

LEAVING FROM THE NETHERLANDS

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INTRODUCTION

The focus of this chapter is Dutch migration to Western Australia over the past 65 years. Its specific concerns are the emigration and immigration experiences of Dutch from the Netherlands (NL) and Netherlands East Indies (NEI – present day Indonesia), who made WA home after World War Two (WWII).¹ It is worth noting here that regardless of the decrease, due to ageing, of Netherlands-born Dutch Australian numbers, that the Dutch presence in Australia still remains robust. This is confirmed by the last Census (Table One ABS 2011), when over 335,493 Australians acknowledged their Dutch origins.

This chapter contains a ‘selection’ of just some of the myriad of experiences relating to the benefits and pitfalls and the hope and courage that underlie the emigration experiences which were encountered by Dutch migrants to WA after WWII.

My postdoctoral research project *Footsteps of the Dutch in Australia from 1606 – 2016* underpins this chapter.² It explored the ways in which family, local, national and global influences - including social, cultural and economic policies and/or conflicts in NL, the NEI and Australia combined to shape the presence of the Dutch in Western Australia.³ It derives its content from biographies, autobiographies, oral history interviews, focus group discussion, questionnaires, archival documentation, photographs and secondary sources.⁴

Ancestry	Persons(a)	Proportion of total population	Generations in Australia			Also stated another ancestry
			First generation	Second generation	Third-plus generation	
	'000	%	%	%	%	%
English	7 238.5	36.1	18.5	20.1	61.4	53.5
Australian	7 098.5	35.4	2.0	18.3	79.6	38.5
Irish	2 087.8	10.4	12.9	13.9	73.2	80.4
Scottish	1 792.6	8.9	17.1	19.1	63.8	78.3
Italian	916.1	4.6	24.1	41.0	34.9	44.3
German	898.7	4.5	17.3	19.8	62.9	75.4
Chinese	866.2	4.3	74.3	21.3	4.4	16.2
Indian	390.9	2.0	79.8	18.6	1.6	12.9
Greek	378.3	1.9	30.9	44.8	24.3	26.2
Dutch	335.5	1.7	32.5	43.3	24.2	55.1

(a) Table One presents collective responses to ancestry question. As some people stated two ancestries, the total persons for all ancestries exceed Australia's total population.

TABLE ONE. SELECTED CHARACTERISTICS OF ANCESTRY GROUPS

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND – THE ‘PUSH’ AND ‘PULL’ FACTS OF DUTCH EMIGRATION

The main question that the large exit of Dutch out of the Netherlands in the mid 20th century raised is “What ‘factors’ activated this mobility?” For despite high population density, the absence of additional farmland and the crowded conditions that had existed in the Netherlands for generations - it was never really an emigration country. It seems the Dutch preferred to stay in their homeland rather than emigrate in any substantial numbers. Consequently, the radical shift in attitude towards emigration that occurred after the Second World War, took everyone by surprise - it was so completely uncharacteristic. The change would ultimately lead to around five per cent (500,000) of the NL population leaving the Netherlands over the next 25 years to settle in immigration countries that included America, Australia, Canada, South Africa, Argentina and Brazil.

Dutch participants in this research contend overwhelmingly, that the main factor motivating their emigration was the tough life in the NL and NEI in the aftermath of WWII. This was confirmed at a focus group meeting in 2003, attended by 14 female members of the *Neerlandia* Craft Club.⁵ The craft club ladies women met fortnightly at the *Neerlandia* Clubhouse in Cambridge Street, Wembley WA for commensality and to work on various personal and group craft projects. The following quotes are representative of this group’s responses:

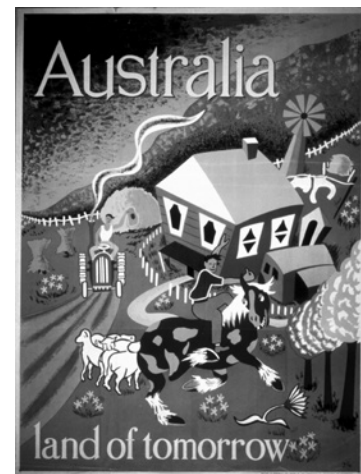
Maria L: *My husband was a contractor and after the war it was very bad in the construction industry in Holland. He could not get enough work for our family, which was growing at that time, that was why he thought we should try in a younger country, where they were seeking trades people.*⁶

Louise G: *The reason we came here was the poor state of the Netherlands economy... there was nothing left to be had after the war [in Holland].*⁷

Maartje E: *At that time The situation in the Netherlands was bad. So we thought, “why not try it in Australia [inferred nothing to lose].”*⁸

Leny W: *We migrated mainly for the children for a better future.*⁹

Numerous Dutch emigrated to WA in the years that followed. Many were mobilised by the massive propaganda campaigns generated in both



the Cradle Cannot Solve It—



—But Immigration Can

Figure 1 and 2
Land of Tomorrow: National Archives of Australia (NAA) CP815/1,021 (pt2) & NAA A343 Item1949/3/21685. Courtesy, Department of Immigration Canberra, 1947.

immigration and emigration countries (See Figures 1- 4). Others responded to letters received from relatives and friends who were already in WA and that were full of positive evaluations of the economic opportunities available. These letters most notably contained statements such as:

“Look, if you are not too lazy to work you can do anything [here in Australia]. For instance, you can open a fish and chip, grocery shop or newsagency and you will do really well, but it takes a lot of hard work”.

I should mention here that even those lured to Australia by relatives, generally commented that it had been the depleted state of the Dutch economy and lack of housing that had ultimately provided the incentive to take their family’s enjoinders seriously.

The warmer WA climate was an additional temptation. One woman recalled her husband’s immense pleasure when emigration authorities claimed the family could expect 360 days of sunshine per annum. Two other ‘Craft Club’ members explained that their husbands had registered for emigration, as soon as they returned from the war years they had spent in another country. Both declared unequivocally that their husbands did not want to stay in NL after demobilisation, “Holland now felt too small to them [and this may well have been in spirit rather than size] after the fears and confusion the war years had induced.”

WORLD WAR II IN THE NETHERLANDS

On 10 May 1940, the Netherlands was invaded by German forces, despite its policy of neutrality and without a formal declaration of war. Approximately nine million people were living there at that time.¹⁰ Being a relatively flat country, it had few natural features that could support an armed resistance against the Nazis.

The four goals the Nazis had for the Netherlands included transforming it into a national socialist state; exploiting the economic potential of Dutch industries and the labour force; purging the Netherlands of all Jews; and preventing all aid to Germany’s enemies through espionage, sabotage and guerrilla activity.¹¹ From 1943 when the Nazis had introduced the obligation to work, every male between 18 and 50 years and every unmarried woman between 21 – (later 18) – and 35 years, could be conscripted to work for the German Reich.

