of measles in about April 1946. There were then so many patients that our dormitory was changed into a hospital ward. We were encouraged to visit there, so we got the measles before going to Holland to avoid an outbreak on board ship. That happened on the *New Amsterdam* sailing from the Netherlands East Indies to Amsterdam when several children also died.[383]

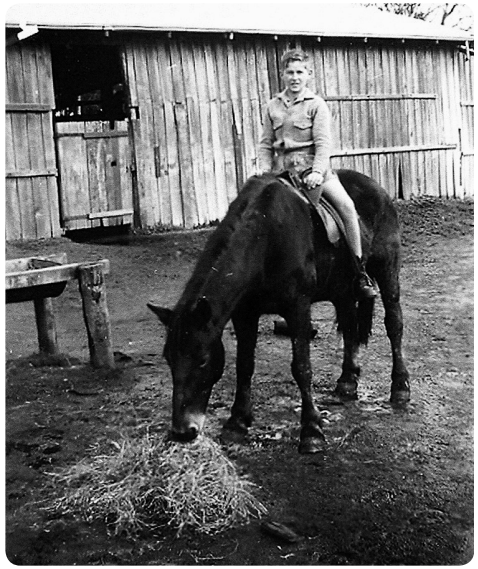
Dickie Geerligs was first to get mumps, which was worrying for his family given his frail condition. The nurses immediately swung into action, calling in local doctors and alerting parents in Perth. Mrs Geerligs received the following letter:

> Dear Mrs Geerligs
>
> You will be sorry to hear your small son Dickie has the mumps. But I think it is only a mild attack, and probably he will soon be about again. Both Dr de Pieesters and Dr Whelaw from Pinjarra examined yesterday and advised us to isolate him from the other children. I am taking the greatest care of him. Dr Whelaw will attend to him if it is at all necessary.Do not worry about him because I would contact you immediately if his condition should become serious. Mr and Mrs Kollmann and Mrs Versteeg are taking wonderful care of all the children. And I am sure you will all see a great improvement in the children from

382 Nora Acatos née Lumkeman, pers. com., 2007.
383 Anneke Slik née Jongste. pers. com., 2008.

Ex-internee Dutch boys and girls enjoying the freedom, fresh air and Western Australian wild flowers on walks in the bush walks around the Fairbridge Village property, 1946. Courtesy: Anneke Slik née Jongste and The Kollmann Family Collection.

The girls loved walks to the river. Courtesy: Anneke Slik née Jongste.



Paul van Es on the Fairbridge farm horse he rode to collect the mail from the mailbox situated at the front of the Fairbridge property, which is quite some distance from the Fairbridge Farm cottages and school. Courtesy: Paul van Es.

Children, teachers and visiting parents all join in walks to the river and surrounding bush. Mr van den Bosch leads the walk, Fairbridge circa 1946. Courtesy: The Kollmann Family Collection.

> their stay at school here. The food is excellent and the children all drink at least 1 and a 1/2 pints of milk a day each. Adrie is very well and sends her love. Needless to say Dickie joins her in this.
>
> Yours sincerely (Mrs) Thelma E Moate
> Welfare Worker.[384]

Fortunately, most Fairbridge stories are happy. What Paul van Es liked most at Fairbridge was having pocket money and having his parents visit on a regular basis, mostly every month. His mother later became a member of staff. However, his most special treat came courtesy of Mr Goulder, of whom he has especially fond memories:

> [He] gave me a special task. I was appointed as the postman and every day I was allowed to take the horse out of the stable, saddle it and make my ride to the post box at the entrance gate, which was quite some distance. As I had from childhood adored animals this was to me very exciting.[385]

Paul and the other children waited daily in anticipation of letters and parcels from their parents. The favourites were of course the posts that contained goodies in a parcel.

A few of the older boys remember some (infrequent) troublesome moments, adventures and escapades. Willem Plink recalls:

> ...sitting in trees above a rabbit burrow with a couple of blocks of iron to hunt rabbits (we best not tell animal rights groups about this behaviour). I cannot remember if we were ever successful hunters. Another thing I remember with clarity: it was winter (which is not severe in WA); even so on one morning there was a thin layer of ice on the leaves and all the Australians declared 'it's freezing'. In fact we only learnt what real freezing cold was during the severe winter of 1946/47 in the Netherlands. Then I could walk on frozen rivers.[386]

---

384 Adri Geerligs, copy to the researcher, 2007; sadly Dick Geerligs passed away in 2007.
385 Paul van Es, pers. com., 2007.
386 The winter of 1946/47 was the coldest in the Netherlands for 100 years.

The trouble Eduard, one of the older boys at the Dutch school at the time, got into was more obviously dangerous:

> The last couple of months of the Japanese occupation I was in a [mens'] logger camp in the mountain woods between Semarang and Ambarawa. At the farm school I got my hands on an axe and was going to demonstrate how to cut a tree. So I started chopping a wooden post on the porch of the main cottage. I was nearly expelled from the school! Another time our cottage father, "Okkie" Kollmann, saw things falling down at the back of the cottage, such as clothes and boots. Some boys were arguing upstairs. He went out and was nearly hit by a whole steel bed thrown out of the window!
>
> Two of the English girls fancied Donald and me. I even got a ring from my girl! (She taught me the song "Underneath the lamplight at that narrow gate, darling I remember....", or something like that). Patsy Jeans, my girl, had a brother Bob. It was his job [sometimes] to empty the buckets of the outdoor loos, early in the morning. I decided to join him and afterwards to have a horse ride. So I knotted a rope around my wrist and left it dangling outside. Fast asleep, I was nearly pulled out of the window. Then with my shoes in my hands I slipped out and joined him on the flat horse cart. At the farm I would have my ride, however as this was to be without a saddle I considered myself lucky when the horse was too sleepy to move!
>
> [At Fairbridge] we also went fishing catfish in the South Dandalup River upstream of the dam. These were fried and tasted good. During the winter the rabbit dens were flooded and we chased them with the dog. In the kitchen we carefully skinned them. The guts smelled awful, but the meat proved to be good.
>
> Once I went chasing with Mr van den Bosch and another man. I shot a rabbit with a gun. We also gathered chicken eggs and put them secretly in a sock in the kettle, which was heated by the cottage mother for our bathing water.
>
> Once there was a visit of some kind of Dutch inspectors and we dared to complain about the food! We didn't like the sheep meat with sweet currants [Australian version of a curry], and also the porridge contained the skins of flour worms [weevils].… From then on we had to swallow every bit of every thing![387]

387 Eduard Lumkeman, pers. com., 2007.

This was an isolated incident, for generally, the children loved the food and the abundance of it.

Food, wonderful food…

The ex-internee children considered their recently restored freedom the most overwhelming event to have happened to them since coming to Australia as evacuees, and loved most their walks in the Australian bush, a totally new experience since coming to Fairbridge and swimming in the river. But it was food that held centre stage. All the Dutch Fairbridgeans described their access to food as "awesome". For Willem Plink, the most enduring memory of food is milkshakes:

> I got my health back through the milkshakes. They were wonderful. I was a very bad eater before the war and after the war we were so pleased to have anything to eat — we were starved in the camps so no trouble at all any more. *Everything* was very nice.[388]

Willem Plink remembers especially eating apples and lamb, and lot and lots of rabbit. All mentioned the remarkable food ritual that Ella Bone describes so well:

> When the bell rang over the whole complex, we all walked down to the big dining room with a tin of sweetened condensed milk in one hand and a jar of peanut butter in the other. Everybody had their own and you took it down to breakfast and lunch. *Dikke melk* it was called — thick milk and *Pindakaas* (peanut paste).... Everybody took them down. I guess they were the things these children were *craving* for, for years. They had to be fattened up, and so I would eat the same stuff myself![389]

The practice was to dip one's fingers in the Nestle's milk tin or peanut paste jar and noisily lick/slurp the contents off your fingers or eat large spoonfuls with the same relish. This was undreamed of heaven after a life where food and

388 Plink, pers.com., 2006.
389 Bone, 2006.

water had been so severely restricted that people died of starvation-related illnesses every day. However, because of the fragility of the children's health, the Dutch teachers had to insist they refrain from overdoing it on *Dikke Melk*. Anneke Slik née Jongste recalls that the children used also to purchase Bourne Vita, a ready-made vitamin-enriched chocolate powder. They would pour some into the palm of one hand, wet the fingers of the other hand and stick them in the powder, then lick it off.[390]

The Dutch children were not the only ones that loved the Nestles sweetened condensed milk. As Robyn Wheatley explained, since chocolate was in short supply all Western Australian children loved the sweetened condensed milk. It became a substitute because it was "gooey and sweet". "We all dipped our fingers into our own tin, and this was followed by a characteristic slurp. Yes we all did it." Robyn also explained how many people boiled used coffee grounds until they formed a kind of syrup, which they would store and re-use as the base for more coffee with a teaspoon of condensed milk on the top. "We would stir like crazy and suddenly you got sweetened coffee." [391]

Toward the end of three-and-a-half years of incarceration in POW camps, there were many instances where children and adults were surviving on a spoon of starch dissolved in water in the morning and a spoon of rice in the evening. Consequently, once at Fairbridge, after years of increasing deprivation, the children's bodies had to become accustomed again to eating meat and flour, potatoes and other vegetables. Ernst recalls:

> ...the food was good but we were not used to it and we also had to get used to eating more and more food. I can remember that we used to get these tins of condensed milk once a week and that was a kid's feast. You can imagine that. However, before long our parents were telling us to eat just a half, or a quarter of the tin, and to save some for later otherwise we would be ill, because our stomachs had shrunk.[392]

We have a great deal more knowledge now about the long-term impact of semi-starvation on the human organism; at the time the only evidence available was anecdotal.[393] Robyn Wheatley also mentioned the importance of food to the

390 Anneke Slik, née Jongste, pers. com., 2008.
391 Robyn Wheatley, 2006.
392 Ernst Kollman, 2006.
393 Nonja Peters, 'The ascetic anorexic', in *Social Analysis*, Vol 37, March 1995, pp. 49 -56.

evacuees in her interview. The Fairbridge menu stored in the National Archives of Australia was especially useful to jog Robyn's memory:

> Oh yes I remember the jelly. Oh lovely. It was red! Rissoles? That's a surprise…The bread and butter would be greasy. It would be farm butter. I couldn't cope with it at that stage. I never got used to it. There was something about farm butter that wasn't like home butter, which was Watsonia. The Heinz beans were out of a tin. Huge tins, catering stuff. Vermicelli and custard...would be boiled up, put in a bowl with a bit of sugar, and a milk and egg mixture poured over it with a bit of butter and perhaps nutmeg.... Minced meat would always be onion based, cooked in a bit of oil with chopped up carrots added for extra nourishment….[394]

Ella's memory of breakfast was "[that it was] sometimes porridge, sometimes it was bread porridge with chocolate – cocoa on it." Ella thought the meals they had were generally normal Australian meals:

> …just…regular roast dinners which were very popular and prevalent...except when there was [a] kind of main course of rice. For Australians, rice up to that stage had always been rice pudding, rice custard, so even the Australian cook there…[had to be] taught how to make, as we know it now, fried rice and rice in a different manner.[395]

Winnie's recollections of breakfast at Fairbridge illustrate children's resilience as they indulge in humour to overcome what could have been perceived as adversity:

> Yes, we had porridge in the morning and there were very small black beetles in it [probably weevils]! Those beetles we took out of the lumpy food and passed on to the ones sitting close to a painting on the wall. They pasted everyone's beetles there, adding some more to the picture daily. This [process was] a lot of fun because it had to take place in secrecy and silence. [396]

Robyn Wheatley's description of the Fairbridge food is comprehensive:

394 Robyn Wheatley, 2006.
395 Ella Bone, 2006.
396 Anneke Slik née Jongste, 2006.

> Whole leaf salads were also popular. What they used to do in those days was layer chopped up fine lettuce, and then a layer of sliced tomato, then a little bit more lettuce, and then say eggs, and fill it up in layers. And that was quite a traditional way of doing it. I liked the cocoa. They all had cocoa it's a very British thing…. The porridge was made from grained lumps from the husks of the wheat and that was boiled up and a bit lumpy, but it was solid, you could bite into it. Twenty pounds of beetroot a week — there's the iron! *They* all got quarter pound blocks of dark chocolate! Well, half their blooming luck because we didn't get it [laughter]. Toffee Deluxe was cream caramel — a square about an inch by an inch — and it had a square white paper with the word in blue, Plaistowe. They put the square in the middle. Put a toothpick up the middle of it, and then they wrapped it and that was a Toffee Deluxe. And because it was shaped like a dome, you stuck it up on the upper palette and you held on and pulled it out to see how far you'd suck on it....[397]

In fact the school ordered quarter pound blocks of light chocolate for twopence, Irish Moss, Life Savers and seven penny packets of Toffee Deluxe for the children regularly.

Robyn also recalls:

> … [how] they baked the bread on the premises, they had their own butter, vegetables, and fruit: grapes, apricots, and marmalade from the orange grove, and what they didn't have they got in. I also remember the ovens were very big. Metters Four or Five all fuelled by wood.[398]

The nature of the provisions at Fairbridge was a question raised by the journalist from *The Western Mail* who interviewed Mrs Kollmann. Her response was that she was very happy with Fairbridge meals, which she described as nourishing, containing plenty of salads and fruit.

The descriptions of Fairbridge food given by Robyn and the Dutch children are mostly consistent with the Fairbridge menu card for the Netherlands East Indies evacuees, discovered by the researchers in the Public Records

397 Wheatley, 2006; NAA Series: PP6/1/0 Item1945/H/595, Letter from principal to Plaistowes Ltd dated 39 January 1946.
398 ibid.

At Fairbridge Farm School the Dutch ex-internee children learn to sit at a table and eat meals with knife and fork. For the younger ones who survived the internment camp despite the starvation rations this is an entirely new experience. Courtesy: The Kollmann Family Collection.

WESLEY FAIRBRIDGE FARM SCHOOL.

N.E.I. Diet Sheet for period commencing 6/1/46.

Day	Sunday.	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday.
Breakfast	Porridge Eggs. Cocoa Bread & Butter Jam.	Bread & Milk Rissoles Cocoa Bread & Butter Jam	Weeties Lambs Fry. Cocoa Bread & Butter Jam	Porridge Sausages Cocoa Bread & Butter Jam	Porridge Bacon & Tomatoes Cocoa Bread & Butter Jam	Weeties Eggs. Cocoa Bread & Butter Jam	Porridge Bacon & Eggs Cocoa Bread & Butter. Jam
Dinner	Soup Meat & Potatoes H.Beans. Jelly & Custard	Soup Meat & Potatoes Peas Vermecilli & Custard.	Soup Meat & Potatoes Peas Jam Rolls.	Soup Meat & Potatoes Beans Apple Sponge	Soup Meat & Potatoes Silver Beet Creamed Barley.	Soup Meat & Potatoes Carrots & Pumpkin. Apple Pie.	Soup Meat & Potatoes Silver Beet. Stewed Fruit & Custard.
Tea	Tea Salads & Cheese. Bread & Butter Jam	Tea Minced Meat & Salads Bread & Butter Jam	Tea Salads & Meat. Bread & Butter Jam	Tea Salads & Eggs. Bread & Butter Jam	Tea Cheese & Salad. Bread & Butter Jam	Tea Salads & Eggs. Bread & Butter Jam	Tea Cold Meat & Salads. Bread & Butter Jam

Matrons - Coffee instead of cocoa.

Matrons to dine with the Children.

A/Principal.

Menu. Courtesy: NAA PP6/1.0 Item 1949/H/2752 Fairbridge Farm School (Government Financial Assistance Buildings etc and Indentures).

Office archives. It shows the authorities were providing a plain but nutritious "official" diet as detailed in the menu below. However, the children probably gained more of their daily calorific intake from their "rich treats menu" — the fruit, milkshakes, sweets, *Dikke Melk* and *Pindakaas* that they consumed outside of the meal times in the dining room. These indulgences stood in sharp contrast to the food and discipline to which they were subjected as part of their socio-cultural rehabilitation program, designed to re-establish the self-discipline and etiquette considered necessary for them to eventually resume living a middle class Western European lifestyle.

Discipline

Schooling at Fairbridge was held in two sessions of two hours, one in the morning and one after lunch, because the children were not used to classroom discipline, particularly in a stretch of six or seven hours. At noon dinner was served in the large dining hall, where they were sat behind long benches on which were placed big bowls of food for the children to share. This was another place where discipline was imposed. This began with saying Grace. Ella recalls

> Mr Kollmann would sit at the top of the table to make sure they all sat straight with elbows at their sides. [Then he…would say *bidden* — pray], you always had to say grace. And while sitting at the table, their backs were gently straightened by teacher's rulers. Any talk and giggling was silenced by the frowns of House Mothers. Talking at meals, or leaving the table before the meal was finished, was not allowed. Importantly, they had to eat with a knife and fork, which they would not have been used to in the camps.[399]

After the meal they were expected to take a nap whether they liked it or not. If anyone tried to talk during this time they would be banned from going out in the afternoon. But they were adaptive and resilient children. One of them, Dolf Bodaan, was deaf and taught the others sign language, so instead of having a siesta, they all spoke with their

399 Ella Bone, 2006.

hands, although this was not allowed, and to overcome it teachers insisted all the children lie facing the same side.[400] Still, covertly, they signed to each other, not about the war, but about what was happening in their daily lives — games, bush walking, eating and swimming. Because the children loved swimming most, if they were naughty the worst punishment they could have imposed on them was to be deprived of their swim for the day.[401]

Anneke Slik née Jongste also recalls that punishment was dealt out to mischief makers. A favourite punishment was writing a hundred times or more "I am not allowed to talk at the table". Anneke also recalls the day Nelle Lee's behaviour attracted 500 lines: "We took a roll of toilet paper, rolled it out on the big table in our dormitory and five of us helped her write them, of course with much fun."[402]

Robyn didn't consider the level of discipline was excessive; she observed that the children knew when they transgressed they would be punished, and they coped, because they were so pleased to be there. It gave continuity and structure and routine to their lives:

> They were happy. They had everything at that moment: good diet, good clothing, good everything, got some schooling, and they were falling into a routine. Remember, they hadn't had much routine. It was a shock to their systems to have that thrust upon them, but what it did to their peace of mind, when they knew that they would get up next morning, and they would have a breakfast...and they would have a routine to follow. And there was someone there to teach them whether it be Dutch or English or Maths. But they had the teachers, everything was there, so they could live a comparatively normal life.[403]

On reflection, Robyn believes that one of the greatest assets Fairbridge had to offer these children, whose lives had been severely disrupted by years in internment camps, was fair and consistent discipline:

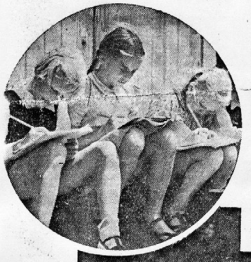
> Yes, the discipline had to be there. How else can you manage a motley group of three to four hundred

400 Adri Geerligs, 2008, points out the children had all to face the same way during the sleep period to stop them interacting with each other.
401 *The Western Mail* 14 February 1946, p. 23.
402 Slik née Jongste, 2006.
403 Wheatley, 2006.

BACK TO HEALTH

DUE to the co-operation of the Fairbridge Farm School Council, more than fifty Dutch children who have suffered all kinds of privations in Japanese prisoner of war camps are being restored to health at Fairbridge Farm School at Pinjarra. The number will shortly be raised to seventy. Some children suffered severely through undernourishment, but perhaps the worst feature of their captivity was the Japanese ban on teaching of every kind. In the healthy surroundings at Fairbridge the children are rapidly putting on weight and are forgetting the squalid conditions which they had to suffer for several years.

Lessons occupy two hours morning and afternoon. Children learn Dutch and English, arithmetic, drawing, history. Older children learn more about Australia, and girls are taught needlework. One child of ten cannot yet read or write, and most who were young when imprisoned have had no teaching except what their mothers were able to give them secretly.



These interested Dutch boys and girls are learning basic English. Their teacher is Mr. M. R. Kirkpatrick of the Education Department. In two hours they had learnt a number of simple words and understood directions such as "go in," "come out," "put down your pad and pencil." The boys had typical Dutch names such as Hans, Pieter, Jan, Klaas and Dickie. Some of the girls were called Marietje, Anne-Lisje, Truusje and Marianne. The letters "je" mean "little."

Circle: Australian sunshine is helping the children back to health, and when possible lessons are given outside under the tall gums. All these children have put on weight since going to Fairbridge.

Sport is not neglected. The boys play cricket and soccer, and the girls play baseball (with a soft ball) and tennis. The children's ages range from six to fourteen. Some have lost their fathers, others have not seen their fathers for years. Some of their mothers are in hospital. There are four children of one family at Fairbridge. Their father died in a prison camp, and their mother is still in hospital in Perth.

Sitting in a quiet corner was Elsa Duyser, engrossed in reading a book called "The Twins, Bob and Bob."

