CHAPTER TWENTY THREE

MAKING A DUTCH HOME IN WESTERN AUSTRALIA FROM THE 1950s

Nonja Peters

Figure 1
The *Waterman* berthing at Fremantle c1951.
Courtesy: Peters Family Collection.

INTRODUCTION

This chapter is about Dutch arrival and resettlement in Western Australia (WA) after WWII. It is based on oral history interviews and archival documentation. The emigrants' arrival in their new homeland posed a different and specific set of challenges. This was principally because few had realised at the point of disembarkation, that their expectations of the new land would collide with the reality of the possibilities. It was also despite all the input received from an Escort Officer, sent to travel to Australia with the emigrants to answer their questions, and to provide advice and support.

Migration is a complicated, emotional and physical journey, full of risk, uncertainty, expectation, longing and relief. It consistently involves uprooting and confronting an unknown future in a land that is typically both distant and different – socially, culturally and linguistically - from an emigrant's homeland.[1] These differences impact on newcomers in various ways. For example, academic and Displaced Person (DP) to America, Alfred Schutz, was dismayed to find his social map no longer functioned in the new setting. To function optimally newcomers need to learn the host language, customs, beliefs and values and this takes both time and commitment. When my father, Jan (John) Peters and his uncle by marriage – Toon Berens – stood waiting to disembark from the *SS Volendam* on 13 January 1949, at Victoria Quay in Fremantle, WA, he was about to discover that his most important skill on entering the new country was a passable competence in the English language. This legacy of obligatory lessons in English, German and French at his Dutch Grammar School had hardly been a consideration before this time.

Jan and Toon were among the passengers who had opted to disembark at Fremantle on the advice of the ship's captain after hearing him insist that WA offered better job prospects than Melbourne where the men had originally planned to resettle. Both men also felt that they had been travelling long enough. Their ship had departed from Rotterdam Harbour some 33 days earlier, on 11 December 1948. After disembarkation and customs, all the non-English emigrants on their ship (many were DPs) destined for WA, were bussed along with Toon and Jan to the Department of Immigration Reception and Training Centre (an erstwhile military camp) in Lantana Avenue, in the suburb of Graylands (now Mt Claremont). The Dutch men among them had all gained entry to Australia under the Allied Ex-servicemen's Scheme.[2] Another 30 months would pass before the first consignments of assisted Dutch travelling on either the Netherlands Australia Migration Agreement (NAMA) or the Netherlands Government Agency Scheme (NGAS) would arrive on the converted troopship carrier the *SS Waterman* in November 1951.[3]

Figure 2
Land Ahoy at Fremantle.
Courtesy: A van Kann.

Figure 3
C Shed Customs - Fremantle - c1950
Courtesy: P. Manucci.

By Christmas 1954, around 10,000 Dutch migrants had made WA their home.[4] For many of these newcomers, an unexpected irony was to find on arrival that there was a critical housing and building material shortage in WA that rivalled the ones the migrants had left behind. As a consequence housing was as hard to come-by in Australia, as it had been in the Netherlands. The smart ones who had taken the information offered en-route by the Information Officers seriously – about the critical housing situation they would encounter – were quick to snap up any jobs on offer with accommodation, even if it did mean a sudden and unexpected disembarkation and a move into rural Western Australia. Many of them, like my father, also destined for the Eastern States – were tempted off the ship at Fremantle by the gaggle of employers, who jostled with each other opportunistically to be the first to approach passengers with offers of 'jobs with accommodation' as they made their way down the gangway and stepped onto Victoria Quay. This was however not the case for my father and uncle, who as previously mentioned, were taken instead to Graylands Reception and Training Centre – referred to commonly as Graylands migrant camp.

Figure 4
De Boer family, Graylands Hostel 1954
Courtesy: Hélén Meinema.

LIFE IN THE MIGRANT CAMPS

The housing shortage was worse for the larger families, who had little other choice than to opt for a long-term stay at one of the Department of Immigration Accommodation Centres until private accommodation could finally be sourced. The Department of Immigration's choice to requisition military camps, abandoned in the aftermath of war, was predicated on the fact these could be refurbished with minimal recourse to labour and building materials – both in short supply at the time. In 1949 in WA, the military camps used as initial receiving and training centres for migrants were located in Perth in the suburbs of Graylands, Swanbourne, Belmont (Dunreath) and Point Walter. Others were in the Wheatbelt towns of Cunderdin, 157 kilometres from Perth and at Northam about 98 kilometres from Perth.[5] Many other migrant workers barracks and tent camps were erected later to cater for migrants sent to work on road and rail maintenance in south west coastal and Wheatbelt towns including Collie, Bunbury and Merredin.

Figure 5
Carla, Nelli and Ali Gortmaker
Holden Migrant camp - Northam 1954
Courtesy: Nelli Hodges.

From May 1949, the majority of assisted Dutch migrants in need of accommodation were transported from Fremantle wharf in trains or buses to the Commonwealth Immigration Department's 'Holden Reception, Training and Holding Centre '. Called 'Holden Camp' by the inmates, it was located in Hutt Street about one kilometre north of the town centre. Holden Camp could comfortably house between 850 and 1,000 people.[6] In contrast, Northam army camp, located on the Great Eastern Highway about

Figure 6
Holden School 1952.
Courtesy: Peters Research Collection.

Figure 7
Graylands Hostel Nissen Huts 1951
Courtesy: Peters Research Collection.

Figure 8
Gortmaker Family in the bush outside Holden camp - Northam 1954
Courtesy: Nelli Hodges.

Figure 9
Airing beds to rid them of bed bugs- Holden Camp c1954. Courtesy: van Welie Family.

Figure 10
Dutch migrants congregating at Holden Camp c1954
Courtesy: van Welie Family.

five kilometres outside of the town and where the majority of Displaced Persons were accommodated (1949 to 1952), could accommodate up to 5,000 persons.

On arrival at Holden camp, a family would be allotted one or two little cubicles, depending upon its numerical size. However, the cubicles offered only a semblance of privacy, given that the sisal craft partitions between rooms were only man-high. The occupants shared sounds, smells and illnesses with everyone else in the barrack. Sonja K, who arrived in WA from Java in 1952, recalls:

> We lived in Indonesia for seven years and had a good time. In WA we first lived in Northam migrant camp where the living conditions were horrible. The food was strange, the rooms very small and noisy and many had problems with bedbugs. In the camp the Dutch all spent a lot of time with each other and didn't mix much with the other nationalities.[7]

From 1952 onwards, any migrants who on arrival were directed to a job in the city were allocated accommodation at the better-appointed Graylands 'Hostel'. Established on the site where the Graylands military camp was located, its Nissen Huts (sourced from Sweden) were erected in 1951 to specifically cater for a large influx of British immigrants. The British would no longer need a sponsor to organise accommodation and a job on arrival to gain entry to Australia, they could now register directly with Australia House in London and on arrival stay at government run hostels. Prior to the Hostel's construction, migrants who were sent to work in the city were accommodated in the old military camp. My Father Jan and Uncle Toon who arrived in Fremantle on 13 January 1949, spent a month in one of the austere, dilapidated 'Graylands army camp barracks'. This was two years before Commonwealth Hostel Nissen Huts were erected on the other half of the site.