In due course, complete birth cohorts were bound to work. The number of Dutch sent to work as forced labour for the Nazi war machine would ultimately number around 475,000.¹² My parents Jan (John) and Jo (Johanna) Peters (nee Verhoeven), were among these individuals and spent most of the last year of the war making bullets in a munitions factory near Strasbourg in Alsace-Lorraine. Not long married, Jan was picked up for this work during a Nazi *razzia* (raid) for young men for the Nazi War Machine. Jo followed him to Strasbourg some weeks later. The Nazis then also put her to work



Figure 3
Cousins, Cor Nonner (left) and Jan Peters
c.1925. The remains of Cor Nonner were
found in a mass grave. He had been executed
by the Nazis in 1943, for working with the
Dutch Resistance.
Courtesy: Peters Family Collection.

in the munitions factory. I grew up later hearing stories of the gratitude she felt for the help she received from Mongolians in the factory, whom the Nazis had recruited as 'slave labour'. They would reload her machine with lead, every time she needed to stamp out the next round of bullets. To be fair, my mother reciprocated by smuggling in hot soup for them which she made in her *pension*. She had been allowed to live outside the camp when her pregnancy became obvious. The Mongolians who were fed starvation rations, would hide in the toilet to devour the hot liquid. Had the Nazis discovered their exchanges, all involved would have been shot.

My parents eventually escaped and returned to NL, not however without incident. As their train approached Cologne (Köln), it came under heavy fire from the Allies. The relentless bombing that ensued would eventually destroy much of Cologne's (Köln's) built environment, including significant tracts of cultural heritage. They therefore felt they were lucky to make it back alive to their hometown Tilburg, in time for my birth in February. My father however was forced to go back into hiding immediately, in order to avoid being sent back to Alsace, where he stayed until the Nazi surrender on 5 May 1945.¹³

Many young Dutch died while in forced labour or working for the resistance. Such a tragedy also touched my family. The remains of my father's first cousin, his friend and an only child – Cor Nonner – were found in a mass grave of 80 young Dutch resistance fighters. Neither was Cor Nonner's death an isolated incident. Wartime losses left much of the NL population bereft. A quarter of a million Dutch had perished in the war, including 18,000 from starvation in the western provinces during the hunger winter of 1944-1945. At the height of this famine, hundreds of thousands of Dutch became severely malnourished.¹⁴ These circumstances left deep scars of grief and loss in family, village, town, city and countryside.

Furthermore, people hardly had time to recover their sense of freedom or to put adequate food on the dinner table, when the country's struggling infrastructure was dealt yet another blow – the loss of the Netherlands East Indies (NEI), which had provided for one-sixth of the Netherlands Gross Domestic Product (GDP). Its forfeiture was also antecedent to a massive and 'unwanted' refugee influx from the NEI, fleeing the Japanese Occupation and Independence Revolution in the aftermath.¹⁵ The arrival of these refugees would seriously overburden a greatly depleted housing stock, severely decreased by wartime bombing and a lack of building maintenance during the war years. Moreover, as if that were not enough, they also brought health issues. Later around 10,000 of the same refugees would re-migrate from NL to Australia. It is nevertheless important to appreciate the difference between life in Japanese Occupied NEI at the time, compared to life in the Netherlands under Nazi Occupation, as specific factors influenced aspects of the rest of the migrants' lives. In NL, life went on, albeit under Nazi rule. In the NEI, European Dutch were rounded up and interned for the entire period of the war. The Indonesian Revolution for Independence that began at close of war, immediately threw the lives of these Dutch into mortal



Figure 4
The treatment of those Dutch who were considered to have been Nazi Collaborators - including women who 'went out with' Nazi soldiers. c1945 – after liberation.
Courtesy: Wieman Family Collection.



Figure 5
Emigrare necesse est! Courtesy: Dutch cartoonist Eppo Doeve.

danger once more (see Peters' chapter Section II). When South East Asian Command (SEAC) took over governance of the Region six weeks later, they chose repatriation to NL as the primary method for protecting the lives of the severely depleted interned Dutch and brutally traumatised Buitenkampers (Eurasians living outside of camps).

The escalating unemployment levels and decreasing economic options and choices, made the future in the Netherlands look progressively bleaker.¹⁶ This situation would also impact on those soldiers returning to NL, who had served their compulsory military duty in the NEI from 1946. Having spent a number of years in the tropics far away from home and family, many found it hard to settle back into everyday life in the Netherlands. They often registered for emigration shortly after demobilisation. Dutch military men based in Australia during the war, also sought ways to return to Australia as soon as was feasible after demobilisation, so they could marry the Australian women they had met on shore leave. A few took their brides back to NL, however most of these would return again, eventually to settle in Australia for good (see chapter 11 by Christina Houen). War and post-war trauma had wreaked havoc with the lives of all these young Dutch, whether they came from the NL or the NEI.

ANXIETY RELATED TO LIFE IN POST-WWII NETHERLANDS

Dutch sociologists hold war responsible for the collective sense of economic, social and political insecurity, uncertainty and 'sense of disconnect' – from their country's politics, religion and culture – that was experienced by many of this cohort in the aftermath of war in the NL and NEI.¹⁷ This feeling of alienation was intensified by the government's incapacity to address the need to physically reconstruct the country's infrastructure, in order to overcome the public's anxiety about the dearth of jobs, retrenchments, low wages, high living costs, and acute housing and resources crisis.¹⁸

The state of affairs in post-war Netherlands made life especially difficult for younger, recently married couples, most of whom had been catapulted from the poor living conditions of semi-industrialised Netherlands into the disrupting environment of the Depression, followed closely by the devastation brought about by WWII. The five years of Nazi Occupation had left factories stripped, land wasted, flooded and depleted of energy sources, food production greatly reduced and as a consequence, the economy was generally seriously compromised.

Neither did the Government's engineered program of rapid industrialisation arrest the widespread, structural unemployment. This was mainly because the initial focus of the program was to rid the country of 'unwanted population' rather than to generate jobs. To this end the Government actively rekindled earlier concerns about 'overcrowding'.¹⁹ It is perplexing that a 'government-engineered state of affairs' could impact on the community to the extent that it actually did. In fact, the expression - 'overpopulation psychosis'



Figure 6
The Netherlands Overpopulated. Courtesy: Dutch cartoonist Eppo Doeve.

was coined specifically to explain the public's intense response. Captured by a survey carried out 1947-1948, it recorded a third of the population, then approximately nine million, as favourably disposed to emigration. This survey added the 'Cold War' to ongoing rationing, under-employment and the housing crisis as reasons for the massive change of heart of Dutch citizens towards emigration. This drastic situation rendered this young Dutch cohort especially vulnerable to the 'overpopulation propaganda' that the Dutch government began promoting, in order to secure the exit of large numbers of its population to immigration countries.