The happiest time of the day is between 11 o'clock and noon when all the children go down to the swimming pool in the Murray River to bathe. Like water babies they dived in and enjoyed every minute of it. There is a shallow pool where the very small children, in the care of one of their teachers, can paddle and swim in safety.

Circle: Every minute in the water is fun for these children. Most can swim well, and were proficient in different strokes. Those who could not swim have been taught at Fairbridge. When children are naughty the worst punishment they can have is to be deprived of their swim for a day. Their teachers have found that the children need discipline. They lived in such bad conditions in the prison camps that the teaching of manners was almost impossible.

After their swim these boys found parcels from their mothers waiting for them. The mothers pay a visit to Fairbridge about every three weeks to see their children.

Left: Mr. and Mrs. O. L. Kollmann who were imprisoned in Java, are in charge of the children at Fairbridge. Mrs. Kollmann takes morning classes and teaches French. Her husband teaches history and sports. They are pictured here with their sons Ernst and Guus. At the back is Mr. Van Helton who is in charge of Dutch welfare work in Perth. Mrs. Kollmann is particularly grateful to the Fairbridge Council and to the staff for the care they are taking with the children. Meals are nourishing and include plenty of salads and fruit. Two nurses—one Dutch and one Australian—look after the health of the children.

> children, or whatever it was. They had to have their rules, otherwise a community of that size would be stretched at all edges. It would really have got out of hand. At Fairbridge what the Cottage Mother said was right!…. If they played up at school, or were silly, they had to go and see the headmaster in his office. They got a very good talking to.[404]

Robyn describes the Dutch children as "lovely kids" who quickly joined in the games with the other children and became part of the Fairbridge community.[405] She remembers that once their wellbeing had improved, they were no longer subject simply to learning the rules governing good behaviour, but were also expected to focus on receiving an education.

Education — Catching up to Peer Group Standards

The children were to be offered a combined Netherlands-Australian education. Mr and Mrs Kollmann led the Dutch team and Mr Grant, the Acting Fairbridge Principal, directed the Australian curriculum.[406] Some children of ten could not yet read or write, since most were young when they were interned and had received no teaching except what their mothers and other adults were able to give them in secret. The children's progress at Fairbridge was periodically monitored by the Western Australian media. On February 14 1946, *The Western Mail* correspondent, on a visit to Fairbridge, noted:

> Mr and Mrs Kollmann, who were imprisoned in Java, are in charge of the children at Fairbridge. Mrs Kollmann [a trained teacher] takes morning classes and teaches Dutch.... Her husband teaches history and sports. Mrs Kollmann is particularly grateful to the Fairbridge Council and to the staff for the care they are taking with the children.[407]

404 ibid.
405 Wheatley, 2006.
406 Ernst Kollmannn, pers. com., 2007.
407 *The Western Mail*, 14 February 1946, p. 23.

The names of Dutch people from the Netherlands East Indies who the children recalled were registered as teachers, leaders or houseparents included van den Bosch, Rodrigo, Versteeg, van Es and Rombach. Some were parents who wished to remain near their children. The children with parents in Perth were expected to write them frequent letters about their progress.[408]

Under this well-rounded system Dutch teachers taught the children the Dutch language, arithmetic, drawing and history and an Australian teacher taught the children how to read, write and speak English. Older children were given more comprehensive information about Australia, and the girls were also given lessons in needlework. Dutch teachers also gave lessons in sports, theatre and dance. The article in *The Western Mail* entitled "Back to Health" cited above, accompanied by a series of photographs about the Dutch Fairbridgeans rehabilitation program, notes the appalling conditions the children had suffered under internment in an occupied country, and reveals the limited understanding Australians had of the realities of survival in such circumstances:

> Due to the cooperation of the Fairbridge Farm School Council, more than fifty Dutch children who have suffered all kinds of privations in Japanese prisoner-of-war camps are being restored to health at Fairbridge Farm School at Pinjarra. The number will shortly be raised to seventy. Some children suffered severely through under-nourishment and perhaps one of the worst features of their captivity was the Japanese ban on teaching of every kind. In the healthy surroundings at Fairbridge the children are rapidly putting on weight and are forgetting the squalid conditions in which they had to suffer for several years. *The Western Mail* also noted that the children's lessons occupied two hours morning and afternoon. Older children learn more about Australia, and girls are taught needlework. One child of ten cannot yet read or write, and most who were young when imprisoned have had no teaching except what their mothers were able to give them secretly.[409]

In reality, education was not of uppermost importance in an environment where the food intake was totally insufficient for healthy survival. For as Maslow so aptly noted in his "hierarchy of needs", when food intake is inadequate the

408 Adri Geerligs, pers. com., 2008.
409 *The Western Mail* 14 February 1946, pp. 22-23.

Mrs Kollmann's class: sitting on the tree trunk from left to right: George Petit, Rob van Es, Henk v.d. Vloodt, Dolf Bodaan, Mrs Kollmann, Dini Bennink, Annemiek Bodaan; standing in front of Mrs Kollmann, Hannie Monté; sitting in front from left to right: Ernst Kollmann, Guus Kollmann, Rob Haverschmidt and Paul van Es. Courtesy: The Kollmann Family Collection.

Mrs Rodrigo's Class: Sitting on the treetrunk from left to right Jan Rombach, Eduard Lumkeman, Donald Schotel, Peter lever, Hans Greeuw, Eelco Tacoma, Mrs Rodrigo, Els duyser and Anneke Jongste. Annemiek Bodaan is standing at the back. Courtesy: The Kollmann Family Collection.

Class of Mrs van Es: Sitting on the tree trunk from left to right Huib Steinman, Gert-Jan Pijpers, Daki Bennink, Hans van den Bosch, Cris Haen, Wim Plink, Adri geerlig's, Mrs van Es, Marie and Anne Burger; sitting on the ground: Freekje Rombach and Bob Vogelzang. Courtesy: The Kollmann Family Collection.

Mrs Versteeghs class standing from left to right: Hans Jansen, Kees Burger, Piet Burger, Peter Steinman and Aukje Rodrigo; sitting from left to right: Dick Geerligs, Marjolein Dun, Louise Plink, Eveline Haverschmidt, Marijke Dun, Peter v D Vloodt and Hein Versteeg. Courtesy: The Kollmann Family Collection.

human organism becomes preoccupied, in fact obsessed, with food and is unable to engage in higher pursuits until this basic need has been satisfied.[410]

However, at Fairbridge, with its more than adequate food provision, it was not long before the children were healthy enough to engage in learning. Mr Kirkpatrick was commissioned to teach the children basic English. Ernst believes he speaks for all the children when describing his lessons as fun:

> Who could forget these lessons with Mr Kirkpatrick; an English-only speaker, he relied entirely on show and tell techniques using hands, feet and gestures to relay the English language to the children i.e. this is a foot, this is your head![411]

Anneke Slik née Jongste recalls that:

> In our class (year six under Mrs Rodrigo) Mr Fitzpatrick made cards with questions about the lesson he gave. We had to write down the answers. After that there were other cards showing the answers, so we could correct ourselves — a very modern method for that time and great fun.[412]

The journalist from *The Western Mail* of February 14 1946, who spent time at the school observing the children, noted how in two hours they had already learnt a number of simple words and understood simple directions such as "go in", "come out", "put down your pad and pencil". He also mentioned that the boys had typical Dutch names such as Hans, Pieter, Jan, Klaas and Dickie, and the girls were called Marietje, Anne-Liesje, Truusje and Marianne. Obviously taken with the Dutch linguistic distinctions, he felt compelled to also observe that adding the letters '*je*' to a word in Dutch converts it to the diminutive 'little'.

Being free, (no longer having to fear your action could result in being beaten, nor having to scrounge for food) and

410 W Huitt, "Maslow's hierarchy of needs", *Educational Psychology Interactive*, Valdosta, GA, Valdosta State University, 2004, viewed May 2008, <http://chiron.valdosta.edu/whuitt/col/regsys/maslow.html>.

411 Kollmann, 2006.

412 Slik née Jongste, 2006.

having the opportunity to bask in the sunshine during sport and leisure activities and lessons under the tall gum trees, the children had soon put on enough weight for the serious pursuit of learning.

The adult Dutch Fairbridgeans who participated in interviews and personal correspondence for this history all cited the ease with which their youth assisted their English language learning: "being young, just hearing, 'this is a hand, this is a foot, this is my foot' etc., enabled us to rapidly understand our Australian hosts". Another pointed out: "even if you didn't understand the words, you picked up the meaning being conveyed from the gestures". The down-side emerged in the Netherlands, where their Australian English "turn of phrase", which included such slang expressions as "g'day mate", created conflict between them and their Dutch high school teachers of English after repatriation. Winnie de Vries's English teacher in the Netherlands remarked, "Your English is alright, but you've got an Australian accent". This was not a problem for Winnie because "Despite my accent I achieved a nine on my report".[413]

Minuet of Boccherini participants in costume: All the children were excited for the girls dressing up for this musical piece. The beautiful costumes they were to wear were such a delightful 'far cry' from their recently discarded internment garb. Courtesy: Anneke Slik née Jongste.

The learning, a new experience for these children, and the desire to please parents and teachers by doing well at it, was at times also stressful. Even though the lessons at Fairbridge were supposed to be fun, Winnie de Vries remembers studying very hard for the dance part she was given in the performance to be accompanied by the string quartet, *Minuet of Boccherini*: she was very keen for it to be a success. Even after all these years Winnie recalls the excitement she felt at the thought of dressing up in the lovely new green velvet outfits members of staff had made for the forthcoming event to be performed at the next visit to Fairbridge by parents. Anneke loved especially the kind of dancing they had to learn for the *Minuet*. Both parents and the staff who made the costumes also enjoyed the event immensely, just observing the pleasure it gave the children.

413 Winnie de Vries, 2005.

Another of the children, Donald Schotel, records a vivid memory of participating in quite a different performance at Fairbridge. Inspired this time by Mr Kirkpatrick, the play had a Dutch theme but English text:

> One of the occasions, which I still remember very clearly during my stay as a thirteen-year-old boy in Fairbridge is maybe worth mentioning: as you stated in your report, Mr Kirkpatrick taught us the basics of the English language and to prove that we had made some progress, he initiated a play, written by himself (in English of course), about the arrival of the Dutch VOC [Dutch East India Company] ship *Duyfken* on the Australian coast. We did actually build that ship (made of wood and linen and glue) under his inspiring management. The cast consisted of about six boys of which one was playing Abel Tasman (this was Eduard Lumkeman, one of my best friends at that time) while my role was a minor one, being the "look-out" screaming "land in sight" or something of the kind. The performance was meant to take place during an organised visit of many parents of the Dutch children in Fairbridge and took place in the dining room where the ship was erected on a sort of stage. Of course we were all very nervous, our English was still very poor and we didn't want to let Mr Kirkpatrick down. While playing getting to the coast on our self-built ship we had to sing a Dutch sailor song, (translated in English as something like "How smoothly our boat is gliding over the quiet waves"); rather euphemistic, bearing in mind the normally rough circumstances of the seas surrounding your continent. Anyway, according to the applause of the audience at the end of the performance the play was a great success and it demonstrated the fact that Mr Kirkpatrick was more to us than only a teacher.[414]

The full complement of Dutch teachers photographed for the children to remember their rehabilitation at Fairbridge Farm School, circa 1946. Courtesy: Donald Schotel.

414 Donald Schotel, pers. com., 2008; Australian history of the times rarely mentioned early Dutch explorers; hence the mistake about who the skipper of the *Duyfken* was; it was Jan Janzoon, not Tasman.

Sports Day Collage:
The Bottle Race.
High Jump.
The Sack Race.
Gymnastic Display.
Courtesy: The Kollmann Family Collection

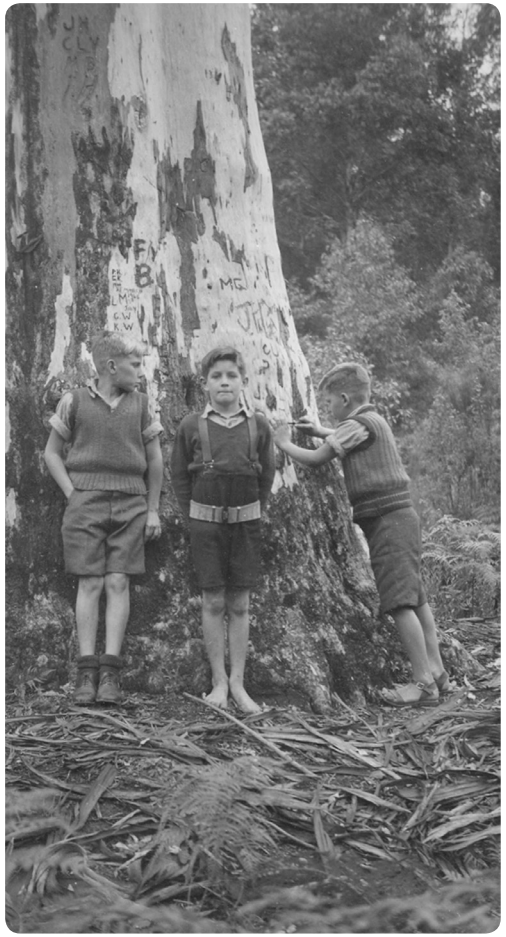
L-R Ella Bone referees Kasti (a sort of Indonesian rounders). Adri Geeligs (right of Ella fielding and her brother Dickie batting, circa January 1946.
Courtesy: Anneke Slik née Jongst

The English & Dutch Fairbridgeans' hockey teams. The United Kingdom orphans who comprise the usual residents of Fairbridge Farm School, regularly 'thrashed' the Dutch ex-internees hockey team 1946.
Courtesy: Willem Plink.

One of the giant Karri trees in the Valley of the Giants, Pemberton, south-west Western Australia circa 1946. Courtesy: The Kollmann Family Collection.

Mandurah holiday: unknown girl, Anneke Slik née Jongste in front with at the back left Dolf Bodaan and right Guus Kollmann and another unknown girl. Courtesy: Anneke Slik née Jongste.

Mandurah beach summer 1945/1946. Courtesy: The Kollmann Family Collection.



Guus and Ernst Kollmann with an English friend Billy Cassels exploring in the Karri Forest at Pemberton, 1946. Courtesy: The Kollmann Family Collection.

Ultimately, the overriding experience mentioned by the Dutch Fairbridgeans who had been primary school-aged children and young teenagers when they stayed there was that starting an education from scratch had been a mighty challenge, made easier by Mr and Mrs Kollmann, who, even sixty years on, are described as highly organised, efficient, benevolent yet authoritative, very much in control, but also well liked.[415]

Sporting Activities

An important part of NIWOE's rehabilitation routine was sport and leisure activities. To the delight of the children, this schedule was part of the daily routine, with the later afternoon dedicated to such activities as football, bushwalking, hockey, athletics, high jump and gymnastics on the large fields set aside for such games as hockey and football.

The girls also played baseball with a soft ball and tennis and the boys cricket and soccer, although *kasti* (similar to Australian 'Rounders') remained popular, despite the many other games the children were introduced to at Fairbridge. Nora taught some gymnastic classes and Ella played *kasti* with the children.[416]

Most popular however, was swimming in the South Dandalup River, in the part Fairbridge had dammed for such activities. Annneke Slik née Jongste, Winnie de Vries and Adri Geerligs all learnt to swim there and eventually even got accustomed to the leeches that had to be burned away from their legs every time they emerged from the water. On 14 February 1946 *The Western Mail* reported:

> The happiest time of the day is between 11 o'clock and noon when all the children go down to the swimming pool in the South Dandalup River to bathe. Like water babies they dive in and enjoy every minute of it. There is a shallow pool where the very small children, in the care of one of their teachers, can paddle and swim in safety. Every minute in the water is fun for these children. Most can swim well, and were proficient in different strokes. Those who could not swim were taught at Fairbridge.[417]

The teachers also organised competitive sporting events such as hockey games between the team of older Dutch girls

415 Mrs Kollmann died in 2005 aged nearly 100 years; Ernst's father and brother are also deceased.
416 Nora Acatos née Lumkeman, pers.com., 2008.
417 *The Western Mail,* 14 February 1946, p. 23.

and a team made up of female British orphans in the fifteen to eighteen age bracket, who were still attached to the school, which was their guardian. Ernst Kollmann remembers two members of the British team, Vera the captain and goal keeper and a good mid fielder.[418] Generally, however, interaction between the two groups of children was greatly inhibited by the language barrier. School sports day also proved popular with the smaller children who would vie with each other for a place in the egg and spoon or three-legged race, high jump, wheelbarrow race, gymkhana displays and the Dutch *flessen* (bottle) race, to name but a few.

An important topic in the everyday conversation of the children was that afternoon's sporting events and the forthcoming sporting and leisure activities. A favoured pastime was the days away, when their parents would also participate in the activities. When asked to describe their favourite days away with parents and their Fairbridge pals, the children unanimously voted them to be the trips to Mandurah beach and the Valley of the Giants (a stand of ancient Karri trees) in Pemberton, making sand castles, boating, swimming, playing *kasti* with parents and having picnics on the beach. Visits to Kings Park, the Swan River, Boan's store and the zoo were also highly prized. At the zoo the favourite pastime the children remembered most was a ride in a large basket on the back of the big elephant.[419] These outings made the whole sojourn an idyllic time of the children's lives. NIWOE organised the transport for these visits as part of their rehabilitation program.

Guus Kollmann and Hans Hessing up from Fairbridge to a Perth department store to be 'outfitted' with some new clothes. Courtesy: The Kollmann Family Collection.

Another favourite day away was being picked up by NIWOE drivers and taken to Perth to purchase new clothes, an entirely new experience for them after years spent wearing rags in the internment camps. Not that the choice was

418 Ernst Kollman, pers.com., 2007.
419 *The Western Mail*, 14 February 1946, p. 22.

Clothing was difficult to come by after the war in Australia, consequently army issue togs were widely worn. The photograph on the left shows Ella bone in army issue gear with some younger boys also wearing some army items standing on the bridge over the Dandalup River at Fairbridge Farm. The photograph on the right: L-R Rolf Bodaan, Rob van Es, Eduard Lumkeman and Hans Greeuw are all wearing army garb of sorts.
Courtesy: Lumkeman Family Collection.

New 'Australian' Bikes: Hans Greeuw , Ernst Kollmann, Rob van Es and Guus Kollmann show off their new acquisitions. These bikes were very popular in Holland when they were repatriated, for bike parts were still unobtainable.
Courtesy: The Kollmann Family Collection.

great; even Australians were wearing army issue togs from army disposal stores. Ella recalls:

> …mostly you got about in 'around the house' sort of clothes …trousers. And I don't know if Nora had them too but I certainly did and it was a novelty for me — a pair of these khaki slacks and …gum boots. I can remember a photograph, and Nora saying I looked just like the SS Corp … you know, the German storm troopers. Might have been a battle jacket. It wasn't common for people to wear slacks and that sort of thing as they do today.[420]

Dutch Fairbridgeans whose parents were living in Perth appeared to be better dressed than their Australian counterparts.

The children were also enthusiastic about the events their parents would come to Fairbridge to enjoy. Special outings with parents included bush walks to spot kangaroos, picnics, swimming, dancing to music and the plays mentioned earlier. A memory valued highly by Ernst Kollmann was being presented with his first bike at Fairbridge, a Malvern Star bicycle that the family eventually took back to Holland, where it was an immediate hit (and it was important to establish a presence in a new neighbourhood and new school) because it was bright orange and one of the few bikes around at the time with tyres you could inflate.[421] Most Dutch, due to the post-war resources shortages, were riding bikes without rubber tyres.[422]

Dutch people in the community helped the children maintain their Dutch traditions. On 5 December 1945, by courtesy of the Dutch Marines, Dutch children in Perth celebrated the *Sinterklaas (St Nicholas)* feast, a day on which they traditionally receive all their presents, rather than on Christmas day (which in Holland is always more of a religious feast day) as in the English tradition. On December 6 1945, *The West Australian* reported that the *Sint Nicolaas* party was a great success; it had been organised by the Royal Netherlands Navy and held at their submarine base barracks at Crawley Bay in the grounds of the University of Western Australia campus. All Dutch children in the state were invited to attend it, including the Dutch Fairbridgeans. The officers and men had contributed by raising funds for the gifts. A committee of the children's mothers purchased and also helped distribute them. Afterwards, *Sint Nicolaas* paid

420 Ella Bone, 2006.
421 Kollman, 2007.
422 This was also noted by Henriette Thomas née Kuneman in her memoir 1990, p. 40.

a visit to the Dutch children in hospital who were too ill to attend.[423] Arnold Drok, a child evacuee whose family was fortunate to be given accommodation with Australian friends residing in Perth, was just old enough to recall a similar Christmas feast held at the Dutch Club:

> The only thing I remember about the Dutch Club is that they used to meet at The Cloisters, you know that old building in front of Newman house. It was St Nicolaas evening and the families were there…that's why I remember it.... I specifically remember it because St Nicolaas came in and I said to Mum, "Why's Dad dressed like that?" [laughter] "Sssh, shssh, shsss!"[424]

The children already at Fairbridge in December 1945 attended one or other of these *Sint Nicolaas* parties. Housemother Ella Bone was enthusiastic about how such events enticed both staff and children to strive to learn more about one another's cultures and languages:

> . . . The [Dutch children and staff] were learning, so was I.... I learnt all their songs from "Happy Birthday" and folk songs to the Dutch National Anthem. I've got the song book still... there was also a birthday party every second week, every second day sometimes, and the cook would make a birthday cake, and we would sing "Happy Birthday" in Dutch.[425]

Adri recalls that on your birthday you stood in the middle of a ring while everyone sang happy birthday to you: "I found that very nerve wracking as I was very shy". For Ella, the added value of these and similar fun outings was that she learnt to speak some Dutch and, correspondingly, the Dutch at Fairbridge learnt more Australian English.