The migrants sent to Perth after spending time at Holden camp in Northam, made the most vocal comparisons. Hélén Meinema nee de Boer compared her family's transfer from Holden camp to the Graylands 'Hostel', like going from hell to 'Shangri La'. Hélén continues to associate her life at the Northam camp with extreme 'culture shock'. She remembered especially the dry, deeply grooved earth that surrounded the camp and:

> ...the food, lots of salad – we weren't used to that. As it was I had become jaundiced on the boat (hepatitis?), so I had difficulty with the food. Mum managed to acquire a small round cooker and cooked rice for me (this was illegal for fire reasons). We [children] attended the camp school. First I had to learn the times tables – to 12. We played cricket – boys and girls. I was also given an English name – Helen – it didn't fit though.

Asked if there were any positive experiences, Hélén mentioned two Little Golden Book titles – *Alice in Wonderland* and *Johnny Appleseed* – that her

parents had given her for her 10th birthday – her first in Australia.[8] I (author) had a similar experience, however, the title of the book I learned to love was *Snugglepot and Cuddlepie* – now also a favourite with my grandchildren. You could lose yourself in a book- it transported you away from difficult surroundings.

In 1954, the old military barracks where my father had been accommodated became Claremont Teacher Training College. However, the 'Hostel' for British migrants on the other half of the site, remained operational as a migrant accommodation centre until 1987. During that period, its structures changed quite dramatically from Nissen huts to brick and tile flats or units.[9] The ethnicity of the inmates also changed from 100 per cent European to Asian, South American and Eastern European. However, the change to Asian migration only became possible when the Whitlam Government abandoned the White Australia Policy in 1973.

Most migrant accommodation centres had either a hospital or a nursing post. Since migrants commonly experienced a great deal of illness in the initial stages of resettlement, the hospitals and nursing posts treated a constant stream of migrants suffering from cuts, abrasions, heat exhaustion, diarrhoea and respiratory and gastric infections. A prime example was that the staff of these busy posts had to treat hundreds of newcomers who contracted the highly contagious eye infection of conjunctivitis. This epidemic raged in all the camps during the 1950s.[10] In Northam the camp doctors were treating over 600 cases per day.[11]

Within migrant families, the plethora of humorous stories related to the 'performances' their grandparents had to engage in to describe their illness symptoms to Australian migrant camp doctors, given their lack of the English language, have attracted the status of folklore. These stories however intermingle with stories of the greatest distress. For example, it was hospital practice in Australia at that time to not allow parents to visit the ward where their child was being treated. This intensified both parents' and child's anguish as their child could not yet communicate his needs in English. When one of the children in the Graylands camp hospital subsequently died, and was not identified for some hours because the child bore only an identification number, the parents became especially alarmed and those with sick children hid them to prevent the barbaric separation.[12] The death of this child also elicited an evocative editorial from the *West Australian* Newspaper, insisting the government be more humanitarian in its treatment of migrants.[13]

The vastly different physical and climatic environments and the unfamiliar combinations and tastes of the food prepared in migrant camp kitchens, also caused distress. For example, in the Netherlands at that time people ate mainly beef, pork and fish. Lamb was hardly eaten, if at all – the Dutch considered it too gamey - and mutton was unheard of. Consequently few Dutch migrants could tolerate either the taste or smell of mutton, nor the fat, which it provided for baking. What is more large amounts of this mutton, was

Figure 11
Jan (unknown), Toon Berens and Jan Peters outside the ablution block at Graylands R & T Centre - January 1949
Courtesy: Berens Collection.

Figure 12
Migrant baggage arriving at Holden camp c1954. Courtesy: Verlinden family.

Figure 13
Van Welie Family in front of the Holden Camp signage - Northam c1952
Courtesy: van Welie Family.

Figure 14
Holden Camp Floor plan.
Courtesy: Peters Research Collection.

Figure 15
Jan Peters in his first car - an Austin A30.
Courtesy: Peters Collection.

served at most camps, and this also posed a problem since most European migrants were unused to having large quantities of any meat served at every meal.

As food and health are inextricably linked, camp food anxiety increased the migrants' vulnerability to ill health, which in turn increased homesickness. To top it all, camp authorities also banned the migrants' practice of standing milk in the sun to 'sour', to remind them of the way they made yoghurt back home, not understanding the comfort such familiarity gave. Similarly, migrants were urged to add cordial to the water in the large waterbags, which the authorities had placed around camp complexes. This all resulted in migrants wishing to leave the camp as soon as feasible in order to live and cater for themselves. In reality this was easier for the breadwinner and his 'working age' children, than for mothers with younger children.

Figure 16
Ida Van Der Klashorst and her father in front of the family Plymouth - c1956
Courtesy: Ida Van Der Klashorst.

ORIENTATION

The deal on arrival was to spend three weeks in the camp, undergoing 'orientation' to learn English and to be made aware of Australian customs, attitudes and values. Following this, the Commonwealth Employment Service (CES) Officers located at all migrant camps, would direct the family breadwinners to work, sometimes in the most remote areas of the state. However the Dutch Australian Immigration Agreement gave Dutch immigrants far greater opportunities to stay closer to their families, than did the immigration agreements pertaining to Displaced Persons or Southern Europeans.[14] Even so, the unskilled Dutch migrants who were sent to the migrant accommodation in Northam, found themselves working on road and rail upgrades or clearing land in rural Australia for the Returned Servicemen League of Western Australia, so that their members would have the opportunity to establish farms. From an Australian perspective, these work programs gave credibility to the vision and mission of migration and its policy of decentralization. However, it made family life in a 'new country' difficult, because it often separated the husband from the rest of the family for significant periods of time.

Figure 17
Tony Berens and the family's Standard Ute 1951.
Courtesy: Berens Family.