THE NETHERLANDS POST-WAR 'PUSH TO MIGRATE'

The 'over-population' concept gained additional currency when, in 1951, the prominent newspaper *Elsevier* published two etchings, one of a family leaving, and another showing a map of the Netherlands spilling over with people. The latter was accompanied by a quote from the then Prime Minister *Drees*, that insisted:

"A portion of our folk must have the courage as in earlier centuries, to seek their future/fortune in continents larger than the homeland".²⁰

The Dutch Monarchy and Government seized on the apparent change of attitude to emigration that these situations had fostered, to also exert further pressure on Dutch citizens to register for emigration at one of the 300 emigration offices, which they had established around the country to promote such an exodus.²¹ Dutch emigrants' impressions of migration were therefore critically framed by a (Dutch) government that wanted to get rid of them, a propaganda machine prone to sensationalising emigration's benefits and an (Australian) government desperate for their labour (the cartoon images here were produced to convey the above sentiments).²²

AUSTRALIA'S MASS MIGRATION PLANS - PRE AND POST WWII

How did the Australian Government 'who wanted them', view the Dutch? As it stands, their perceptions had developed well before the war and already in response to the Dutch Government's search for a home for its surplus-farming sons. These concerns had occasioned the visit to Australia from the Director General of the Netherlands Emigration Foundation, Mr J.A.A. Hartland, to discuss a possible influx of Dutch. Reporting on this visit on 5 July 1939, the *Sydney Morning Herald* quoted the Australian Government's view on the proposed migration of Dutch to Australia as being greatly beneficial. The Government 'Official' described the Dutch as innovative, strong, adaptable and easily assimilated, because they originated from a similar democratic system and generally had some knowledge of the English language.²³ The outbreak of WWII in 1942 put paid to these proposed migration plans. However, at the end of WWII, they were reignited.



Figure 7
300 Emigration Offices in the Netherlands.
Courtesy: Dutch Migration Organization.



Figure 8
Union bank – A New Future. Courtesy:
Netherlands Government Publication.

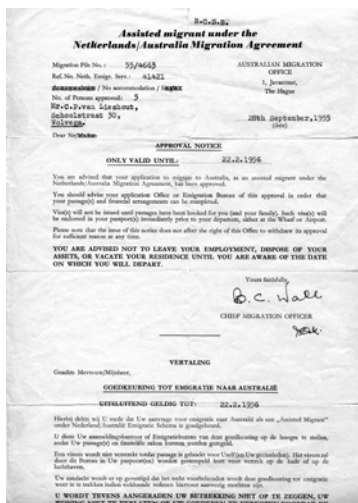


Figure 9 Assisted Migration Documentation. Courtesy: Leah van Lieshout.

To meet the immigration challenge, in 1945 Australia established the Department of Immigration with the honourable Arthur A. Calwell at its helm. Under his leadership it embarked immediately on a bold policy of immigration to increase the declining population; secure the country's defence; overcome the severe labour shortages, maintain the war-boostered economy, develop the burgeoning manufacturing, building and construction industries and to restore essential services to pre-war levels.

Calwell adopted the American immigration model, which set the maximum effective population absorption rate for an expanding country at two per cent. In 1947, he founded the Haylen Committee (later renamed the Commonwealth Immigration Advisory Council [CIAC]), to administer the smooth transition of the proposed mass movement of peoples from Europe to Australia, in particular their reception and assimilation into the community. In 1949, another government body was established - the Commonwealth Immigration Planning Council (CIPC) - to advise on matters relating to migrant selection, economics, industry and general policy.²⁴

That done, under the maxim 'populate or perish', Calwell then began negotiating immigration agreements with Britain and a diversity of other European nations, that could be relied upon to yield the 70,000 persons per annum which he sought. The propaganda that accompanied the formal agreements was formulated specifically to lure emigrants to Australia. It promised good working conditions, an abundance of food and the opportunity for home, car and white goods ownership. This level of materialism was unheard of in post-war Netherlands or Europe, where food rationing and waiting in queues for scarce resources such as fuel and clothing, was unremitting. To contribute even further to making the dream a reality, Calwell sought migration agreements that included 'passage assistance', which both governments would help to subsidise.

In the absence of being able to attract enough British emigrants, due to Britain's post-war reconstruction needs and a lack of available shipping, the Displaced Persons Scheme that Calwell had established with the International Refugee Organisation (IRO) in 1947 came rapidly to a close. He was therefore forced to look to other European nations for further options. It was not long before Australia's focus fell to recruiting the Dutch, favouring especially the 'blonde, blue-eyed' larger families, whose children would soon be entering the labour market. Calwell conferred surrogate British status upon these people.²⁵ This is confirmed by the high rates of government-assisted passages the Dutch received, compared to other European nationals.²⁶ For example when 85 per cent of the British and 60 per cent of the Dutch, German, Maltese, Yugoslav and Eastern European migrants gained passage assistance, in contrast only 34 per cent of Greeks and 20 per cent of Italians did.²⁷ Historians describe the 'assistance incentive' as 'a form of social engineering designed to keep Australia British, to keep the labour force manual, to redress the gender imbalance and to keep Australia White'.²⁸



Figure 10 The Verschuren family from Breda arrive in WA 1954. Immigration Officials sought large Dutch families to increase Australia's population and expand the labour market. Courtesy: The Verschuren Family.

WHAT MOTIVATES PEOPLE TO EMIGRATE?

A question central to emigration research is “What motivates individuals to leave everything they know behind, to settle thousands of miles away from their home, in a country with different, customs, language and traditions?”

Theories generated over the years, have attributed the decision of the Dutch to emigrate to job opportunity, family reunion, love interests, lifestyle, trade, the social, political and economic upheaval associated with war, political or religious unrest, plus adventure – or a combination of these factors. However, Dutch sociologists *Beijer*, *Frijda*, *Hofstede* and *Wentholt* (1952) offer a perspective, with a difference. They attribute the large post-war exodus from the Netherlands to the ‘Dutch national character’, which they claimed perfectly suited the rigours of emigration, since it produced people who were reasonable, sober, practical, and industrious.²⁹

In reality, the motives given for emigrating by those Dutch interviewed in various studies, are complex and many faceted and although mainly economic — chasing opportunities for a better life — they also contain elements of adventure, a better climate, the escape from family conflict and/or out-dated social and economic obligations.³⁰ However it would be difficult to pinpoint exactly why a particular cohort chose to go and why the larger cohort stayed at home.

Joed Elich, a Dutch researcher of ‘Dutch migration to Australia’, argues that the Dutch emigration policy of the 1950s and 1960s has hardly ever been criticised. By way of explanation, he cites Caplow, a leading American researcher, who labelled Dutch sociologists of that period “obedient servants of the government”, since even the noted academics such as *van Heek*, *Groenman*, *Steigenga* and *Hofstede* agreed that the Netherlands was an over-populated country.³¹

Petersen argued in 1955, that Dutch emigration policy was not based on rational grounds and did not solve the population problem. *Elich* also notes how the Dutch government all but ignored *Hofstede*, when he criticised Dutch emigration policy in his 1964 thesis.³² A critical mass critiquing Dutch emigration therefore failed to emerge in order to challenge the Government’s policy in any way, and this may have had implications for the influx into the country that took place in more recent decades and has recently become a ‘political hot potato’.