Some of the Dutch children living in Perth and Fremantle who attended a St Nicolaas celebration at the Dutch Submarine base, Crawley, yesterday afternoon.

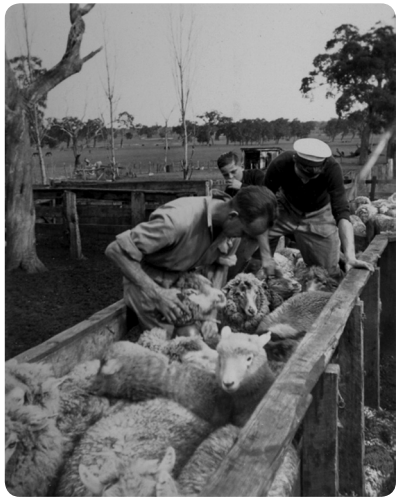
Courtesy: West Australian Newspapers 6 December 1945.

Adri Geerligs is delighted with her St Nicholas present, Fairbridge Farm School, 5 December 1945. Courtesy: Geerligs Family Collection.

423 *The West Australian*, 6 December 1945, p. 10.
424 Arnold Drok, interview with Sue Summers, 2006.
425 Ella Bone, 2006.

The children make friends and feed the farm's calf, circa 1946. The Kollmann Family Collection.

Ella Bone and some of the Dutch children take a ride on a Fairbridge Farm horse and cart.

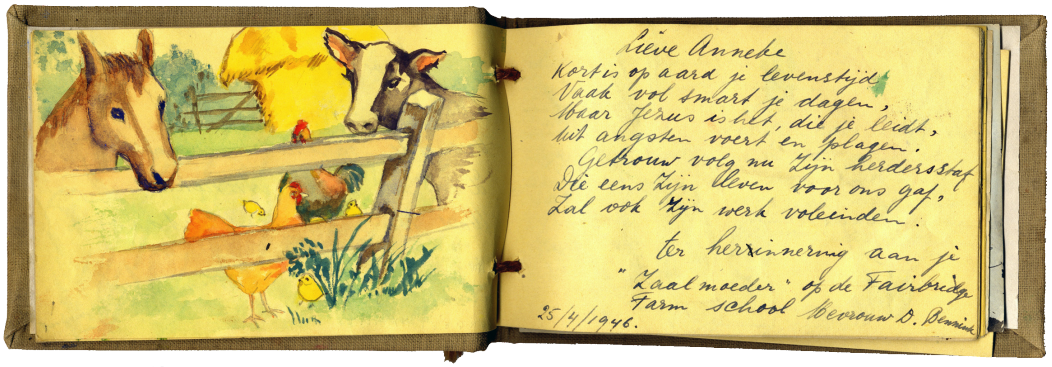


Mr Gouldner, the Fairbridge Farm manager worms the sheep circa 1946. Courtesy: The Kollmann Family Collection.

The volunteer staff also enjoy the farm circa 1946. Courtesy the Lumkeman Family Collection.

Playing on the farm cart in the stables circa 1945, Courtesy: The Kollmann Family Collection.

Unusual events that will never be forgotten include a big bush fire, which left a lasting impact on Willem Plink, because he loved the bush.[426] Ernst, on the other hand, remembers the flood when the water level rose to the top of the bridge across the river. Winnie loved most the weekly dances. She still giggles when she recounts how the boys had to come to the girls' dormitories to book dances: "Most would write down the dances they asked you for on their hands"[427]; whereas for Annneke dance nights were a source of discomfort: "I was a big and sturdy girl and the other children teased me so I hated the dancing lessons".[428] Adri recalls her brother Dick dancing with the post mistress.[429] For Winnie going to the movies was important: "Once we saw *Madame Curie* with Greer Garson and Walter Pidgeon. Just for sentimental reasons I saw it again twice in later years!"[430]



Courtesy: Anneke Slik née Jongste

Fairbridge Farm

The children all also enjoyed the farm, which was at that time managed by Mr Goulder whom they would watch cutting hay for the farm animals. Although the orphanage was not fully operational at the time the Dutch children

426 Plink, 2006.
427 Winnie de Vries, 2007.
428 Anneke Slik née Jongste, 2006.
429 Adri Geerligs, 2006.
430 Winnie de Vries, 2007.

'Packed and ready to go': The end of their Western Australian rehabilitation sojourn sees some evacuees destined to go back to the Netherlands East Indies and others having opted to start a new life in the Netherlands, circa August 1946. Courtesy: The Kollmann Family Collection.

Army trucks were also used to transport evacuees to Victoria Quay Fremantle for transport to the Netherlands, August 1946. Courtesy: The Kollmann Family Collection.

The NIWOE Dodge waits to transport evacuees to Fremantle wharf for embarkation on the MS Bloemfontein to the Netherlands, August 1946. Courtesy: The Kollmann Family Collection.

Last Goodbyes often call to an end cherished relationship. For evacuees the sojourn at Fairbridge had been intensely satisfying and the Australian Principal and staff will forever be associated by Dutch Fairbridgeans with the move from 'tyranny to freedom' circa August 1946. Courtesy: The Kollmann Family Collection.

were there, the farm was. They spent many enjoyable hours watching sheep shearing and cows being milked, patting lambs, calves and foals, or participating in hay rides. This pastoral environment contributed greatly to their increasing wellness. During the war and immediately afterwards, the farm continued to produce its own fresh bread, eggs, milk, meat, dripping and vegetables. The importance of the farm to the children is well illustrated by a page out of Anneke Slik née Jongste's autograph book, depicting the farm animals in an idyllic pastoral scene.

A lasting vivid memory of Fairbridge for Ernst is the big tree with yellow flowers in front of Scratton Cottage, and the delight of the plays and dances organised by Scratton Cottage girls, who were encouraged to indulge in these for the benefit of all. Visits to Mandurah and Pemberton, swimming in the dam, picnics, hitch-hikes in the hills, and great barbeques are all remembered with pleasure.[431] The greatest impact for Adri Geerligs has been a lifetime interest in Australian wildflowers. She still has kangaroo paws in her home. For Willem Plink it was the animals, and for Eduard Lumkeman the lasting relationships he made, "Donald…was best man at my wedding."[432]

Despite the differences in what each child chose as having made a lasting impression on them, all memories converge when it comes to an evaluation of the Fairbridge experience, which is described by them all in glowing terms of lasting happiness.[433] Happiness aside, after some eight to ten months, when NIWOE had proclaimed them all physically and emotionally rehabilitated, the time came to prepare to leave Fairbridge and repatriate to either the Netherlands or the Netherlands East Indies.

Repatriation

Among the first to leave was Adri Geerligs' father; he embarked on the *MS Tasman* to Samarinda, East Bornea (Kalimantan) on 14 June 1946. The Ellerbeck and Lindner families also joined this transport to meet up again with their fathers who were bureaucrats in Bali and Lombok respectively. That is, apart from the older Ellerbeck girl at the High school in Burt Hall, who went to the Netherlands on the *MS Bloemfontein* a couple of months later with another Dutch

431 Ernst Kollmann, 2006.
432 Eduard Lumkeman, 2007.
433 Extracts from interviews with Dutch Fairbridgeans 2007.

THREE DUTCH SHIPS which quietly slipped moorings and left Brisbane yesterday without knowledge of the Trades Hall. Plan to beat the blockade which has kept the ships in Brisbane for 19 months, was one of the best kept waterside secrets since war's end. All ships sailed without coal, the bailers being fired with wood. They will be re-fueled with coal by another Dutch ship which they will meet at sea. Pictures show (bottom right): Van Outhoorn steaming down the Brisbane River. (Left): Stores being loaded on to the Bontekoe, and (top right), the steamer Bath leaving the wharf.

DUTCH EVACUEE SCHOOLBOY Frank Zindler helps to load the Dutch evacuee ship Tasman at Port Melbourne. He and 34 other Dutch boys volunteered to load it. The Tasman sailed on Friday when waterside workers refused to load it. The Tasman sailed on Friday with 500 evacuees returning to Java and Sumatra.

Dutch Load Own Ship

WATERSIDE WORKERS refused to load a cargo of clothing for the Netherlands East Indies aboard the Dutch evacuee ship Tasman, at Port Melbourne yesterday. The work was done by 35 Dutch evacuee lads who have been in Melbourne for some months. Pictures (above and below), show them loading the cargo, which weighed 170 tons. The Tasman is due to sail today. She is returning 500 evacuees from Australia to Java and Sumatra.

Courtesy the Sunday Telegraph and The Age Newspapers 6 and 9 June 1946.

family whom her mother had befriended, to complete her education in Nijmegen.[434] The imminent departure of Dutch Fairbridgeans and other evacuees brought the union boycott of Dutch ships back into sharp focus – and reminded them that the situation in the Netherlands East Indies had not resolved during their peaceful sojourn in Western Australia. Evacuees' anxiety escalated when a myriad articles about the ban on Dutch ships began again, in concert with their repatriation schedule, to appear daily in newspapers around the country. For example, on June 23 1946, *The Sunday Sun* declared: "Tugmen refused to tow the *MS Sibajak*," that had arrived earlier that day from Batavia.[435] The media discussions that ensued, while divided, also highlight the extent to which Indonesian independence had generated anti-Dutch feelings in Australia. The journalists of the day who discuss the ban in these articles do so from the perspective of their paper's political orientation; as such they either focus on the union threat to expose workers who undertake work on Dutch ships, or emphasise the millions the ban is costing the Australian export economy.

Australian politicians were also divided in their opinion about the ban. On 22 June 1946, *The Herald* reported that the Liberal member for Henty, Victoria, Mr Gullet, had referred to the ban in his maiden speech, claiming his more personal knowledge of Australian Netherlands East Indies relationships would be useful for members of the House. In 1943 he was one of the troops the *Bontekoe* carried to New Guinea through fairly dangerous waters. On the voyage he got to know the Dutch crew who, he said, "were all that could be expected of loyal and worthy Allies". The article also presents the alternative perspective by quoting Mr S. Moran, treasurer of the Sydney branch of the Waterside Workers Union, who in turn quotes Mr Chifley, Prime Minister of Australia, as saying "The best that could happen to the Dutch authorities in Australia would be to pack up and go back to Holland".[436]

The evacuees left behind an increasingly anti-Dutch climate of opinion. The negative attitude to the Dutch was maintained for at least as long as the unions' ban on Dutch ships continued — thus well into 1947. This state of affairs had Robert Menzies declare in parliament in 1947: "Australia has virtually been at war with the Dutch for two years,

434 Frank Ellerbeck, 2008: At the end of 1946 Frank's father was transferred from Bali to Minahasa Celebes, where he worked and the family lived in nearby Tomohon until July 1948.

435 *The Sunday Telegraph* 23 June 1946, p.6; The archives of the Nederlands Instituut voor Oorlogs Documentatie (NIOD – Netherlands Institute for War Documentation) in Amsterdam, the Australian War Memorial archives and the National Archives of Australia (NAA) in Canberra, all contain a myriad articles on the ban extracted from newspapers around Australia.

436 *The Herald*, 22 June 1946.

except for the shooting". At the time Menzies, as leader of the opposition, was criticising Chifley, whose policy with regard to Indonesian self-government displayed a bias against the Dutch. Chifley's prejudice was greatly fuelled by the trade union boycott of Dutch shipping.[437] Some Dutch emigrants side-stepped Australia in the early 1950s for fear Australians' attitude would stand in the way of positive resettlement if they chose that destination.[438]

Being young, the Fairbridge children were far less aware of these concerns than their parents. In effect, the evacuees to be repatriated to Holland were the lucky ones, given the adverse conditions that continued to typify life in the Netherlands East Indies at that time. It must have been distressing indeed to be continually confronted with newspaper articles highlighting the instability of the country, knowing that after rehabilitation you would have to go back there. An extract from an article by Foreign Correspondent David Borguslav in *The Daily Telegraph* on 25 June 1946 notes:

> Unimpeachable authority from Batavia indicates that well-armed Japanese are today fighting side-by-side with extremist Indonesian troops.... Japanese in Java are carrying out an offensive, which is the continuation of their bid for an empire begun in 1931.[439]

He insisted this occurred because thousands of Japanese who were disarmed at their capitulation were not put into stockades (because the British did not have the forces to round them up). Hence Sukarno had been able to recruit them to augment his fanatical Peace Preservation Corps. In June 1946, of the 250,000 Japanese troops interned in Java after the war, an estimated 40,000 were still in camps controlled by the extremists and thus were veritable hostages. [440]

A photograph in the *Daily Telegraph* on 29 June 1946, showing a 19-year-old Dutch youth, "weak from under-

437 Rupert Lockwood, *Black Armada*, Sydney, Australasian Book Society, 1975, p.1.

438 N. Peters, "Expectation versus Reality: Postwar Dutch Migration to Australia" in *Dutch Connections: 400 years of Australian-Dutch Maritime Links 1606-2006*, ed. Lindsay Shaw, Australian National Maritime Museum and Shell Australia, 2006. The change in the feelings of Australians toward the Dutch was generated largely by the ideology on Colonialism promoted by the Communist Party; by bans imposed on Dutch shipping by Australian Waterside Unions through 1945 to 1948; and by the realisation that Australia did not help the Dutch during the *Bersiap* Period.

439 *The Daily Telegraph* on 25 June 1946.

440 ibid.

nourishment after years of internment in Java", being assisted into a waiting ambulance by Dutch medical orderlies, was confirmation of the continuing plight of co-ethnics left behind. The last Dutch hostages under Indonesians control were not released until after mid 1946.[441]

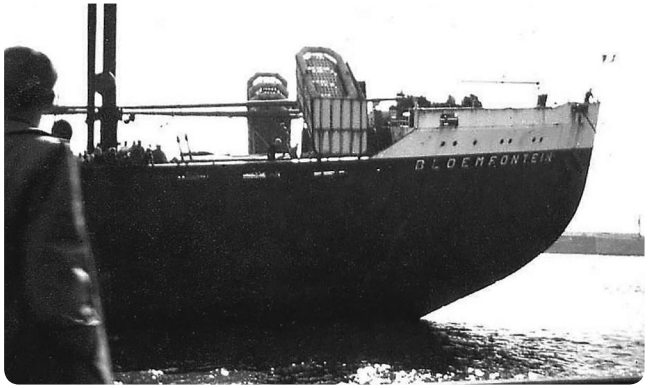
Sukarno's role in Indonesian Independence remains a highly contested history in popular political terms. Since this is not the focus of this study, suffice it to say the history has been written from numerous perspectives depending upon the political orientation of the paper presenting it. For example, *The Sunday Sun and Guardian* in the article of July 7 1946, "A Hitler at our front door", notes:

> A new Oriental Hitler has arisen. His name is Sukarno and he is president of the so-called Republic of Indonesia. The atom bomb tests and industrial troubles in Queensland tended this week to shadow events in Java. Sukarno, self-confessed Japanese collaborator, has "personally assumed all powers until such time as normal conditions prevail in Java".... His excuse for his seizure of power was the kidnapping of Dr Sjahrir, Premier of Indonesia by Republican soldiers who "thought the premier a Dutch spy". Sjahrir was released. But then Sukarno had seized control. It is a familiar technique; a moderate intellectual is perhaps the only man capable of negotiating with the Dutch. Now he may be a back number. The demagogue, Sukarno has made himself despot over more than 40,000 Javanese.... His revolutionary army is reported to be led by Japanese officers and is using Japanese arms and equipment treacherously turned over when Japan capitulated.[442]

It was in this political climate that the Dutch Fairbridgeans prepared to leave Western Australia, on the *MS Bloemfontein* or *MS Volendam* if they were repatriating to the Netherlands, or on the *MS Tasman* if they were returning to the Netherlands East Indies.

The high degree of unrest brought into sharp focus by the Waterside Unions bans understandably made them all the more reluctant to leave for unknown shores, and even more so to shores where war was still being waged**.**

441 Penders, 2002.
442 *The Sunday Sun* and *Guardian*, 7 July 1946, p. 4.



The erstwhile troopship the MS Bloemfontein ready to leave its Fremantle Harbour berth for the Netherlands 29 July 1946. Courtesy: Donald Schotel.

Ella Bone is discernible in the crowd waiting for the MS Bloemfontein to transport Dutch Fairbridgeans to the Netherlands. Courtesy: Ella Bone.

As the time to leave drew closer, both adults and children had mixed feelings. Australia had felt so safe after their ordeal in Japanese internment camps, and after the Japanese capitulation, having been the targets of Indonesian Freedom Fighters. Now, after less than a year of peace in their lives, many were off to confront a new future in the Netherlands where a number of them, especially the children, had never been; consequently they felt enormously challenged by the move.

Adri, whose family were to join her father in Borneo, was fearful instead of returning to the Netherlands East Indies. Thinking the family would be interned there she sent a letter to her father asking, "Dad, how is the camp, is it a good camp?"[443] It would take these children some time to adjust to the idea of a home that was not a camp![444]

The Kollmanns had wanted to stay in Australia. However, staying was impossible, because under the terms of the agreement evacuees had been sent to Australia for recuperative purposes only, and to all intents and purposes they had recovered. Consequently they, along with many of the other evacuees, accepted repatriation to the Netherlands. The children packed their possessions — mainly gained in Western Australia — into suitcases and crates for transportation to their destination. On the day they kissed and hugged each other and said goodbye to their Australian house-mothers, teachers and other Fairbridge staff who had played such a big part in their lives and who had become friends. They were then transported to Perth and subsequently to the wharf in Fremantle with NIWOE vehicles and drivers.

Ships to a new future

Embarkation at Fremantle plunged the evacuees' life once more into deficiency and uncertainty. The *Melbourne Herald* noted on Tuesday 27 August 1946,

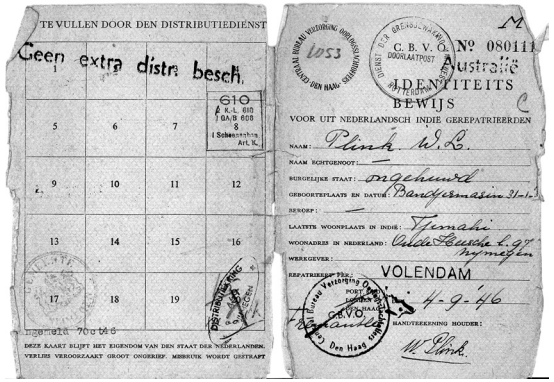
> Fewer than 200 Dutch nationals will be left in Melbourne by the end of next week, after three ships have sailed to Holland and the Netherlands East Indies with evacuees. These people have convalesced in Australia after long terms of imprisonment by the Japanese in Java and the outer islands. The total

443 Adri Geerligs 2007.
444 ibid.

> remaining Dutch in Australia will be fewer than 1000. Most of them are Dutch service, consulate, buying and information officials, but a few are the wives and children of technical and civil administration who returned recently to the Netherlands East Indies. An official of the Netherlands East Indies information Service said today that nearly 3190 evacuees would be cleared from Australia by the end of next week. The *MS Volendam*, which arrived with 900 from Sydney yesterday, would take on nearly 600 in Melbourne and leave tomorrow for Fremantle for another 200. Her complement and the 1300 awaiting the *MS Sibajak* next week were bound for Holland. The only people returning to the Netherlands East Indies were 200 leaving in the small steamer *MS Tasman* at the end of this week. [445]

Once on board the ship the sense of wellbeing evacuees had gained from their rehabilitation in Western Australia was again compromised by the conditions under which they would travel to the Netherlands. *The West Australian* of Tuesday 30 July 1946 notes:

> Carrying 888 Dutch evacuees from Melbourne and Sydney the *MS Bloemfontein* left Fremantle for Holland yesterday with an additional 75 from West Australia. Three holds of the vessel were used to accommodate the bulk of evacuees.[446]



Identity document for rationed items, The Netherlands 1946.

