Dutch Migration to Tasmania in 1950: Motivation, Intention and Assimilation

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A thesis submitted as part of the requirements for the degree of Bachelor of Arts with Honours in History School of History and Classics
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Declarations

I certify that this th	nesis is all my	own work,	except as	indicated	d and
acknowledged, and	that I have no	ot submitted	l it for any	other av	ward.

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List of Abbreviations

ABC Australian Building Corporation

CCC Commonwealth Credit Corporation

C of E Church of England

G7 The group of men who agreed to come to Tasmania to start a new life

together, and more fully described in these pages.

HEC The Hydro-Electric Commission

Hfl the Dutch Guilder, worth approx 1/4 of an Australian pound in 1950.

NIPO The Netherlands Institute for Public Opinion

OVMG Oorlog Verzetsmateriaal Groningen

(WWII Resistance Museum, Groningen)

RSL Returned Servicemen League

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Let me encourage all readers to forward suggested additions, deletions and corrections to me so that justice may be done to the history of the pioneers described in these pages.

INTRODUCTION

The object of this thesis is to examine the motivations, intentions and the attempted assimilation of the Dutch migrants who came to Tasmania in 1950, with particular focus on a group called, for the purpose of this study, the Groningen Seven, (abbreviated to G7). These men were Barteld Jan Folkerts, born 18/9/1911, painter, of Dorus Rijkerstraat 1a, Groningen; Fokke Haan, born 5/4/1903, manufacturer, of Tuinbouwdwarsstraat 22a, Groningen; Eerke Jacob van der Laan, born 31/10/1903, confidential clerk¹ of Koninginnelaan 19a, Groningen; Pieter Laning, born 2/2/1914, representative, of Semarangstraat 20b, Groningen; Egbert Pinkster,² born 6/8/1910, Managing Director (1940-1945 Foundation), of Paterswoldscheweg 51a, Groningen; Jan Thomas Steen, born 30/8/1912, municipal official, of van Heemskerckstraat 26b, Groningen; and Jan de Vries, born 28/12/1910, shopkeeper, of Nieuwe Ebbingestraat 44/1, Groningen; and their wives and children. Geert de Haan, born 8/10/1911, contractor, of Wierdaweg, Winsum, was added to the group at a later stage, and Fokke Haan failed to leave the Netherlands.³

This thesis will show, from original documents, why the G7 were motivated to abandon their homeland, what they intended to do in Tasmania, and how they attempted to become an integral part of Tasmanian society.⁴ The key documents to be examined were written about the time of the events by the migrants themselves. Some other documents of the period, including letters, diaries, newspaper articles and protocols (agreements) will also be examined. Some of these documents were written in English, others in Dutch, some by the migrants, others about them.

There have been many studies made of the Dutch migrants to Australia, all of which have significant shortcomings. The studies invariably treat the Dutch as a homogenous ethnic group, and or are based on recollections and or have used samples that are small and far from random. This has led to unsatisfactory conclusions being drawn concerning their assimilation and the cultural structures that are claimed to now exist. The derivation of motivation and

For the Noord-Nederland Zakkenhandel N.V. te Groningen. *Nieuwsblad van het Noorden*, 18 Juni 1953.

² Usually called Eb.

³ Ten agreed to emigrate to Tasmania, but four failed to leave, and one replacement was added.

⁴ The variation or deviation from intention as observed by others occurs after the period being examined here.

intention from visible social structures does injury to the record and the individuals involved. Also, most studies focus on the large group of migrants that followed the pioneers, but not on the pioneers, where information is scarce. This makes comparisons more difficult to make.

According to Lijphart, the Netherlands was actually comprised of four social or class blocks, commonly called pillars (*verzuiling*).⁶ These were belief based, and comprised the Roman Catholics, the Calvinists, the Socialists, and the Liberals.⁷ Each block, broadly speaking, had its own political party, trade union, employers' union, schools, universities, emigration assistance organisation, and media organisation. These structures inevitably limited interaction between blocks and individuals. Less than fifteen percent of individual friendships were made outside the social block ,⁸ and intermarriage rates were low.⁹ Importantly and exceptionally, allegiance to the social block was higher than national allegiance.¹⁰ Of all the differences between the blocks, for the purpose of this study, the important variation that Lijphart found was that Calvinists were more likely (38%) than Roman Catholics (29%) or secularists (27%) to cooperate with others to gain political outcomes, especially at a local level, and less likely to do nothing.¹¹ A Canadian study found that Calvinists were more likely to emigrate (28.3% of emigrants, but less than 10% of the

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⁵ Figures in Appendix A.

⁶ Only Overberg, of all those consulted, acknowledges the critical necessity to understand this aspect of Dutch society. H. Overberg, 'Verzuiling and Dutch Migration to Australia' in Jupp, J., (ed) The Australian people: An Encyclopedia of the Nation, Its people and their Origins, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1988. pp. 259-265.

A. Lijphart, *The Politics of Accommodation: Pluralism and Democracy in the Netherlands*, University of California Press, Berkeley & Los Angeles, 1968. p23. The Socialists are secular lower and lower middle class and the Liberals are secular upper middle and upper class. Speerstra notes that *verzuiling* meant a Christelijke Emigratie Centrale (CEC), a Katholieke Emigratie Centrale (KEC) and an Algemeen Emigratie Comité (AEC) were established. H. Speerstra, *Het wrede Paradijs*, Uitgeverij Contact BV, Arnhem, 2002. p.23.

⁸ Lijphart, op. cit., p.55. In 1947 the rates were as high as 12.6%, dependent on block, but in 1960 had dropped to about 5.5% for all the blocks.

⁹ *ibid.*, p.191. In 1947 the rates were as high as 12.6%, dependent on block, but in 1960 had dropped to about 5.5% for all the blocks.

¹⁰ *ibid.*, p.22. This finding was in contrast to all the other countries surveyed for this study.

ibid., p.155. Calvinists were more likely (68%) than Roman Catholics (56%) or secularists (53%) to be politically involved at some level in Dutch society. See also R. Julian, 'The Dutch in Tasmania: An Exploration of Ethnicity and Immigrant Adaptation', University of Tasmania, 1989, pp. 83-85.

Dutch population).¹² These findings suggest a possible overrepresentation of Calvinist beliefs in a study of Dutch migrants. It seems that Calvinists had very strong convictions about their place and role in the world.

In previous studies of the Dutch migrants, the existence of the four blocks has been totally ignored¹³ or not well understood, or insufficiently represented in study samples.¹⁴ Failure to recognise the variations has led to confused study conclusions because there are too many variables to find a coherent pattern. Thus Zubrzycki concluded that 'in Moe, the Dutch population is simply a collection of individuals of common ethnic origin who happen to live within the boundaries of a local government unit.' Most studies of Dutch migrants that do recognise the pillars of Dutch society treat the Socialists and Liberals as one group, as opposite ends of one continuum.

Treating the Dutch as an homogenous block leads to confusion in description and analysis. The use of the term 'ethnic' leads to even more confusion. Martin uses this term for groups

¹² G. Oosterman, A. Guldemond, G. Vandezande, and J. Vreugdenhil, *To Find a Better Life: Aspects of Dutch Immigration to Canada and the United States 1920-1970*, National Union of Christian Schools, Grand Rapids, 1975. p.94. Comparison figures for Australia are difficult to define because of different classifications and a high rate of no reply. Zubryzcki claims 16.4% Presbyterian and 7.2% other Christian from the 1954 census, but how these definitions relate to Dutch Calvinists is unclear. J. Zubrzycki, *Immigration in Australia: A Demographic Survey Based on the 1954 Census* Parkville, Melbourne University Press on behalf of the Australian National University, 1960. p.60.

¹³ For example, Hempel studies employment only, for the period 1954-59, but cannot explore variations caused by religious outlook because he totally ignores this variable. J., Hempel, *Dutch Migrants in Queensland*, Australian National University, Canberra, 1960. Hawkins ignores both religious outlook and occupation, which limits the value of her analysis. F. Hawkins, *Critical Years in Immigration: Canada and Australia Compared*, McGill-Queen's University Press, Toronto, 1989.

¹⁴ Julian acknowledges that individuals in the Netherlands are influenced in socialization by religion, region and class differences in their identification of self and others, but treats these elements as constituents of national ethnicity. Julian, *op. cit.*, p.310.

¹⁵ J. Zubrzycki, *Settlers of the Latrobe Valley*, The Australian National University, Canberra, 1964. Zubryzcki noted, in contrast, that the Ukrainians in the Latrobe Valley put nationalism before religion. He did not, however, examine the interrelationship between Ukrainian nationalism and religion, nor did he examine the prospect that Ukrainians in Australia saw themselves as 'keepers of the flame' and preservers of the true heritage whilst their country was occupied by Stalinist Russia. p.181. This view would be consistent with the finding that 73% of Ukrainians taught there language to their children, whilst only 6% of the Dutch did so. H Overberg *op. cit.*, p.260. In a speech to the Multicultural Documentary Heritage Workshop at the National Library of Australia in Canberra on 9 and 10 June 2004, Maie Barrow of the Estonian Archives in Australia made this very point - because their country was occupied, the *diaspora* in Australia felt compelled to preserve the true heritage of their country.

and cultures of non-Anglo-Saxon background.¹⁶ Julian quotes Weber to define ethnic groups as 'non-kinship human groups which cherish a belief in their common origins of such a kind that it provides a basis for the formation of a community'¹⁷ and on this definition the Dutch exist as an ethnic group, united by language, the House of Orange-Nassau, and their history.¹⁸ For the purpose of this study, the concept of the Dutch as an ethnic group will be defined by these national cultural elements. However, Julian again cites Weber to define an ethnic community - 'usually presupposes the existence of a political, linguistic or religious community'-¹⁹ and, applying this definition to the description of Lijphart, the Dutch are four ethnic groups. For the purpose of this study, because the literature usually treats the secular as one block, the Dutch will be treated as three ethnic groups at the level of religious belief. This study will show that the G7 belonged to one ethnic group, religiously defined, in addition to the Dutch national ethnic group, and usually to the local ethnic group as soon as they arrived in Tasmania. This study will show that the G7 mobilized one of three ethnic identities, both before leaving their homeland and after arriving here,²⁰ to achieve social and economic gains for the individual and the group.

This study will show that the group we are calling G7 is part of one Dutch pillar, the Calvinist, so eliminating the variables of origin and background characteristics. This has implications for the Julian study, which concluded that the effects of variable origin and background characteristics do not allow a coherent pattern to be found,²¹ and therefore that ethnicity is not useful to explain the adaptation of the Dutch migrants to Australian society. Non-differentiation between the two levels of Dutch national and pillar ethnicity has led to this conclusion, and therefore failed to eliminate the possible usefulness of ethnic analysis.

¹⁶ J.I., Martin, *The Migrant Presence: Australian Responses 1947-1977*, George Allen and Unwin, Sydney, 1978. p.16.

¹⁷ Julian, *op. cit.*, p.22.

¹⁸ All these factors were given extra impetus by the German persecution of the Jews and the insistence on Nazification from 1940-1945. W. Warmbrunn, *The Dutch under German Occupation 1940-1945*, Stanford University Press, Stanford, 1963, pp. 277-278. Elich claims Netherlander can be seen as an ethnic group, dependent on definition of ethnicity. J H Elich, *De Omgekeerde Wereld: Nederlanders als Ethnische Groep in Australië* Rijksuniversiteit te Leiden, 1985, p74. ¹⁹ Julian, *op. cit.*, p.24.

The mobilisation of ethnicity is taken to mean 'the situationally specific adaptive strategy chosen by the migrant for expressive purposes and or to improve access to scarce resources such as power.' *ibid.*, pp. iii and 25. The factors which Julian claims cause the mobilization of ethnicity are variables such as skill level, education, religion and cultural compatibility. *ibid.*, p.73. Lijphart demonstrated that religion is the basis of an ethnic identity, to which skill level and education and culture are subservient. Julian treats these elements as equal, without demonstration, making eventual analysis difficult.