Alternative views about why Dutch emigrated post-war in such large numbers, were offered by *Beijer et al* (1961). Their fieldwork analysis recorded that around 20 per cent of their sample had suffered downward social mobility, either because the emigrant had not lived up to the expectations or requirements of his social milieu, or because a wife had married ‘beneath her’. They indicated that while downward mobility was not typical of the average emigrant, it occurred fairly frequently among emigrants from the traditional ‘well-to-do’ bourgeoisie and the modern ‘well-to-do’ new middle class circles and self-employed petite bourgeoisie, who emigrated from the late 1950s.³³ John Hempel, in a study of Dutch who arrived in Queensland after 1956,



Figure 11
Travel to Australia documentation of the van der Brugge Family (Albany WA). Courtesy: J. van Brugge.



Figure 12
Family van der Brugge. Australia wanted Dutch families. Courtesy: J. van Brugge.



Figure 13
Sponsorship documentation for Zegert van Eyk and Family organised by Hendrik Plug, 1955. Courtesy: A. Plug.

recorded a change in their employment status.³⁴ At this time, fewer farmers, tradesmen and professionals came to Australia but there was an increase in farm labourers, clerical, semi-skilled and unskilled workers.³⁵ Indoor and outdoor sales, became a popular avenue of employment for those Dutch who were unable to procure a job in their previous professions or trades. Charles Beltz (1964), whose PhD on Dutch employment in Australia supported this observation, also noted that the majority of Dutch in ‘commerce’ were most often selling insurance or real estate.

Many Dutch also left the Netherlands because their peers and friends were leaving, even when their families were not supportive, as Maria notes:

Maria: *I am the only one in my family who migrated and dad thought it was awful because I was four years old when my mother died. So my father was everything to us children and we to him. However, my husband wanted to go to Australia, and the expectation in those years was that ‘where your husband went [to earn a living] that is where the family went.’ We left because he felt we had a chance at giving our five children a better life and that is what actually was done. They all landed well. I have 12 grandchildren and 12 great-grandchildren. So we have populated Australia!³⁶*

However, this was not the case for everyone. For example Corrie, another craft club lady who came from a family of nine children - did not think her mother was so bothered about whether Corrie’s nuclear family stayed or left to live in Australia, (inferring that there were plenty of other children left behind in NL).

YOUNG ADULTS VACATE THEIR HOMELAND – PERSUASION AND PROPAGANDA

The question as to why so many young Dutch couples and families succumbed to the enticements promoted by the propaganda machine in daily newspapers and on huge billboards around the Netherlands is plausible, when one factors in the state of affairs in NL and the NEI in the late 1940s and 1950s. Even so, ‘who’ would ultimately make the leap was largely determined by the agreement that dominated the period in which they arrived. The first immigration agreement in 1946 for instance, was signed up with the Netherlands Immigration Foundation, a private consultative body whose brief included assisting with and arranging group migration centred on encouraging young farmers and artisans to settle in Australia.³⁷ However, few Dutch actually came into WA under this scheme.

The second post-war migration agreement to bring Dutch migrants to Australia was the Empire and Ex-Servicemen’s scheme. Signed in 1947, the same year as the ‘Displaced Persons Scheme’, it ostensibly granted free passages to British ex-service personnel and their dependents, but also offered some privileges and assistance to Allied military personnel who

had served between 1939 and 1945.³⁸ In contrast to other immigrants, ex-servicemen did not need to be nominated by a person living in Western Australia, nor by an Australian state or private organisation, who would ordinarily also have to guarantee them accommodation, as was the case for general British migrants.³⁹ My own father and great Uncle, Toon Berens, were among the first batch to depart NL for Australia under this scheme. However, the *SS Volendam* carried many more Displaced Persons than it did Dutch on that voyage.

However, one cannot speak of a significant Dutch exodus into Australia until after the signing of the Netherlands Australia Migration Agreement (NAMA), and the Netherlands Government Agency Scheme (NGAS) passage assistance schemes in 1951.⁴⁰ In line with Australian requirements, NAMA and NGAS gave passage assistance mainly to trade-skilled and unskilled labourers, who could meet both age and rigorous health and security checks. Prospective emigrants had to be between 18 and 35 years, if single men, and to be between 18 and 30 years if single women. In contrast, the male head of a family could be up to 50 years of age, if his family included a number of working-age children.⁴¹ To be selected for passage assistance, prospective emigrants had also to agree to remain in Australia for two years, in the employment for which they were selected by the Australian Government. If they returned before that time, they had to repay their fare.⁴²

Prospective emigrants could also gain entry to Australia via sponsorship by family, friends or industry, in other words, if their sponsor provided accommodation and was prepared to look after them until they had secured a job. This engendered a sort of 'chain migration'. However, a similar reach was numerically far greater among Italians and Greeks emigrants, than it ever was among the Dutch. Sponsorship also dominated British migration to Australia well into the 1950s. It stimulated such programs as 'Bring out a Brit' in order to attract more Britons⁴³ to Australia, who continued for many decades as being the preferred migrants.

Economist Professor Reginald Appleyard has shown that during the period 1948 to 1953, nearly 40 per cent of Dutch male arrivals and 43 per cent of Dutch female arrivals were assisted by either the Allied Ex-Servicemen's Scheme, NAMA or NGAS.⁴⁴ The remainder were either full-fare passengers or were assisted under some private scheme.⁴⁵ However, unlike arrangements made with other governments, where each migrant contributed a flat rate of \$AUD20-\$AUD25 towards transport costs, the practice in the Netherlands was for the migrant to make a personal contribution towards emigration costs, which was directly related to their earning capacity.⁴⁶

REGISTERING FOR EMIGRATION – THE PROCESS

For generations, Dutch society had developed along the lines of 'cradle to grave' pillars (*verzuilingen*), associated with the religious beliefs of its major groups, plus a 'secular' pillar. Each had its own philosophy and in keeping with its basic beliefs, had developed institutions, schools, electronic

and print media as well as education programs. Having administered the comparatively small-scale exodus of Dutch seeking to escape the Depression in the USA during the 1930s, the various *Verzuilingen* were quick to step-in and begin processing applications as the post-war migration schemes began to materialise in the early 1950s.⁴⁷ Prospective emigrants could register for emigration at the offices of Roman Catholic, Reform (*Hervormde*) or Free Reformed churches. Those who chose not to register at a religious emigration agency, could do so at the local Labour office.

Emigrants claim that Dutch Authorities expected them to put everything they owned towards travel costs, and to do so under close government supervision.⁴⁸ Those who left the Netherlands in 1951, recall only being allowed to take the equivalent of \$200 in cash and being restrained by a baggage allowance limited to a packing crate measuring no more than one cubic metre.⁴⁹ As a consequence, many subsidised immigrants arrived at their destination virtually destitute, with only the landing money that the Dutch government had negotiated for them from the Australian Government. In 1950 this was £10 for singles and £20 for a family. Even fare-paying passengers faced restraints relating to the amount of cash they could take out of the Netherlands. They too were given ‘board money’ to spend en-route. A few older, better-off migrants with foresight, paid the extra to hire a container that they could fill with all their household goods, furniture, a motor bike, car or a kit-home to erect in Australia.⁵⁰ A number of families also took the risk of smuggling the proceeds of the sale of their house out of the country. However, this had to be done illegally. In reality the majority of Dutch started their new life in Australia without funds, which meant no access to bank loans, which would have required collateral.