An article in *The Sun* on 15 July 1946, before the ship left Melbourne for Fremantle, confirms the inferior and crowded conditions on board:

> More than 1000 men, women & children will live in three cargo holds.... another 200 expectant mothers, elderly people, and mothers with toddlers will live in four, six and nine berth cabins. Bunks in tiers of four, consisting of canvas stretched across steel frames, and troop ship-type showers are installed in the hold. Nearly all are evacuees

445 NAA A1608 Item 19/1/1 Part 1, 27/8/1946 Evacuees Go Home.
446 *The West Australian* 30 July 1946, p.6.

from Java or other islands.[447]

On 18 July 1946, the *West Australian* newspaper also takes up the cudgel from Eastern States papers. In an article "Overcrowding on Ship, Dutch Complain", it outlines the difficulties that any form of criticism by Dutch evacuees would encounter:

> Complaints of overcrowding and discomfort were made today by some of the Dutch people aboard the repatriation [vessel] the *MS Bloemfontein*.... By the time [she is in] Fremantle the ship will be carrying 1100.... The grumbling has reached the ears of the officials but no formal protest has been made because passengers are longing to get home and fear that allowances may be stopped if they refuse to sail by the vessel. They say that they have been given a circular in Dutch to the effect that if they do not sail by the ship they will lose their claims to leave by another ship.... The basis of their complaints is that there is overcrowding, insufficient water, and no facilities for washing, drying and ironing clothes.[448]

Despite the contested issues about conditions aboard, the *MS Volendam* and *MS Bloemfontein*, along with the *MS Oranje* and *MS Tasman*, left on time on August 4 1946 [449] and without the help of tugs.[450] The Geerligs family, who left about a month later to join their father on the second voyage of the *MS Tasman* that left Fremantle for Java on 7 September 1946, were surprised and delighted to find Donald Schotel's family were fellow passengers — it helped ease their fears.[451]

Arrival for the evacuees repatriated to the Netherlands is another sad story, given that for many of the children it would be their first encounter with their parents' country of origin and the country where they would now have to make their future lives. Few Dutch knew, or for that matter cared about what the Indies Dutch had suffered in

447 *The Sun*, 15 July, 1946.
448 *The West Australian*, 18 July 1946,
449 NAA; Series: B6533, Item 7, Lists of evacuees to the Netherlands leaving Fremantle on the *MS Volendam* on 4 September, 1946.
450 NAA Series: A373 Item 11740, letter from Mr Hay to Deputy Director Attorney General's Departments dated 30 July 1946.
451 Adri Geerligs, pers. com. 2008: the Geerligs family flew to Borneo from Batavia in a "bomber".

internment camps under the Japanese or as targets of *Pemuda* during the *Bersiap* period. They assumed life in the Netherlands East Indies had been similar to the lives of the majority of Dutch people under Nazi Occupation (apart from the thousands of Dutch Jews and resistance fighters interned and then exterminated by the Nazis). That is, that they had been able to live more or less normally. In the Netherlands the people had endured a severe winter, and in the western provinces, in the last months of war, many died of starvation when the Nazis blocked all food transportation to that part of the country. The many deaths from starvation were a central concern, especially for the many families who had lost relatives to this cruel fate. Consequently, from their perspective, the Netherlands East Indies Dutch may have lived in miserable conditions — but under pleasant tropical temperatures. Parents, family, friends, schoolteachers and Dutch media all portrayed them as "complainers" from the detainee camps. They argued that victims should not complain so much since the situation in Asia had not been so bad. Eduard Lumkeman remembers not being given the slightest opportunity to utter even a word about wartime in the Indies.[452] Unable to explain to their friends and teachers what they had been through left the evacuee children feeling lonely and misunderstood. The devastation wrought by years of bombing and attendant destruction of the economy meant postwar Netherlands was all about overcrowded uncomfortable living, rationed food and scarce job opportunities. Winnie de Vries' family had to move in with an uncle and aunt who also had two children, so there were eight people in a small house. Eduard Lumkeman recalls how, back in the Netherlands, his family life was poor, they were reduced to wearing second-hand clothes, and were unable even to afford a piece of carpet to relieve the austerity of their rented accommodation. To make matters worse, his father's health never recovered from the harsh internment. He lived out the rest of his life as an invalid on a sickness pension. Neither was his family compensated for the social, material and emotional discomfort of the years lost to imprisonment. This story was repeated in the lives of many other Dutch evacuees.

Internment left a variety of emotional scars. For Willem Plink it manifested in the following way:

> I have three sons, one of whom lives in New York. He and his wife maintain a weblog in which they give an account of their daily life experiences for family and friends. Recently, one of his weblogs had a photo of a Japanese restaurant, with the caption, "this is very pleasant; we like to eat there with our friends". I

452 Eduard Lumkeman, pers. com. December 2008.

> have approached him about this (as follows) " Dear Jeroen, I am quite inconsistent. My grandfather was executed by the Germans, and I have been married happily for 12 years to a German. I drive a German VW, full of Japanese electronics. I swear by Japanese cameras because of the good quality and I have a lot of Japanese stuff at home (television, computer, etc.). However, one thing, you will never get me in is a Japanese restaurant, because as a young child of six I had to do forced labour for the Japanese. Every morning a Japanese with a big gun came to take me with other kids from my camp to a farm where I had to work and was "rewarded" at the end of the day with a small piece of bread. So I won't go and eat in a Japanese restaurant, where I have to pay for Jap-food, or others have to pay for me.[453]

A more recent experience of Winnie's adds yet another dimension to this story. The testimonies and archival evidence surveyed here allow us to conclude that the mission and vision of NIWOE to rehabilitate the children was achieved with sensitivity and care. The program certainly gained the grateful approval of the Dutch Fairbridgeans identified and interviewed for this study. They all made successful lives. However, for some the trauma of the brutality, violence, fear and starvation of internment and the appalling *Bersiap* period began to manifest unbidden in later life. Winnie explains:

> My brother died eight years ago. Camp conditions had a lifetime impact on him. He was always sick, sick, sick. He entered the camp at two years of age and didn't have enough resilience because we lacked the nutrition and vitamins required to thrive healthily. Even the therapeutic help provided by the *Oegstgeest Institute* [established to help children who experienced war trauma under the Nazis, especially the Jewish or Japanese Occupations], didn't make a difference to him.… It became difficult for him from when he was 47 until he died at 57. When it became difficult he made jokes. He died of an aneurism — heart operation — his body was never good. Spent the ten years in and out of hospitals — physical and sometimes mental. Despite him having little knowledge of the Indies….
>
> I came through it much better but I had heard that when some fifty years had passed since the war then lots of people often started to have difficulties coming to terms with the trauma. I thought this was a lot of

453 Willem Plink pers. com., December, 2008.

> piffle until I attended a commemoration where I met lots of other people who had been through the same traumas. At *Bronbeek herdenking* (a commemoration) I began crying and cried all the way home in the train; when I got home I was still crying. Pelita, a social worker, helped with trauma therapy and she let me talk and talk and talk. She told me I had hidden away from all the trauma. I still have some difficulties.[454]

Not all evacuees were disabled by their wartime experiences or suffered post-traumatic stress syndrome, but those so afflicted, like Winnie, cannot always identify what eventually brought it on. However, even for those who have not succumbed to PTS there were difficulties. Ernst Kollmann sees the legacy of his experience of war, loss of home and country and surviving internment camp life, as a 'fragmented youth'. However, his experiences also inspired his philosophy on life: "Every person is potentially a good person, material things as nothing; status is nothing but air, and instead I place in central focus, 'respect for another'. Donald Schotel, whose family returned to Java and were later repatriated to the Netherlands, remembers his stay at Fairbridge and Australia "as an arrival from hell to heaven" that to his death he will never forget.[455] Ernst puts into words the feelings expressed by many of the Dutch Fairbridgeans about their stay there as one of

> …happiness, happiness, happiness again [and] freedom! These are two things what I remember. All the freedom that you had there... there was a feeling of relief. And Australia of course was a new beginning. It was a new beginning of life — and it always will [be], it always will [be]. Yes. I am always, still very grateful for that, to the Australians.[456]

The children's freedom was so precious because it stood in stark contrast to nearly four years of warfare, occupation and internment and the misery they again encountered on leaving Australia on the ship and when they arrived in the Netherlands. The message with which I draw the Australian aspect of this story to an end is provided by *The West Australian* of December 27 1947:

---

454 Winnie de Vries, 2006.
455 Donald Schotel, 2007.
456 Kollmann, 2006.

Kumpulan at Bronbeek 12 March 2008:
Standing L-R: Winnie de Vries, Paul van Es, Paul Slik, Adri Geerligs, Willem Plink, Antoinette Naborn-van der Koogh, Annette Kollmann-Wesley, Ernst Kollmann.
Sitting: Donald Schotel, Anneke Slik-Jongste and Annemarie van Es.

Ella Bone's visit to the Netherlands winter 2006: L-R: Ernst Kollmann, Ella Bone, Eduard Lumkeman, Nora Acatos-Lumkeman, Paul van Es, Adri Geerligs, Saskia Stanthardt, Donald Schotel and Willem Plink.

> The Dutch children's stay at Fairbridge adds an entirely different dimension to its function of child rescue which was first and foremost that of the emigration of "British orphans" who it turns out were not all orphaned. The other side to the Fairbridge story is the case of Netherlands East Indies Dutch evacuees who would all give Fairbridge top marks for child rescue.[457]

It is more difficult to find closure on a war story, since wars continue to abound and contest various geographical and virtual spaces and to be driven by the ideologies and beliefs we construct as humans. Frequently they are contested by opposing ideologies and beliefs of other stakeholders, and the history of war is the history of the extent to which we are willing not only to die for these ideologies, but to kill others for in the process — even our own and others' young progeny. However, this is one of the more unique stories, since few end with oppressors becoming protectors, as was the experience of these Dutch children with their Japanese guards, and many of them were to die defending them from attacks by *Pemuda*, the Indonesian youth in turn willing to die for their beliefs.

Given the cold reception evacuees repatriated to Netherlands East Indies received on arrival and that confronted by evacuees transported to the Netherlands (repatriation is not a fitting description for the ones who had never before been to the Netherlands), a more appropriate title for this book might have been "From Tyranny to Freedom and back to Tyranny!" However, the short year in Fairbridge, as many of their stories attest, gave them the stamina to withstand the psychological pain of having their war experiences ignored, even denounced. This benefit must be placed in the context of the violence, death and atrocities committed on all sides, that continued to characterise the Indies until the question of its sovereignty was resolved in 1949. The story of the Dutch Fairbridge children is also about a sense of place –the attachment we feel to a place, which for them continues to be the Indies, notwithstanding their banishment from it. It is also about the conflicting motivation driving wars: greed and power and the perceived need to gain or retain territory rich in resources; and the political posturing that is indulged in to advance the careers and interests of individuals. Mostly it is about the vagaries of war and how the move to support one or other stakeholder is often at the expense of innocent bystanders. How little has changed since the war ended over sixty years ago!

457 *The West Australian*, 27 December 1947.

Visual Diary of © Ineke McIntosh-Eichholtz, Odyssey II Quilt Project, Courtesy Frances Larder Collection.

EPILOGUE: A SENSE OF PLACE — *TEMPO DOELOE*

The narrative extracts in this epilogue give some insight into Dutch Fairbridgeans' pre-World War Two lives in the Indonesian Archipelago and also highlight the extent to which their sense of place, identity and belonging remains connected to the Netherlands East Indies despite the destabilisation — psychologically and geographically — that the Japanese Occupation and the Indonesian uprising have caused to the rest of their lives.

Australia and Indonesia hold special meaning for the Dutch Fairbridgeans and Indisch Dutch Australians who were part of the 100,000 "repatriated" to the Netherlands at the end of the war;[458] some following the *Bersiap* period, and after they had spent six months rehabilitation in Australia, and others in the intervening years between the *Bersiap* period and Indonesia gaining Independence in 1949.[459] For Dutch Fairbridgeans and Indisch Dutch who later migrated to Australia from the Netherlands, Indonesia remains a compelling attraction to which they make periodic pilgrimages to commune with "their roots". Moreover, most pronounce that the cultural heritage connection they have to their perceived "homeland" will die with them, not before them.

"Homeland" became a "contested reality" in the wake of the great voyages of exploration, discovery and colonisation. "Sense of place" has come to mean an organic relationship between inhabitants and their particular homeland. Film-maker John Hughes contends that in Australia we think and talk a lot about "home" because our personal heritage and sense of identity relate to a place and a history not really our own.[460] The fact that our sense of self-discovery and self-realisation often takes place in foreign lands is one of the uniquely rich and complex ironies of being Australian. His views are relevant to Indies Dutch Australians who, as previous inhabitants of the Netherlands East Indies, are bonded to it, yet not indigenous to it.

Why do we become attached to a place? B. Bender argues that we are only capable of understanding the world around us, at least initially, from what we have learned, been exposed to, and received in the way of narratives,

458 Wim Willems, *Uittocht uit Indië 1945-1949*, Amsterdam, Uitgeverij Bert Bakker, 2001, p. 19.
459 ibid.,
460 John Hughes, *The Idea of Home: Autobiographical Essays*, Sydney, Giramondo Press, 2005.

traditions and beliefs.[461] C. Norberg-Schulz claims it is the process of creating the man-made environment — nodes, paths, edges and districts — that marks out a sense of place, creating an understanding of one's environment that, at least in navigational terms, engenders a "sense of emotional security". Therefore, he would say that a "place" is defined more by its ability to serve as a habitat for its residents than by its physical properties. This leads Norberg-Schulz to describe the connection between humans and their homeland as spiritual in essence, relying on senses, memories and beliefs.[462] Experiencing a place fully enables us to bond with a place, to develop connections, emotional attachments and meanings that are relevant in regard to developing our sense of belonging and identity.

Experiencing place through the body is also central to de Certeau's philosophy, who argues that "the opacity of the body…in movement, gesticulation, walking, taking its pleasure, is what indefinitely organises a 'here' in relation to an abroad, a 'familiarity' in relation to a 'foreignness'."[463] Indies Dutch Australian Nell van de Graaff's experiences, on her first visit back to her birthplace after 30 years of exile, are powerful and representative:

> The plane landed in Jakarta at sunset. It had been raining heavily, the tarmac was glistening, and the dark clouds drifted by as the setting sun glowed on the western horizon. The warmth and humidity enveloped me as I emerged from the aircraft and the sounds and the smells of Indonesia made me feel I was coming home. In a flash I realized how much I had missed all this since I had left the country more than twenty years ago. I felt emotional, close to tears, and I could suddenly understand the grand gesture of expatriates who, returning to their homeland, kissed the ground on which their first faltering steps had fallen… I smelt the Chinese bread in the basket and the freshly brewed coffee, and I heard the distant calls of street vendors selling *sateh* and other delicacies from their mobile stalls. The sweetness of it all was almost too much to bear. How I loved this country — I felt I had come home… I sighed and felt blessed, and asked the [taxi] driver to take me next past the house I had lived in as a girl and the church where my father had been a minister. They were both still there, although in need of repair.[464]

461 B. Bender, 'Introduction' in *Contested Landscapes – Movement, Exile & Place*, eds B. Bender and M. Winer, Oxford, Berg, 2001, p. 4.

462 C. Norberg-Schulz, *Genius Loci – Towards a Phenomenology of Architecture*, Rizzoli, New York, 1979, p.5.

463 N. Leach, "Belonging: Towards a Theory of Identification with Space", in *Habitus; A Sense of Place*, eds., J. Hiller and E. Rooksby, Aldershot, Ashgate, 2002, p. 283.

464 Nell van de Graaff, *We Survived: A Mother's Story of Japanese Captivity*, UQP Paperbacks, St Lucia, Queensland, 1994, p. 120.

Nell's sentiments, full of de Certeau's sense of "familiarity", also portray, Norberg-Schulzian style, how childhood bonding with the Indies continues to impact on all her senses despite her enforced abandonment of its shores.[465] Travel sociologist J. Adler distinguishes experiences of familiarity as the core around which Indies Dutch construct social meaning and subjectivity.[466] They identify the benefit of membership of the social clubs they established in the 1980s — *Tempo Doeloe* — as being in the collective memories of the good old times of colonial life:

> When I first went to a meeting with other people from the Indies I straightaway felt at home. The people were familiar, the accent, everything was familiar. It feels like we are related. We have the same background, we went to the same schools, we like the same kind of food, tell the same kind of jokes. The first time was a sort of a 'homecoming'.[467]
>
> You know what is so lovely about meeting another *Indisch* person? They know what I mean when I say *pisang*, *babu* or *botto tjebok*…. We don't have to explain our past to each other. We share our past. That is what makes it so special.[468]

Similar sentiments are expressed by Frank Ellerbeck, an evacuee who also came to Western Australia but did not go to Fairbridge Farm School:

> In 1994 and 2001 I went to Indonesia with my wife, to re connect with my roots in the various islands we had lived and to see the camps where I had been interned. This was both a moving emotional experience as well as liberating….
>
> [However, in Indonesia] I felt 'at home' at once surrounded by all the [familiar] sights, smells and the landscapes. Until today and more so in the autumn of my life I feel increasingly more bonded with things Indisch, especially people and Indisch organisations in the Netherlands [where I live]. I look for them and attend their events regularly and have made many friends at these activities. For my older sister this

465 Norberg-Schulz, p. 5.
466 J. Adler, "Travel as performed Art", American Journal of Sociology, vol. 94, 1989, p. 58.
467 Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, University of California Press, California, 1984.
468 Selected extracts from the oral histories undertaken with Netherlands East Indies Dutch Australians by Dr Sue Summers, Brisbane 2005.

> seems less intense but she nonetheless feels pulled by these forces. My younger sister, who was also born in the Netherlands East Indies, interned there and later evacuated to Western Australia, however, she died recently far too young!

Even ambivalent reflections by Indies Dutch Australians attest to the continuing hold the Indies has on them as the source of their sense of place, of origin:

> I have been living in "denial" for a long time about my young informative years in the Netherlands East Indies…However, I know it is part of me, my upbringing, and it just doesn't disappear. I keep going back for more info and I understand the significance of the part it played and the shaping of the man. I am now proud to be a person with such a complex background.[469]

These oral history extracts also illustrate Eric Ketelaar's view of homeland as a "space of contestation", which Francis Gouda defines as an identical social world that can be and often is constructed in diametrically opposed ways, depending upon whose point of view is being honoured, what is being remembered and what forgotten.[470] However, since Gouda's very erudite exposé of the Dutch overseas culture of former residents of the Netherlands East Indies — in which she decries their indulgent nostalgic imaginings of the good old times, *tempo doeloe* — draws to an end before WWII begins in 1942, she avoids having to integrate into her interpretation the starvation and humiliation of the Japanese Occupation and the atrocities committed on the Dutch during the Indonesian Independence revolution in its aftermath. Thus, she fails to observe that when Dutch from the Netherlands East Indies now resident in the Netherlands reflect and declare: "*Zo was het nu eenmaal*!" (that is simply the way it was), they have included the horror of internment and the threats to their existence during the revolution in their picture. This is well illustrated by an extract from the epilogue of Indies Dutch Australian Andreas Flach's autobiography.[471] Written for his Dutch Australian children to tell them about his life in the Netherlands East Indies, it portrays a deep lasting attachment despite the violence that characterised his life there:

469 Ellerbeck, pers. com., 2008..

470 Eric Ketelaar, "Mapping for Societal Memory: from Duyfken to Digital", Lecture given at a public function celebrating the arrival of the Duyfken, Customs House, Brisbane, 27 July 2006., p. 6; Gouda,1995, p. 240.

471 Andreas Flach, *Looking Back, Memories, Anecdotes and Opinions*, self-published, Brisbane, 2003, p. 68.

> …the brutal Japanese occupation of the Dutch East Indies and…the *Bersiap* period are the darkest episodes in my life. A time I like to forget not only because of the many intense and traumatic experiences I had to go through but also in the light of the hard to accept fact that I, and with me most of the *Indische* people, have lost forever our country of birth, a country I grew up in, a country and a people where part of our blood comes from. I had to write this paragraph to let you know my hidden deepest feelings, maybe you understand your father now when he asks in his will that his ashes be returned to *his* country of birth, Indonesia, *my* 'mother country'.[472] [emphasis in original]

Few of the Dutch I interviewed for this story, including the ex-Fairbridgean children, would describe their bond with the *Netherlands East Indies* in terms of "collective consciousness or collective colonial guilt" as many historians are wont to do.[473]

While the Dutch children evacuated to Western Australia for rehabilitation before repatriation to the Netherlands, and accommodated at Fairbridge Farm School at Pinjarra, are not always as clear about whether the Indies is their motherland, fatherland or homeland, what they are clear about is the nature of the bond that continues to bind them to that place. Ernst Kollmann, a boy of ten when his family fled Java, notes:

> In my feelings I am a Dutchman from Dutch East Indies origin (*Ik voel me Indisch*!). How does that appear in daily life? I am less nationalistic as the common Dutchmen. I am feeling myself more as a world-citizen with Dutch nationality. Maybe this originates from having my roots in Dutch East Indies and having lived a long time abroad. In many situations I recognise the same habitats [sic] in…[others] of the Dutch East Indies community in Holland... I have been abroad before the war in Java as a European citizen living in perfect conditions and good relationship with the native people who partly nursed me. That is why I considered the Dutch East Indies as my homeland. The Japanese invasion destroyed my homeland and I became a foreigner in my homeland and had to leave it [behind] what did seriously hurt. After [my sojourn in] Australia (11 months) I came in Holland and felt myself a foreigner in between the Dutch people,

472 ibid.