²¹ Julian called for small scale studies of the variability of origin to understand the process of immigrant adaptation. *ibid.*, p.10.

Each ethnic pillar has dogmas and conventions to guide and govern behaviour which may or not be transferrable to other ethnic groups. An ethnic community is necessary to retain ethnic traits,²² and so, to retain the Calvinist pillar, an ethnic community exists because it is Calvinist, not because it is Dutch. The Roman Catholic pillar became an ethnic community of Roman Catholics with Irish and Italian and other groups to maintain their Catholicism, not their Dutchness.

Ethnic communities exist, according to Julian, and where they do, 'diffuse ethnic relationships may be mobilized for a variety of instrumental and expressive purposes which include the satisfaction of educational, religious, occupational, residential and linguistic needs.'²³ This descriptive statement is perfectly sensible if the definition of Martin is used. However, removal of the word 'ethnic' shows that the explanation is superfluous, because her statement then reads, 'where communities exist diffuse relationships may be mobilized for a variety of instrumental and expressive purposes which include the satisfaction of educational, religious, occupational, residential and linguistic needs.' These different uses and understandings of the term 'ethnicity' explain the conclusion reached by Julian, that 'ethnicity is not useful to explain the adaptation of the Dutch migrants to Australia.'²⁴

Julian conducted a sociological study, based on recollections, nearly forty years after the event, of selected participants.²⁵ These are presented as case studies, in which the participants were given aliases.²⁶ From their information and current observations she interpolates the motivations of the Dutch migrants to Tasmania. As an outsider, Julian was not always able to discern the veracity of assertions made by persuasive, charismatic, witnesses. Like other works based on recollections, all of which suffer from a lack of random samples, participants were selected because they were available and willing to cooperate and recommended by a fellow participant or were found in the same place, such as a Dutch migrant social club. To compound the problem, the samples are generally small, making even

²² *ibid.*, p.24.

²³ *ibid.*, p.27. Communities are defined as 'a relatively homogenous human group, experiencing little mobility, interacting and participating in a wide range of activities, and sharing an awareness of common life and personal bonds ...' ibid., p23.

²⁴ *ibid.*, p.10.

²⁵ *ibid.*, p.6.

To no avail for this author, with intimate knowledge of the community of Kingston, a knowledge gained during 30 years as a shopkeeper, and 50 years living, in Kingston, beginning when the population was very small.

the semblance of representativeness impossible.²⁷

Lack of access to original documentation potentially confuses motivation and consequence, cause and effect. Julian notes that 'mobilisation of ethnicity is a specific adaptive strategy,'28 but finds that ethnicity has a limited explanatory power in the process of immigrant adaptation.²⁹ Alternate explanations must be discovered, preferably those grounded in the expressions of intent that the participants made at that time. Anything else is imposed, can produce contradictory data, and does injury to the individuals involved and to the conclusions drawn.

There is very little documentation concerning the intentions of Dutch migrants generally. What exists is usually consistent with the finding that few knew about where they were going, or had much competence with the language. Accounts of intentions are only found in accounts of recollections, tempered by experience and moulded by the expectations of others. Invariably the intentions concern leaving the Netherlands, about getting away from something, about refusal to put up with a situation because an alternate was available. Only Koos Schuur seems to have kept any sort of record resembling a diary. For a writer he was decidedly vague, and expressed ideas concerning a better future for his children, as an afterthought.³⁰ In contrast, the G7 had clearly defined and documented intentions. They were going somewhere with an objective, and never mentioned their children.³¹ Beijer found that

The sample of A.L. van Wamel, 'Nederland mijn moeder, Australië mijn bruid', Doctoral Thesis, Catholic University, Nijmegen, 1993. constituted 47 individuals, Speerstra, op. cit., used 30, E., Zierke, (ed) Old Ties, New Beginnings: Dutch Women in Australia DutchCare Ltd, Carum Downs, 1997, interviewed 20 individuals, M.G. Watt, 'Little Groningen: Some Aspects of Bilingualism and Acculturation among Dutch Immigrants in Kingborough, Tasmania'. Unpublished (B Ed) Thesis, Uni of Tas. sample size was 24, and J. Jupp, Arrivals and Departures, Lansdowne Press, Melbourne, 1966, used 37. Julian, op. cit., used 11 respondents and concedes that her sample was not randomly selected from the Dutch migrants in southern Tasmania. p.6.

²⁸ *ibid.*, p. iii.

²⁹ *ibid.*, p. iv.

³⁰ K. Schuur, *De Kookaburra lacht*, Uitgeverij De Bezige Bij, Amsterdam, 1966. p.46.

p.46.
³¹ Van der Laan had 3 children, aged from 20 to 4 years old, Pinkster had 4 aged from 14 to 8, de Haan had 4 aged from 13 to 9, Laning had 3 aged from 3 to new born, Steen had 3 aged from 7 to 3, Folkerts had 5 aged from 13 to 3, and de Vries had 3 aged from 10 to 3. Details collated from National Archives (Immigration records), Reformed Church of Kingston records, and headstone records (C of E cemetery, Kingston and North-West Bay cemetery, Sandfly Rd, Margate). Children are first mentioned by the G7 in an article in *The Mercury* 12 Sept 1950, p.4, and then as the third reason for emigrating.

the motive "a better future for the children' was often used as a mask for social ambition,³² and more likely to be true for older migrants or for those with more children.³³

Van der Mast made an early major study of Dutch migrants around the world with a particular focus on their assimilation, the implementation of their goal to integrate.³⁴ He had the opportunity to interview all the G7 and their wives, except for vd Laan who died suddenly in April 1959, but did not examine their motivations or intentions. He found that in Kingston integration was successfully achieved, that for example the G7 spawned ten other building companies in Kingston,³⁵ that the majority were busy working and assimilating, that there was no Dutch enclave or thoughts of a Dutch colony,³⁶ and that one-third of marriages were with a local partner.³⁷ Overall, he found that individuals adopted and discarded cultural elements, not national ethnicity, to satisfy themselves, as and when required.³⁸

A comprehensive statistical study conducted in the mid-1950s claimed to prove that it was not necessary to migrate for economic or employment reasons.³⁹ This study was undertaken on commission of the government of the Netherlands, based on interviews with more than 1200 emigrants *en route*, but randomly selected. The study followed all statistical conventions, and showed that more than half of emigrants did not read about their destination, but took the recommendation of a pioneering friend.⁴⁰ The typical migrant was found to be intelligent; with occupational skills; industrious; positive in personality; energetic and enterprising in character; open and cheerful in temperament; and directed and purposeful, or

³² G. Beijer, (ed), *Characteristics of Overseas Migrants* Government Printing and Publishing Office, The Hague, 1961. p.18.

³³ Beijer, *op. cit.*, p.77. Van der Laan was 46 years old, Pinkster was 40, de Haan was 39, Laning was 36, Steen was 38, Folkerts was 39, and de Vries was 40 years old. Ages calculated from the *Acte van Overeenkomst*.

³⁴ W. van der Mast, *Praktijk en patroon van recente Nederlandse groepsmigraties*. Met een suggestie voor een gewijzigde vorm van groepsmigreren: Interlinked migratie. Groningen, 1963. The study examined Dutch migrant groups, the *diaspora*, in many places in the world.

³⁵ *ibid.*, p.79.

³⁶ *ibid.*, pp. 82, 83, 95.

³⁷ *ibid.*, p.83. A marked contrast to the intermarriage rates of the stay at homes. This may be partly due to the male female ration among the Dutch speakers - 117 Females per 100 Males. ABS Table 77 <www.abs.gov.au/Ausstats/abs@.nsf/92498cbb6e1f71fdca2568b5007b861b/704

¹⁸⁹⁴c6b42b791ca256daf007f634c!OpenDocument> accessed 23 August 2005. On the other hand, some intentions to assimilate were sabotaged by later migrants, because they were sufficient in number to make alternate outcomes viable.

³⁸ Van der Mast., pp. 92, 93. Effectively adopting different ethnic identities to suit the occasion.

³⁹ Beijer, op. cit.

⁴⁰ *ibid.*, p.13.

adventurous and self-expressing.⁴¹ The author warned that a confluence of factors does not lead to emigration, and that the survey was only indicative of causal factors.⁴²

The study by Peters⁴³ is of all the major migrant groups to Western Australia, especially after the Second World War. It is derived from official documents and individual memories which are a non-representative, non-random, sample of accidental volunteers. It has little value for this study except for some comparative data. A minor study of Dutch migrants in Kingston was made by Watt in 1980, but his focus was on the use of language and the extent of assimilation as so measured.⁴⁴

The date range of February 1950 to September 1950 was chosen because the primary documents date from this period and there is insufficient space to consider more. The documents are chosen because they were generated by the G7 at the time of the events they describe and can be contextualized with other documents such as letters and newspaper articles of the same period.⁴⁵ Although there may be a temptation by the authors to impress their colleagues and thus omit some negatives, the general tone and the details given suggest that objectivity rather than subjectivity is the key characteristic of these reports.⁴⁶ The authors openly acknowledge the difficulties which are to be overcome, both major and minor. Whether the dearth of accommodation, transport, or public transport, or the shortage of building materials or decent coffee, to mention just a few items, all were openly conceded. Documents from later periods are used to confirm the original intentions.

Documentary sources were selected because they represent voices from the period under consideration and were created at the time. Though intended as factual reports as commissioned by their colleagues, they are revealing of personality and opinion recorded spontaneously, without editing or knowledge of subsequent events or attempt to influence

⁴⁶ J Tosh, *The Pursuit of History*, Longman Group, Harlow, 1991. pp. 61-62.

⁴¹ *ibid.*, p.239.

⁴² *ibid.*, p.161. For example, two of the G7, EJ vdLaan and Pieter Laning, were survivors of the Neuengamme concentration camp. They are listed as such on the site <www.vriendenkringneuengamme.nl/TabelOverlevenden.htm> but without any other detail.

N. Peters, Milk and Honey, but no Gold: post-war migration to Western Australia, 1945-1964, University of Western Australia Press, Nedlands, 2001.
 Watt, op. cit.

⁴⁵ G. Prins, 'Oral History' pp. 120-156. in Burke, P., (ed) *New Perspectives on Historical Writing*, 2nd edition, Polity Press, Cambridge, 2001. p.125.

posterity.⁴⁷ As reports they are easier to understand than normal letters which may be in response to received communication, in which case that also needs to be available for a full understanding.⁴⁸ In contrast, recollections are not used because G7 recollections are mostly not available.⁴⁹ Generally, recollections are not used in this study because they are subject to embellishment, can be selective, incomplete or inventive, and are not always subject to verification. The recollections that are consulted in this study are from other emigrants, in other times and other places, for context and validation only.

A discussion of memory is important for this study because all the studies on and about this subject are based on memories. Analysis and conclusions thus derived are less stable than those derived from studies of original documents. Some recollections are autobiographies or written by a family member. These tend to be collections of anecdotes, with no attempt to analyse or describe cause and effect. There are more substantial collections of memories, gathered by professional authors and researchers⁵⁰ and so more focussed, although not necessarily more analytical. They are presented as oral history which means they are an oral source, as opposed to a documentary source.⁵¹ These sources are essentially personal reminiscences, specific to one individual, which normally do not survive the individual or, if they do survive fade with each successive generation.⁵² However collected and recorded, memories contain 'unwitting testimony' meaning information it was not intended or designed to convey,⁵³ so it has more than face value, but can only ever supplement documented accounts.

One reason memory is selective is offered by the French moralist la Rochefoucald (1613-80) who demonstrated the predominance of pride and self-interest in human character and

.