Dutch nationals who migrated to Australia directly from the NEI faced additional monetary constraints, as their finances were dramatically eroded by the devaluation of the *rupiah*. This trebled the passage cost, which most had hoped to pay out of bonuses or savings, and reduced even further their resettlement possibilities at the point of destination.⁵¹ From 1947, Dutch wishing to migrate to Australia from the NEI included people who, after being demobilised from the Royal Netherlands Indies Army (*Koninklijke Nederlands Indische Leger* [KNIL]), had stayed on to work in NEI. They included the trade-skilled, the self-employed and those who had held down administrative posts in Government or in private enterprise, in tropical agriculture, sugar or rubber plantations or in banking.⁵² These people were also eligible to apply for passage assistance under the Allied Ex-Servicemen’s Scheme, providing they could satisfy the White Australia Policy criteria.⁵³ Thom Dercksen, (Consul of the Netherlands to WA in the 1980s and 1990s), was among the first wave of Dutch from Indonesia to Australia, after Indonesia gained independence at the end of December 1949. He notes:

I stayed in the army until 1949. After demobilisation I joined a shipping firm as a junior aged 22. In 1950 political unrest created an intolerable sense of insecurity. The Indonesian

government devalued the currency and the nest egg I had saved to return home was now inadequate, so I decided to go to Australia. I scraped together the funds to get me to Perth. After arrival I soon found a job in shipping.⁵⁴

Under the White Australia Policy, Australian selection officers had to follow specific policy procedures to determine the ‘racial origin’ of prospective immigrants from Indonesia. For example, even a British subject who was of partly non-European extraction was only eligible for admission in the ordinary manner, if he or she possessed 51 per cent or more European blood! If an officer was in doubt as to the degree to which a person could be considered ‘coloured’, the test applied was based on ascertaining the race and birthplace of the person’s parents and their paternal and maternal grandparents.⁵⁵ Prospective emigrants whose cases were unclear, were asked to bring photographs of their four grandparents to the immigration authorities. Generally, in the case of NEI Dutch, if more than one grandparent looked Indonesian, then the authorities would reject them for emigration.⁵⁶

After December 1958, a second wave of NEI Dutch left Indonesia when the Indonesian government passed a policy to nationalise all Dutch businesses.⁵⁷ A third and final wave left Indonesia following the conflict that broke out after Dutch-owned Papua New Guinea was annexed by Indonesia, in line with United Nations pressure on 1 May 1963.⁵⁸ Most of these emigrants, who could also be called evacuees or refugees, travelled under passage assistance schemes or on migration loans.⁵⁹ They were also luckier than earlier migrants, since by 1962 the Dutch government had started to assist the migration process by waiving the migrant loan repayments. The Dutch government undertook this move in order to alleviate the guilt felt about the first emigrants, whose contribution to the voyage was means tested as noted earlier, resulting in them being practically impoverished upon arrival in Australia.⁶⁰ A common expression among these early migrants was that the Dutch government had abandoned them both ‘economically and emotionally’.

THE VOYAGE ACROSS TO AUSTRALIA: BY SEA OR AIR

During the 1940s and 1950s, migration often meant saying a permanent farewell to family, friends and familiar places. Communication channels and chances of a trip home were limited. Waiting to be allocated a berth or an aeroplane flight was therefore a nerve-wracking time. Unlike Displaced Persons (DPs), who were accommodated in a variety of pre-embarkation camps around Europe, the Dutch migrants stayed at home until the day of departure.⁶¹ However, the days and weeks leading up to embarkation were very harrowing. They had to decide what to take and what to leave behind and how to placate their parents and siblings, who could not or would not fathom their decision to emigrate. Migrants recall feeling tense and emotional in the days before embarkation.



Figure 14
White Australia. Source, E.J. Stuart, *Land of Opportunity*, London 1923.



Figure 15
In 1961, Joyce Hillebrand (back row, 2nd right) is accepted as a migrant to Australia and her younger brother (right front row) is rejected by Australian migration officials. Courtesy: J. Hillebrand.



Figure 16
Information Booklet – Dutch Government.

Most emigrants recall with vivid detail, the weepy farewell parties organised for them and usually attended by a plethora of friends and family. Dutch women will identify with the following sentiments:

Just woke up and immediately the realisation dawned on me that this is our family's last day in the Netherlands. Tomorrow we sail towards our new future. Loads to be done today...to be ready for the baggage contractor who will take us to the harbour tomorrow. This will save us a lot of time and trouble. Looking around to make sure I have not forgotten anything, I could not avoid my eye falling on the pram we will need to leave behind, even though all our ten children slept in it. I must stop myself thinking along such negative lines, after all it was us that chose to make this move - it wasn't forced upon us.⁶²

Some emigrants made a point of finding their own way to the harbour on the day of departure, in order to avoid any more highly charged emotional scenes and even chose shipping agencies who provided dedicated buses to transport emigrants to the wharf. Others, like the woman quoted above, hopped onto the truck with the removalist contractor they had hired to take their baggage to Rotterdam. However, for most people it was friends, family or neighbours who took them to the port or aerodrome. Farewells were sad occasions. The band commonly played sentimental songs and the family left behind on the wharf grieving their loss, would hang onto the streamers connecting them to their loved ones, until the force of passage cut them asunder.

Figure 17
Collage *Leaving the Netherlands*.
Courtesy: Peters Collection.



In the early years, most Dutch migrants were transported to Australia by sea in converted troop carriers. Later some lucky migrants were given pleasurable trips on luxury liners, and had well-appointed cabins with ensuite. They could enjoy themselves on board and sunbathe, play deck-sports and swim in the pool. Moreover, on these particular ships their children were also cared for in the ship's nursery, which provided games, films and parties. In the evening adults could dance the night away to the strains of the ship's band.⁶³ People on the 'good trip' describe their voyage as 'the holiday they'd never had'.

In contrast passengers travelling on 'liberty ships', lived in cramped conditions without air-conditioning. Those on this 'bad trip' therefore wished never to repeat such a four week voyage again. In the worst case scenario, migrants could be sleeping in the hold with up to, and in some cases, over 100 other passengers. This was certainly the case for 'Displaced Persons'.

However in July 1949, I found myself, my mother Johanna, brother Eddie, great Aunt *Tante* Cor and her three children – Jan (John), Sjannie (Adriana) and Tony all sharing a dormitory with 40 Sicilian peasants on the Italian owned part-passenger/ part – freighter *MS Ugolino Vivaldi* of the Lloyd Triestino Line. We had missed our designated ship due to a bank teller's misinterpretation of a telegram, and this vessel was the only available ship that the Dutch Consul in Milan could find which was leaving Genoa for Fremantle the same week.