473 Francis Gouda, *Dutch Culture Overseas*, Amsterdam, Amsterdam University Press,1995, pp. 238-9.

> however after having lived there for almost two decades Holland became my Homeland though I still considered myself as an "***Indische*** *jongen*".[474]

Ernst adds that in disputes with good Dutch friends about wartime, this "difference" still pops up. Ernst's reference to his good relationships with Indonesians, especially those who nursed him, is another common theme of interviews and life histories.

In contrast to the other Dutch Fairbridgeans, Winnie de Vries's historical attachment to the Netherlands East Indies expresses awareness of race, class, ethnicity and culture:

> My very first and perhaps most honest answer is: my roots are in the Netherland East Indies — *Indië* to me. The family history shows it. My father is from a mixed family. I'll try to tell it in short: In 1829 an ancestor coming from Germany went to Holland as a missionary and travelled by sailing ship to Indonesia. In Celebes he married a woman from high Indonesian birth in 1831. He once was begged to come to a very sick son of a *Radjah* — a ride on horseback of three days. He managed to cure the boy. The father was very grateful and offered him a daughter in marriage! As there were almost no Dutch women "available" he accepted the offer and married her in 1831. They had seven children — so that was the start of "my" family told by my old aunt, our walking history book. It is not strange I think, that I always felt that the Netherlands East Indies was my homeland (fatherland). I feel very at ease with people from that country. Going to Australia for about ten months was a wonderful experience. If circumstances had been less difficult we would have gone back from Australia to Indonesia, where we had lived for such a long time. My mother was Dutch. Being in Holland now for over 50 years — yes this is a good country to live in. Still there are so many things in my daily life that remind me of my land of birth. Is Holland my motherland, *Indië* my fatherland? I think so. In fact my roots are in both countries; my life is in fact bi-cultural.[475]

Willem Plink's reflections, which centre on his family's continuing affection for the Netherlands East Indies, adds

474 Ernst Kollman, pers. com., 2007.
475 Winnie de Vries, pers. com., 2007.

further elements to the growing complexity about how we conceptualise "homeland" as portrayed in these Dutch Fairbridgean's accounts:

> I am Dutch, my parents are Dutch and my ancestors so my "fatherland" is the Netherlands. But I am born in Indonesia so Indonesia is my "motherland". So it is not easy to say what is my "homeland", it is very emotional. I have my roots in Indonesia…so it is my "homeland"? But now I stay in Holland since 1947, so Holland is now my "homeland". For my mother, who was also born in Indonesia, it was her "fatherland and homeland". When she got to Holland the "fatherland" became Holland but not in her feelings and emotions. For my father born in Utrecht, Holland was his…fatherland, motherland and homeland. His stay in Indonesia, in the army, was a period in his life. It was obvious that he would go back to Holland with wife and children eventually. In Australia as Dutch Fairbridgeans it was for me a guest land that had comforted me well. But it is not a "homeland" because in the time we were there it was obvious we would stay for only a short time.[476]

The five years Eduard Lumkeman and his family spent in the Indies before war broke out are also a positive experience:

> When I was five years old in 1936 the Lumkeman family (parents, Nora and Eduard) went to Surabaya at East Java on the steam turbine-driven ship built in 1924, named "*Slamat*", the Indonesian word for luck. From there, at the weekends, we went with our car — a Packard, later a Buick — to Prigèn in the mountains, where a nice swimming pool was located. Also to nice cool places for holidays (Tosari, Serangang). Up until then our lives were happy.[477]

These oral history extracts illustrate the existence of both a happy relationship and a continuing self-conscious identification with the Netherlands East Indies, despite the subjects' banishment or displacement from it.

The Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs uses the term "mutual cultural heritage" to refer to the relationships that

476 Willem Plink, pers. com., 2008.
477 Eduard Lumkeman, pers. com, 2008.

countries with a Dutch or VOC cultural heritage connection want preserved.[478] The *Macquarie Dictionary*[479] defines cultural heritage as "that which comes or belongs to one by reason of birth; an inherited lot or portion; or something reserved for one". We often refer to material possessions in discussions about our cultural heritage, to historic buildings in the community, to archaeological sites and artefacts held in museums, archives and libraries. However, as Vasiliki Nihas, Chair of the Cultural Council of the ACT, contends:

> The inheritance we most often receive and leave behind is our experience and our expression of culture, individually and collectively. Because…it represents a metaphor for the human condition of growth and discovery, [and because] the stories it evokes are powerful and can create connections across cultural boundaries.[480]

The experiences of the Pacific war and the *Bersiap* period in the Netherlands East Indies constructed it as a "contested place"; this is evocatively expressed by the Dutch Fairbridgeans and the other Indisch Dutch and Indisch Dutch Australians quoted in this book. Their conflicted feelings became more intense and long-lasting because they were eventually banished from this "place" they called home — forever. Their narrative of their experience of expulsion, as this book illustrates, is anchored in trans-national cultural links that forever bind their identity to three nation states: the Netherlands, Netherlands East Indies and Australia.

478 Mutual Cultural Heritage Policy Framework, http://www.minbuza.nl/en/search/simple, viewed June 2008; War Heritage and Memory program, University of Amsterdam.

479 *Macquarie Dictionary*, North Ryde, N.S.W, Macquarie Library, 1997, p. 831.

480 Vasiliki Nihas, 1999, www.migrationheritage.nsw.gov.au/e107/content.php?article.162 p.1, viewed June 2008.

POSTSCRIPT: MEMORIES, REFLECTIONS AND GRATITUDE

In the transition phase from Fairbridge to resettlement in the Netherlands, letters of appreciation and presents of Australian wildflower books to erstwhile evacuees and Dutch tulip bulbs to Australian friends and colleagues shuttled back and forth between the two countries.

In a letter, discovered in the Public Record Office and dated August 9 1946, a Mrs D. Bennink — one of the Dutch staff — writes to Mr and Mrs Grant:

> ….What a lovely present you have made me. I am quite embarrassed about it and don't know how to say thank you adequately! Of course we will always remember Fairbridge as the sunny haven of refuge for ourselves and our children and by remembering your kind faces the memory will become brighter. I am always rather tongue-tied when I try to describe my feelings... as for saying goodbye well I can't, on account of a great lump in my throat so I mostly don't even try. My eldest daughter Ada is trying to remember all the names of the flowers so she loves the book and joins me in thanking you....[481]

Fairbridge Principal, Mr Charles Grant back row far right, and Mrs Grant, centre standing middle row, with Mr and Mrs Kollmann, Mrs Versteegh near Mr Grant, Mrs van Es kneeling with children and some of the other Dutch teachers, circa 1946. They kept up a letter interchange for some time. Courtesy: The Kollmann Family Collection.

Shortly afterwards, the Fairbridge Principal, Mr Grant, notes in a letter dated August 21 1946, to Mr C. J. van Helten, Chief Welfare Officer of the Cloisters Dutch Club of NIWOE:

482 PRO 3027A/151: The letter notes the flower bulbs' arrival as 16 July 1947.

...in passing I would like to say that the Dutch were no trouble at all, as for the children their healthy appearance and happy faces speaks for itself, and may I once again say that they would be a credit to any nation. Mr and Mrs Kollmann were always co-operative and set an example for all to emulate.[482]

Mrs Plink took this painted eucalyptus leaf back to the Netherlands with her as a reminder of the family's rehabilitation in Western Australia. Courtesy: The Plink Family Collection.

Dutch ex-Fairbridgean Ernst Kollmann greatly appreciates the compliment to his parents made by Mr Grant in this letter — they had put so very much into helping re-establish order and normalcy into the children's lives. However, he also feels that the plight of all the parents who helped with the running of the Dutch school at Fairbridge should be acknowledged and complimented because:

> …the Dutch parents who participated in running Dutch Fairbridge all came out of the camps and were all under-nourished and very much frustrated because they had lost everything, their dignity and all their belongings and wealth.

Ernst believes the Dutch children's stay at Fairbridge was so successful because of the dedication of the "Australian personnel that also participated in our welfare such as Ella Bone, Mr Kirkpatrick and Mrs Moat, and that therefore they should also all be complimented for their good understanding and the energy they put in our welfare".[483]

Nearly a year later, in a letter dated 9 May 1947, Jan van Helten, Welfare Director of NIWOE reports on an agreement he made with the Headmaster and Mrs Grant at Fairbridge before he left Australia for the Netherlands:

> I have done as you asked me and wherever and whenever I meet with Dutch children who were at Fairbridge I give them your regards and I can assure you that they remember you still very much and many of them would love to be back with

482 ibid.

483 Ernst Kollmann, email, December, 2008.

> you... [So too] the ladies who spent such a wonderfully happy time in 'Shakespeare' [cottage],… Mrs van Es, Mrs Rodrigo, Mrs Pijpers and Mrs Vliet, I am sending you a parcel of Dutch flower bulbs. As a matter of fact they have been dispatched about four weeks ago, so you should receive them in due time. There is a guide in the English language with it, all about the best time for planting etc. I hope they will do well.[484]

As time passed, the formal letters became less frequent as the people involved became involved in new work, schools and the Dutch community in the Netherlands. However, in more recent times it is the children who have started corresponding with Ella Bone, who views her time at Fairbridge as one of the highlights of her life. This is reflected

Loesje, her mother Mrs Plink and brother Wim. Wim can see the loss and grief etched on his mother's face in this photograph she had lost a father, brother and husband and all their belongings during WWII. Fairbridge and Western Australians are remembered with much gratitude by the Plinks. Courtesy: Willem Plink.

Dick and Adri Geerligs, at Fairbridge circa 1946. Sadly Dick passed away in 2007, he never fully recovered from his camp experience. Ex-internee parents and children had so very much to overcome. Courtesy: Adri Geerligs.

484 ibid.

in the way she was able to reconnect with some of them though sixty years had passed. Ella has also kept a great deal of the Dutch and Dutch East Indies ephemera, memorabilia and artefacts she acquired during her Fairbridge sojourn. In 2006, she attended a reunion in the Netherlands with some of the former evacuees which Australia on the Map (AOTM) 1606-2006 — which celebrated 400 years of Dutch Australian relationships — had initiated. The AOTM project brought her back in touch with a number of the "children". Earlier Ella had, by browsing through international phone books, already reconnected with her friend Nora Acatos née Lumkeman. Dutch ex-Fairbridgeans now all visit Ella who is a very energetic 80 plus year-old when they come to Australia and they also visit Fairbridge.

REFERENCES

Adler, J. "Travel as performed Art", *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 94, 1989, pp. 1366-91.

Anderson, Benedict R. O'Gorman, *Java in a Time of Revolution: Occupation and Resistance, 1944-1946*, Equinox Publishing, Jakarta, Indonesia, 2006 (first published by Cornell University Press, Ithaca, NY, 1972).

---, in Wild and Carey. pp. 86-91.

Beasley, M., *Wharfies: The History of the Waterside Workers' Federation*, Halstead Press in association with the Australian National Maritime Museum, 1996.

Bender, B., "Introduction", in *Contested Landscapes — Movement, Exile & Place*, eds. B. Bender and M. Winer, Berg, Oxford, 2001.

Bennett, F. C., *The Return of the Exiles: Australia's Repatriation of the Indonesians, 1945-47*, Clayton, Vic., Monash Asia Institute, 2003.

Bondan M., *In love with a nation: Molly Bondan and Indonesia: her own story in her own words*, eds J. Hardjono and C. Warner, self-published, Picton, New South Wales, 1995.

Booth, James W., *Communities of Memory: On Witness, Identity, and Justice*, Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 2006.

Bosma, Ube and Remco Raben*, Being Dutch in the Indies: History of Creolisation and Empire, 1500-1920*, trans. Wendie Schaffer, Athens, USA, Ohio University Press, 2008.

Briggs-Koning, Mary, *Footsteps in Memories*, self-published, Hobart, Marken Pty Ltd., 2001.

Cribb, Robert, *Gangsters and Revolutionaries: The Jakarta people's Militia and the Indonesian Revolution 1945-1949*, Honolulu, University of Hawai'i Press, 1991.

de Certeau, Michel, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, University of California Press, California, 1984.

Dear, I. C. B., and Foot, M. R. D., *The Oxford Companion to World War II*, Oxford University Press, 2001, http://www.encyclopedia.com/doc/1O129-ABDACommand.html.

Donaldson, B., "The Dutch Contribution to the European Discovery of Australia", in N. Peters (ed), *The Dutch Down Under 1606-2006*, UWA Press, Perth, pp. 112-131.

Downer, John, *War Without Mercy: Race and Power in the Pacific War*, New York, Pantheon, 1986.

Edwards, Hugh, *Shark Bay Through Four Centuries 1616-2000*, Shark Bay Shire, Scott Print, Perth , 1999.

Elich, J., "Dutch and Australian Government's Perspectives on Migration", in *The Dutch Down Under*, ed. Nonja Peters, University of Western Australia Press, Perth, 2006, pp. 150-161.

Flach, Andreas, *Looking Back: Memories, Anecdotes and Opinions*, self-published, Brisbane, 2003.

Ford, J. M. *Australia and the Netherlands East Indies in the Second World War*, Australian Netherlands Ex-Servicemen & Women's Association Queensland Branch, Logan Holme, QLD, 1999.

Frederick, William H. *Visions and Heat: The Making of the Indonesian Revolution*. Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 1989.

George, Margaret, *Australia and the Indonesian Revolution*, Melbourne University Press, 1980.

Gillison, Douglas, "Royal Australian Air Force 1939-1942", in *Australia in the War of 1939-1945*, Series 3 (Air), vol I, Australian War Memorial Library, Canberra, ACT, 1962.

Gouda, Francis, *Dutch Culture Overseas: Colonial Practice in the Netherlands Indies 1900-1942*, Amsterdam, Amsterdam University Press, 1995.

Hughes, John, *The Idea of Home: Autobiographical Essays*, Sydney, Giramondo Press, 2005.

Huitt, W., "Maslow's hierarchy of needs", *Educational Psychology Interactive*, Valdosta, GA, Valdosta State University, 2004. viewed November 21 2008, <http://chiron.valdosta.edu/whuitt/col/regsys/maslow.html>.

Hurst, D., *The Fourth Ally: The Dutch Forces in Australia in WWII*, self published, 2001.

---, "The Pacific War, 1941-1945", in *The Dutch Down Under 1606-2006*, ed. Nonja Peters, UWA Press, 2006.

Jung, Silvano, "One-way Flight to Hell: NEI Dutch Refugee Experiences of the Japanese Air Raid at Broome, Western Australia 3 March 1942", forthcoming in *The Dutch in Western Australia 1616-2009*, Black Swan Press, Curtin University, 2009.

Ketelaar, E., "From De Vlamingh's Plate to Digital Records", paper presented at the Centre for Advanced Studies in Australia, Asia and the Pacific (CASAAP), Curtin University, 7 August, 2008.

Kochheim, Jan, in *Oranje: tijdschrift, Nederlandsche en Nederlandsch-Indisch gemeenschap Zuid-Pacific*, 1942 (MS Oranje Newsletter for the Indisch Dutch in the South Pacific).

Kollmannn, Ernst, "Een klein jaar op Fairbridge: kamp kinderen komen op adem", in *Moesson Het Indisch Maandblad*, March 2006.

Krijgsveld,W., comp., "Chronology of events in Ambarawa: Camp 6", W. Krijgsveld (Postbus 165, 9750 A.D. Haren).

Leach N., "Belonging: Towards a Theory of Identification with Space", in *Habitus: A Sense of Place*, eds. J. Hiller and E. Rooksby, Aldershot, Ashgate, 2002.

Legge, J.D., *Indonesia*, Prentice Hall, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1964.

---, *Sukarno: a Political Biography*, Ringwood, Vic., Penguin Books. 1972.

Lingard, Jan, *Inside Indonesia: The First Asian Boat People*, viewed 2006, http://www.insideindonesia.org/edit68/lingard1.htm.

Lockwood, R., *The Black Armada: Australia and the Struggle for Indonesian Independence*, 1942-49, Sydney, Hale & Iremonger, 1992.

Lucas, A. "Revolutionary Youth", in Wild and Carey, pp. 152-160.

Malik, Adam, "The Making of a Revolutionary: An Interview with Adam Malik", in Wild and Carey, pp. 108-110.

Marder, Arthur J., Jacobson, Mark and Horsfield, John, *Old Friends, New Enemies: The Royal Navy and the Imperial Japanese Navy,* Vol. 2, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1981.

McMillan, Richard, *The British Occupation of Indonesia 1945-1946: Britain, the Netherlands and the Indonesian Revolution,* London, Routledge, 2005.

Nishijima, Shigetada, "The Story of a Japanese" in Wild and Carey, pp. 81-85.

Netherlands Indies Welfare Organisation for Evacuees (NIWOE) for the State of Western Australia, information booklet in Dutch.

Norberg-Schulz, C., *Genius Loci: Towards a Phenomenology of Architecture*, Rizzoli, New York, 1979.

Penders, C L M *The West New Guinea Debacle: Dutch Decolonisation and Indonesia 1945-1962*, Honolulu, University of Hawai'i Press, 2002.

Peters, Nonja 2006, "Evacuations into Australia from the Netherlands East Indies 1942-1948, in *The Dutch Down Under 1606-2006*, ed. Nonja Peters, UWA Press, Perth, pp. 112-131.

Peters, Nonja, "The ascetic anorexic", in *Social Analysis*, vol. 37, March 1995, pp. 49 -56.

Piekaar, A. J. "A Dutch view of the struggle", in Wild and Carey, pp. 198-205.

Prawiranegra, S., "Emergency Government: An Interview with Syafruddin Prawiranegra", in Wild and Carey, pp. 193-196.

Prime, M.W. "Broome's one day war", Broome, WA, Shire of Broome. M.W. Prime, "Broome's one day war", Shire of Broome, Broome, WA. [This is a revised edition of Prime's "WA's Pearl Harbour -— the Japanese raid on Broome", 1986], 1992.

Rado, Vera, *In Japanese Captivity: The Story of a Teenager in Wartime Java*, self-published, 2006.

Scott, Peter Dale, *Using Atrocities: US Responsibility for Slaughter in Indonesia and East Timor*, 1998, http://www.copi.com/articles/etimorus.html.

Shepard, Steven B., "American, British, Dutch, Australian Coalition: Unsuccessful Brand of Brothers", Master of Military Science Thesis, US Army Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth, 2003.

Souter, C., "Port of refugees: archaeology and oral history of WWII flying boat wrecks in Broome, Western Australia", *The Bulletin of the Australasian Institute for Maritime Archaeology*, vol. 27, 2003.

Steijlen, Fridus, *Memories of the Far East*, Leiden, KITLV Press, 2002.

St George's Anglican Cathedral 1946, Minutes of the Meeting July 1946.

Tahija, Julius, *Horizon Beyond*, Singapore, Times Books International, 1995.

van de Graaff, Nell, *We Survived: A Mother's Story of Japanese Captivity*, St Lucia, Queensland, University of Queensland Press, 1994.

van Dulin, W. J., H. G. Krijsveld, H. A. M. Legemaate, Liesker and G. Weijers, *Geillustreerde Atlas van de Japanese Kampen in Nederlands Indië*, Asia Minor, Zierikzee, 2002.

van Velden, R., "Fremantle's forgotten fleet: A social history of the Royal Netherlands Navy in Western Australia, 1942–1945", dissertation, University of Amsterdam, 1999.

van Wagtendonk, Jan, "Testimonies of the Japanese Occupation of the Dutch East Indies", Foundation for Japanese Honorary Debts, 2007.

van Wijngaarden, P., and P. Staal, *Dornier Do 24: herinneringen aan een legendarische vliegboot*. Bergen, Uitgeverij b.v. Bonneville, 1992.

Vasiliki, Nihas, www.migrationheritage.nsw.gov.au/e107/content.php?article.162.

Vickers, Adrian, *A History of Modern Indonesia*, Cambridge UK, Cambridge University Press, 2005.

Wild, Colin and Peter Carey, eds, *Born in Fire: The Indonesian Struggle for Independence*: an Anthology, Athens, USA, Ohio University Press, 1986.

Xav, "They came in the morning, Broome March 1942", *On the Homefront*, ed. Jenny Gregory, Perth, UWA Press, 1996.

Willems, Wim, *Uittocht uit Indië 1945-1949,* Amsterdam, Uitgeverij Bert Bakker, 2001.

Archival Material

National Archives of Australia (NAA).

NAA, Series A 1608/1, Item T39/1/3, Evacuation, Netherlands East Indies, Burns Philip letter to the External Affairs 26 February 1942.

---, Series A373 Item 11740, letter from Mr Hay to Deputy Director Attorney General's Departments 30 July 1946.