⁴⁷ *ibid.*, pp. 45-47, A Marwick, *The Nature of History*, Macmillan, & Co, London, 1970. p.136, G Mc Culloch *Documentary Research in Education, History and the Social Sciences*, RoutledgeFalmer, London, 2004. p.101.

⁴⁸ *ibid.*, p.113. The G7 scouts received many pieces of correspondence, all noted in their letters. It seems that this either concerned technical details about the prefabs, or questions concerning what to bring from the Netherlands. I believe that Kusha Bolt (kushabolt@btinternet.com) holds some or all of the received correspondence and is using same for a book she is preparing.

⁴⁹ Of the G7 and their wives, only Dineke Laning is still alive at the time of writing.

⁵⁰ For example Speerstra, op. cit., Oosterman, et al, op. cit., Van Wamel, op. cit.

⁵¹ Marwick, *op. cit.*, p.171.

⁵² Prins, *op. cit.*, p.126.

Marwick, op. cit., p.173. But so do documents, as for example, the letters of the Younger Pliny, which give a vivid account of family life in ancient Rome, although not one letter intended to achieve that.

conduct.⁵⁴ The self will present the best possible version of events to advance the status of the self. Thus judgements are made by individuals to their memories,⁵⁵ to wholly or partially include or exclude past events.⁵⁶ As a consequence, then, memory has the problematics of absence, distance, witness, testimony, trace, tradition, nostalgia and forgetting.⁵⁷ The subsequent product is thus but a trace, a remnant, an incomplete past, which was never complete even at the time of the event.⁵⁸

Halbwach claims that memories are incomplete and thus unreliable because 'we continually reinvent the past in our living memories'.⁵⁹ Inasmuch as we reassemble elements of memory and present these to advance the self, this is consistent with la Rochefoucald. Foucault extends this discussion to the group, the community, and claims that the present informs the memory to suit present needs. This empowers some sections of the community to shape the communal memory, to reconstruct it to their own end.⁶⁰ Forces of this nature are probably involved in the creation and maintenance of, for example, nationalism. In this study it seems that the collection and manipulation of memory is done solely for academic gain, excepting for the work done by Speerstra.⁶¹

The following original documents are extensive and extant, and form the basis of this study. A document prepared by the G7 before they emigrated and which they called an *Acte van Overeenkomst* is dated by them as 16 March 1950. An English translation of this, prepared by the same group, and with the same nominal date, is called by them the *Deed of Contract*. Two of the group were sent on ahead as scouts. These two wrote reports to their colleagues which for this exercise I will call the ABC letters and to which I have given nominal page numbers, although all references will be to the date of writing of each letter.

Although written after the immediate period under review, the Protocol of, and Minutes of

⁵⁴ T. Mautner, (ed) *The Penguin Dictionary of Philosophy*, Penguin Books, London, 2000.

⁵⁵ M K Matsuda, *The Memory of the Modern*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1996. p.14.

⁵⁶ *ibid.*, p.6. TV programs, publications, contact with others and time can all colour recollections. Van Wamel, *op. cit.*, p.29.

⁵⁷ Matsuda, *op. cit.*, p.7.

⁵⁸ *ibid.*, p.17.

⁵⁹ P.H., Hutton, *History as an Act of Memory*, University Press of New England, Hanover, 1993. p.7. ⁶⁰ *ibid.*, p.6.

Generally, the books and papers treating this subject are not available, except in academic libraries. The work by Speerstra was funded by the Fonds Bijzondere Journalistieke Projecten and written for the general reader.

Session meetings of, the Reformed Churches of Penguin and Kingston, and the Protocol of Calvin School not only indicate deviation from the original intention but also shed light on the original intention. This also holds for some private letters that have been made available for this study and will be useful to corroborate details. Various public documents such as the local newspaper The Mercury, 62 and other newspapers and magazines, both Dutch and English, were always intended for public consumption, and relevant articles have been noted. Official records generated for the Immigration Department and held by the National Archives, plus Tasmanian State Government and Kingborough Council documents held by the Archives Office of Tasmania have also been consulted. The Resistance Museum (Groningen)⁶³ files will tell something of the nature of the G7 men. For comparative purposes, the documents originating from or being about some other Dutch migrants to Tasmania will also be examined. Additional information will come from studies already made about various aspects of the migration experience, including to other parts of Australia and the Americas. Pertinent Federal, State and local government documents will also be examined to achieve the object of the study.

The documents will be examined with a view to establishing the importance of ethnic factors such as culture, religion, language, customs to the motivation and integration of the G7. The influence of social cohesion and cultural ties will be tested. It will be seen that the elements of ethnicity such as religion, culture, language, and customs are easily mobilized and discarded by individuals for individual advantage, because individuals adopt different ethnicities according to situation. Individuals decline to be bound by the definition of one ethnicity. which is why ethnicity *per se* has limited explanatory power in the process of immigrant assimilation.⁶⁴

There are several benefits this study can provide. The G7 were the inspiration for the Christian Parent-Controlled School Association in Australia, and thus the beginning of their

⁶² In the seven months April to October 1950, *The Mercury* seems to favour Dutch migrants over others, always describing them as Dutch and in a positive light. *The Mercury* 4 Apr, p.5; 24 May, p.4; 27 Jun p.1; 28 Jun p.5; 21 Jul, p.3; 22 Jul, p.7; 12 Aug, p.6; 12 Sept, p.4; 28 Sept, p.3. Other migrants, including those from the UK, are invariably called 'migrants', 'Europeans', or 'New Australians'. *The Mercury* 18 Apr, p.10; 19 Apr, p.9; 22 Apr, p.3; 4 May, p.;, 17 May, p.18; 24 Jun p.4; 26 Jun back page; 1 Jul, p.18; 14 Jul, p.23; 23 Aug, p.2; 27 Sept, p.5; 6 Oct, p.6; 13 Oct, p.23, and 18 Oct, p.4. Migrants from the UK are only called Brits 2 times - 31 May, p.1 and 3 Jun, p.1.

Stichting Oorlogs en Verzetsmateriaal Groningen. <www.ovmg.nl>
4 Julian, op. cit., p. iv.

history.⁶⁵ This study will therefore be prerequisite to any historical study of this nation-wide movement. Previous studies have derived intentions and or imposed theories from implementation, from created structures such as this school movement, without access to source documents. That is, they have not had access to a full picture of what happened first, so this study offers a base for a partial correction.⁶⁶

This study could be used to demonstrate the advantage of group migration, but this has been done in various places already.⁶⁷ The study could also be used to show that for the G7, Christianity was not a religion of rites and rituals and relics but a relationship with God and this influenced their choice of actions, but this is more properly the focus for a thesis covering the immediate following period, that is, October 1950 - 1954.

In chapter one I examine the possible motivations of the G7 in particular and of Dutch migrants in general. I will first discuss the nature of the evidence used in immigration studies, and the value of recollections compared with the documents generated by or about the focus group at the time of the events described. A description of the social, political and economic landscape of both the Netherlands and Australia in the late 1940s and early 1950s follows. The influence of each of these factors on the motivations, both push and pull, will also be studied. A discussion of the nature and effect of social cohesion including the role of religion and the catalyst effect follows. Finally, the chapter looks at returnees to see if failure to succeed can inform reasons for success.

In the second chapter I examine the intentions of the G7 in particular, and of Dutch migrants in general. The focus of this chapter is the unique documentation prepared by the G7 before departure. To date the only other known documentation of intentions was prepared after the event, which makes their veracity dubious.

They insisted that parents are responsible for the education of their children, not the State or the Church [this part of their philosophy accepted by NSW Education Department 40 years later, see 'Values in NSW public schools' at <www.det.nsw.edu.au/policies/student_serv/student_welfare/valu_scool/PD20050 131.shtml> accessed 26/08/2005.

⁶⁶ Van Wamel calls for further study of the pioneer emigrants. Van Wamel, *op. cit.*, p.68. Julian also calls for more study of the Dutch migrants on the basis of their variable origin. Julian, *op. cit.*, p.10.

⁶⁷ See, for example, Peters, *op. cit.*, Elich, *op. cit.*, and Van der Mast, *op. cit.*, for studies on group migration. It could, however, be interesting to compare emigrant return rates, which in this study is nil and in other studies as high as 30%. Return rates are discussed at the end of chapter one.

In the third chapter I examine the experience of the G7 in the first few months in Tasmania and their attempt to assimilate. Integration into local society went quite smoothly in some respects, but there were disappointments too. In the first months in 1950, there was almost no mobilization of Dutch national or pillar ethnicity, but it could not be sustained. It seems the very success of the G7 in attracting migrants created a critical mass allowing perpetuation of elements of culture to be carried into the new way of life.

Chapter 1 - MOTIVATIONS

There is, in the Netherlands, an organisation called NIPO (Nederlandse Instituut voor de Publieke Opinie) which is in the business of conducting opinion polls. In one poll conducted in 1947, it was found that 70% of the population was convinced that a third World War was imminent and inevitable. The economic crisis of the 1930s and the five years of struggle against the German Nazi regime had reduced social structures and cohesion. Economic structures had also been weakened, and the prospects of normalisation, of the restoration of life and culture as it had been, seemed remote. That this was a factor was confirmed by the mid-1950s when economic and cultural structures had begun to normalise and the impetus to emigrate declined markedly.

That same NIPO poll in 1947 found that one third of the population was seriously considering emigration.⁷² The incipient flood was hindered by the severe shortage of shipping.⁷³ About one-quarter of the aspirant emigrants did eventually leave during the

^{**} H. Speerstra, Het wrede Paradijs, Uitgeverij Contact BV, Arnhem, 2002., p.21. ** ibid., p.18., N. Peters, Milk and Honey, but no Gold: post-war migration to Western Australia, 1945-1964, University of Western Australia Press, Nedlands, 2001., p.51. Approximately 250,000 Netherlanders died under the Nazi regime. A.L. Van Wamel, 'Nederland mijn moeder, Australië mijn bruid', Doctoral Thesis, Catholic University, Nijmegen, 1993., p.20.

⁷⁰ G. Beijer, (ed), *Characteristics of Overseas Migrants* Government Printing and Publishing Office, The Hague, 1961., p.252., E. Zierke, (ed) *Old Ties, New Beginnings: Dutch Women in Australia* DutchCare Ltd, Carum Downs, 1997., p.1., Van Wamel, *op.cit.*, p.24-25.

⁷¹ Beijer, *op.cit.*, p.252. Price claims the high return rate by 1974 (25.4%) was due to a prosperous Netherlands with excellent social services and retirement provisions. C.A., Price, *Australian Immigration: A Review of the Demographic Effects of Post-war Immigration on the Australian Population*, Research Report No2, Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra, 1975. p.11. Borrie predicted that Marshall Plan funds would effectively reduce the need and desire for emigration for this very reason. W D Borrie, *Immigration: Australia's Problems and Prospects*, Angus and Robertson, Sydney, 1949. p.57.
⁷² This was an increase on the finding of April 1946 which found that 22% would

This was an increase on the finding of April 1946 which found that 22% would emigrate if they could. Borrie, op.cit., p.61. The higher rate of 33% was still true in 1948, but the urge to leave Holland in order to build a new future overseas waned with the years. In 1962 only 12% were interested. A. Lijphart, *The Politics of Accommodation: Pluralism and Democracy in the Netherlands*, University of California Press, Berkeley & Los Angeles, 1968., p.95. The lower interest rate was due to the successful migration of many hundreds of thousands, and the improved economic and cultural outlook by then.

Speerstra, *op.cit*. According to the Stichting Landverhuizing Nederland, two million would have left between 1945 and 1950 if it had been physically possible. pp. 21-22.

1950s,⁷⁴ each for their own combination of reasons. The purpose of this chapter is to examine those reasons, generally as far as Dutch migrants are concerned, and particularly those of the G7.