Dutch migrants will recall the names of the troop ships used to transport migrants, including the *Grote Beer*, *Zuiderkruis* and *Waterman*. A much better mid-range berth could be had on the *Volendam*, *Sibajak*, the *MS Oranje*, (this had been a hospital ship during WWII), its sister ship the *Willem Ruys* and the refurbished *Johan van Oldenbarnevelt*. Dutch were also allocated berths on non-Dutch ships, such as the *Fairsea*, *Fairsky* and *Aurelia*, and if they were really fortunate, were offered a cabin on a P&O liner, such as the luxurious *SS Himalaya* or *SS Arcadia*. Those travelling from the NEI to Australia will recall the *Maetsuyker*.

Whatever the ship, most young, single Dutch hold fond memories of the shipboard fun and romance, since the voyage to Australia took between four to six weeks, depending upon the route. In contrast, the journey for those Dutch coming straight from the NEI was only five days, the same time it took migrants to travel from Europe by aeroplane. The air trip at that time was lengthy and included refuelling and a couple of overnight stops.

Typically, the new life that the migrant sought began on the voyage across, when most migrants would discuss their expectations and fears with other travellers. However, basic shipboard conditions often made the first major impact upon the emigrants. For example, working class families, who pre-embarkation had been 'making do' on severe food rationing, recall feeling overwhelmed by the wide selection of food on offer on the refurbished *Johan van Oldenbarnevelt*. Even the table prepared for small children, seemed to sport everything that children would find appealing. Stewards seeing the

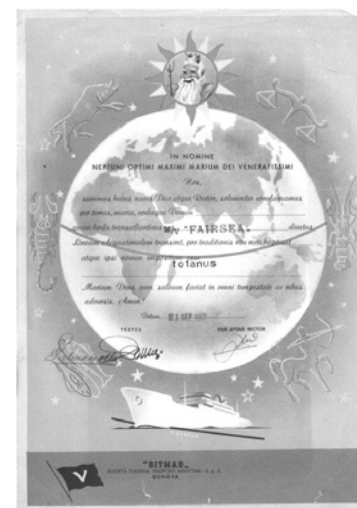
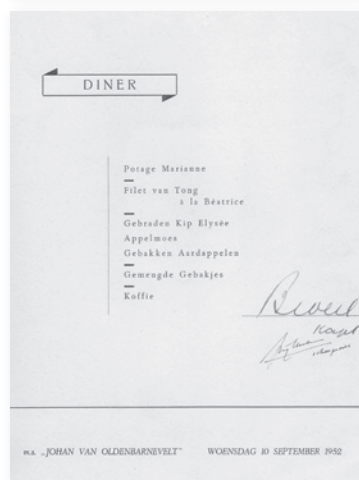
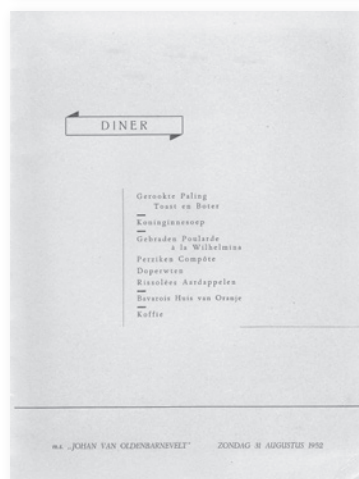


Figure 18
Crossing the Line Certificate *MS Fairsea*.
Courtesy: Totanus family.



Figure 19
George van Beek on board the ship to
Australia aged 4 years. Courtesy: van Beek
Family.



discomfort in the face of such abundance, had often to urge emigrants to ‘help themselves’.⁶⁴ However, the experiences were not all positive. From personal experience, the Peters and Berens children, for whom the Dutch Consul in Milan had found berths on an Italian ship, recall all piling up our plates with ‘cherries’. Great unhappiness followed when these proved to be olives! We had never before tasted foods from other nations. Such a change to eating a broader variety of foods developed quite rapidly among emigrants and Australians, once we were later living among the diverse ethnic groups that made Australia our home after WWII.

However, interest in food often waned during the first days of the voyage, especially if the sea was turbulent, as was often the case in the Bay of Biscay. Ships plying the Cape of Good Hope route, which many did whenever the Suez Canal was closed, were often confronted with mountainous seas as they passed around the Cape. The more the ship wallowed, the more people succumbed to seasickness and stayed in their cabins. Those who had found their ‘sea legs’ would sit around the lounges or on deck in their life jackets and would feel their way around the ship holding onto the ropes, provided to ensure their safety. Crashing crockery was a common sound on such voyages. Eating soup was a challenge, as it would slop from side to side in the bowl — you just had to wait with your spoon for the ship to list to the other side, and in doing so your spoon would automatically fill with soup. Crossing the Red Sea in ships without air conditioning was also patently uncomfortable, and many passengers on ‘liberty ships’ spent this segment of their voyage sleeping on deck, to avoid oppressively hot and crowded cabins.⁶⁵ This was not, however, always with the support of the crew! It also meant that people spent a great deal of time together on the deck, speculating about the new future they would shortly encounter.

Shipboard Information/Escort Officers were employed by the Dutch Government, to pave the way to transition for the migrants from one culture and set of living conditions to another, and from the expectation they had generated, to face the reality they had to confront. This was an enormous task because as the Dutch officer Mr H.P. Francissen on the *Grote Beer* noted:

In my candid opinion the information these people receive in Holland is far from satisfactory. They are entirely without practical knowledge about the country in which they hope to make a new start in life.⁶⁶

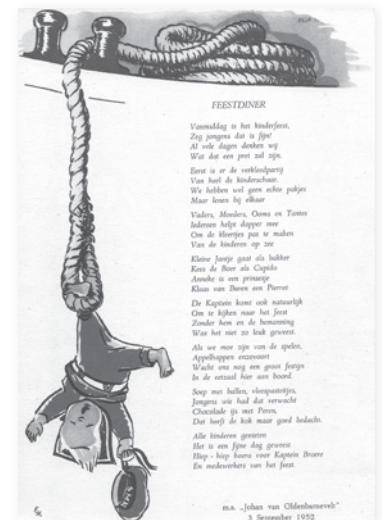
A response from the then Minister for Immigration Mr Harold Holt, that appeared in *The Argus* on 4 August 1951, was his instruction to his staff at the Department of Information to paint a ‘grimmer picture’ in propaganda booklets about Australia, as the current literature was giving people the wrong impression.⁶⁷

Unlike the Displaced Persons (DPs) whose countries had disappeared behind the ‘Iron Curtain’, Dutch migrants could go back if they so desired, providing of course, that they could raise the travel funds to pay the return voyage and were prepared to take the ‘loss of face’ and ‘on the chin’ that their

jeering relatives and friends would often impose. According to estimates, up to 25 per cent returned for good. However, for some it was the beginning of a roller coaster career that would leave disgruntled children on both home and host-land shores. Even so, that still means 75 per cent of Dutch emigrants to Australia made a go of it. More of their story about arrival and resettlement is told in Section IV.