Having secured a job, the migrants' next practical concern was transport. In contrast to Europe, owning a vehicle in this vast country was a necessity, rather than a luxury. This was because distances were far greater than 'back home', and also because the work to which many were directed was often in far flung regional areas. Migrants were quick to pick up the Australian's idiom for these isolated places and refer to them as: 'beyond the black stump' or 'the back of beyond'. They were also quick to pick-up Australian mateship terms of endearment - even as a migrant child I heard 'you old bastard' (affectionately) bandied around workmates among my father's working class peers. My Welsh husband, Robert Peters, also appreciated what he expressively referred to as the 'irreverence' of the Australian working class, when compared to the 'stiff upper lip' of the English boarding school strata of the society in which he was raised.

Breadwinners who were allocated jobs in isolated locations, were therefore first to feel the need to purchase a vehicle in order to visit their families at weekends. Generally, as few migrants had the collateral to raise a bank loan to purchase a vehicle outright, most had to wait until they had saved the necessary cash for a down payment, and then they could sign a 'Hire Purchase Agreement' and pay off the rest. This also meant that the first cars of most migrants were 'old bombs', as we called them. My father had a series of such vehicles. The first three were an Austin A30, a Buick with runner boards and an old Ford V8 with a 'Dickie' seat. My brother Eddie and I both loved the 'Dickie' seat, as it was the only car in which we were not car sick! Scooters, motorbikes and Utes (utility) were also popular first vehicles. The Ute was especially ideal for the large Dutch families. I recall some families even placing old lounge chairs on the Ute's tray to seat all their children – no seat belt requirements then.

Figure 18
Sjannie Berens on the family's Standard 8 Ute - with Lucy, Josie and Mary (Riet) Peters. Courtesy: Berens Family.

Husbands who were allotted work away from the camp, were the only persons given permission to join their families legally at the migrant camp on weekends. As many as a hundred would visit Holden Camp at one time. Officially they were supposed to be issued with bedding, crockery and cutlery and had to pay a pro-rata amount towards their 'board and keep' for the weekends spent in the camp. However most made undercover visits, sneaking in after dark on Friday evenings and leaving again very early on Monday mornings.[15] Camp authorities refused to consider that many men missed meals because they arrived too late and/or left too early. Some husbands tried travelling to and from Northam to Perth every day. However, this meant leaving very early in the morning before breakfast was served, and arriving back late at night after the evening meal had finished. Coming home for the weekend 'officially', would cost £9 per family instead of £4 per week. As breadwinners had also to pay board elsewhere during the week, the extra weekend payments crippled the family financially and ultimately increased their time in the camps, by reducing the possibility to save towards renting rooms or leasing a house.[16] The authorities tried to make it impossible for the men to sneak in unofficially by taking away their bed, knife, plate, spoon and fork. They wanted them to pay! This situation lead to Mr Kim Beazley Senior – MHR for Fremantle – lobbying Arthur Calwell to grant easier access for working husbands living away from the camp, in order that they could stay with their families in the migrant camp at weekends. His intervention eased the burden a little for the mothers of those large Dutch families who were stuck longer in migrant camps, while awaiting affordable housing.[17] Researchers estimate that in fact around 50,000 European migrants were housed at the Commonwealth of Australia, Department of Immigration Holden Accommodation Centre between 1949 and 1963.

Figure 19
John Berens - then an apprentice panel beater - with his first car, a Willys Overlander. Courtesy: Berens Family.

Figure 20
Van Welie's Ford Prefect mid-1950s model. Courtesy: van Welie Family.

Figure 21
Holden Camp Playground
Courtesy: Klaassen Family Collection.

AUSTRALIAN CULTURE AND RELIGION

The transition period to beginning to feel 'at home' in Australia was also anything but easy, given that migrants generally considered the Western Australia of the 1950s – particularly in the country towns where most were located –to be something of a 'cultural' desert. For example in Northam, on Saturdays at 12 o'clock the shops and hotels all closed, and apart from football there was nothing to do in the afternoon. Eating out proved equally disappointing. Migrants claim that in the 1950s there were few restaurants in Australia in the European sense, (at least not in country towns), and probably none that they could afford in the city. There were just cafes that sold fish and chips, mixed grills or pie and two vegetables, (peas and potatoes) with gravy. The idea of what constituted a 'salad' in Australia— lettuce with some salt on it and tomato and cucumber without salad dressing, was considered unpalatable by the migrants. Then of course you could also buy simple meals at the many local pubs (hotels) and a beer.

Northam did also show Hollywood films at two picture theatres, one in the open air for summer and an undercover one for winter. These were operational on specified days each week but did not include Sundays. At intermission the audience rushed across the road to buy lollies (sweets) from the milk bar owned by Yugoslav migrants. Dutch migrants also thought the custom of young Australian children coming to the theatre wearing their pyjamas as being very strange indeed!

Sundays were considered to be the worst day of all, as there was little to do at the migrant camp nor in the town centre, except to listen to the Salvation Army band - it could be relied upon to play every Sunday evening on the same main street corner in all weathers. Consequently, for many migrants in their first years of resettlement, it was the church services that offered the greatest sense of familiarity.

Christians comprised around 90 per cent of Dutch arrivals. Dutch Calvinists and Catholics, the religions which both rejected birth control and therefore had the highest birth rates and largest families, were the greatest supporters

Table 1
Religion of WA Dutch at 1954 Census

Gender	RC	C of Eng	Congre-Gational	Lutherin	Methodist	Pres-byterian	Protes-tant	Catholic	C of C	Baptist	Other Incl undefined	Non Christ Relig	No reply	No relig	Total
F	956	96	17	19	67	468	198	353	8	22	413	7	851	148	4866
M	1258	186	15	31	79	604	284	471	12	21	475	9	1213	212	3624
F NEI	45	27	..	1	7	29	43	20	..	3	9	5	41	18	242
M NEI	45	39	..	3	11	40	46	25	1	1	7	9	97	14	338
	2,304	348	23	54	164	1,141	571	869	21	47	904	30	2,202	392	9,070

Religion of WA Dutch at 1954 Census WA Census 1954 (Netherlands East Indies (NEI) appears as Indonesia in this Census.

of emigration. From 1945 to 1962, Calvinists made up 28.3 per cent of the emigration to Australia, and although many more went to Canada, it was a figure almost triple their proportion in the total Dutch population. However more Dutch Catholics than Protestants came to Australia.[18] Roman Catholics (RC) emigrated in numbers proportional to their percentage of the total NL population (see Table 1).