There are three main places where these reasons are recorded. They are in abundance in recollections, either self-penned or collected by families or researchers several decades after the event, and this source contains the bulk of the record. The reasons can also be found, in smaller numbers, in research done by academics and journalists within the first few years of the migration event. The third source is documents, letters, diaries and photographs produced at that time of the emigration event, such as those produced by the G7.

As discussed in the introduction, there are difficulties associated with the use of recollections. There are no doubt events in the life of an individual which make such a deep impression, that are so traumatic, that the details can be vividly recollected with little stimulus more than half a life time later. Other memories can only be recalled with specific stimuli, perhaps a sequence of leading questions and or examining old photographs. The reliability of memory is, however, always subject to question and verification, especially concerning sequence of events. Less than three years after signing the Deed of Contract, Eb Pinkster, one of the G7, was quoted as saying the *Acte van Overeenkomst* was signed by all seven men and their wives, ⁷⁵ whereas in fact nobody signed this document and eight men only signed the English version. Recollections can also be shown to be faulty in a study of the application for naturalisation documents, which show that many people could not remember their date of arrival in Australia.⁷⁶

In contrast, the ABC letters on which this study is focused were written within days of the events by one or the other of the two scouts, Eerke van der Laan or Eb Pinkster, and usually by the first named. Although there may be a temptation by the authors to impress their colleagues and thus omit some negatives, the general tone and the details given suggest there was no such attempt made. The authors openly acknowledge the difficulties which are to be overcome and the challenges they face daily, both major and minor. Whether it be the dearth

⁷⁴ Figures in Appendix A

⁷⁵ De Spiegel, Christelijk National Weekblad, T. van Vliet (redacteur), Wageningen, The Netherlands. No. 7, 14 Nov. 1953. pp. 28-31.

Although not always complete, individual files held by the National Archives of Australia generally hold the arrival records and the papers concerned with their naturalisation process. A comparison of these records shows frequent discrepancies between recorded and remembered arrival dates.

of accommodation, or transport, or public toilets, or the shortage of building materials or decent coffee, to mention just a few, all were openly conceded.

The G7 were especially worried about the the international situation and the prospect of further war, and the scouts made this clear in their letters. In their imagination they could easily perceive that war in Korea could lead to Russia taking over Holland.⁷⁷ As the weeks went by they urged their colleagues to hurry to leave, to save themselves before the inevitable.⁷⁸ To *The Mercury* they explained that their reasons for migrating included the fact that they were well known as former underground workers, and they would not be safe if Holland was overrun during another war.⁷⁹ The fear was shared by the family of Australian immigration official Ian McArthur, based in The Hague. They advised him in October 1951 to be ready to run if the Russians came, something they considered a real possibility.⁸⁰ The fear was widespread, even a year later. The writer Koos Schuur had resigned himself to returning and being required to defend his sons against the inevitable Russian occupation.⁸¹ The fear did not last, and by 1956, fear of war was an issue with only 6% of emigrants.⁸²

The migrants that were officially encouraged to leave were those thought to be surplus to requirements in Holland. Many of these qualified for assisted passage from the Dutch government after the scheme was endorsed by both countries in February 1951.⁸³ Some of those who had left prior to this date (1947-1951) had qualified for assisted passage under the Empire and Allied Ex-Sevicemens's Scheme.⁸⁴ Altogether, about 60% of all Dutch migrants

Their reasoning was that the USA would become entangled in Korea, Formosa and Tibet and thus be overextended. This would make Europe vulnerable to Russia, which could easily and quickly move from the East German border across West Germany and overrun Holland. ABC letters, 05 July 1950, p.23, and 19 August 1950, p.52.

⁷⁸ 'We thought the international situation would stimulate your departure. It is safe here.' ABC letter, 14 July 1950, p.25. and again on 14 August 1950, p.42. ⁷⁹ The Mercury, 12 Sept 1950, p.4.

^{**} H. Martin, Angels and Arrogant Gods: Migration Officers and Migrants Reminisce 1945-85, Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra, 1988. p.21.

** K. Schuur, De Kookaburra lacht, Uitgeverij De Bezige Bij, Amsterdam, 1966., p.119.

⁸² Beijer, *op.cit.*, p.42.

⁸³ Peters, op.cit., p.18.

R. Julian, *The Dutch in Tasmania: An Exploration of Ethnicity and Immigrant Adaptation*, University of Tasmania, 1989. pp.88 & 93. This scheme ran from 1947 - 1955, and assisted 21,994 people, of whom 16,830 were Dutch nationals. The majority of these Dutch nationals were born, lived and served in Indonesia. H. Overberg *Verzuiling* and Dutch Migration to Australia' in Jupp, J., (ed) *The Australian people: An Encyclopedia of the Nation, Its people and their Origins*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1988. pp. 259-265., p.260.

arrived on assisted passage between 1947 and 1974.85 The 40% who had to make a significant sacrifice to find the fare, included all non-servicemen before February 1951, the relatively wealthy, and those required for reconstruction. It was the very trades that Holland required that Australia desired. Thus the G7 scouts advised their colleagues, "send out all who desire to come, just list a trade on their papers to expedite their departure."86 It might not have been the entire truth at the time, but their own experience over a few weeks convinced them these men could soon learn a trade sufficiently well to legitimise the claim. The goal was to help families who wanted to leave Holland and start a new life in Tasmania, not to develop a reputation for quality workmanship.87

It was the impression of Australian immigration officers that the Dutch working class were very badly off.88 Their situation had improved little by 1956, when the annual income of most emigrants was less than *Hfl*5000, considered to be a low standard of living, ⁸⁹ yet 94% of the respondents in this survey claimed to be reasonably well off.⁹⁰ Unemployment was not a factor either, for by 1955 Marshall Plan funds generated almost full employment in

⁸⁵ Peters, op.cit., p.20. The G7 reminded their colleagues that they all qualified for this assistance and this money would be needed as capital in their new business, as they had agreed. ABC Letters, 7 Aug 1950, p.50.

⁸⁶ ABC Letters, 19 June 1950, p.9. "Bij het aannemen van vakmanschap behoef je niet al te zeer kijken naar prima vakmanschap, als het maar behoorlijke mensen zijn, die flink willen meewerken ... geef op de applicatie-formulieren maar op, dat ze timmerman, metselaar, etc. zijn. Hier accepteert men dat wel en ze zijn wild op dat soort lui." The independent migrants Henny and Wietske Westerdijk chose Tasmania because it was desperate for tradesmen. 'waarom Tasmanië? Omdat ze daar om vaklui zaten te schreeuwen.' Speerstra, op.cit., p.265.

ABC Letters, 14 July 1950, p.25. In discussions with Mr Fagan, The Attorney General of Tasmania, they agreed that some unskilled labourers should also be permitted to migrate. 'We zyn overeengekomen, dat er bij de geschoolde krachten ook een aantal ongeschoolden mochten meekomen.' 14 June 1950, p.3. The ABC scouts thought there was plenty of work for unskilled labour and thus for all their compatriots - 'Naast elke vakman kunnen we zeker een ongeschoolde plaatsen, dus voor al onze mensen is er gemakkelik plaats.' ABC also sponsored teachers, electricians, p.17., farmhands p.23., aircraft maintenance technicians p.30. to name a few. The claim that 'the ABC sponsored skilled tradesmen from the Netherlands as a means of ensuring that it developed a reputation for quality workmanship.' is not correct, but possibly derives from the fact that the directors of the ABC were not builders and so needed tradesmen to validate their business. R. Julian, 'Dutch Settlement in Tasmania' in Jupp, J., (ed) The Australian people: An Encyclopaedia of the Nation, Its people and their Origins, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1988. pp.270-272.

Martin, Migration Officers ... op.cit., p.21.

⁸⁹ Beijer, op.cit., p.25. 38% = Hf/3-4000; 24% = Hf/2-3000; 15% = Hf/4-5000pa. In comparison, the one-way fare from Rotterdam to Melbourne in 1952 for a single adult was Hfl1200 C. Berry, Canned Rabbits and Corduroy, Ulverstone Council, 1992, back cover.

⁹⁰ Beijer, op.cit., p.42.

reconstruction.⁹¹ Beijer is convinced from his study that real economic need was not a driving force towards emigration.⁹² Jupp came to the same conclusion, albeit from a very small sample of interviewees.⁹³ The G7 were definitely not motivated to emigrate for economic reasons. Economic wants, on the other hand, were a key contributing factor. Beijer found that people inclined to emigrate were significantly less content with their prospects, whereas the stay-at-homes cited poor salary as the cause of their discontent.⁹⁴ Only Appleyard found to the contrary, although his study was limited to a small group of immigrants to Western Australia in the years 1959-1961.⁹⁵

Mass emigration has never been a feature of the history of the Netherlands with two exceptions, that spurred by religious persecution in 1849, and forty years later for economic reasons. In the 1930s there was a perception that the country was becoming too crowded and so people would need to be encouraged to leave. Nothing came of this because of the world-wide recession, and so there were no receiving countries. After the war the Dutch

⁹¹ Only 2% of emigrants were unemployed at the time they decided to leave. *ibid.*, p.44.

⁹² *ibid.*, p.82.

⁹³ Sample size of 37. J. Jupp, *Arrivals and Departures*, Lansdowne Press, Melbourne, 1966. p.131.

⁹⁴ Beijer, *op.cit.*, p.119.

⁹⁵ R.T. Appleyard, The Economics of Recent Emigration to Australia from Germany and the Netherlands. *International Migration* 1,1,29-37, p.36. See also Peters, *op.cit.*, p.44. It is not clear if Appleyard distinguished economic needs and wants. An alternate consideration is that his subjects belonged to the secular pillar. This would then agree with the finding by Koos Schuur in Sydney in June 1952, that migrants are only interested in money. 'This subject dominates their conversation to the exclusion of cultural discussions.' Schuur, *op.cit.*, p.101. In noting 'on his own' in the quotation 'In general, any migrant on his own in a strange country regards his bank account as his only trustworthy friend,' Martin is most likely also looking at individuals in the secular block. J.I. Martin, *The Migrant Presence: Australian Responses* 1947-1977, George Allen and Unwin, Sydney, 1978., p.162.

⁹⁶ A comparison of total emigration figures from Europe, 1846 to 1932 puts the Netherlands a lowly seventh on the list. The numbers are: British Isles 18,000,000; Italy 10,000,000; Germany 5,000,000; Scandinavia 2,900,000; France 520,000; Switzerland 350,000; Netherlands 250,000. Oosterman, et al, op.cit., p.94.

The birth rate was higher in the Netherlands than in the UK, Ireland, Belgium, France, Norway, Sweden and Denmark every year from 1934-1945. Borrie, op.cit., p.53.

⁹⁸ F. Hawkins, *Critical Years in Immigration: Canada and Australia Compared*, McGill-Queen's University Press, Toronto,1989. p.26.

government adopted policies to target surplus citizens and encourage them to emigrate. 99 At the same time Australia advertised, 100 and pioneer emigrants advised, of opportunities. 101 The Second World War had convinced the Australian government that the population should be boosted as soon as possible in the interest of long term security and economic growth. 102

In 1950 the Dutch Prime Minister Drees addressed the nation - 'A part of our folk must muster the courage, as people did in earlier times, to make their future in continents far away from here.'103 The G7 scouts interpreted this to mean, 'the Netherlands has put us aside, we must proceed [get on with our lives] in Australia ... we cannot go back.'104 In addition to speeches, the Dutch government established 300 emigration offices throughout the country by 1950 to facilitate the migration process. 105 Assistance with the cost of the passage did not begin until 1951, 106 except for ex-servicemen. The G7 claimed this status, and were recognized as such by the Australian government.¹⁰⁷ This allowed them to make plans to use the

⁹⁹ This had the potential to cause psychological confusion in the minds of emigrants. From the Dutch point of view, being an emigrant was associated with poverty, being surplus, gotten rid of. From the Australian point of view, they were needed or bought by Australia. W. Walker-Birckhead, 'Paying our way: private and public meanings of migration' Australian Journal of Anthropology, April 1998. pp. 3 and 7

^{100 &#}x27;Dutch migrants were valued for being 'almost' British and for their special capacity to assimilate, but not valued for being Dutch. ibid., p.10. cf Kingborough Councillor comments, footnotes, chapter 3.