---, Series A1838, Item 401/3/6/1/8, letter from Sgt. Zulog to all Australian women, 27 January 1946.

---, Series A1838, Item 401/3/6/1/8, Letter from Hon. N.J.O Makin, Acting Minister for External Affairs, Canberra, 28 December 1945.

---, Series 1608, Item 19/1/1, Part 1, "Evacuees Go Home", 27/8/1946.

---, Series B6533, Item 7, Lists of evacuees to the Netherlands leaving Fremantle on the *MS Volendam* on 4/9/1946.

---, B6533: Correspondence lists and personal data sheets relating to Dutch evacuees under a scheme operated by the Netherlands Indies Welfare Organisation for Evacuees 1 November 1945–31 December, 1947 (see also CA 961, Department of Immigration Victoria Files).

---, Series PP6/1/0, Item1945/H/595, Letter from principal to Plaistowes Ltd., 39 January 1946.

---, Series PP6/1/0, Item 1945/H/595, "Aliens Registration".

---, Series A437, Item 1946/6/79: Memorandum 10 September, 1945, from A. R. Peters, Acting Secretary of the Department of Immigration, to the Collector of Customs.

---, Series A437, Item 1946/6/79: Memorandum January 1946, Numbers of Evacuees into Australia.

---, Series, A433/1, Item 49/2/8515: Mr J. Van Holst Pellekaan trade attaché for Netherlands Indies in Melbourne became the central contact person for the new organisation.

---, Series A1838, Item 401/3/6/1/8, P59/28.

---, Series PP6/1.0 Item 1945/H/595 "Aliens Registration".

---, Series PP6/1.0 Item 1949/H/2752 Fairbridge Farm School (Government Financial Assistance Bilds etc. and Indentures.

Public Records Office, Western Australia (PRO).

PRO, 3027A/151, Series A373, Item 11740, letter from Mr Hay to Deputy Director Attorney General's Departments, 30 July 1946.

---, Item 3027A/151, Netherlands East Indies Government to Principal of Fairbridge, 18 November, 1946.

Public Records Office, London

Public Record Office, London: Mansergh, pers. com. to Christison, 9 November 1945, WOl72/6965.

Nederlands Instituut voor Oorlogs Documentatie (NIOD)

NIOD, ICI054913, Item 12793, Repatriation of Allied Prisoners of War and Internees (RAPWI); Nederlands Sectie Richtlijnen voor evacuatie naar buitenland.

---, 055257 2 October, 1945 begonnen de relletjes in Malang.

---, 066524/14562: Nederlandsche Regerings Voorlichtsdienst. *Radio Oranje* Uitzending 9 March 1942

---, 066530/14564: Nederlandsche Regerings Voorlichtsdienst. *Radio Oranje* Uitzending 10 March 1942

---, 80243 5 (Part Indische Collectie 080242): List of Evacuees into Western Australia from the Netherlands East Indies November 1945 to January 1946

Newspapers

The Argus
The Daily News
The Herald Sun
The Daily Telegraph
Sun Telegraph
The Herald
The Sydney Morning Herald
The Melbourne Herald
The West Australian
The Western Mail

Personal Unpublished Memoirs and Reports

Chronology of events in Ambarawa: Camp 6, compiled by W.Krijgsveld (Postbus 165, 9750 A D, Haren); from the diaries of: Miep v/d Kroogt, Mrs. Krijgsveld, Mrs. Ouwejan, Mrs. Tjakkes, Atie te Velde, Ike te Velde, Mrs. Wijna, and notebooks of Mrs. Burgerhoudt and Mrs. van Voorenveld; also from reports of Dr. E.Krijgsveld and from the later (1948) notes by Mrs. Wielenga (fuku-kaitjo), and the books *A Valley in Ambarawa*, and *Patience and Bluff* by Mrs. Petra Groen.

Thomas née Kuneman, Henrietta, "From Revolution to Chaos", memoir, Perth 1990.

Websites

Inside Indonesia, http://insideindonesia.org/content/view/436/29/.

Indonesia calling,
www.ivens.nl/upload/?p=118&t=2&k=2&film=53&details=ja
www.naa.gov.au/whats-on/online/feature-exhibits/internment-camps/introduction.aspx.

Indonesia calling,
www.ivens.nl/upload/?p=118&t=2&k=2&film=53&details=ja.
http://insideindonesia.org/content/view/436/29/.

The History of Indonesia 1940-1945, http://users.bart.nl/users/arcengel/Indonesia/1940.htm.

TANAP (Towards a New Age of Partnerships), http://www.tanap.net/content/voc/organization/organization_end.htm.

Femme Gaastra, http://www.tanap.net/content/voc/organization/organization_end.html.

W Huitt, "Maslow's hierarchy of needs", *Educational Psychology Interactive*, Valdosta, GA, Valdosta State University, <http://chiron.valdosta.edu/whuitt/col/regsys/maslow.html>.

Mutual Cultural Heritage Policy Framework, www.minbuza.nl/en/search/simple.

museumvictoria.com.au/DiscoveryCentre/Websites-Mini/Karl-Muffler/Internment-during-World.

Verzets Museum (Occupation Museum) online: www.verzetsmuseum.org/.

Children in War: www.unicef.org/protection/index_armedconflict.html.

Allies in Adversity, Australian War Memorial website: www.awm.gov.au/alliesinadversity/prisoners/captivity.asp.

Tjideng concentration camp: http://members.iinet.net.au/~vanderkp/tjideng.html.

http://www.history.navy.mil/library/online/usprisoners_japancomp.htm#surv.

Workers Online: http://workers.labor.net.au/features/200613/b_tradeunion_westie.html.

Oral Histories

Johannes Loep RNLN Rtd, 22/3/95, Life History recorded by the Maritime History Department, Western Australian.

Interview recording with *Dheera Sujan Wereld Omroep Radio*, The Netherlands; and interview and personal communiqué with Nonja Peters, and Dr Sue Summers, Curtin University, Western Australia.

Adri Geerligs
Ernst Kollman
Willem Plink
Winnie de Vries
Anneke Slik née Jongste
Donald Schotel
Paul van Es
Ella Muriel Bone
Janie Hardey
Pearl Buck
John Williams

Personal communiqué with all the above plus:

Eduard Lumkeman
Nora Acatos Lumkeman
Els Duyser
Frank Ellerbeck

ADDENDUM ONE
QUILT ARTISTS: PROFILES

The Quilt

The Casula Powerhouse Museum brochure: "The Odyssey Quilt II Project" notes: "The Odyssey Quilt Project negotiates the paths in which private and often untold histories enter into the public realm. Developed over three years by a group of eleven women…, the [three quilts] represent both the physical and emotional journeys that have bonded these women together. Every carefully sewn appliquéd panel depicts aspects of each women's individual journey [in the Netherlands or Dutch East Indies before and after WWII and in its after math] to Australia". Considered and referred to by themselves as the 'forgotten ones', their stories are told through 'diaries', written stories and collections of photographs…. Some images are taken from the "The Odyssey Quilt II Project", which narrates childhood memories of the women before WWII, a time of innocence that lingers and remains an important touchstone for each woman. The other images in this book come from the very disturbing Odyssey III quilt of the women's wartime memories.

Here I present in brief the life stories of four women who were involved in the Odyssey Quilt III project, because their stories and images (quilting) are illustrative of experiences relevant to the stories in this book.

Frances Larder

Frances Larder, an artist, and the driving force behind the Odyssey Quilt II & III Projects, originally envisaged them as a way of bringing together her culture and background. Frances began working with fabrics as a young child, thanks to her mother. Her initial involvement with quilting was in a project, which involved designing and creating two quilts for the Para-Olympics 2000. This gave her the idea to work in fabric on a group project involving Indisch Dutch Australians and Dutch Australians, that eventually led to the creation of the three Odyssey wall hangings. Here is part of her memoir, followed by those of another three of the quilters.

I was born in Bandung, Java, of Dutch parents. My family lived in Java during the war. My father was taken prisoner and sent to work on the Burma Railway in Thailand. My mother, two brothers and I, were not interned during the Japanese occupation, instead we were put under house arrest. My Mother was on the verge of giving birth to my third brother. The doctor suspected complications with the birth and suspected that the baby would have problems with his heart. So she was advised to try and stay out of camp. They were given a choice at the beginning of the war to go or stay out of camp. This was possible because my mother had a German grandfather, which showed on her passport. However, she became involved with the underground, assisting where possible until somebody reported her to the Japanese. She was then ordered to get her belongings together to be taken to prison. A friend of hers who was visiting us when the Japanese arrived was ordered by him to take care of us children.

My Mother then proceeded to say good-bye to us and when she got to my retarded brother she noted that he had a very high temperature so she turned to her friend and implored her in Dutch to please take care of her boy. The Japanese officer (unbeknown to Mum) could understand Dutch. He then ordered her to stay (there were some compassionate Japanese). All the doors into our rooms in the house were then sealed off and we only had the clothes that we where wearing. The seals on the doors were just a piece of paper with two red-waxed stamps on either side (one of my pieces on the quilt represent that image). At night my Mother and her friend carefully removed these stamps and managed to get clothes and bedding in before replacing the stamps. Our *babu* (Indonesian nurse maid) was allowed to go to her *kampong* where she tried and sometimes managed to bring us a small amount of food. Another Japanese officer took our little Pomeranian dog home, however the distressed dog bit him. Even so he returned the dog to us without harming it. I also depict this kindness in one of my images on the war quilt. I do not remember how long we were living in that situation; one day we woke up and the sentry was gone. We then had Gurkhas to protect us and they dug trenches in our front yard.

My mother got word from the Red Cross after liberation that my father was very ill. After days of waiting and sleeping at the airport we finally managed to get on a bomber to Batavia. However, we couldn't continue our journey to Bangkok, because of an outbreak of cholera in Singapore. We had no option but

to stay in Batavia. It was here that my Mother eventually got word several months after liberation that my Father had passed away. After this, my family moved to the Netherlands for a few years and then returned to Java, eventually moving to Australia in the early 1950s.

Wilhelmina de Brey (Frances Larder's Mother).

I was born in The Hague in 1914. At the age of six my parents divorced and my mother moved to Indonesia while I stayed in Holland with my father. I didn't see my mother again until I was 14, when she and my stepfather came to Holland. When they returned to Indonesia I had to go with them. It was here that I later met and married my husband, having four children.

When the Second World War broke out in 1942, my husband was taken as a prisoner of war. I was left to look after my three children, with the fourth on the way. After the birth of my son, the doctor told me that he had a heart disease that would kill him if he had to go into the interment camps. We managed to stay out of them, but were imprisoned in our house and life was not easy.

After the war finished, I learnt that my husband had died in Burma. Eventually I remarried and returned to Holland with my family in 1948. We went back to Indonesia in 1950, but felt that the children would have a safer and more secure future in Australia. We arrived in Australia in 1951.

The move to Australia wasn't easy for my husband. There was no suitable work for him. Unfortunately, as he was an Agricultural Engineer, specialising in coffee, tea and rubber, work was scarce and life seemed very bleak. We moved to North Queensland where, at last, he found work at the Department of Agriculture and Stock. During this time we lived at Innesfail and Warwick.

My interest in working with fabric began when I was seven years old. When I was fifteen, I began designing, sewing and embroidering clothes and undergarments for my mother. This was all done by hand as I didn't have a sewing machine until I was 18. Ten years ago I began formal lessons in leather craft, quilting and fabric painting, which I incorporated in my panels in the Odyssey Quilts.

Vera Rado

I was born in Purwokerto, Central Java, in the former Dutch East Indies (now Indonesia) on 29 July 1926. My parents came from Hungary and became naturalised Dutch citizens in 1932. I have an older brother, Ivan.

After a one-year furlough in Europe where my father did post-graduate studies to become an ear-nose-throat specialist, skin specialist and cosmetic surgeon, the family returned to Java and settled in the city of Surbaya, East Java.

On the 8 March 1942, the Japanese occupied Java, and interned all civilians, including our family. We were locked up in Werfstraat Jail, where the men were separated from the women and children. The men were moved to Tjimahi, West Java, and the women and children to Tangerang (20 kms west of Jakarta). In February 1945, we were again moved to Camp Tjideng in Jakarta, where we stayed until the end of the war. Our family managed to survive the horrors of the prison camps.

In October 1945, we were evacuated to Singapore to escape the Indonesian Revolution. We barely survived being slaughtered. From Singapore, my brother Ivan and I travelled to Holland where we completed our interrupted schooling. I received my leaving certificate from an Amsterdam High School, and returned to where my parents were living in Surabaya. They had returned from Singapore in early 1946.

I flew to Sydney in December 1950 as a self-funded immigrant, then found a job and settled into the Australian way of life without any difficulties. I actually found it easier to assimilate into the Australian community than I did into the Dutch when I went to school there for three years.

I worked as an office stenographer and secretary for almost 30 years. I married Dutchman J. W. Harms in 1953 and moved to the suburb of Smithfield where I still live today. I divorced Harms in 1979 and enrolled into Macquarie University to fulfill my ambition to study Philosophy. I graduated with a BA in 1989.

My past experiences — many of them traumatic — have not prevented me from enjoying my retirement years. I am contented, having learnt not to take anything for granted and to be grateful for the "plusses" in life.

Ineke McIntosh-Eichholtz

The first ten years of my life were spent in the Dutch East-Indies living in Batavia (Jakarta) and Buitenzorg (Bogor). There was a short period of internment in Malang, East Java, when I was very young. Thus my early memories mainly go back to my primary school years.

To escape Batavia's oppressive heat, the school holidays would be spent in little mountain villages. The names Tjipajung and Tjimbuluwit immediately come to mind. Here, time spent in the rivers with their big boulders and swimming holes became the highlight of our holidays. Those carefree years are still accompanied by memories of gentle people, the unforgettable landscape and its exotic plants, as well as the ever-present air of spicy aromas.

After Indonesia gained independence, my family settled in The Hague, where we lived for three years. From here we set out on another ocean journey: to Australia. Our new home was in one of the northern beaches in Sydney, by the sea. Although it was difficult adjusting to an entirely different school regime and learning a new language, I was greatly helped by some very wonderful teachers, whose names and personalities I will always remember. That was fifty years ago, and in that time I have revisited both Holland and Indonesia — however, [it is Australia] [that] will always be my home. I had previously worked with embroidery, however, the Odyssey Quilt Project was the first time I had worked with quilting.

ADDENDUM TWO

SOURCES OF DATA COLLECTED

Interviews with former Dutch evacuees from the Netherlands East Indies in 2006-2007 with Dheera Sujan (*Wereld Omroep Radio*), Sue Summers and Nonja Peters.

Emails and letters about various aspects of their lives from the former Netherlands East Indies evacuees to Western Australia to Nonja during 2006-2008.

Interviews by Sue Summers with Ella Bone, Robyn Wheatley, Janie Hardey and Pearl Buck.

Archival material from the State Public Records Office (PRO), National Archives of Australia (NAA), Nederlands Instituut voor Oorlogs Documentatie (NIOD) in Amsterdam and War Memorial, Canberra.

Newspaper searches at the Battye Library, Western Australia.

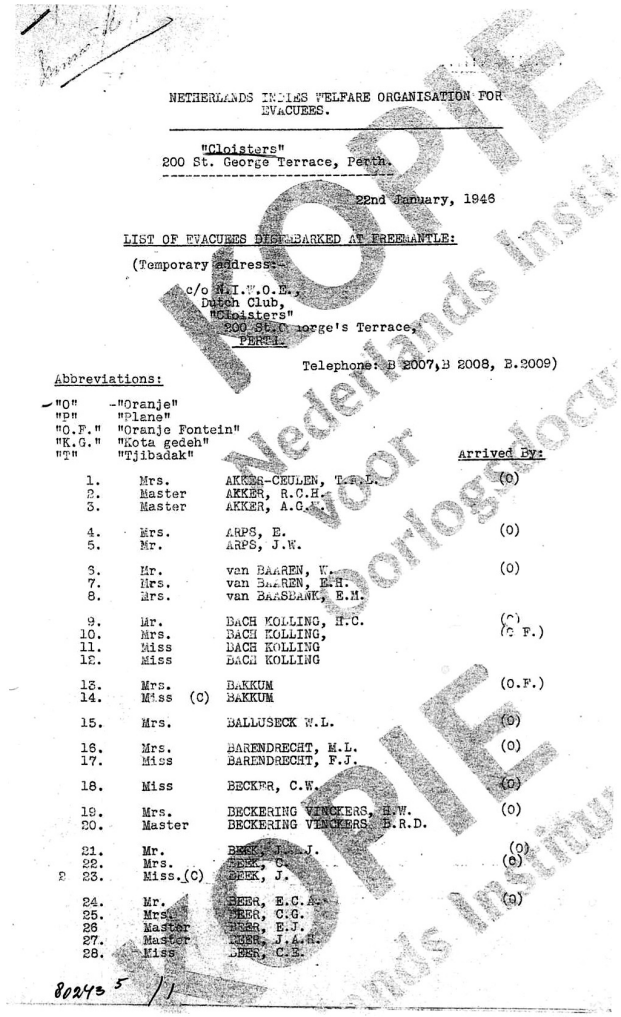
Telephone interviews with former British Fairbridgeans by Nonja Peters and Sue Summers.

Photographs and other documents provided by the informants.

The list of Netherlands East Indies Dutch evacuees disembarked at Fremantle for rehabilitation in Western Australia in Addendum Three, come from Frank Ellerbeck who had previously sourced them from the Nederlands Instituut voor Oorlogs Documentatie (NIOD).

Odyssey Quilt Project images, visual diaries, artist's profiles from the relevant three Odyssey quilts and the biographies of the Dutch women from the Netherlands East Indies who contributed war images to the war quilt; I also use images from the quilt that depict early childhood experiences and generic war images, such as "Graves" by Joe Brinkhorst, that are relevant to all wars.

ADDENDUM THREE: List of Evacuees Disembarked in Western Australia 1945-1946;



NETHERLANDS INDIES WELFARE ORGANISATION FOR EVACUEES.

"Cloisters"
200 St. George Terrace, Perth.

22nd January, 1946

LIST OF EVACUEES DISEMBARKED AT FREEMANTLE:

(Temporary address:-
c/o N.I.W.O.E.,
Dutch Club,
"Cloisters"
200 St. George's Terrace,
PERTH.

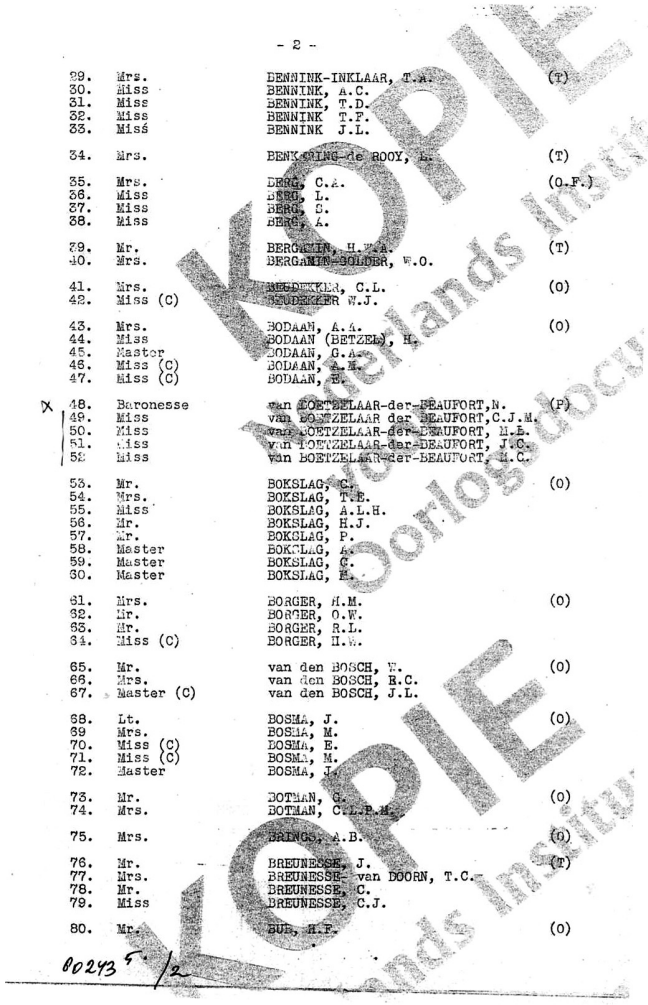
Telephone: B 2007, B 2008, B.2009)

Abbreviations:

"O" -"Oranje"
"P" "Plane"
"O.F." "Oranje Fontein"
"K.G." "Kota gedeh"
"T" "Tjibadak"

			Arrived By:
1.	Mrs.	AKKER-CEULEN, T.L.	(O)
2.	Master	AKKER, R.C.H.	
3.	Master	AKKER, A.G.L.	
4.	Mrs.	ARPS, E.	(O)
5.	Mr.	ARPS, J.W.	
6.	Mr.	van BAAREN, W.	(O)
7.	Mrs.	van BAAREN, E.H.	
8.	Mrs.	van BAASBANK, E.M.	
9.	Mr.	BACH KOLLING, H.C.	(C)
10.	Mrs.	BACH KOLLING,	(O.F.)
11.	Miss	BACH KOLLING	
12.	Miss	BACH KOLLING	
13.	Mrs.	BAKKUM	(O.F.)
14.	Miss (C)	BAKKUM	
15.	Mrs.	BALLUSECK W.L.	(O)
16.	Mrs.	BARENDRECHT, M.L.	(O)
17.	Miss	BARENDRECHT, F.J.	
18.	Miss	BECKER, C.W.	(O)
19.	Mrs.	BECKERING VINCKERS, H.W.	(O)
20.	Master	BECKERING VINCKERS, B.R.D.	
21.	Mr.	BEEK, J.A.J.	(O)
22.	Mrs.	BEEK, C.	(O)
23.	Miss (C)	BEEK, J.	
24.	Mr.	BEER, E.C.A.	(O)
25.	Mrs.	BEER, C.G.	
26.	Master	BEER, E.J.	
27.	Master	BEER, J.A.H.	
28.	Miss	BEER, C.E.	