Resettlement issues were different for different religions. For example, as Arent de Graaf explains, when the Reform Church came to Australia, the new migrants, both men and women, whilst all seeking to do God's will, nonetheless found both the migration experience and the church situation overwhelming. [19] He notes:

> ...most of them (migrants) were feeling the burden of seeking a new identity: learning a new language, trying to provide for growing families, and, in most cases, learning to work in a humble trade they were not familiar with. Many came from jobs of at least *some* status in the old land. So they threw their weight around in the church. Then add to this the fact that the churches, all these people came from were different denominations: *Gereformeerd, Vrijgemaakt, Hervormde, Christelijk Gereformeerd, Gereformeerde Gemeente,* etc! And all these churches, especially *then,* saw themselves as, if not *the only*, at least *the most pure* version of Christ's Body on earth! To unite such people around the One Word of the One Lord was our task, and daunting at that![20]

Figure 22
Wieman Family photo album showing children on their First Communion day c1950s. Courtesy: Wieman Family Collection.

In Australia, the Dutch migrants joined those churches that most resembled their equivalent in the Netherlands or they established new ones to fit their particular needs. For example, most reformed church members eventually joined the Presbyterian Church (see Pritchard vignette). In contrast, the Free Reformed church, comprising a very close-knit cohesive migrant congregation, was at liberty to establish churches and schools to provide religious services to the various congregations, and in Western Australia they did so by establishing new communities in Albany and Armadale that continue to flourish today (see Plug vignette).[21]

The problem for the *Hervormde Kerk,* related more to its status as the National (State) Church in NL. This meant that it could not openly advocate the establishment of separate churches in another country - a fact that would not inhibit the more conservative Calvinists. The Dutch Church generally worked through the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, in order to provide contact congregations for its emigrating parishioners. [22]

In the first decades of resettlement, the religions with large congregations sent priests or rectors to Australia to administer to the religious needs of their flocks— baptisms, marriages, first communions, confirmations, funerals and religious teaching (see Pritchard vignette).[23] Migrants held parties and wakes in their homes to mark these significant religious ceremonies, much as they had done previously in the Netherlands. However, this practice had

Figure 23
Klaassen Family at Holden Camp c1952. Courtesy: Klaassen family.

Figure 24
Clearview flats, Northam - the first place of rental for many families after leaving the migrant camp. c1954
Courtesy: van Welie Family.

already stopped by the early 1970s in all but the Free Reformed Churches in Armadale and Albany. These groups, who also established their own schools, tended not to mix with the rest of the Dutch community. Their cohesiveness was a function of inter-marriage to Dutch within their group. In contrast, most Dutch tended to 'marry-out' with members of other ethnic groups, Australians or British migrants.[24]

The RC Church hierarchy was very active in promoting emigration. It saw its secular responsibility as one of caring for souls who were in precarious situations. The intention of the Roman Catholic Church was to provide new missionaries and build up a numerical majority in certain countries. However, their program was not very successful because Canada and South Africa were not eager to have so many Roman Catholics and so most ended up in Australia.[25] At that time Roman Catholics possessed 'second class' status in Australia, compared to the establishment Anglo-Protestants.[26] The only really familiar aspect of Roman Catholicism in Australia was the Latin Mass and Confession. On Friday afternoons at the convent school I attended in Northam, the nuns would take our class to the church. Here we joined the large queues outside the confessional, preferably on the side presided over by the Polish priest, as he did not ask questions and just handed out penance, compared to the Irish Catholic '*Monseigneur*', who would probe intently.

Dutch Catholics from Perth will remember Pater (Father) H. Vijgen from The Hague and Pater Pieters from Maastricht. Around 1954, when Dutch migration was at its peak, these priests converted a church-owned residence at 48 Riversdale Road in Rivervale into accommodation for single newly-arrived Dutch migrants, especially the ones who came to Australia under the sponsorship of the Catholic Church.[27] To ensure the hostel would function at an optimal level, the Dutch Emigration Association of Victoria Park submitted an application to the Belmont Park Roads Board, requesting that they be allowed additions to the same house, including a new shower block. Many Dutch Catholic tradespersons offered their expertise and time to assist with the renovations. In 1956, the house was transferred to the Roman Catholic Bishop of Perth. In November 1996, the Heritage Council acknowledged the significance of the same building as a heritage site, due to its role in promoting settlement to WA, maintaining religious traditions and ceremonies, as well as immigration, emigration and refugees.[28] If you were one of the migrants accommodated in the Rivervale residence, we would like your story and any photographs for the 'Dutch Australians At A Glance' www.daaag.org website.

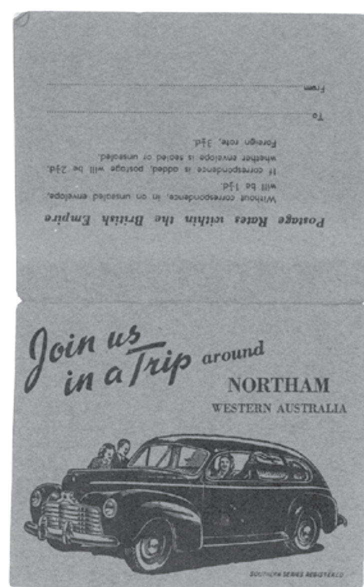

Figure 25
Courtesy: Peters Family Collection.

BENEFITS OF COSMOPOLITANISM TO RURAL WA

The increasingly cosmopolitan - (multiculturalism as a concept came later) - nature of the State as more and more migrants from diverse European countries settled in WA, also cultivated greater interaction with those locals who could see subsequent benefits for their businesses. For example, not long after the first arrivals in Northam, you could buy Polish, Italian, Dutch

and German 'small goods' at *Roedigers* (German origin) in Northam. This butcher had the foresight to exploit the new market niche, by employing migrant butchers from various backgrounds to make 'small goods' familiar to the taste of the migrants' own countries. Moreover you could also make your purchases there in German. It was the *lingua franca* of most Displaced Persons, who had spent many years in Germany pre-migration living in refugee accommodation. Moreover, the German language was also understood by most Dutch who had lived out the five years of war under Nazi Occupation. Another product that migrants 'hankered after' and which soon became available in Northam, was homegrown and homemade *sauerkraut*. It was sold directly from wooden barrels in the makeshift sheds of migrants' backyards. Locally wineries were also quick to exploit the migrant market 'niche' with wine (termed *plonk* by the locals).

Figure 26
Jo Peters and twins - Nancy and Eric - outside the dilapidated Duke Street, Northam rental. It was actually ready for demolition. The walls were timber on the outside and all were pressed tin inside.
Courtesy: Peters Family Collection.