Peters, op.cit., pp. 18 and 49. In February 1951 the Netherlands Assisted Passage Scheme was signed by both countries. The \$25 subsidised fare was introduced in the mid-1960s. E. Duyker, *The Dutch in Australia*, AE Press, Melbourne, 1987. p.103. Jack van Dongen chose Australia in 1957 because of reports from old clients who had gone before him. J.F. van Dongen, Why did you do it?, published by the author, Hobart, 2003. not paginated.

¹⁰² Australia has a long, albeit chequered history of seeking and assisting migrants, even in colonial times. World War 2 convinced the Chifley government to spread the source of migrants to include Europe, with a preference for 'Nordic' peoples. W D Borrie, The Peopling of Australia, University of Sydney, 1958. pp. 6-10. and Borrie, op.cit., p.87. The official bias is shown in the ratio of assisted to full fare paying migrants. For the period Oct 1945 to Dec 1957, 52% of British migrants were assisted, 56% of Dutch, 67% of Germans, 39% of Greeks and 18% of Italians. 89% of Polish migrants were assisted, but nearly all as Displaced Persons. Borrie Peopling Australia ..., op.cit., p.11. The Canadian government also preferred Dutch migrants because they were Nordic, the next best thing to White Anglo-Saxon Protestants. Oosterman, et al, op.cit., p.24.

Peters, op.cit., p.51, cites Elich Aan de Ene kant...

Voor ons heef

¹⁰⁴ ABC Letters, 14 July 1950, p.26. "Voor ons heeft Nederland afgedaan en wij moeten hier in Australië verder boeren. ... Voor ons is er geen terug meer" ¹⁰⁵ Peters, *op.cit.*, p.72.

Julian, op.cit., p.88.

ABC letters, 27 June + 7 August 1950, pp. 17 and 50. However, the RSL rejected their application for membership. ABC letters p.17.

money¹⁰⁸ which would be paid out on their arrival in Australia.

The decision to leave was not undertaken lightly. Leaving meant saying good-bye to friends, family, neighbours, town and country. Being an emigrant was associated with poverty, being surplus, gotten rid of, in the early years of the emigration program. There was no prospect of return, of seeing loved ones again, except perchance they followed. The distance was too great, the expense beyond expectations. Communication was limited to letters, sometimes a telegram if the matter was urgent, a telephone call beyond imagining. An international telephone call was a community event, so rare and costly the whole town was somehow involved, at least in knowledge of the event.

Coping with the emotion of abandoning a complete suite of social relationships to manufacture a new set in a distant place, is a subject which tends to be glossed over in the recollections. If we consider this to be the largest part of the decision making process, then perhaps the fact that few emigrants bothered to research their destination, ¹¹⁴ or gave a second thought to their knowledge, or lack, of English, ¹¹⁵ can be understood as a minor consideration. In fact, it was the decision to emigrate that was the major decision people made. The lesser

In the *Acte van Overeenkomst* they promised to deposit the proceeds in the capital fund of their construction business. Article 6.

¹⁰⁹ Peters, *op.cit.*, p.61.

¹¹⁰ Walker-Birckhead, op.cit., p.3.

Canned Rabbits, simply records the typical experience. 'As their ship sailed, Tony van Rooyen was told 'there [quayside] are your Opa and Oma, you'll never see them again." Berry, *op.cit.*, p.1. The cost of returning was the main preclusion to such a possibility. For the 170,000 displaced persons brought to Australia this was not a consideration, as they had no home to return to. Peters, *op.cit.*, p.17.

A one way Amsterdam- Sydney boat fare was equal to the annual earning of a farmhand in 1948. Speerstra, op.cit., p.22. A one-way Amsterdam - Sydney fare per KLM was f2500. ibid.,, p.264.

ABC letters, 05 July 1950, p.21. The scouts received a telegram on Thursday 29 June, advising of an incoming phone call from London which could be expected at 8 am on Saturday 1 July on Kingston, number 3. This was the phone number of the Australasian Hotel in Kingston Beach where they were renting a room. The two men waited in the family lounge till 11 pm on Saturday, and continued waiting on Sunday. Locals came by and asked if they had received their call from Holland yet. The promise of an event was sufficient to be an event of itself, and ultimately was the event.

¹¹⁴ Schuur, for example, admits to leaving [Holland] without any knowledge of Australia. "Ik ging dus weg ... zonder te weten in wat voor land ik terecht zou komen." Schuur, *op.cit.*, p.116.

¹¹⁵ Beijer, *op.cit.*, p.13. Watt found that 44% were not proficient in English before leaving. Watt, *op.cit.*, p.42. Van Wamel found that 78% spoke little English on arrival. Van Wamel, *op.cit.*, p.47. The dates of the findings, 1956, 1980 and 1993 respectively, suggest that the power of recollection has an influence on the result, or respondents definition of proficient has shifted.

decision was the choice of destination. Thus the finding that half of all migrants considered moving to another country than the one they eventually moved to.¹¹⁶

The timing and sequence of events suggests that for the G7 also, the decision to emigrate was made first, and the destination was chosen later. This was the recollection of Eb Pinkster, who reportedly said that discussions began shortly after the war. This is difficult to confirm, except as a possibility, from the documents, which only show that they were all prepared after the destination was chosen. The photo of the group was made in February 1950. The documents they prepared to register their construction business, both the original Dutch version and their English version, were dated 16 March 1950, but prepared earlier (further discussion below). In the *Acte van Overeenkomst* the intention was to go to Tasmania, while in the *Deed of Contract* the destination was more broadly defined as Australia. The passport for Eerke van der Laan was issued on 22 March 1950, and for his travelling companion on 25 April 1950.

A major survey of migrants en-route to their new country in 1955 found that the reports from pioneering friends or relatives were a factor in 70% of all decisions to emigrate, and a major consideration for 25%.¹¹⁹ Considering that there were only 13 Dutch born individuals in

Beijer, op.cit., p.5.

Pinkster is quoted "Wij zijn allemaal even goed directeur als arbeider. ... We waren met eengroep oud-verzets mensen na de oorlog en we voelden ons eigenlijk helemaal niet op ons gemak in dat na-oorlogse Nederland. We wilden wat meer vrijheid dan al die geleide rommel en het duurde niet zo lang of het woord emigratie dook voor de eerste keer op. Maar lieve mensen, wat is er gepraat en gepraat, maand in, maand uit. ... Wij kenden elkaar door en door uit het verzet en daarom durfden zij het aan al hun bezittingen te verkopen en ... volgens een weloverwogen plan te emigreren naar Tasmanië We waren jong, gemiddeld 36 tot 37 jaar oud ... met totaal 23 kinderen. *De Spiegel*, No. 7, 14 Nov. 1953. pp. 28-31. That the decision to migrate was made before the destination was chosen is also the recollection of Kusha Bolt, then twenty years old. Kusha Bolt letter 20 August 2005.

Those for the families Laning and Steen were issued 22 May 1950, and for the other families the record is lost. National Archives of Australia. P1185 series.

Beijer, op.cit., p.14. By 1955, more than 60% personally knew someone from their neighbourhood already in the new place. Beijer, op.cit., p. 41.

Tasmania in 1947¹²⁰ the possibility of the G7 acting on the reports of pioneers seems remote, yet eventuated. One of these 13 was Dr Boot, resident in Tasmania since 1936 as representative of the Philips electronics company. He visited Groningen in 1949,¹²¹ met the G7, and recommended Tasmania.¹²² To make the decision more attractive, they qualified for travel assistance from the Australian government as ex-servicemen.¹²³

The catalyst factor was influential in many emigration decisions. Reports from the pioneers were favourably received, and Australia gained a reputation from the diaspora reporting home of having the best opportunities.¹²⁴ The reports tended to be encouraging, and decisions to go were made more lightly. 125 The G7 actively encouraged their fellow countrymen to move, and helped them with housing and employment, just as they had been encouraged and helped by Dr Boot. Some of those that had served in the army or civil service in Indonesia felt confined and unwelcome in the Netherlands, 126 the decisive factor in the emigration decision of five percent and a contributing factor for many others.¹²⁷ For these people, social cohesion to R.S.J. Farmer, 'The Geography of Migration in Tasmania, 1921 - 1961', Uni Tas 1968, p.229. This figure was derived from the census of that year, the following census was in 1954. These 13 should have included Jannus Adrianus Pierre Guustav Boot, his wife Hermine Katherine Gertrude Boot and some or all of their six children, plus her brother Gerard Rhee and his wife. NAA records show that Derk and Durley Egerton Kuipers arrived 1 June 1932, although she is most likely not Dutch born. The sisters v d Linden (ABC letters, 22 June 1950, p.13) are possibly Dutch born, and arrived before the G7 scouts, but may have arrived between 1947 and 1950. The others have not yet been identified. ¹²¹ The only reference to this date is in Julian, op.cit., p.111. There is reason to doubt this, although it is reasonably consistent with other dates and sequence of events. A later date would support the argument that the destination was chosen after the decision to migrate was made. The reason for doubt is that Julian claims an arrival in Tasmania date of 1933. Immigration records indicate January 1936 as the arrival date. NAA #1766307

Dr Boot was born 19 December 1905, and is now too fragile and inaccessible (he is living in Ballarat with a daughter) to clarify this point. Kusha Bolt claims that he was researching a doctoral thesis on the textile industry in the Dutch province of Twente, twelve years after he migrated to Tasmania as a representative of the electronics concern Phillips. In 1949 he owned a business called CCC (Commonwealth Credit Corporation) at 18 Elizabeth St, Hobart. Letter, 20 August 2005. In the work by Julian his alias is De Graef. Julian, op.cit., p.111.

¹²³ ABC letters, 27 June and 7 August 1950, pp.17 and .50.

Beijer, op.cit., p.7.

¹²⁵ 'Ik dacht nooit te emigreren. En toch sprak dat ongebondene en vrije, dat verlangen naar een betere wereld, me blijkbaar ook aan. ... Achteraf gezien hadden we er beiden geen notie van waar Australië lag. Hadden we maar geweten hoe ver het was en hoe anders. ... Wij vertrokken in de nazomer van 1952.' Speerstra, *op.cit.*, p.319.

¹²⁶ Beijer, *op.cit.*, pp. 28 and 124. and Julian, *op.cit.*, p.166.

Beijer, op.cit., p.28. An article in *De Spiegel*, No. 40, 3 Jul 1954, focussed on several of these migrants, including the headmaster of the Huonville High School, P Tillema, and the headmaster of the Geeveston District School, Oepke Hofman. The photographs for the article were made by Frank Bolt. pp. 20-22.

The G7 were all involved in the Resistance Movement during the Nazi occupation of the Netherlands. In the records of the OVMG¹²⁹ they are known as the Tasmanian Group, a small group in a collection of 6000. The records indicate that the G7 were involved in many extremely dangerous actions, and actively sought by the occupying forces. Several were captured, two survived the Nazi concentration camp Neuengamme. The G7 actually numbered nine men, but only six emigrated. Activity in the Resistance subjected men to similar causative factors, as did incarceration in a concentration camp, but not all of these men emigrated. Other men, without a Resistance record, also chose to emigrate. This suggests that the reasons for leaving were based on real hopes, fears, and emotions. These factors cannot be measured, and do not necessarily produce a condition or state of mind that makes emigration the outcome. However, these factors are all involved with identity, with the spiritual aspect of life. However, these factors are all involved with identity, with the

Religion does not show in the documents or surveys or studies as a motivating factor in the decision to emigrate. It was involved, but how it relates to the social cohesion explanation is not easy to see. Beijer found that church attendance was lower among the emigrants, indicating less adhesion to Holland. He also found that the Calvinists were an exception, that 83% of them were active members of their church before departure, which suggests that the social cohesion factor might be healthy but less relevant for this pillar. Oosterman *et al* claim that meddling in social relationships by a new, secular, government provoked the Calvinists. As far as they were concerned, the government was getting involved in areas of life which were not their responsibility and for which they had no authority to act. The Calvinists believed that 'character-shaping and opinion-forming functions in Holland belonged to families and churches, not to the state and political groupings.