80243 5 /1



- 2 -

29.	Mrs.	BENNINK-INKLAAR, T.A.	(T)
30.	Miss	BENNINK, A.C.	
31.	Miss	BENNINK, T.D.	
32.	Miss	BENNINK T.F.	
33.	Miss	BENNINK J.L.	
34.	Mrs.	BENKERING-de ROOY, L.	(T)
35.	Mrs.	BERG, C.A.	(O.F.)
36.	Miss	BERG, L.	
37.	Miss	BERG, S.	
38.	Miss	BERG, A.	
39.	Mr.	BERGMAN, H.W.A.	(T)
40.	Mrs.	BERGMAN-BOLDER, W.O.	
41.	Mrs.	BEUDEKER, C.L.	(O)
42.	Miss (C)	BEUDEKER W.J.	
43.	Mrs.	BODAAN, A.A.	(O)
44.	Miss	BODAAN (BETZEL), H.	
45.	Master	BODAAN, G.A.	
46.	Miss (C)	BODAAN, A.E.	
47.	Miss (C)	BODAAN, E.	
48.	Baronesse	van BOETZELAAR-der-BEAUFORT,N.	(P)
49.	Miss	van BOETZELAAR der BEAUFORT,C.J.M.	
50.	Miss	van BOETZELAAR-der-BEAUFORT, M.E.	
51.	Miss	van BOETZELAAR-der-BEAUFORT, J.C.	
52.	Miss	van BOETZELAAR-der-BEAUFORT, M.C.	
53.	Mr.	BOKSLAG, C.	(O)
54.	Mrs.	BOKSLAG, T.E.	
55.	Miss	BOKSLAG, A.L.H.	
56.	Mr.	BOKSLAG, H.J.	
57.	Mr.	BOKSLAG, P.	
58.	Master	BOKSLAG, A.	
59.	Master	BOKSLAG, C.	
60.	Master	BOKSLAG, H.	
61.	Mrs.	BORGER, H.M.	(O)
62.	Mr.	BORGER, O.W.	
63.	Mr.	BORGER, R.L.	
64.	Miss (C)	BORGER, H.W.	
65.	Mr.	van den BOSCH, W.	(O)
66.	Mrs.	van den BOSCH, R.C.	
67.	Master (C)	van den BOSCH, J.L.	
68.	Lt.	BOSMA, J.	(O)
69	Mrs.	BOSMA, M.	
70.	Miss (C)	BOSMA, E.	
71.	Miss (C)	BOSMA, M.	
72.	Master	BOSMA, J.	
73.	Mr.	BOTMAN, G.	(O)
74.	Mrs.	BOTMAN, C.L.P.M.	
75.	Mrs.	BRINGS, A.B.	(O)
76.	Mr.	BREUNESSE, J.	(T)
77.	Mrs.	BREUNESSE- van DOORN, T.C.	
78.	Mr.	BREUNESSE, C.	
79.	Miss	BREUNESSE, C.J.	
80.	Mr.	BUB, H.F.	(O)

80243 5 /2

81.	Mrs.	BURGEL, J.M.L.	(O)
82.	Miss (C)	BURGEL, J.	
83.	Miss (C)	BURGEL, M.	
84.	Master	BURGEL, P.	
85.	Master	BURGEL, K.	
86.	Mr.	BURGEL, G.J.A.	(T)
87.	Mr.	van der BURGH, A.	(O)
88.	Mrs.	van der BURGH, L.M.	
89	Mr.	BUSSINK, W.	(T)
90.	Mrs.	BUSSINK, T.J.F.	
91.	Miss	BUSSINK, G.M.F.	
92	Master	BUSSINK, J.F.	
93.	Mrs.	BYLAND, P.D.M.A.	(O.F.)
94.	Miss	CARST, E.	(O.F.)
95.	Mr.	de CHARON de St.GERMAIN, J.J.B.	(O)
96.	Mrs.	de CHARON de ST. GERMAIN, A.T.	
97.	Miss	de CHARON de St. GERMAIN, A.E.	
98.	Mrs.	COHEN TERVAART-SEVERIJN, H.L.	(T)
99.	Mr.	COHEN TERVAART, W.C.	
100.	Miss.	COLLET, E. A.	(O)
101.	Mrs.	CRAAMER, J.	(O.F.)
102.	Master	CRAAMER	
103.	Dr.	CREIGHTON,	(P)
104.	Mrs.	CREIGHTON	
105.	Mrs.	DAMEN, H.I.	(O)
106.	Miss (C)	DAMEN, D.V.	
107.	Miss (C)	DAMEN, V.W.	
108.	Mrs.	DAMMERS, Z.E.	(O)
109.	Mrs.	DEMINK, V.	(O)
110.	Miss	DEMINK, S.H.L.	
111.	Miss	van DIJK, G.	(T)
112.	Mr.	DEINEMA, J.	(O)
113.	Mrs.	DEINEMA, J.	
114.	Miss	DEINEMA, G.	
115.	Mr.	DIEPHUIS, J.	(O)
116.	Mrs.	DIEPHUIS, E.M.S.	
117.	Miss (C)	DIEPHUIS, J.G.	
118.	Mrs.	van DIJK-Bos, C.	(O)
119.	Master	van DIJK, M.	
120.	Miss (C)	van DIJK, A.F.C.	
121.	Miss	van DIJK, G.	(T)
122.	Mr.	DONLEBEN, H.V.C.L.	(T)
123.	Mrs.	DONLEBEN-LAVSDORP, M.N.H.	
124.	Mrs.	DROK-UITENHAGE-de MIST BARKEY, K.I.T.	(T)
125.	Mr.	DROK, E.D.	
126.	Master	DROK, A.H.	

80243 5/3

127.	Mrs.	van DUN, [illegible]	(O)
128.	Miss	van DUN, M.C.J.	
129.	Miss (C)	van DUN, A.E.	
130.	Master	van DUN, W.P.	
131.	Mr.	DUYSER, M.	(O)
132.	Mrs.	DUYSER, A.E.	
133.	Mr.	DUYSER, J.	
134.	Miss	DUYSER, M.A.	
135.	Miss (C)	DUYSER, E.H.	
136.	Mrs.	van ECK, J.P.	(O)
137	Miss	van ECK, H.D.	
138.	Miss	van ECK, E.	
139.	Mrs.	van EEDE, S.C.M.	(T)
140.	Miss	van EEDE, E.S.	
141.	Mrs.	ELLERBECK, H.T.M.	(O)
142.	Miss (C)	ELLERBECK, H.J.M.	
143.	Master	ELLERBECK, F.J.J.	
144.	Miss (C)	ELLERBECK, A.C.M.	
145.	Mr.	l'EPAGNIOL, J.L.	(O)
146.	Mrs.	l'EPAGNIOL, A.C.	
147.	Mrs.	van Es, N.E.	(O)
148.	Master	van ES, R.F.	
149.	Master	van ES, P.R.	
150.	Miss (C)	van ES, E.	
151.	Mrs.	ESSELMAN, P.)	(O.F.
152.	Miss	ESSELMAN, M.) Now in	
153.	Miss	ESSELMAN, A.)	
154	Miss	ESSELMAN, I.) Melbourne.	
155.	Mrs.	EVENHUIS-RUNSINK, A.E.J.	(T)
156.	Mr.	EVERSDIJK SMULDERS, C.M.R.	(O)
157.	Mrs.	EVERSDIJK SMULDERS, W.H.	
158.	Master	EVERSDIJK SMULDERS, T.A.	
159.	Miss (C)	EVERSDIJK SMULDERS, M.C.	
160.	Mr.	EZERMAN, J.E.C.	(O)
161.	Mr.	EZERMIK, B.	(O)
162.	Mrs.	EZERMAN, I.H.	
163.	Master	EZERMAN, T.	
164.	Miss. (C)	EZERMAN, I.	
165	Mr.	FLIK, [illegible]	(O)
166.	Mrs.	FLIK, E.S.	
167.	Miss	FLIK, C.M.E.	
168.	Mr.	FOCKENS, H.	(O)
169.	Mrs.	FOCKENS, C.	
170.	Miss (C)	FOCKENS, N.F.	
171.	Master	FOCKENS, H.G.	
172.	Miss (C)	FOCKENS, G.E.	
173.	Baronesse	van GEEN, A.	(O.F
174.	Master	van GEEN, F.M.L.	
175.	Mr.	GEERLIGS, G.	(O)
176.	Mrs.	GEERLIGS, J.G.	
177.	Miss (C)	GEERLIGS, A.M.	
178.	Master	GEERLIGS, D.	
179.	Master	GEERLIGS, G.J.	

80243 5/4

180.	Miss.	de GELDER, M.	(O)
181.	Mrs.	van GESSEL, J.M.	(O)
182.	Master	van GESSEL, W.M.	
183.	Master	van GESSEL, C.M.	
184.	Mrs.	GLEICHMAN, A.M.	(P)
185.	Mrs.	GLEICHMAN-de GRAEFF, A.M.	(T)
186.	Miss	GLEICHMAN, C.	
187.	Miss	GLEICHMAN, M.	
188.	Mrs.	GOLE, M.L.	(O)
189.	Miss	GOLE, M.	
190.	Mrs.	GOEDHART, H.M.J.	(O)
191.	Miss. (C)	GOEDHART, I.A.H.	
192	Miss (C)	GOEDHART, D.H.	
193.	Mr.	GOETTSCH, J.J.B.	(T)
194.	Mrs.	GOETTSCH, LAFLEUR, E.C.A.	
195.	Mr.	GOSLINGA, W.	(K.G.)
196.	Mrs.	GOSLINGA? J.H.	
197.	Mr.	GOSLINGA, L.A.	
202.	Master	BENNEBROEK-GRAVENHORST, J.	(O)
203.	Mr.	GREEUW, J.	(O)
204.	Mrs.	GREEUW, J.A.	
205.	Master	GREEUW, H.	
206.	Mrs.	GROOTJANS, A.M.C.	(O.F.)
207.	Miss	GROOTJANS, A.	
208.	Mr.	GROOTJANS, J.	
209.	Mr.	GROOTJANS, B.	
210.	Miss	GROOTJANS, C.	
211.	Mrs.	GUYT, M.	(O)
212.	Mr.	GUYT, H.	
213.	Mr.	HAANAPPEL, H.E.	(O)
214.	Mrs.	HAANAPPEL, A.	
215.	Miss	HAANAPPEL, A.	
216.	Master	HAANAPPEL, E.G.	
217.	Mr.	HAANTJENS DEKKER, D.	(O)
218.	Mrs.	HAANTJENS DEKKER, W.H.J.	
219.	Master	HAANTJENS DEKKER, H.W.	
220.	Mrs.	HAASSE, K.	(O.F.)
221.	Miss	HAIGHTON, H.E.	(O)
222	Mr.	HAMERSLAG	(P)
223.	Mrs.	HAMERSLAG	
224.	(1 child)		
225.	Mr.	van der HART, A.L.	(O)
226.	Mr.	den HARTOGH, D.	(O)
227.	Mrs.	den HARTOGH H.M.	
228.	Miss	HARTEVELT, A.	(O.F.)

8o243 5/5

229.	Mr.	HART, S.J.G.	(T)
230.	Mrs.	HART-EVENHUIS, C.E.M.	
231	Mr.	HART, P.	
232.	Miss	HART, A.	
233.	Mrs.	HAVERSCHMIDT, R.G.	(O)
234.	Mr.	HAVERSCHMIDT, R.	
235.	Miss	HAVERSCHMIDT, E.G.	
236.	Master	HAVERSCHMIDT, R.	
237.	Mrs.	van HELDEN, W.E.M.	(O)
238.	Mr.	van HELDEN W.H.T.	
239.	Master	van HELDEN, H.E.T.	
240.	Mr.	HENDRIKX, W.E.	(O)
241.	Mrs.	HENDRIKX, W.J.E.	
242.	Miss	HENDRIKX, W.H.	
243.	Master	HENDRIKX, W.	
244.	Master	HENDRIKX, J.	
245.	Mr.	HENNUS, H.P.J.	(O)
246.	Mrs.	HENNUS, A.H.G.	
247.	Miss	HENNUS, T.	
248.	Master	HENNUS, T.	
249.	Mr.	van der HENST, A.J.	(O)
250.	Mrs.	van der HENST, M.J.	
251.	Master	van der HENST, F.C.J.	
252.	Miss	van der HENST, L.M.I.	
253.	Mr.	HESSING, C.W.	(O)
254 .	Mrs.	HESSING, S.M.G.	
255.	Master	HESSING, H.	
256.	Master	HESSING, H.	
267.	Mr.	van der HEUVEL, B.H.	(O)
268.	Mrs.	van der HEUVEL, H.S.E.	
269.	Mrs.	HIERONIMUS, P.	(O)
270.	Master	HIERONIMUS, R.I.H.	
271.	Miss	HIERONIMUS, M.I.	
272.	Master	HIERONIMUS, H.I.H.	
273.	Mr.	HOBE, R.J.	(O)
274.	Mrs.	HOBE, J.	
275.	Mr.	HOBE, R.J. Jnr.	
276.	Master	HOBE, W.	
277.	Mr.	HOLTZ, A.H.T.	(O)
278.	Mrs.	HOOLHORST, M.	(O)
279.	Mrs.	van HULSBERGEN, T.	(O)
280.	Mr.	van HULSBERGEN, J.	
281.	Miss	van HULSBERGEN, H.	
282.	Miss	van HULSBERGEN, D.	
283.	Mrs.	HOFSTEDE-MOMBOIT, M.L.	(T)
284.	Mr.	van HULS van TAXIS , J.F.	(T)
285.	Mrs.	van HULS van TAXIS-Wael, F.A.	
286	Mr.	INDER MAUR, G.	(O)
287.	Mrs.	INDER MAUR, M.J.	
288.	Miss	INDER MAUR, C.A.	
289.	Miss	INDER MAUR, G.M.	

8o243 5/6

KOPIE Nederlands Oorlogsdocumentatie Instituut

290.	Mr.	JANSE, H.H.	(O)
291.	Mrs.	JANSE, G.M.H.	
292.	Master	JANSE, H.	
293.	Miss	JANSE, G.	
294.	Mr.	JANSEN, H.E.M.	(O)
295.	Mrs.	JANSEN, L.C.	
296.	Mr.	JANSEN, H.A.	
297.	Miss	JANSEN, L.R.	
298.	Miss	JANSEN, G.M.	
299.	Miss	JANSEN, E.M. E.	
300.	Mrs.	JANSEN, A.M.	(O)
301.	Miss	JANSEN, C. C.	
302.	Master	JANSEN, K.C.H.ML	
303.	Miss	JANSEN, C.C.	
304.	Mrs.	JANSEN, A.W.	(O)
305.	Master	JANSEN, G.J.	
306.	Master	JANSEN, J.	
307.	Mrs.	JONGSMA, A.	(O.F.)
308.	Mrs.	de JONG, C.J.W.	(O.F.)
309.	Mr.	de JONG, H.	
310.	Miss	de JONG, M.	
311.	Master	de JONG, O.	
312	Mr.	JONGSTE, F.	(O)
313.	Mrs.	JONGSTE, F.A.	
314.	Miss	JONGSTE, F.A.	
315.	Mr.	JORRISSEN, W.	(O)
316.	Mrs.	JOR[illegible]	
317.	Master	JORRISSEN, W.R.	
318.	Mrs.	JORISSEN, G.M.	(O)
319.	Miss	JORISS EN, C.J.	
320.	Master	JORISSEN, A.J.	
321.	Mrs.	KALIS, A.	(O)
322 .	Miss	KEERS, W.	(O)
323.	Mr.	KLAY, A.E.	(O)
324.	Mrs.	KLAY, U .	
325.	Miss	KLAY, U.	
326.	Mr.	KLAY, N .	
327.	Miss	KLAY, P.	
328.	Mr.	KOENS, P.J.	(O)
329.	Mr.	KOLLMAN, O.L.	(O)
330.	Mrs.	KOLLMAN, A.J.K.	
331.	Master	KOLLMAN, A.C.	
332.	Master	KOLLMAN, E.O.	
333 ,	Lt.	van der KOOGH, J.T.	(O)
334.	Mrs.	van der KOOGH, E.	
335.	Miss	van der KOOGH, A.E.	
336.	Mrs.	KOORNWINDER, C.G.	(O)
337.	Miss	KOORNWINDER, J.C.	
338.	Mrs.	KUSTERS, C.	(O)

802435/7

340	Mrs.	KATARSKI-ZABLOUDOWSKE, N.	(T)
341.	Mr.	KATARSKI, I.B.	(T)
342.	Mrs.	KATARSKI-PLASMAN, I.N.	
343.	Mr.	KEETJE, A.C.	(T)
344.	Mrs.	KOOPMAN, CORTHAUS, M.C.	(T)
345.	Mr.	KUIPERS, J.	(T)
346.	Mr.	LEDEBOER, P.M.J.	(O)
347.	Mrs.	LEDEBOER, W.C.C.	
348.	Mr.	van LENNEP, K.	(O)
349.	Mr.	LEVER, H.	(O)
350.	Mrs.	LEVER, C.J.	
351.	Mr.	LEVER, H.	
352.	Miss	LEVER, C.T.	
353.	Master	LEVER, F.J.	
354.	Mrs.	LIEVENSE,	(O)
355.	Mr.	LIEVENSE, L.J.	
356.	Master	LIEVENSE, L.D.	
357.	Miss	LIEVENSE, T. E.	
358.	Mrs.	LINDNER, M.C.	(O)
359.	Miss	LINDNER, E.	
360.	Mr.	van der LINDEN, J.G.	(O)
361.	Mrs.	van der LINDEN, M.G.G.	
362.	Mr.	LOCHMANN van BENNEKOM, O.K.R.	(O)
363.	Mrs.	LOCHMANN van BENNEKOM, W.	
364.	Mr.	LUMKEMAN, E	(O)
365.	Mrs.	LUMKEMAN, C.J.J.	
366.	Miss	LUMKEMAN, L.C.	
367.	Mrs.	LUSCHEN, T.	(O)
368.	Miss	LUSCHEN, W.G.E.	
369.	Mrs.	MAYER van der HEIDE, Mrs.G.F.	(T)
370.	Miss	MELIS , M.	(O)
371.	Miss (C)	MELIS, M.W.	
372.	Miss	MELIS, J.	
373.	Mrs.	MELIS-BAKKER, M.	(T)
374.	Mr.	van MENS, E.H.	(O)
375.	Mrs.	van MENS,	
376.	Master	van MENS, R.	
377.	Mr.	MEYSEN, J.A.J.M.	(O)
378.	Mrs.	MEYSEN, J.H.E.	
379.	Miss	MEYSEN, M.C.C.	
380.	Miss	MEYSEN, L.T.M.	
381.	Miss	MEYSEN, T.J.M.	
382.	Mrs.	MEYER van VELTHOVEN, M.E.	(T)
383.	Mr.	van MINNEN, A.W.	(O)
384.	Mrs.	van MINNEN, O.H.G.	
385.	Miss	van MINNEN, G.A.	
386	Mr.	MONSTER, W.	(O)

802435/8

KOPIE Nederlands Instituut voor Oorlogsdocumentatie

387.	Mr.	MONTE,J.	(O)
388.	Miss	MONTÉ, E.	(O)
389.	Miss	MONTE, W.	
390.	Miss	MONTE, E.D.	
391.	Miss	MONTE, J.E.	
392.	Mrs.	NAGEL-MEYKELS, R.	(T)
393.	Mr.	NIJHOF, A.L.J.	(O)
394.	Mrs.	NIJHOF, M.C.	
395.	Miss	NIJHOF, M.	
396.	Mrs.	NIJSEN, E.J.A.	(O.F.)
397.	Miss	NIJSEN,	
398.	Mrs.	NOORDHOEK, M.A.	(O)
399.	Mr.	NOORDHOEK, J.A.	
400.	Mr.	NOORDHOEK, J.C.	
401.	Mr.	NOORDHOEK, W.	
402.	Master	NOORDHOEK, J.A.	
403.	Mrs.	OCKHUISEN, M.D.	(O)
404.	Mr.	OPHUYSEN, A.H.	(P)
405.	Mrs.	OPHUYSEN,	
406.	Mrs.	van OVERSEEK de MEYER,G.A.W.	(O.F.)
407.	Mr.	van OVERSEEK de MEYER,G.	
408.	Mr.	PAARDEKOOPER OVERMAN, L.A.	(O)
409.	Mr.	PEEREBOOM VOLLER,J.D.G.	(O)
410.	Mrs.	PEEREBOOM VOLLER, L.C.	
411.	Miss	PENN, M.C.M.	(O)
412	Mr.	PETIT, P.E.	(O)
413.	Mrs.	PETIT, W.C.S.	
414.	Master	PETIT, G.P.	
415.	Miss	PETIT,C.M.L.	
416.	Miss	PETIT, P.E.	
417.	Mr.	PFLUG, E.	(O)
418.	Mrs.	PFLUG, H.A.E.	
419.	Miss	PFLUG, C.C.	
420.	Master	PFLUG, R.E.	
421.	Mr.	PIETERS, H.	(O)
422.	Mrs.	PIETERS, M.W.	
423.	Master	PIETERS, J.H.M.	
424.	Mr.	PIJPERS, P.(now in Batavia)	(O)
425.	Mrs.	PIJPERS, H.	
426.	Master	PIJPERS, C.J.C.	
427.	Master	PIJPERS, G.A.	
428.	Mrs.	PLINK, W.J.L.	(O)
429.	Master	PLINK, W.H.	
430.	Mr.	POUTSMA, A.	(O)
431.	Mrs.	POUTSMA, E.J.A.	
432.	Mr.	POUTSMA, T.J.	
433.	Miss	POUTSMA, I.	
434.	Miss	POUTSMA, S.	