By the early 1960s, it was also possible to dance at weekends to the strains of Polish *mazurkas* at Polish and Ukrainian club dances, or to elect for the Barn Dance or 'Pride of Erin' at Australian events. The intensity and frequency of social entertainment was organised by the various migrant groups, mainly to help migrants escape — if only for a few hours — from alienation, homesickness, poverty or cramped living conditions. Music was another important communication device especially for the musicians amongst the migrants. You did not need a particular language to play an instrument and many lifelong friendships started among migrants from diverse backgrounds at weekend 'jam sessions'. My father, who played the saxophone and clarinet, always had his own dance band – it provided a second income – and it had been his primary income in the Netherlands. His band spent most nights on weekends playing for the Country Women's Association (CWA) Balls and Dinner Dances around the Wheatbelt towns. They also played at weddings and engagement parties or other such events in Northam and the immediate surrounds as well as in Perth, when we moved there later in the 1960s. It was the job that he loved most of all. During the day on most weekends, our home was the migrant musician's rendezvous, which we as children loved!

WHERE TO LIVE

As soon as was feasible after acquiring both a job and a vehicle, the majority of newcomers went in pursuit of accommodation so they could leave the migrant reception centres. However, the issue of where to find a place to live proved to be the single greatest obstacle that 1950s migrants encountered. It was estimated that between 250,000 and 300,000 new homes were needed Australia-wide. The situation was a consequence of the decline in building during the Depression and WWII, plus massive building material and skilled labour shortages.[29] Migrants entered the country when the demand for rental accommodation was at its peak, and the situation deteriorated even further with the arrival of their greater numbers.

Figure 27
The van Beek family's second rental at 18 Stamford Street Leederville, where they moved on 29 August 1954. This property was in far better condition, close to all amenities and not shared.
From L to R : Henk Oorschot (visiting), Elizabeth, Mr and Mrs van Beek, Angela, Theo and Tina.
Front row (L to R): George (holding hands with Dad), Maria and Tony.
Courtesy: Van Beek Family.

Australians rightly point out that this situation had also forced many newly married Australian couples to have to move in with parents, or share a house

Figure 28
'Topping Out'.
Courtesy: Neeling family.

Figure 29
Verschuren Builders.
Courtesy: Verschuren Family.

with relatives or friends, often for extended periods of time.[30] The bigger the Dutch family, the greater the difficulties they encountered in finding accommodation. Landlords were often reluctant to take on large families. In fact for many larger families, the housing crisis would not be relieved until the State Housing Commission built affordable housing estates (rentals) in Bentley, in 'Maniana' near Queens Park and in Medina, where most employees of BHP Kwinana were accommodated. State houses were also built at this time in rural towns such as Northam, where many migrants were employed constructing the standard gauge railway line to the Eastern States.[31]

The lack of available residential accommodation in the Perth Metropolitan area also inspired business ventures such as the '*Hollandse Pension*' at 272 Hay Street, Perth. It offered *Kamers met Ontbijt* (rooms with breakfast). Some migrant families overcame the lack of liveable, reasonably priced accommodation by setting up home on a plot of land they had bought, and on which they hoped to eventually build a house. Meanwhile they lived in old tram or train carriages, tents, caravans and even in car crates on their plots. They 'made do' in this way until they could afford to start building parts of the main house.

Shrewd migrants who had made inquiries before embarkation, made other plans as Catherine notes:

> My husband came to Australia first to see how it was here.... When he saw in the newspaper that when I and the children arrived in Melbourne we would have to go to a camp, he got off in WA and took a job at the State Forrest in a town called Dean Mill, which I thought was 'at the end of the world'. There was no water, there was no gas, there was no light. There was nothing! But he had a house, a new home, and work. Then he said to the boss, "I'm going back home, because my wife cannot get a boat "[to Australia]. Two days later I had a boat with my brother and the kids. My husband wrote: there is not so much here, it is warm and the people are fantastic - and we have to live with that - and that we have done with pleasure.[32]
> The group of Dutch sent to the timber town of Dean Mill soon formed friendships and also attended English classes together and became quite good English speakers.

YES YOU WILL OWN YOUR OWN HOME – HOWEVER YOU WILL HAVE TO BUILD IT YOURSELF !

Since most Dutch families leaving the migrant camps were 'strapped for cash', the whole family was often expected to contribute their earnings to the family income.[33] On weekends or after school, migrant children were also expected to spend their time helping to clean old bricks, renovating or even helping to make new bricks. When there were sufficient bricks, the family erected a one-car garage or built the back veranda of their future home. These

families also came up with the most innovative ways in which to cram their many children into the smallest sleeping spaces. Others expanded existing small houses to accommodate their large and growing families. Until 1952, building size legislation also dominated WA building practices.[34] Imposed by the scarcity of building materials, it limited houses to two bedrooms, a sleep-out /back veranda, dining room, lounge and kitchen, bathroom and toilet. Over 30 per cent of homes that were built during the 1950s were 'do it yourself (DIY)' projects. DIY helped Australians minimize household debt, increased social mobility and benefitted the national economy.[35]

Figure 30
John and Tony Berens helping with house building activities, St James, Perth c1951. Courtesy: Berens Family.

The (Toon) Berens family- parents and three children - started life in WA by renting the back veranda of a house in Queens Park from its owners, who lived in the main part of the same house. However, when Toon (Anthony) and Cor (Cornelia) opened a bottle of beer to celebrate the purchase of their block of land in St James Park, (where the family eventually built the house they lived in for the rest of their lives), they were evicted! Drinking alcohol apparently contravened their rental agreement. Their drinking was a one-off situation, but landlords at that time were very hard on renters. Having no more cash after putting a 'down payment' on the block, they struck it lucky with the help of the local Catholic Priest, and despite their lack of collateral were able to borrow enough money to erect a 'one-car' garage on their property. The family of five moved into this garage, which had neither electricity nor water. Several times a day the children were sent to fill buckets of water from a tap, which was three streets away. The Berens family lived in this same garage until they could afford the necessary second-hand bricks to build a back veranda. After work each night and under the light of the street lamp, Toon cleaned the bricks for re-use. In the early 1950s, migrants' building activities were also greatly reduced by the restriction placed on the purchase of only one bag of cement per person, per week.[36] He subsequently built the rest of the house over many years. This story of the Berens family is highly representative of the times.

Figure 31
Toon and Cor building their home, Victoria Street, St James, Perth c1955. Courtesy: Berens Family.

Figure 32
Berens family one-car garage home. c1952. Courtesy: Berens Family.

Homes built or renovated by Dutch migrants are still dotted around the Perth metropolitan area. More often than not they tend however to be on the city fringe, in the hills or in rural towns. A key element in their completion was patience, flexibility, or as noted by the Wiemans family - innovation. The Wiemans built their house from the doors, which their father had imported to WA from the Netherlands (see the Wieman vignette). Many Dutch and Australians will recall the factory that locals referred to as the 'Door House', which Mr Wieman established in Bentley to manufacture doors.