Beijer, op.cit., p.65.

Stichting Oorlogs en Verzetsmateriaal Groningen. <www.ovmg.nl>

¹³⁰ The list of survivors, including E.J. van der Laan and Pieter Laning, can be found at the website

<www.vriendenkringneuengamme.nl/TabelOverlevenden.htm> The name of the website translates as 'friends circle neuengamme / Table of Survivors'.
Beijer, op.cit., p.161.

E. Becker, *The Birth and Death of Meaning*, 2nd edn, Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1971. p.181.

Beijer, op.cit, p.125. Pinkster claimed that bitter experience had taught the necessity of a church life. "Wij weten uit ervaring hoe bitter nodig een kerkelijke leven is." De Spiegel, No. 7, 14 Nov. 1953. pp. 28-31.

Oosterman, et al, op.cit., p.22.

¹³⁵ W. Warmbrunn, *The Dutch under German Occupation 1940-1945*, Stanford University Press, Stanford, 1963, p.278.

asserts that the Scriptures give guidance for every sphere of a man's life and for all human relationships. This *Weltanschauung* is the source and confirmation of the social cohesion of the Calvinists, also found by Clyne and van Wageningen. This social cohesion is possibly also the foundation of the 'chain' migration observed by Julian, although she claims it is a Dutch pattern. Some Dutch people did not quite understand either. Henny and Wietske Westerdijk in Penguin, for example, thought that the Calvinists formed an exclusive club, a place where you could knock on the door and ask to become a member for a fee. They saw with envy the mutual assistance the members gave each other, the social cohesion, but not the source of that display. The Calvinists believed God would provide, and provided for each other, while those outside that group attempted to be self-reliant. For the G7, Christianity was not a religion but a relationship of love towards God and man.

The motives of those emigrants that returned provide a counterpoint to those considered above. Beijer conducted a survey of the 1000 he had interviewed on their way to their new country and found that within 6 to 24 months of leaving, 35 had returned.¹⁴² Five years after

¹³⁶ F. Vanden Berg, *Abraham Kuyper: A Biography*, Paideia Press, St. Catherines, 1978. p.255.

¹³⁷ M.G. Clyne, *Nieuw-Hollands or Double-Dutch*, Dutch Studies, vol 3, pp. 1-20, 1976. rejects Zubrzycki [although not because Zubrzycki fails to distinguish the four Dutch pillars] and finds that the clannish nature of the Reformed Church is linked to the world view of the church, not its ethnic or linguistic background. p.5. van Wageningen, E., 'An Assimilation of the Dutch Immigrants and the World-view Concept', Monash University, Melbourne, 1973. (unpublished)

138 Julian writes that the Dutch pattern of 'chain' migration appears to be the outcome of religious rather than kin ties (Julian, op.cit., p.93.). This cannot be quite right because some professed no religion, and national ethnic behaviour is being described in pillar behaviour terms. In the literature there is one example of pillar behaviour being tested by pillar standards. This involved the Reformed Church of Australia in Moe. This congregation sponsored 22 families to emigrate in 1958, 38 families in 1959, and 22 families in 1960. Most left the district soon after arrival. The families were selected by the Moe group from Gereformeerde Church applicants because this was their former Church. Zubrzycki claims they left because Gereformeerde Church discipline standards were applied to the newcomers. He does not examine the employment situation, or whether the newcomers returned to the Netherlands, or used the Moe group as a stepping stone to other places, or if personality or doctrinal disputes provoked the departure of the newcomers. J. Zubryzcki, Settlers of the Latrobe Valley, The Australian National University, Canberra, 1964. , p.176. ¹³⁹ Speerstra, *op.cit.*, pp.265-266.

For the Calvinists, God provides a spring, but non-believers need to dig their own cisterns, which are doomed to crack. Jeremiah 2:13. The believer is granted the water that gives eternal life. John 4:14.

Sherwood Eliot Wirt http://www.worldofquotes.com/author/Sherwood-Eliot-Wirt/1/index.html accessed 20 Oct 2005

¹⁴² Beijer, *op.cit.*, p.281. He was not able to find these individuals and thus not able to determine the cause; at the same time this was a statistically insignificant group.

departure, he found that a total of ten per cent had returned.¹⁴³ As for all those who left, he found that economic factors such as wage and work satisfaction or unemployment had no effect on the decision to return.¹⁴⁴ Some returnees from Australia were interviewed in March 1953 by *De Spiegel*. They claimed to have come back because of the housing shortage, and or the lack of work, and or the lack of welcome in Australia. For some the homesickness of the wife was a factor, and many complained that the reports from the pioneers had painted an over rosy picture, more fanciful than realistic.¹⁴⁵

Several months later ten letters to the editor of the *De Spiegel* were published, a selection of the thousands received, and none had sympathy for the returnees. Readers could not understand the complaint of shortage of work considering that the complainants had managed to save *Hfl*3000 for the fare, which could have been used as a deposit for a house. Besides, if they had done some research prior to emigrating, they should have realised that the first years would not be easy. Christian migrant responses claimed adapting to Australia had not been easy, but they had been helped by God and each other, which eased the burden and the

Beijer, op.cit., p.298. Determining returnee numbers is difficult. C.A. Price, 'The Effects of post-war immigration', Australian Quarterly, vol XXIX (December, 1957), pp. 28-40. Price notes that the difficulty begins with the migration records collected by the Immigration Department. These records do not show who, of those entering Australia, are intending settlers, who are visitors or who are Australian citizens returning from long-term travel, or who were settlers but returned. p.28. Five years later, in C.A. Price, 'Overseas migration to and from Australia 1947-1961', Australian Outlook, vol. 16 (August, 1962), pp. 160-174, he claims the return rate is between 3 and 7%. p.167. Price is accepted as the Australian authority on this subject. Peters, op. cit., p.283. and Julian op. cit., pp. 62 and 90. cite a 30% return rate, derived from C.A. Price, 'Migration to and from Australia' in Smith, T.E., (ed) Commonwealth Migration: Flows and Policies 11 -49, London, Macmillan, 1981. p.44. In Price, C.A., Australian Immigration: A Review ... 1975, op.cit., Price estimates a return rate of nearly 30% for the period 1966-1974, although as low as 3% for migrants who arrived between 1945 and 1950. p.7. His estimates are derived from the period of residence statistics gathered in the 1971 Census. p.8. His calculations include estimates for mortality rates, for those not stating year of arrival in the Census return, and for visitors who have stayed for more than 12 months. p.36. He does not estimate a margin of error. To a government inquiry, Price claimed that a tally of statements on outgoing passenger cards, on which travellers could check the question - former settler? - gave an inaccurate result. He claimed his formula of - total overseas arrivals less total departures = total net movement less settler arrivals = settler loss - gave a more accurate picture, a figure of 221,897 versus 145,403. This calculation involved estimating five variables. Immigration Advisory Council: Inquiry into the Departure of Settlers from Australia. J. Zubryzcki, Chairman, C. Price, Consultant. October 1972. pp. C1 & Appendix B. There is no consideration that many returnees may have been exploiting the £10 or \$25 assisted fare for a two-year working holiday. ¹⁴⁴ Beijer, *op.cit.*, pp. 299-300.

¹⁴⁵ De Spiegel, No. 24, 14 March 1953, pp. 10-15. Koos Schuur described the reports of the pioneers as like reports of the Fata Morgana, fanciful castles in the air. Schuur, op.cit., p.105.

pain.¹⁴⁶ Typically, Beijer found that returnees had lower social skills, whether in contact with neighbours or church or involvement in community associations.¹⁴⁷ This is consistent with Maslow's hierarchy of needs.¹⁴⁸ Physical needs such as food and water, and then shelter and clothing, are relatively easy to obtain regardless of physical location. It is not nourishment of the body that motivates people to act, but nourishment of self-esteem.¹⁴⁹ Social needs such as affection, belongingness, acceptance and friendship are about halfway in the hierarchy, before needs of esteem and self-actualization. Returnees needed others to fill their social, esteem and self-actualization needs because they lacked the skills to generate these for themselves. The sense of adventure possessed by more than half the emigrants was totally absent from this group.¹⁵⁰

The migrant group G7 were determined not to return to the land of their birth, but to become Australians as soon as possible. The process involve forsaking their national ethnic identity in exchange for another, but their ethnic identity as Calvinists remained intact. Their religious convictions were a pillar on which they could always lean, wherever they were in the world. Van der Mast suggests that a sense of adventure remained from their Resistance activities and was a pre-requisite to migration. Economic reasons had no discernible effect on the decision to emigrate, aspects of religion had some influence, but fear of another war was the major cause.

¹⁴⁶ De Spiegel, No. 37, 13 Jun 1953, pp. 26-27.

¹⁴⁷ Beijer, *op.cit.*, p.299.

¹⁴⁸ S.P. Robbins, *Organizational Behaviour*, 10th edn, Pearson Education, New Jersey, 2003. Physiological needs are those that individuals attempt to satisfy first as they are essential to maintaining life. The challenge of fulfilling higher level needs is more difficult in a foreign language and in a foreign place.

¹⁴⁹ Becker, *op.cit.*, p.75. This finding is essentially the same as the pride and

self-interest explanation by la Rochefoucald for the selective operation of memory noted above.

by an urge to escape. The Commonwealth Immigration Advisory Council, during its tour of Europe in 1945, found many thousands with an urge to leave Europe, not for economic reasons, but for freedom from the political bickerings of Europe and from the continual threat of having their countries & homes turned into battlefields. We can know this is correct because European governments were pleading acute shortage of manpower. Borrie, *op.cit.*, p.61. ¹⁵¹ Oosterman, et al, *op.cit.*, p.27.

W. Van der Mast, *Praktijk en patroon van recente Nederlandse groepsmigraties. Met een suggestie voor een gewijzigde vorm van groepsmigreren: Interlinked migratie.* Noordhoff NV, Groningen,1963., p.76. This suggestion is not documented, although correspondence with the migrants is noted. The suggestion is plausible, especially considering adventure was measured as an important factor for so many later migrants.

Chapter Two - Intentions

Documentation that spells out the intentions of Dutch migrants in general, if ever generated, remains elusive. Nearly all records of intentions were generated after the event, mostly after many decades. Two documents, generated by the G7, are crucially different, because they were written before departure and clearly specify what the group intended to achieve. These two documents are the *Acte van Overeenkomst* and the *Deed of Contract*, and in this chapter, if referred to together, are called the documents. There is no suggestion, in any of the works cited, of any other group of migrants preparing legal or informal documents stating their intentions before emigrating.

The G7 must have had serious intentions to emigrate for some time. The decision to go was not made in haste, but carefully considered. Documentation to show that alternative destinations were considered, or to indicate when the matter began to receive serious consideration, remains elusive. One of the leaders claimed three years after emigrating that discussions began soon after the end of the war and eventually became more intensive, month after month. In the Spring of 1950 their intentions were resolved, and recorded. Four or five weeks later the first passports were issued, and five weeks later the first two arrived in Australia as scouts for the G7.