ENDNOTES

- 1 Duyker, E., *The Dutch in Australia*, AE Press, Melbourne, 1987; Elich, J.H., *De Omgekeerde Wereld: Nederlanders als Ethische Groep in Australië*, Rijksuniversiteit te Leiden, 1985; Velthuis, K., 'The Dutch in NSW, A Thematic History', Johnstone Centre Repo. 201, Charles Stuart University, Albury, 2005; Birkhead, W., *De Iuttocht uit Indie 1945-1995*, Uitgeverij Bert Bakker, Amsterdam, 2001; Hofstede, B. P. *Thwarted Exodus*, The Hague, Martinus Nijhof 1964; Blauw, P. *Explanations of Post-war Dutch Emigration to Australia*, in Peters, 2006, pp.168-183.
- 2 I was awarded this 5 year Curtin University Senior Postdoctoral Research position 2005-2010, to research the Dutch in Australia from 1606-2016.
- 3 The research is based on oral history interviews with Dutch Australians for my PhD on migrant self-employment (UWA 2000), my postdoctoral research project: 'Footsteps of the Dutch in Australia' (Curtin University 2005-2010) and various grant projects including 'The Dutch in Western Australia', which attracted a Community Grant from Lotterywest (2004). The interview data are contextualised with reference to archival documentation relating to Dutch maritime, military, migration and mercantile connections with Western Australia since the outbreak of WWII in the Asia Pacific in December 1941 and its aftermath in Europe and the region.
- 4 Peters, N., *The Dutch Down Under 1606-2006*, UWA Press, 2006.
- 5 The focus group discussions were led by Kim Negenman a Dutch researcher from the Free University Amsterdam. Her research was assisted by the accommodation she was offered by Nell Ottenhoff and the Wieman family in Cannington. The focus group sessions were attended by Elisabeth Baggen, J.E. Bunning, Catherine Chatfield-van der Klau-Rykers, Maria van den Dries, Cecilia H. Dusseldorp, Maartje Essers, Louise Goodheart, Johanna Hart, Gre Hiemstra, An Hotz, Jannie Kuper, Maria Linden, Marijke Mulder-Wijbenga, Cornelia Anna Maria Smit, Corrie Toneman and Leny Wolfs.
- 6 Original Dutch version of this quote: Mijn man was een aannemer en naar de oorlog was het heel slecht in de bouw in Holland. Hij kon niet genoeg werk krijgen voor ons gezin, wat steeds groter werd in die tijd. En dat was dat hij probeerde in een jonger land, waar ze wel vakmensen nodig hadden.
- 7 Original Dutch version of this quote: Wij zijn hier heen gekomen...omdat het slecht was in Holland. En er was niks over na de oorlog.
- 8 Vanwege dezelfde tijd.....Het leek niks bijzonders meer in Nederland. Dus je denkt: "ik probeer het in Australië."
- 9 Original Dutch version of this quote: Uit hoofdzaak voor de kinderen zijn we hiernaar toegekomen, voor een beter bestaan.
- 10 <http://www.tacitus.nu/historical-atlas/population/benelux.htm>
- 11 <http://nvdatabase.swarthmore.edu/content/dutch-citizens-resist-nazi-occupation-1940-1945>; 105,000 out of 140,000 Dutch Jews were killed by the Nazi and an unknown number of Romany.
- 12 <https://www.bundesarchiv.de/zwangsarbeit/geschichte/auslaendisch/freiwillige/index.html.en>
- 13 http://www.naa.gov.au/naaresources/publications/research_guides/fedguide/chronology/chron17.htm 540 000 Australians had enlisted in 1939-45, compared to 417 000 in 1914-18, but fewer had died in action - 33 826, compared to nearly 60 000 in World War I. Prime Minister John Curtin died in office after an illness exacerbated by his efforts as wartime leader; the Commonwealth Government signed the United Nations Charter, becoming one of 51 founding members; Free hospital treatment in public wards was introduced; Commonwealth Employment Service established; War Service Land Settlement Scheme implemented.
- 14 <http://www.pnas.org/content/107/39/16757>: In the winter and spring of 1944 after a railway strike, the German Occupation limited rations such that people, including pregnant women, in the western region of The Netherlands, including Amsterdam, received as little as 400-800 calories/per day. http://www.verzetmuseum.org/museum/en/tweedewereldoorlog/kingdomofthenetherlands/thenetherlands/thenetherlands,june_1944may_1945/the_hunger_winter. The amount of food available on ration dropped steadily. More than 20,000 people died of starvation. The transport of coal from the liberated south also ceased. Gas and electricity were shut off. People chopped down trees and dismantled empty houses to get fuel.



Figures 20-24
Menu Cards and Programmes MS Johan van Oldenbarnevelt 1952. Courtesy: Jan Pritchard.

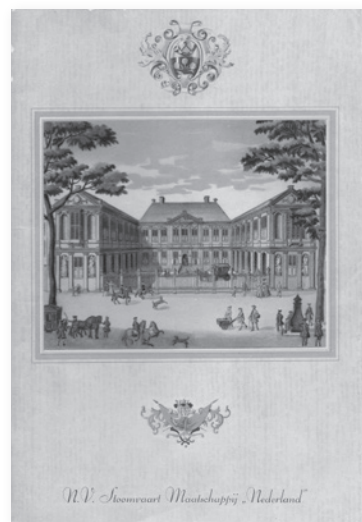


Figure 25
Courtesy: Jan Pritchard.