Other migrants working in the building trade took the opportunity of constructing a temporary residence from the packing crates, which encased the kit homes they were erecting for the State Housing Commission (SHC). Generally, building and organising a home was a long and tedious process, and was nothing like the possible course of action suggested in migration propaganda. The harsh reality was - there were no 'gold nuggets lying on

Figure 33
Jan (John) and Eddie Peters, making bricks c1955. Courtesy: Peters Family Collection.

Figure 34
Cor Berens, making a one-car 'garage' into a home for 5 people. Perth c1951
Courtesy: Berens Family.

the streets' in Australia and nothing but time and hard toil (or an extremely lucky break), would buy the quality of life of which migrants dreamed.

To build the foundation of our own house, my parents, my brother and I collected large rocks from around the Northam countryside in our old Utility. Our bricks were made from sand from the Avon riverbed. My mother made the bricks every day, using a hand concrete mixer and brick moulds until she was eight months pregnant, when she subsequently gave birth to my twin siblings. My father only employed a 'brickie' when the time came to erect the walls of the two-roomed dwelling, into which all six of us would move in June 1955. It had a 'lean-to' makeshift, unlined kitchen with a bath in one corner, hidden behind a curtain. The toilet (collectable box) stood outside. The laundry was a concrete floor with four wooden uprights to support the corrugated iron roof, situated some distance from the main 'house'. There were no walls at all and it was built to give some protection to our first washing machine - a *Simpson* single tub with an electric wringer - which was purchased second-hand, to help my mother with washing the twins' nappies. As the oldest child, my bed was placed in the lounge-come-dining room – there was no privacy in those days! The other three children and our parents all slept in the 'bedroom', in areas separated only by cupboards. Five years later we had another two rooms added to the brick structure, but this time made out of timber and sheets of asbestos.

Only the more financially well–off migrants could afford to have a complete house erected by Dutch builders, such as *Swarts and Terpstra*, *Woerlee* or *van Oorschot* (see the Woerlee vignette) or other such building contractors.[37] Some of these builders followed the European tradition of 'topping out' (sometimes referred to as 'topping off'), to celebrate the completion of the home built for their clients. This was a builder's rite - traditionally held when the last beam (or its equivalent) is placed atop a structure during its erection.[38]

Later, many more Dutch could afford to have a home erected when the Dutch Credit Unions emerged in the 1960s. This helped to relieve much of the stress attached to the long-winded process of achieving home ownership. When the Netherlands Credit Union (WA) opened for business in 1964, an article *'Iets over de lenings faciliteiten van onze credit union'* [information about the loan facilities offered by our credit union'] appeared in the *Contact Newsletter,* it noted:[39]

> The foundation of every Credit Union is finance, received from savers, or received from other authorities at the lowest possible interest rate to members. The minimum amount made available for loan is to be £150,00 and the maximum £2,000.00. The maximum period allowable for repayment of the loan is four years in monthly instalments. All loans must also be insured against the death of the lender, at the cost of the lender.[40]

Figure 35
Van de Wege family in their Albany home.
Courtesy: Van de Wege Family.

With the low interest rates on offer, families could now have their homes quickly erected and move in straight away. However it was more often the

second generation, who had migrated here as children with their parents and whose socio-economic and cultural networks had evolved in Australia, who were able to take the greatest advantage of these rates. For example, Ray Schaafsma, who came here as a teenager, acquired a house loan in 1960 from the Netherlands Credit Union (WA) at 1.5 per cent per annum interest. Simultaneous changes to the banking system transformed this period. It enabled people with an adequate 'down-payment' to borrow money to build or buy a house, although mortgage interest rates with banks were much higher than with the Netherlands Credit Union (WA).

Figure 36
Marige Gortmaker peeling potatoes in the family rental - Miller Street, Victoria Park, Perth - 1955
Courtesy: Nelli Hodge.

HOMEMAKING IN AUSTRALIA: WOMEN AND MIGRATION

Compared to other ethnic groups, Dutch migration was overwhelmingly family-oriented. Women had generally accompanied their husbands, as it was considered a woman's duty to go wherever her husband chose to earn a living. Both Dutch Calvinist and Catholic clergies also expected the woman to safeguard the family's spiritual welfare by creating a *gezellige* (convivial) home in Australia, wherever the family had to live - be it in a reception centre, tent, garage, caravan, back veranda or house.[41] Dutch women did their utmost to comply. However, creating a space that was aesthetically Dutch was quite difficult for the earlier migrants, whose baggage was restricted to one suitcase of personal belongings and a couple of tea chests containing some loved household items.

This was indeed the case with my family. On arrival we could only afford to purchase beds, so we had to sit on 'orange' crates in our shared Subiaco rental. Our family of four had the two front rooms, hall and front veranda, while the Gannaways, an Irish family, had the rest of the house. Both families, (nine people in total), shared the bathroom and the one toilet. Our few Dutch 'knick- knacks', including an oil painting created by a friend of the family, were all we had to transform the space into a home. Later Dutch arrivals, who gained entry under the Dutch Immigration Agreements of 1951, were able to bring in a container full to the brim with their household goods.

Figure 37
Mary van Look, with Elisabet in the pram and Gon (holding son) and Josie (deceased), playing on the ground.
Courtesy: Peters Family Collection.

Most first generation Dutch women were 'stay-at-home' mothers.[42] They would proudly declare that their husbands did not want them to work outside of the house. Consequently making a Dutch home in Australia was their main focus. A common remark among these first generation Dutch women was that Australian homes were just not '*gezellig*' (cosy). This focus on home interiors has led researchers such as *Taft*, to describe the Dutch as having a 'living room' culture. He notes:

> Dutch homes are more 'furnished' than Australian homes, especially in the living room. The window are typically framed by lace curtains and there is often a small rug on the coffee table which is encircled by large, comfortable arm chairs. There is a great deal to look at - copper miniatures, wall hangings, wall tiles, wall clocks, paintings and pot plants - much of which

Figure 38
A 'gezellig' home in Albany, Australia.
Courtesy: Mulder Family.

> is miniaturised and hanging on the walls, as if otherwise the room would be too 'small' to hold everything. With its indirect soft lighting and armchairs placed invitingly around the coffee table, the living room is the focal point of the house.[43]

The Matriarchal powers of the mother in Dutch homes at that time were pervasive, but restricted however to the home front. Also having been raised and educated in a different country with a different language, customs, traditions and beliefs, there was not much about their pre-migration lives that could be shared with their children besides stories. The lack of familiarity between children and parents' lives, which was greater than a normal generational gap, in fact created a sense of 'disconnect' between parent and child. Few mothers were unable even to assist with their children's homework.