'in dat na-oorlogse Nederland ... het duurde niet zo lang of het woord emigratie dook voor de eerste keer op. Maar lieve mensen, wat is er gepraat en gepraat, maand in, maand uit... volgens een weloverwogen plan te emigreren naar Tasmanië' Pinkster in *De Spiegel*, Christelijk National Weekblad, T. van Vliet (redacteur), Wageningen, The Netherlands., No. 7, 14 Nov. 1953. pp. 28-31. and *Trouw* 21 Nov 1953. Author not specified but probably the same for both publications.

Eerke van der Laan and Egbert Pinkster, often abbreviated to vd Laan and Eb, were delegated by the group. Documents, article 18.

¹⁵³ A photo made in February 1950 shows the whole group, at that stage consisting of ten couples. According to the only child in the photo, Guusje van der Laan, Bob Houwen, a certain Zuidland and Fokke Haan were part of the ten but never left Holland. De Haan must have been involved but not yet committed to the group when the photo was taken. He was the builder who joined the group because they needed a builder, but was never a part of the resistance group. The most likely scenario is that de Haan was not part of the group when the Dutch version of the Acte was prepared, then committed to the group when the English version was prepared. Houwen and Zuidland are in the photo because they were part of the resistance group, but they never committed to go. This photo was reprinted in the Nieuwsblad van het Noorden 22 March 1988 with the accompanying text claiming it was taken in the Laning home in Semarangstraat, which is correct, although the allocation of names is not. The original photo is in the Laning family album, correctly labelled. Fokke Haan was explicitly mentioned, with others, as a member of the group on 7 August 1950, and is not mentioned as stepping out in the rest of the letters.

The documents in which the G7 recorded their intentions were legal documents. They were sufficiently comprehensive to suggest that a model was used and to confirm that one of the partners, E. vd Laan, had legal training, a point confirmed by the occupation he listed against his name. The documents were dated 16 March 1950, and in nearly 2000 words and 21 articles each version specified who was involved and what they would do at their destination and how they would do this and treat with each other.

The *Acte van Overeenkomst* was obviously the culmination of lengthy discussion and the reaching of mutual accord. It is likely that it was prepared before the nominated date because it is logical and comprehensive and contains negotiated provisions and a hand written correction. It is not possible to know whether a copy was prepared for each partner. An important reason to suggest that it was prepared before the nominated date is because there is an English language version. This version is called a *Deed of Contract*, and has the same date as the Dutch version. The author of the translation is not indicated, but it was possibly a collaboration between E. vd Laan and Eb Pinkster, because they were reasonably fluent in English, as evidenced in the ABC Letters. There are variations between the two versions, which aid understanding of the intentions of the G7.

Some matters are mentioned in only one version, which suggests that after the Dutch version was made, and forward dated, it was circulated for consideration by the partners. At this point an eighth partner was enlisted for the enterprise, the building contractor de Haan. His participation was necessary because none of the others, apart from the painter Folkerts, had any experience in the building industry, and the partners were determined to be in that industry. Is a suggestion of the others of the partners were determined to be in that industry.

The most obvious reason for making this English version was to satisfy any credit provider and possible legal requirements for registering their business. There is a reference to this effect in the ABC letters.¹⁵⁹ These men clearly intended to do business in their new country, and to begin as soon as possible. The purpose of this translation was to remove a possible

article 20.

De Haan is the last mentioned in the *Deed of Contract* and the only one not resident in the city of Groningen. He came from Winsum, a provincial town in the province of Groningen, about 15 kilometers northwest of the capital and at the junction of several main roads. According to Mrs Dineke Laning, he came in response to an advertisement placed by the G7.

158 article 2.

¹⁵⁹ ABC letters, 07 August 1950, p.50.

obstacle to achieving their goal. Creditors and bureaucrats would need paperwork of this nature. Importantly, it was the English version which all the partners signed, because this was the one that would need the signatures in Australia. A Dutch version with signatures would be of no use to either a bureaucrat or creditor, except in a Dutch speaking country, which they were severing ties with.

The documents acknowledged a way of doing things, of conforming to some perceived expectations, in this instance for obtaining legal recognition as a corporate body, which in turn enabled access to credit. Conformation to a system of establishing structure was for financial leverage, acknowledging a desire to adopt Australian norms, not for maintenance of ethnicity. The most prosaic motive attributable to this process was the need to earn a living, and not be at the mercy of any arbitrary employer. From their occupations and their roles during the war it can be seen that these men were leaders, not followers. They aimed to exploit the potential of earning a living somewhere in Australia, according to the rules and regulations of their new homeland, whatever those rules and regulations might be. Jupp claims that the Dutch sought freedom, meaning from restrictions, licensing and controls, and Hempel agrees. The G7, on the other hand, demonstrated a desire to conform, to obey a lawful government as they understood the Scriptures commanded.

Making a formal agreement and swearing to uphold it must have seemed strange to this group of men. It was made for commercial reasons, not because they did not trust each other. During the recent Nazi occupation of their country they had exercised friendship to the extent of trusting each other with their lives working together in the Underground. The G7 had mobilized national and pillar ethnicity, without a formal, written legal document. In fact, such a document would never exist as it would place the lives of all of them in jeopardy were

Three years later, either through faulty memory or mis-reporting, it was claimed that this document was signed by the seven and their wives, whereas it was signed only by the eight men named in clause one. *De Spiegel*, No. 7, 14 Nov. 1953. pp. 28-31, and *Trouw* 21/11/53 (same reporter, citing Pinkster)

161 article 2

¹⁶² J. Jupp, *Arrivals and Departures*, Lansdowne Press, Melbourne, 1966., p.134. In Queensland it was observed that the Dutch were less disciplined in registering their changes of address as required under the Aliens Act, than migrants from other countries of strict police supervision. J. Hempel, *Dutch Migrants in Queensland*, Australian National University, Canberra, 1960, p.2.

¹⁶³ Rom.13:1 - 3; 1Tim. 2:2; 1Pet. 2:13.

^{&#}x27;Wij kenden elkaar door en door uit het verzet ...' De Spiegel, No. 7, 14 Nov. 1953. pp. 28-31, and *Trouw* 21/11/53

¹⁶⁵ W. Warmbrunn, *The Dutch under German Occupation 1940-1945*, Stanford University Press, Stanford, 1963, p.271.

it ever found by the enemy. 166

The English version shows several other major variations from the original. The amount of capital required from each member was increased dramatically, from *Hfl*1000 to *Hfl*2500 per partner. Perhaps on the advice of de Haan, the original amount was considered insufficient to begin a construction business, especially if the first item of business was to tie up this capital in the construction of their own homes. Neither amount bore any relationship to the amount of cash they were permitted to leave the country with. Pinkster found a way of moving his money soon after arriving, which demonstrated a high level of commitment to establishing a new life here and a secondary concern for the safety of his funds. In funds In fund

The other major change from the *Acte van Overeenkomst* to the *Deed of Contract* is that the destination became less specific, open to more options. The reason for the change remains a mystery, as the document was written after the visit by Boot, and in an interview with the article 1.

 $^{^{167}}$ article 5. At that time 4 guilders (*Hfl4*) was equivalent to about £Aus1/-/-. ¹⁶⁸ Van der Mast claims they were allowed to take no more than £35 per person, plus capital items. W. Van der Mast, Praktijk en patroon van recente Nederlandse groepsmigraties. Met een suggestie voor een gewijzigde vorm van groepsmigreren: Interlinked migratie. Noordhoff NV, Groningen, 1963. p.77. Pinkster devised an elaborate scheme to move his money to Australia. To the ABC Club he wrote "As you know, B is interested in \$4000, send to Mr van Gessel at a New York address, who will send a telegram on receipt of the money. Make arrangements with the Amsterdammer regarding where you should deposit the corresponding amount. Take with you a man trusted by both parties. The exchange rate is f4.40, total f17.600. (about £2000 Aus). Mr van Gessel is to telegraph Boot when the money is paid. Boot will then write a letter to you with instruction to van Rhee to pay us £2000. This is the amount I [Eb] still have. ABC letters, 22 Jun 1950, p.11. [The identity of B and of the Amsterdammer is never revealed] Thirteen days later Bart was instructed to hasten the transfer of the funds '... while it still can be done. The Drentse friend is trustworthy.' ABC letters, 05 July 1950, p.24. Access to capital held in the Netherlands is a constant concern. ABC Letters 19 June 1950, p.9; and 16 August 1950, p.47, for example. Duyker writes that migrants could export Hf/15,000 in cash or Hf/25,000 in goods, but did not write the date this was effective from. E. Duyker, The Dutch in Australia, AE Press, Melbourne, 1987., p.102. Migrants that departed after 01/01/1953 were permitted to take a maximum of Hf/1,500, but less to certain countries, and additional per child. As of this date migrants who had left after 01/01/1950 were permitted to tap the amounts quoted by Duyker subject to certain conditions including the country in which the migrant had established himself, and the purpose to which the money was to be put. Essentially it had to be invested in plant or machinery or property. Advice from the Nederlandsche Bank, N.V., Amsterdam, reprinted in Mededelingen Ned. Vereniging "Abel Tasman" #11, April 1953, pp. 1-3.

¹⁶⁹ Because of the mutual commitments the G7 had made he was part of a group and so not subject to the charge 'any migrant on his own in a strange country regards his bank account as his only trustworthy friend.' J.I. Martin, *The Migrant Presence: Australian Responses 1947-1977*, George Allen and Unwin, Sydney, 1978. p.162.

G7 published in *The Mercury* of 28 June 1950 they claimed that they had chosen Tasmania because of the glowing account given by Dr Boot.¹⁷⁰

The intention of the G7 was clearly to set up a construction business.¹⁷¹ This would be known as the Australian Building Corporation (ABC) rather than the originally conceived moniker Tasmanian Building Corporation, a more limiting name. The ABC would firstly build houses for the partners.¹⁷² The partners would commit to each other for at least three years, although provisions were made to enable the severance of ties,¹⁷³ and article 7 was specifically designed so that after the first few years it would be easier to make the break. Promises were also made for mutual care in good times and bad.¹⁷⁴ These intangible promises for the partners as reward for their commitment were supplemented by tangible promises such as a home available at cost price, an equal share of the profits, insurance and vital involvement in the decision making process.¹⁷⁵

Most articles in the document were very formally focussed on commercial arrangements. The intention was clearly to be a professional building organisation, the articles guiding conduct in every eventuality. It was recognised that there might be periodic cash flow problems, for which provision is made. This business was expecting lean and fat years, ¹⁷⁶ and was not going to go away when difficulties arose. The articles included contingency plans for surviving downturns in the industry, specified before they started. ¹⁷⁷

This claim was repeated in *The Australian Women's Weekly* 11/2/1959.

¹⁷¹ It is possible that they could have conducted such a business in the Netherlands considering the housing shortage there. It is estimated that due to the effects of the war, there was a shortage of 313,000 houses. A. Van Wamel 'Nederland mijn moeder, Australië mijn bruid', Doctoral Thesis, Catholic University, Nijmegen, 1993. p.25. R. Julian suggests that this option ws not exercised because of onerous red tape for business start ups, and a high taxation level on business. Julian, 'The Dutch in Tasmania: An Exploration of Ethnicity and Immigrant Adaptation', University of Tasmania, 1989., pp. 111 and 115. It is more likely that this option was not exercised because the construction business was established after the decision to migrate was made. ¹⁷² articles 3.1 and 8.

¹⁷³ articles 4, 5, 17, 19, 20.

articles 1 and 10, and put into practice when P. Laning was hospitalised for several years after a bad fall between the water pump and the settlement. The articles are an echo of the Workmen's Compensation Law passed by the Dutch Parliament in October 1899, which Abraham Kuyper, leader of the Calvinist party ARP, advocated, because through insurance it was possible to spread human suffering rather than have the full weight fall on individuals. F. Vanden Berg, *Abraham Kuyper: A Biography*, Paideia Press, St. Catherines, 1978. pp. 191-192. ¹⁷⁵ articles 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, 16, 17, 19, 20 and 21.