- 15 This is worse for Dutch interned in Japanese POW and civilian internment camps in the Netherlands East Indies. Treating the psychiatric illnesses these wartime trauma caused is complicated by the lack of understanding in the wider community of the nature of the experiences.
- 16 Oosterman, 1975.
- 17 Hofstede 1964, 54; Bagley, C., *The Dutch Plural Society; Comparative Study in Race Relations*, London, 1973.
- 18 Kovacs and Cropley, 1975.
- 19 Hofstede 1964.
- 20 Elich, J. H. 1987, *Aan de Ene Kant Aan de Andere Kant: De Emigratie van de Nederlanders Naar Australië 1946-1986*, Delft: University Press 1987, 112-3 citing Elsevier 1950; Translated from the Dutch by N.Peters. The Dutch reads - Een deel van ons volk moet het aandurven zoals in vroeger eeuwen zijn toekomst te zoeken in grotere gebieden dan eigen land; Beijer, G. Frijda, N.H. Hofstede, B.P & Wentholt, R, 1961; Hofstee, E.W., *Some Remarks on Selective Migration*, The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1952; Hofstede, 1964.; Elich, 1987, 112-113.
- 21 Emigration Offices around the Netherlands 1952, Courtesy Dutch Migration Organization cited in Elich, J.H. 1985.
- 22 Hofstede, 1964, 54.
- 23 The Sydney Morning Herald, 5 July 1939.
- 24 NAA, Acc. No.MP1308, Department of Labour, Central Office, Management Services Branch, Central Registry, Correspondence Files, Annual single number series, 1953-. File No. 63/4377 Notes on the Commonwealth Government's Immigration programme, p.1.
- 25 Walker-Birkhead, W., 'A Dutch Home in Australia: Dutch Women's Migration Stories' in *The Dutch Down Under 1606-2006*, N. Peters, Coordinating Author, UWA Press 2006.
- 26 Jupp, J. *Australians from 1939*, Vol 5, 1988; Jupp, J. (ed.) 'Immigration Since the Second World War' in *The Australian People: Encyclopaedia of the Nation its People and their Origin*, Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1988.
- 27 Wilton, J and Bosworth, R., *Old Worlds New Australia*, Melbourne, 1984.
- 28 Jupp, J., *From White Australia to Woomera*, Cambridge University Press, 2002, 18.
- 29 Beijer et al 1961, 1952; Hofstede, 1964.
- 30 Beijer et al, 1961: Recorded 'a better future for their children' as the most cited reason for 'leaving the Netherlands' among the sample they surveyed. They also claimed that 51 per cent of their (male) emigrant respondents were 'energetic, active, enterprising, independent', 16 per cent were 'gentle, easy going, domestic' and 5 per cent were 'hard, very individualistic, 'self-assured' individuals. Characteristics, which seem to be less helpful for emigrants, they claim were less often found. Only 10 per cent were described as 'full of unsolved personality conflicts or difficulties', 5 per cent as 'dependent, rather weak' and 3 per cent as 'indolent, or lazy'.
- 31 Cited by Joed Elich, 1987, 85.
- 32 Elich 1985; Beijer, Frijda, Hofstede & Wentholt, *Characteristics of Overseas Migrants*, 1961, 190-5; Hempel, J.A. 1960. *Dutch Migrants in Queensland*. Canberra : Australian National University. 31,38; Beltz, C., Dutch Migration to Australia, 1946-1961. Unpublished Thesis. Canberra: Australian National University, 1964.
- 33 Beijer et al, 1961, 196, 193.
- 34 Hempel 1960, 38; Beijer et al 196, 190-5.
- 35 ibid.
- 36 The Dutch quote reads: Ik ben de enigste van mijn familie die vooruit is gegaan en vader vond dat het ergste. Want ik heb nooit mijn moeder gekend, ik was vier jaar toen mijn moeder stierf. Dus mijn vader was alles voor ons. Maar mijn man ging naar Australië, dus...waar je man is, is je gezin, dus we gingen weg omdat we hier een beter leven hadden voor de vijf kinderen en heeft hij ook echt gedaan. Ze zijn allemaal goed terechtgekomen. Ik heb 12 kleinkinderen en 12 achterkleinkinderen. Dus we hebben Australië bevolkt!
- 37 Wentholt et al, 1961, 9.
- 38 Australia Dutch League (ADL) Newsletter, Christmas, 1954, 7.
- 39 Armit, M., Immigration Snapshot, in *Bureau of Immigration, Multicultural and Population Research (BIMPR) Bulletin*, Canberra, August, 1988, 30.
- 40 Appleyard, R.T., 'The Economic Absorption of Dutch and Italian Immigrants into Western Australia 1947 to 1955', *R.E.M.P. Bulletin* 4:3 (1956), 45-54, 48. Because N.G.A.S was administered and financed by the Netherlands Government the Commonwealth could not direct these immigrants to employment. The job placement of N.G.A.S immigrants was arranged by agreement with the Netherlands Emigration Offices, attached to Netherlands Consulates. In Australian cities in conjunction with the Commonwealth Employment Service (CES). These migrants made arrangements with the Netherlands Emigration Office regarding repayment of their travel costs

- although the Commonwealth allowed them to use its facilities at the Reception and Training Centres. However, the Netherlands Emigration Office was charged for these services.
- 41 Bagley 1973, 34.
- 42 *ibid*: However, the Commonwealth Government retained the right to limit the selection of specific classes of workers as this scheme was related to employment vacancies in Australia.
- 43 'The Australian Women's Weekly', Wednesday 13 March 1957, 2.
- 44 Appleyard, 1956, 48.
- 45 Appleyard, 1956, 49.
- 46 Commonwealth Immigration Planning Council, (CIPC) Minutes, 1968, 63.
- 47 Velthuis 2004, 14.
- 48 Beltz, C., 1964.
- 49 The Netherlands Government had also restricted the amount of Dutch currency that could be taken out of the country, as it needed to finance reconstruction and development programs.
- 50 S.T., interview, 1998.
- 51 National Archives Australian (NAA) 445/1, Item 178/1/4: Settlement in Australia of Dutch Ex-Servicemen at present serving in Indonesia.
- 52 The Koninklijke Nederlandse Indische Leger (KNIL) - Royal Dutch Indonesian Army.
- 53 The CIPC Minutes, 1968.
- 54 Thom Dercksen, interview 1995.
- 55 AA 434/1, Item 50/3/43768: From a letter written by the Secretary of the Department of Immigration in Canberra to the Chief Migration Officer (CMO) in Perth on 3 July 1947, outlining the procedures to follow to determine racial origin.
- 56 Eijbsbertse, D. & M. *Where Waters Meet*, Melbourne, 1997, 91: Exhibition catalogue, W. Willemsen, 'Breaking Down the White Wall: The Dutch From Indonesia' in Nonja Peters (ed) *The Dutch Down Under 1606-2006*, Perth, 2006, 132-149.
- 57 *The Canberra Times* 5 December 1958, 3.
- 58 *ibid*, 2 May 1963, 1.
- 59 Julien, R., '*The Dutch in Tasmania: An Exploration of Ethnicity and Immigrant Adaptation*'. Unpublished Ph.D Thesis, Department of Sociology, Faculty of Arts: University of Tasmania, 1989, 193: In her study of a Dutch construction company in Tasmania, Julien also noted that assisted middle and upper-middle class Dutch nationals who had been successful businessmen in Indonesia gained jobs immediately in the financial centres of Melbourne and Sydney with agencies of the same companies they had been employed by in Indonesia. Hendrick later established his own shipping transport company.
- 60 Peters, N., '*Trading Places: Greek, Italian, Dutch and Vietnamese Enterprise in Western Australia*', unpublished PhD thesis, University of Western Australia 2000.
- 61 Peters, 2001.
- 62 Zubrzycki, J., *Settlers of the Latrobe Valley*, Canberra, 1964, 193-4.
- 63 Rademakers, P., '*A Migrant Family in Western Australia*', unpublished memoirs, 1988.
- 64 Zubrzycki, 1964.
- 65 Peters, 2001, 92.
- 66 *ibid*
- 67 *The Argus*, 4 August 1951; Beijer et al, 1961, 54, contends that the severe social and economic dislocation that followed the war and occupation had, in the Netherlands, created a state of anomie, which even in the late 1940s continued to pervade Dutch society and was expressed in a loss of a sense of collective security and self-confidence. He describes a 'lost generation' (aged between 17 and 25 years when war broke out) whose development was especially disturbed by the war and when, after the war, their lofty and idealistic expectations, so natural at that age, could not be fulfilled they went into a kind of concealed isolation: 'which,' he contends, 'was expressed 'inter alia,' in an increasing lack of interest in politics, an 'ohne uns' (without us) attitude that even extended into religion and culture.