Staying at home and not driving – few Dutch women had cars - further reduced their chances to become proficient in the English language and to fit in with either Australian society or their children's lives. Australia provided some language tuition during the three-week orientation course at migrant camps, and this continued for the women left in 'holding camps' after their husbands had left to find work. However, for women whose families went straight into a rental, language learning posed great difficulties. *An* (Ann), from the *Neerlandia* craft club recalls in one of her more humorous misinterpretations:

> We lived next door to an Australian family and I could not talk to them because I did not speak English. Every day I would hear her shout "Tea is ready, tea is on the table! Come on, tea is ready"! Ann mentioned this to her family, "I do not know what the neighbours eat, but they drink heaps of tea".

An (Ann) eventually did learn English, like other more educated migrants at that time, by reading her children's school books. Another favourite method used among migrants in order to acquire English language skills, was reading comic books because the actions you could 'see' in the illustrations were explained by the text in the 'speech bubble' above.

At this early stage in resettlement, few migrant women would appreciate that in the future they would be avidly swapping recipes for cakes, scones and roast dinners with their Australian neighbours, many of whom continued to try to bridge the friendship divide created by the linguistic difference.

Figure 39
Musicians at Northam from many migrant and Australian backgrounds. You did not need a common language to play music together! Far right is Bill van der Hoek.
Courtesy: Herman van der Hoek.

My research also shows that those Dutch families, who were prepared to learn English, weathered the transition more successfully than those who resisted. This was because the acquisition of a working knowledge of English, gave newcomers the tools to engage with the locals in meaningful communication. This filled the void that would ordinarily have been completed by an extended family. However, for most first generation Dutch women, their closest friendships were with other Dutch women from their hometown, social class and/or religion. However, the relatively few women

who did enter the workforce, actually picked up the English language much quicker than the 'stay-at-home' cohort. The 'stay-at-home' Dutch women did however, manage to make life in Australia work for them, by looking for a humorous angle to overcome their difficulties and this comedy first appeared when they went shopping.

Shopping did continue to be quite an ordeal for these women, until they had at least acquired a working command of the English language. The butchers shop offered an especially entertaining 'street theatre' venue. Here women would 'moo' to have the butcher think along the lines of beef, jump around the shop for rabbit meat, 'grunt' for pork and 'baa' for lamb. Butchers viewed the women's performances with a great deal of incredulity and all the time tried to keep a straight face. The same women also enjoyed each other's attempts to act out for the butcher the meat 'cut' of their choice. Hence the popularity in the early years of resettlement, of *Klaashorst*'s Dutch Butcher shop. In this store all transactions were actually in Dutch. Grocery shopping also presented further challenges. An example which created much hilarity was afforded by women setting out to purchase caster sugar from the local grocer – no self-service at that time – as the Dutch terminology for this product is '*basterd* - (pronounced Bustard) *suiker*'! There are many more examples, some exceedingly rude and consequently beyond the scope of this chapter. It would not be long before the Dutch Biscuitman and importers of Dutch grocery items were pedalling their wares to a captive willing consumer, desperate for items from home.

In the first years after arrival, looking for familiar grocery products was mostly in vain and women went about creating surrogates. I can recall my mother grating chocolate for our sandwiches - to mimic Dutch chocolate flakes, and making *Chocolade Pasta* (chocolate paste spread) from softened butter mixed with cocoa powder and icing sugar, because there was nothing like 'Nutella' available commercially in Australia at that time. Dutch readers will recall many other substitutes.

Another surprise was that women were not allowed into hotel bars. If women wanted to drink they had to go to the 'Ladies Lounge'. Drinking in bars and sales at beer and wine shops was also restricted. Bars in Perth closed at 6.30 pm and were shut altogether on Sundays. Nor could you drink in cafés - they only sold soft drinks. This all came as a shock to the Western European migrants. In their homelands, it was possible to obtain alcoholic drinks on every day of the week, at hotels and in cafes and even to purchase in grocery stores.

Hence the popularity of Saturday and Sunday afternoon drinking sessions in country town hotels and in hotels in the Perth foothills. Mundaring was particularly popular. Located just outside the restricted 25-mile radius from the General Post Office in Perth, you could combine a trip there with a picnic overlooking the overflowing Mundaring Weir, and with drinks at the Mundaring Weir Hotel in the afternoon. In the late 1950s and 1960s, it was a popular stopover venue for many European migrants on weekend

- Programme -

1. RHYTHM TRIO—
A. "Lady is a Tramp"
B. "Blue Moon"
C. "E. Flat Boogie"

2. MELODY MAKERS—
A. "Lady of Spain"
B. "Born Too Late"
C. "Moonlight Swim"

3. JOHNNIE GIELENS (Vocal)
NICK ZEGIR (Guitarist)—
A. "A White Sports Coat"
B. "Young Love"

4. BLACK PANTHERS—
A. "Arrivederci Roma"
B. "Mexican Waltz"
C. "Zambezi"

5. KEN HIGGS, STAN WILLIAMS
VOCAL DUET—
A. "Melody D'moor"
B. "Gotta Travel On"

6. RHYTHM RAMBLERS—
A. "Blue Moon"
B. "All of a Sudden My Heart Sings"
C. "Mr. Success"

7. TED MUMME .... Clarinet Solo

8. ROSS WATSON'S ORCHESTRA—
A. "Persian Market"
B. "Manhattan"
C. Medley of Tunes

9. JOE PODVRSNIK and BRIAN O'NIEL
INSTRUMENTAL DUET—
A. "La Comparsita"
B. "The Wayward Wind"
C. Medley of Tunes

10. TED MUMME'S TRIO—
A. "Golden Wedding"
B. "Te Pite Fuet"
C. "Topsy"

INTERVAL, 15 MINUTES

Figure 40
Jazz booklet - Northam Function - late 1950s.
Courtesy: Peters Family Collection.

Figure 41
Sjaak Verschuren - Goalie for Jadran - a mixed migrant group soccer team at Northam - early c1960s.
Courtesy: Verschuren Family.

Figure 42
Wieman family - making their own fun in their 'gezellig' Dutch home - c1960s
Courtesy: Wieman family.

outings. However, the latter did not cater for children who were at the time not allowed into hotels. Consequently they were forced to spend the 'session' time either sitting in their parents' car or playing on the fringes of the beer garden. Drink-driving, although prevalent, was not then considered to be such a major problem as it is today.