802435/9

435.	Dr.	de PRIESTER, W.F.	(O)
436.	Mrs.	de PRIESTER, H.M.	
437.	Miss	de PRIESTER, M.M.H.	
438.	Mr.	de PRIESTER, L.W.	
439.	Miss	de PRIESTER, W.G.	
440.	Miss	de PRIESTER, G.G.	
441.	Mr.	de QUANT, J.	(O)
442.	Mrs.	de QUANT, M.A.	
443.	Miss	de QUANT, J.	
444.	Miss	de QUANT, H.	
445.	Miss	de QUANT, J.	
446.	Mrs.	RADIUS, F.J.D.	(O)
447.	Miss	RAPAPORT, M.	(O.F.)
448.	Mrs.	RENAUD, M.	(O)
449.	Miss	RENAUD, L.H.	
450.	Mr.	RIEMERSMA, M.F.	(O)
451.	Mrs.	RIEMERSMA, H.H.J.	
452.	Miss	RIETDIJK, F.A.M.	(T)
453.	Mr.	de RIJK, E.L.	(O)
454.	Mrs.	de RIJK, E.	
455.	Miss	de RIJK, H.	
456.	Mr.	ROELAND, P.	(O)
457.	Mrs.	ROELAND, A.	
458.	Miss	ROELAND, C.M.	
459.	Mrs.	RODRIGO, A.	(O)
460.	Master	RODRIGO, A.W.	
461.	Mr.	ROMBACH, J.J.	(O)
462.	Mrs.	ROMBACH, W.J.	
463.	Mr.	ROMBACH, G.	
464.	Master	ROMBACH, J.W.	
465.	Master	ROMBACH, P.	
466.	Mrs.	la RONDELLE, G.P.	(O.F.)
467.	Miss	ROORDA van EYSINGA, L.M.	(O)
468.	Miss	ROOY-GEEVE, L.	(T)
469.	Mr.	RUTTE, J.H.G.	(O)
470.	Mrs.	RUTTE,	
471.	Miss	RUTTE,	
472.	Mrs.	de RUYTER de WILDT, G.C.	(O)
473.	Miss	de RUYTER de WILDT, M.A.A.	
474.	Miss	SCHAT, M.W.	(O)
475.	Mr.	van der SCHILDEN, T.	(O)
476.	Mrs.	van der SCHILDEN, G.S.	
477.	Master	van der SCHILDEN, D.W.F.	
478.	Master	van der SCHILDEN, T.J.M.	
479.	Miss	SCHLEYER, C.E.	(O)
480.	Mr.	SCHOTEL, A.L.	(O)

802435/10

KOPIE Nederlands Instituut voor Oorlogsdocumentatie

[illegible]	[illegible]ter	[illegible]IOT L.	(P)
484	Mr.	[illegible]UKING, [illegible]	(P)
[illegible]	[illegible]	SCHUCKING, T.	
486.	Mr.s	SCHWARTZ, L.	(O.F.)
487.	Miss	SCHWARTZ, E.	
488.	Mrs.	van SEUMEREN, S.C.	(O)
489.	Miss	van SEUMEREN, J.T.M.	
490.	Miss	van SEUMEREN, C.L.A.	
491.	Master	van SEUMEREN, J.A.	
492.	Miss	van SEUMEREN, H.G.M.	
493.	Mr.	SITEUR, H.	(K.G.)
494.	Mrs.	SITEUR, [illegible]	
495.	Mrs.	SMITH, D.A.	(O)
496.	Miss	SMITH, A.H.	
497.	Miss	SMITH, D.	
498.	Mrs.	SNIP-DeMEN, A.	(P)
499.	Mr.	SEBOK, A.	(T)
500.	Mrs.	SEBOK-SALGO, Mrs.A.	
501.	Miss	SEBOK, A.	
502.	Mr.	SCHULTZ, R.A.	(T)
503.	Mrs.	SCHULTZ-[illegible], E.	
504.	Master	SCHULTZ, R.	
505.	Miss	SCHULTZ, M.	
506.	Mr.	SONIUS, H.W.J.	(O)
507.	Mrs.	SONIUS, E.A.C.A.	
508.	Mrs.	STAM,	(O.F.)
509.	Master	STAM, A.	
510.	Mrs.	STAM, A.J.	(O)
511.	Mr.	STEINMANN, W.H.	(O)
512.	Mrs.	STEINMANN, A.L.M.	
513.	Miss	STEINMANN, T.M.O.	
514.	Master	STEINMANN, H.F.	
515.	Master	STEINMANN P.J.	
516.	Master	STEINMANN, D.J.	
517.	Mr.	van der STERREN, J.G.	(T)
518.	Mrs.	van der STERREN, H.M.	
519.	Mr.	TACOMA, E.	(T)
520.	Mrs.	TACOMA-de MEUWICK, C.	
521.	Master	TACOMA, E.	
522.	Mr.	TANNENBAUM, B.	(O)
523.	Miss	TANNENBAUM, S.E.	
524.	Mrs.	TEPPEMA, A.M.	(O)
525.	Mrs.	TOBIAS-BOS, A.	(O)
526.	Miss	TOBIAS-BOS, N.	
527.	Miss	TOBIAS-BOS, C.	
528.	Master	TOBIAS-BOS, K.	
529.	Mr.	UITENHAGE, F.A.H.	(T)
530.	Mrs.	UITENHAGE-de MIST BARKEY-[illegible]EG, I.C.	
531.	Mr.	ULJEE, W.C.G.	(O)
532.	Mrs.	ULJEE, P.W.F.	
533.	Miss	ULJEE, G.W.P.	
534.	Master	ULJEE, D.H.W.	

B0243 5
11

535	Mr.	van der [illegible]N, G.	(O.F.)
[illegible]	[illegible]rs	van der [illegible]	
537.	Miss	van der [illegible]	
538.	Mrs.	van der VEGTE, R.H.	(O)
539.	Mr.	VENEMA, G.J.A.	(O)
540.	Mrs.	VENEMA, A.H.	
541.	Mr.	VENNIK, H.	(O)
542.	Mrs.	VENNIK, M.G.S.	
543.	Mrs.	VERHEYDEN, A.	(O)
544.	Master	VERHEYDEN, G.A.	
545.	Master	VERHEYDEN, P.A.	
546.	Mrs.	VERMEER-BURGERS, A.	(P)
547.	Mr.	VERMEER, A.	
548.	Miss	VERMEER.	
549.	Mrs.	VERKERK, H.J.	(O)
550.	Mr.	VERKERK, L.	
551.	Mr.	VERKERK, L.J.G.	
552.	Mrs.	VERSTEEG, L.W.	(O)
553	Master	VERSTEEG, H.A.	
554	Miss (C)	VERSTEEG, J.E.	
555.	Mr.	VERSTEEGH, E.R.B.M.	(O)
556.	Mrs.	VERSTEEGH, R.E.	
557.	Master	VERSTEEGH, P.R.B.	
558.	Master	VERSTEEGH, D.L.F.	
559.	Mrs.	VERWER, J.	(O.F.
560.	Miss	VERWER, J.	
561.	Mrs.	VISSCHER, M.M.	(O)
562.	Miss (C)	VISSCHER, Y.	
563.	Miss (C)	VISSCHER, I.	
564.	Miss	VISSCHER, C.	(P)
565.	Mrs.	van VLAARDINGEN, J.M.P.	(O)
566.	Miss	van VLAARDINGEN, P.E.	
567.	Mrs.	van VLIET, G.	(O)
568.	Miss	van VLIET, J.B.	
569.	Master	van VLIET, R.	
570.	Miss (C)	van VLIET, E.P.	
571.	Mrs.	van der VLOODT, G.A.J.S.	(O)
572.	Miss (C)	van der VLOODT, P.	
573.	Master	van der VLOODT, H.	
574.	Master	van der VLOODT, P.	
575.	Master	van der VLOODT, F.E.	
576.	Miss	VOERMAN, S.	(O)
577.	Miss	VOERMAN, C.	
578.	Mrs.	VOGELZANG, C.J.	(O)
579.	Master	VOGELZANG, B.	
580.	Miss (C)	VOGELZANG, K.	
581.	Miss (C)	VOGELZANG, Y.	
582.	Mr.	de VRIES, P.G.	(O)
583.	Mrs.	de VRIES, J.E.S.	
584.	Miss	de VRIES, A.A.	
585.	Mrs.	de VRIES, M.J.	(O)
[illegible]	[illegible]	de VRIES, W.F.	

B0243 5
12

KOPIE Nederlands Instituut voor Oorlogsdocumentatie

588.	Miss	van der WERFF, A.	(O)
589.	Mr.	WESLY, L.J.G.	(O)
590.	Mrs.	WESLY, A.C.	
591.	Master	WESLY, G.J.L.	
592.	Miss (C)	WESLY, A.I.M.	
593.	Mr.	van WIERINGEN, A.F.	(O)
594.	Master	van WIERINGEN, A.F.	
595.	Mrs.	van WIERINGEN, J.M.	
596.	Miss (C)	van WIERINGEN, J.M.	
597.	Master	van WIERINGEN, J.H.	
598.	Mrs.	WILDERS, P.M.A.	(O.F.)
599.	Miss	WILDERS,	
600.	Mr.	WINK, R.	(O)
601.	Mrs.	WINK, N.	
602.	Mr.	WIWEL, H.F.	(O)
602.	Mrs.	WIWEL, R.L.	
604.	Mrs.	van der WOUDE, J.	(O.F.
605.	Mr.	van der WOUDE,	
606.	Miss	van der WOUDE.	
607.	Mr.	van der ZANDEN, A.F.	(O)
608.	Mr.	ZANDEL, J.J.	(T)
609.	Mrs.	ZEIDEL-AUGURA, Mrs. R.	
610	Mr.	ZECHNER, D.	(T)
611.	Mrs.	ZECHNER-DOTTER, E.	
612.	Miss	ZECHNER, W.C.	
613.	Master	ZECHNER, F.W.	
614.	Mr.	ADMIRAAL, S.	(T)
615.	Mrs.	ADMIRAAL-van der Houvin, E.G.	
616.	Mr.	ADMIRAAL, A.	
617.	Miss	ADMIRAAL, E.	

KOPIE Nederlands Instituut voor Oorlogsdocumentatie

D0243 5 /13

ADDRESSES of EVACUEES in WESTERN AUSTRALIA
as at 20.2.1946.

NAME.	ADDRESS.
Mr. and Mrs. Admiraal and 2 children	King Edward Hotel, Perth.
Mr. and Mrs. Agterberg	224 Swan Street, Guildford.
Mrs. Anker Ceulen	63 Smith Street, Highgate Hill.
Mr. and Mrs. J. W. Arps	"Kentucky", 853 Adelaide Terrace, Perth.
Mr. and Mrs. van Baaren and 3 children	42 Victoria Avenue, Claremont.
Mrs. van Baasbank	Rockingham Hotel, Rockingham.
Mrs. Bach Kolling and 2 daughters and 1 son	5 Mountside Flats, 130 Mount's Bay Road, Perth.
Mrs. D. Bakkum and daughter	2 Elm Avenue, Nedlands.
Mrs. van Ballusedk	Wentworth Hotel, Perth.
Mrs. M. L. Berendregt and 1 child	King Edward Hotel, Perth.
Miss Becker	Rockingham Hotel, Rockingham.
Mrs. H. W. Beckering-Knockers	Wentworth Hotel, Perth.
Mrs. Bennink-Inklaar and 4 children	Fairbridge Farm School, Pinjarra.
Mr. and Mrs. Beremin	Wentworth Hotel, Perth.
Mrs. Beudekker and 1 child	1 Chamberlain Street, Cottesloe.
Mrs. Bodaan and Miss Hetzel	Wentworth Hotel, Perth.
Mr. and Mrs. v.d. Boach and 1 child	Fairbridge Farm School, Pinjarra.
Mr. and Mrs. Bosma and 3 children	Mrs. Merritt, Sholle Street, Mandurah.
Mrs. Brings	Rockingham Hotel, Rockingham.
Mr. and Miss and Mrs. Brinkman	100 Broome Street, Cottesloe.
Mr. and Mrs. Bussink	Naval Base, Coogee.
Mrs. Cohen Tervaart and 1 son	Adelaide House, 31 George's Terrace, Perth.
Mrs. Dammers	King Edward Hotel, Perth.
Mrs. van Dijk-Bosse and 2 children	Dutch Club, Perth.
Miss Gerda van Dijk	124 Vincent Street, North Perth.
Mr. and Mrs. Drok and child	719 Beaufort Street, Mt. Lawley.
Mr. and Mrs. Donleben	Majestic Hotel, Applecross.
Mrs. F. Esselman and 3 daughters	Ocean Beach Hotel, Cottesloe.
Mrs. Evenhuis-Runsink and the little girl Hart	Adelaide House, St. George's Terrace, Perth.
Mr. and Mrs. Eversdijk-Smulders and 2 children	Majestic Hotel, Applecross.
Mr. and Mrs. Ezerman and 3 children	Majestic Hotel, Applecross.
Mr. and Mrs. Geerligs	Mrs. Dekas, 9 Francis Street, Perth.
Mrs. van Gessel and 2 children	Dutch Club, Perth.
Mrs. Gobee	Mrs. Pegge, "Karsela", Kalamunda.
Mr. and Mrs. Henri Greeuw and child	Fairbridge Farm School.
Mrs. de Haas-Romijn and 2 children	C/o Mrs. Munday, 18 Forrest Street, Cottesloe.
Mrs. and Mr. Haasse	C/o Mrs. Huntley, 23 North Street, Mt. Lawley.
Mr. and Mrs. Haentjens-Dekker and 1 child	Wentworth Hotel, Perth.
Mr. and Mrs. Hameralag and child	Adelaide House, Perth.
Mr. A.L. v.d. Hart	Barward Hostel, Perth.
Mr. and Mrs. Dirk den Hartogh	Carlton Hotel, East Perth.
Mr. and Mrs. Hendrikx and 3 children	Hotel Australia, Perth.
Mrq and Mrs. Hennus and 2 children	Parkerville Hotel, Parkerville.
Mr. and Mrs. v.d. Henst and 2 children	Flat 3, Mountside Flats, 130 Mount's Bay Road, Perth.
Mr. and Mrs. Hessing	Mrs. Curry, Mahogany Creek.

D0243 5 _ 1A Mrs H.M. Ellebeek-Boesman Mr. A.C. Ellebeek

NAME.	ADDRESS.
Mr. and Mrs. van Hulsbergen and 3 children	"Kendutky", 253 Adelaide Terrace, Perth.
Mr. and Mrs. van Huls van Taxis	8 King's Park Road, West Perth.
Mr. and Mrs. In Der Maur and 2 children	Wentworth Hotel, Perth.
Mrs. Jensen (2 children at Fairbridge)	C/o Mrs. Dakas, 9 Francis Street, Perth.
Mr. and Mrs. Jansen and 2 children - 1 at Fairbridge	C/o Mrs. Cuming, 50 Colin Street, West Perth.
Mrs. C.J.W. de Jong and 3 child.	Ocean Beach Hotel, Cottesloe.
Mrs. A. Kalis	C/o Mrs. Dakas, 9 Francis Street, Perth.
Mr. Kentie	"Faversham", York.
Mr. and Mrs. Kollman and 2 child.	Fairbridge Farm School, Pinjarra.
Mr. and Mrs. v.d. Kragh and 1 ch.	Cubalting Hotel, Cubalting.
Mrs. and Miss Koornwinder	Derward Hostel, Murray Street, Perth.
Mr. Gerrit Kunst - returned to Perth from Melbourne 30.1.1946 and staying at King Edward Hotel.	
Mrs. and Master Musters	C/o Mr. Yovitch, Osmond Street, Kenwick.
Mr. and Mrs. Lievense and 3 ch.	Adelaide House, St. George's Terrace
Mr. and Mrs. v.d. Linden	"Faversham", York.
Mrs. M.C. Lindner and 1 child	Dutch Club, York Perth.
Mr. and Master Loohmann van Bennekom	Rockingham Hotel, Rockingham.
Mr. and Mrs. Lumkeman and 2 ch.	1 Chamberlain Street, Cottesloe.
Mrs. Mayer v.d. Heide	8 King's Park Road, West Perth.
Mrs. Julia Melis and child and sister Mary	C/o Mrs. Dakas, 9 Francis Street, Perth.
Mr. and Mrs. van Mens and child	58 Napier Street, Cottesloe.
Mrs. and Miss Ouweneel	12a King's Park Road, West Perth.
Mr. L.A. Paardekooper-Overman	Mrs. Peggs, "Kareela", Kalamunda.
Miss M.C.M. Penn	Fairbridge Farm School, Pinjarra.
Mr. and Mrs. Riemersma	Mrs. Peggs, "Kareela", Kalamunda.
Mrs. Rodrigo and child	Fairbridge Farm School, Pinjarra.
Mr. and Mrs. Roeland and child	"Nee Nestie", Gooseberry Hill Road, Gooseberry Hill.
Mr. and Mrs. Rutte	King Edward Hotel, Perth.
Mrs. C. E. Schleyer	Derward Hostel, Perth.
Mrs. Schotel and 3 children	Wentworth Hotel, Perth.
Mr. Mrs. and Miss Schukking	63 Stirling Highway, Cottesloe.
Mrs. Schwartz and daughter	1 The Avenue, Nedlands.
Mr. and Mrs. Sebok and child	Sawyer's Valley Hotel, Sawyer's Valley
Mr. and Mrs. van Seumeren and 4 children	70 Preston Point Road, East Fremantle.
Mr. and Mrs. Siteur	60 Second Avenue, Mt. Lasley.
Mrs. Smith and 2 children	215 Railway Parade, Maylands.
Mrs. A. J. Stam	Rockingham Hotel, Rockingham.
Mr. and Mrs. Tacoma and child	Flat 1, 72 Victoria Avenue, Claremont.

NAME.	ADDRESS.
Mr. and Mrs. Uljee and 2 children	Fairbridge Farm School, Pinjarra.
Mr. and Mrs. v.d. Veen and 4 ch.	Wentworth Hotel, Perth.
Mr. and Mrs. Otto Venema	Dairy Lodge, Dalrington.
Mr. and Mrs. D. Versteegh and 2 ch.	Rockingham Hotel, Rockingham.
Mrs. L.W. Versteeg and 2 children	Fairbridge Farm School.
Miss C. Visscher	208 Great Eastern Highway, Mivervale.
Mrs. G. van Vliet - in hospital - children at Fairbridge Farm School.	Westminster Hospital, Perth.
Mr. and Mrs. Wesly and 2 children	C/o Mrs. Kendall, Duncraig Road, Applecross.
Mrs. P.M.A. Wilders and daughter	Ocean Beach Hotel, Cottesloe.
Mr. and Mrs. H. F. Wiwel	King Edward Hotel, Perth.
Mr. A.F. v.d. Zanden	St. Joseph's Orphenage, Clontarf, Victoria Park.
Mr. and Mrs. Zechner and 2 children	Parents: King Edward Hotel, Perth. Children: Fairbridge Farm School.
Mr. and Mrs. Zindel	Mrs. Cuming, 50 Colin Street, West Perth.