The networks that new migrant groups ordinarily established on arrival in a new country greatly assisted those recently arrived Dutch, and helped to organise a place to live, a car, job, schools for the children, shopping and church attendance. When these were all in place, the breadwinners and their partners could begin thinking about the future, becoming Australian citizens and creating a sense of place identity and belonging in their new homeland. Issues relating to working in Australia are addressed in the Peters' chapters on work in Section IV and citizenship and sense of place, identity and belonging in Section V.

ENDNOTES

1 Peters, N, 'Just a Piece of Paper: Dutch Women in Western Australia', *Studies in Western Australian History*, 2000a.

2 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.

3 A great number of Dutch immigrants have fond memories of one of the three Victory ships - named after stars and constellations – *Groote Beer*, *Waterman* and *Zuiderkruis* were built with a multi-purpose design: to be used during as well as after the war. The immediate purpose of the three ships (Model VC2-S-AP 5) was to transport troops (about 1,500-1,600 men). At the end of 1946 the ships were purchased by the Dutch government and in the summer of 1947 made their first voyage to and from the Netherlands East Indies, now known as Indonesia. *MS The Groote Beer* then was managed by the *Stoomvaart Maatschappij Nederland*. In 1951, the *Groote Beer* was refitted for a civilian purpose: she became an emigrant ship able to accommodate approximately 850 passengers. The ship was placed under management of the Holland-America Line (HAL). In 1960, she was again transferred, this time to the *Scheepvaart Maatschappij Trans Ocean*. The *Waterman* and *Zuiderkruis* also became this company's responsibility (http://www.godutch.com/newspaper/index.php?id=308).

4 ABS 1954; ADL Newsletter December 1954, 7.

5 Peters, N., *Milk and Honey But No Gold, Postwar Migration to WA 1945-1964*, UWA Press 2001,123.

6 ibid.

7 I have written extensively about migrant camp life in *Milk and Honey But No Gold: Post-war Migration to Western Australia 1945-1964*· published by University of Western Australia Press in 2001. As I noted in that text Dutch migrants were also placed in Graylands migrant camp but less likely to be placed in Point Walter camp in Bicton which was mainly kept for British arrivals. Although there are always exceptions to this rule as some Dutch who arrived in the late 1970s have pointed out to me as they were accommodated at Point Walter. Noalimba migrant centre· opened some years later.

8 Hélén Meinema-de Boer, per.com August 2011.

9 Graylands Camps Booklets, Nedlands Public Library forthcoming in 2016.

10 NAA. PP340/1/0, Item 210/1/4 Pt 2.

11 Peters, 2001.

12. *West Australian Newspapers*, Thursday 27 October 1949 p.2

13 ibid

14 Peters, N., '*Trading Places: Greek, Italian, Dutch and Vietnamese Enterprise in Western Australia*', unpublished PhD thesis, University of Western Australia 2000.

15 Peters 2001.

16 Wolfs, F., interview, 1993.

17 Peters, 2001, 152.

18 Oosterman, 1975, 22, these authors claim that an additional motive driving Calvinists and Catholics was the Dutch Government's secular outlook — the emerging welfare state — that both religions resented being put into practice. To them it represented the destruction of their old-world values. Both religions had well-expressed purposes and programs in keeping with their basic beliefs, and because they came from authority-oriented backgrounds, were open to advice and imperatives from official immigration bodies. The fact, that Calvinists could immediately join a familiar Reform church groups in the new land, also helped cultivate a positive attitude towards emigration.

19 Deenick, J.W (Ge, Ed), *A Church En Route: 40 years Reformed Churches of Australia*, Reformed Churches Publishing House, Geelong, Victoria, 1991.

20 Arent de Graaf, 'My Memories of Piet Pellicaan' 2008 (Unpublished observations).

21 ibid

22 ibid

23 Bosveld, Gerrit Johannes, *Free Reformed Pioneers, A History of Migrants from The Netherlands to Australia and the early days of the Free Reformed Churches in Western Australia in the 1950s*, Pro Ecclesia publishers, Western Australia, 2008.

24 Rowland, D, 'Ageing and the Future' in N. Peters (ed), *The Dutch Down Under 1606-2006* (Perth, 2006, 350-364); P. Neeleman, '*Care of the Dutch Aged in Victoria: Today and Future Options*', in B. Grüter and J. Stracke, (eds) '*Dutch Australians Taking Stock: Proceedings of the First National Dutch Community Conference and Supplementary Papers*' (Melbourne 1993) (97-106).

25 ibid.

26 McHugh, S.A, Marrying Out: Catholic-Protestant Unions in Australia 1920-1970, University of Wollongong Research Online: http://ro.uow.edu.au/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1030&context=creartspapers.

27 Heritage Council of WA study of 48 Riversdale Rd, Rivervale. In 1948, this house was transferred to the Pious Society of Missions Incorporated also known as the Pallotines.

28 ibid.

29 Creek, M., 'You Know You've Got a Roof Over Your Head: The War Service Homes Scheme', in Jenny Gregory (ed) *On the Homefront*, Perth 1996, 251-256.

30 Jupp, *Australians from 1939*, Vol 5, 1988, 82; Creek, 1996.

31 WA's narrow gauge rail lines required people to change trains at the border of South Australia (SA) to the South Australia Standard Gauge tracks until the late 1950s when WA transitioned to standard gauge using migrant labour.

32 Interview C. Wieman 2013.

33 Peters, 2000a.

34 Creek 1996.

35 https://minerva-access.unimelb.edu.au/handle/11343/48405

36 A. Crick nee Berens, per.com. 2000.

37 Oorschot, H., *The Life of a Dutch Migrant*, Perth, 2012.

38 http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Topping_out

39 'Contact Newsletter', May 1964, 8.

40 De grondslag van elke Credit Union is om geld, ontvangen van spaarders, of via andere bronnen verkregen, tegen en zo laag mogelijke interest aan de leden beschikbaar te stellen. Het minimum bedrag, dat wordt uitgeleend is £150.00.00 en het maximum bedrag is £2,000.00.00 De maximum period waarover afbetaaling kan plaatsvinden is vier jaar in maandelijkse termijnen. Alle Leningen, zijn verzekeerd tegen het eventuel overlijden van de lener. Deze verzekering kost de lener niets.

41 Walker-Birckhead, W., 'A Dutch Home in Australia: Dutch Women's Migration Stories' in *The Dutch Down Under 1606-2006*, 2; 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: Both religions encouraged the exodus of large families as these were less likely to return.

42 http://www.slate.com/articles/double_x/doublex/2010/11/going_dutch.html

43 Taft, R. 1961. 'The Assimilation of Dutch Male Immigrants in a Western Australian Community.' *Human Relations* 14, pp. 265-271.