A reflection of their experience in business, and from their knowledge of Genesis 41.

¹⁷⁷ articles 5, 9, 16, 19, 20.

The document clearly shows there was no intention to set up a structure for any purpose other than to earn a living. The structure was not for employing fellow Dutchmen beyond themselves, and even that for only three years after which they were free to establish structures of their own. The documents show they were willing and able when necessary to speak another language, in this case English. They were not establishing a structure that would allow them to maintain use of, daily or otherwise, their native tongue. Watt found that there was very little Dutch used in the workplace, some use of Dutch in Church institutions, and none in the school.¹⁷⁸ He suggests that it was probable that Dutch was used exclusively in domestic situations in the first five years, although he has no evidence for this.¹⁷⁹

The claims the G7 made about their intentions in their legal documents were not secret or conditional but consistent. There was no hesitation in telling *The Mercury*, in September 1950, ¹⁸⁰ that they intended to build their own homes and then to build homes for Tasmanians and to establish a joinery workshop besides. Under the trading name 'Australian Building Corporation' they accepted contracts and erected houses with Australian timber for Australian buyers. ¹⁸¹ Their success acted like a magnet for other migrants because they could be sponsored, guaranteed accommodation and employment. The ABC was willing and able to give men an immediate start, to help them settle down, even to help them start out on their own. ¹⁸² Pillar ethnicity favoured the preservation of the Calvinist pillar and the associated way of life. As shown in the introduction, their circle of friends and acquaintances were mostly fellow Calvinists, and so it was from among this group that responses to the immigration call came.

M.G. Watt, 'Little Groningen: Some Aspects of Bilingualism and Acculturation among Dutch Immigrants in Kingborough, Tasmania.' Unpublished (B Ed) Thesis, Uni of Tas, p.30.

The Laning family letter and audio letters held by this author confirm the suspicion held by Watt.

The Mercury, 12 September 1950, p.4. This message was consistent with the report printed by *The Mercury* of 27/06/1950, p.4, which reported the meeting of vd Laan and Pinkster with the premier, Mr Cosgrove. The Premier subsequently instructed the Director of Housing to deal with these men concerning the importation of prefabs and Dutch Building trade workers. Tasmanian State Archives File ref No. PCS 1/101, 182/21 - 183/40, 1950. document # 182/35/50 - dated 7/7/1950

¹⁸¹ Australian Post 27/9/1951

 $^{^{182}}$ Trouw 21/11/1953. The structures formed during this period, and the reason for their formation, are beyond the scope of this study.

The intentions of the G7 with respect to religion are not easily examined on the basis of documentation created prior to or during their migration. Their convictions encouraged them to develop and exercise their talents and their stewardship of the Creation, but not to hard work and a striving for economic success. There is documentation concerning the immediate years after their arrival, and their responses as thus recorded indicate that their original intention was integration into a local church, consistent with their desire to fully integrate into Tasmanian society. A description and analysis of this attempt at assimilation belongs to the next chapter.

The intentions of the migrants whose memoirs I have found have not been detailed. Memoirs typically describe a vague desire to start afresh somewhere else, often from a sense of adventure, a joining with the emigration fever sweeping the land. Why people do something and what they explain later are seldom identical. Iso Jack van Dongen was impressed by liberation troops and BBC Radio, but he was leaving a place rather than going somewhere. Brandenhorst had no clear intentions in coming to Tasmania, although his NuBake bakery in St Leonards eventually captured 40% of the bread market in northern Tasmania. Van Hoorn, who was also more intent on leaving than arriving, knew no more about Tasmania than was contained on the two pages in a book in his local library. He claims he was allowed to bring in £150 but does not record the year or date of his arrival. Soos Schuur simply had, like so many of those interviewed by Speerstra, vague ideas about better opportunities for his children.

Report, Christelijke Emigratie Centrale, Utrecht, December 1956. p.2. "Er is een tekort [in Nederland] aan mogelijkheden om tot levensontplooiing te komen. Er zijn nog tal van gebieden in de wereld, die om 'opvulling' door mensen roepen. Het is onze taak om de ontplooiingsmogelijkheden, die God in de schepping heeft gelegd, ook te gebruiken en tot ontwikkeling te brengen."

184 Hard work and a striving for economic success are a possible outcome of developing and exercising talents. Julian confuses an effect with the cause. Julian, op.cit., p.126. Matt 25:14-29, Gen 1:28.

¹⁸⁵ Kremer, concerning the establishment of the Reformed Church of Australia claims ' ... en daarbij zat niet de overweging voor om zich te isoleren van het Australische volk. Nee, zij wilden op deze manier niet anders dan het volk dienen in welks midden zij hun nieuwe levensbestaan gingen opbouwen.' Kremer, *op.cit.*, p.15.

¹⁸⁶ G. Oosterman, et al, *To Find a Better Life: Aspects of Dutch Immigration to Canada and the United States 1920-1970*, National Union of Christian Schools, Grand Rapids, 1975., p.25.

¹⁸⁷ J. Van Dongen, *Why did you do it?*, published by the author, Hobart, 2003. ¹⁸⁸ Jones, G., *The First 50 Years*, Tasmaniana Pamphlet, call number TL.P 929.2 BRA. 1999.

van Hoorn, E.P., *A new beginning*, Tasmaniana, p.2.

¹⁹⁰ K. Schuur, *De Kookaburra lacht*, Uitgeverij De Bezige Bij, Amsterdam, 1966., p.116.

To be absorbed into Australian society, as instructed by their government, seems to be a taken for granted intention of Dutch migrants. The purpose of leaving the Netherlands was to leave it behind and take on a new identity as Australians, as the emigration policy of the Dutch government encouraged.¹⁹¹ As noted by Peters, depression, war and occupation robbed many of a sense of confidence, belonging and future in the country, which led to discontent and an urge to start fresh elsewhere.¹⁹² Lack of promotion possibilities, an excess of bureaucracy, trouble making ends meet, narrow-minded social restrictions and having to work in bitter winter weather were the more tangible provocations to migrate.¹⁹³ Some fifteen per cent of migrants saw little prospect of obtaining their own house in Holland and thus emigrated to get a house so they could get married,¹⁹⁴ although there was information available that described a housing shortage in Australia.

It is not possible to verify the claimed intentions, however vivid the memories may be, of the bulk of the migrants, because they were not documented before leaving. Memories will always be informed by the subsequent events. Unstated intentions, however vague, recognised the Biblical command to fill the earth, including under-populated Australia. As host, Australia required all manner of people, skilled and unskilled, agricultural and industrial workers, employees and entrepeneurs. As long as people intended to work, Australia could absorb them, beside all those considered desirable and thus subsidised by the government to come. 196

Estimates varied wildly, but considered opinion thought that Australia could sustain a population of 60 million. Only an active migration policy could achieve that, for 'it was thought very doubtful that present methods would prove effective to save Australia for the white race and Western culture.' In contrast, farmers sons, with little prospect of owning a

W. Walker-Birckhead, *Paying our way: private and public meanings of migration*Australian Journal of Anthropology, April 1998., pp.1 and 4.

N. Peters, *Milk and Honey, but no Gold: post-war migration to Western Australia,* 1945-1964, University of Western Australia Press, Nedlands, 2001. p.51.

Beijer, op.cit., p.42., See also van Dongen, op.cit., E.P. van Hoorn, A new beginning: Elsiena Pieternella van Hoorn (nee Lindbergh) through years 1950-1965, edited by T.L.Rowlings, unpublished notes, 1997, held in the Tasmaniana Library.

¹⁹⁴ Beijer, *op.cit.*, p.156., Zierke, *op.cit.*, pp.15, 27, 55, 61, and 111.

¹⁹⁵ Van der Mast, p.4.

¹⁹⁶ *ibid*, p.10.

¹⁹⁷ A. Lodewyckx, *People for Australia*, Angus and Robertson, London, 1956. pp.124 and 215.

farm in the Netherlands, dominated the migration to Canada, with the clear intention of farming.¹⁹⁸ It has been found that individuals have less clear intentions than those migrating as a group, however loosely defined, and have a higher failure rate as migrants.¹⁹⁹

 $\overline{\mbox{ In the late 1940s they comprised more than 80\% of Dutch migrants to Canada. Oosterman, op.cit., p.97}$

¹⁹⁹ Van der Mast, *op.cit.*, pp.56 and 385 A group can be spread over a large number of years, as long as the intentions are similar. The concept of group does not mean or confer the concept of *enclave* or colony or ghetto. Lack also found that assistance from fellow countrymen and women proved vital to successful migration. J. Lack and J. Templeton, *Bold Experiment*, Oxford University Press, Melbourne, 1995, p.14.

CHAPTER 3 - ASSIMILATION

The G7 came to Tasmania intent on integrating, if not in assimilating, with the local population. Their English language skills were sufficient to negotiate with credit providers and government officials at all three levels and with locals. Contact with fellow Dutchmen who had preceded them was limited. Sponsoring other Dutchmen to emigrate here was necessary to assist their fellows to escape a possible war and start a new life. Sponsoring was biased towards those with the same religious beliefs because of the ethnic pillar construction of Dutch society, not to build an enclave. There are instances of G7 behaviour in which it seems they are members of a new ethnic community, the Tasmanian community. The two ethnic groups to which they had previously conformed, as Dutch nationals and as Calvinists, were not, however, so easily discarded.²⁰⁰

Beginning a new life, assimilating as if they had always lived here, was what the G7 attempted to do from the moment they arrived. In this they had been encouraged by their Prime Minister before they left. Monistic assimilation was also the policy of the Australian government.²⁰¹ This was the aim for cultural unity, for homogeneity, because it was thought that social and cultural differences caused conflict.²⁰² In practice this meant, as far as the government was concerned, that the migrants have work and learn English.²⁰³ Assimilation policy dominated resettlement policy until the mid-1960s.²⁰⁴

In the fifties and early sixties it was thought by government that migrants were assimilable without undue strain on themselves or undue change on the part of the Australian community.²⁰⁵ The migrant would have to realign his identity by making changes in his relationship networks. These would be increasingly located within his host society.²⁰⁶ The

Hungarian Calvinists also found it difficult to abandon their religious ethnicity. M. Gilson, and J. Zubrzycki, *The Foreign Language Press in Australia, 1848 - 1964.* Australian National University Press, Canberra, 1967, p.31.

A.L. Van Wamel, 'Nederland mijn moeder, Australië mijn bruid', Doctoral Thesis, Catholic University, Nijmegen, 1993. p.9.

M.L.Kovacs, and Cropley, A.J., *Immigrants and Society: Alienation and Assimilation*, McGraw- Hill, Sydney, 1975. p.10.

²⁰³ J.I. Martin, *The Migrant Presence: Australian Responses 1947-1977*, George Allen and Unwin, Sydney, 1978. p.28.

N. Peters, *Milk and Honey, but no Gold: post-war migration to Western Australia,* 1945-1964, University of Western Australia Press, Nedlands, 2001., p.23.

Martin, op.cit., p.78.

²⁰⁶ R. Julian, 'The Dutch in Tasmania: An Exploration of Ethnicity and Immigrant Adaptation', University of Tasmania, 1989., p.75.

steps to assimilation involved gaining cultural knowledge and skills, gaining group membership, and conforming to group norms, leading to a preference for new habits.²⁰⁷ An examination of the first four months of the G7 in Tasmania clearly shows these steps were taken.

From the very start of their arrival in Tasmania, the G7 scouts were involved in implementing the intentions of the group, and reporting their findings to them. Within days of arriving they had established that there was a market for housing, prefab or normal, and that there was a shortage of building materials.²⁰⁸ They had also arranged credit to finance the importation of prefabs with Mr J. McCusker at the Commonwealth Bank, and been enlightened concerning local building specifications.²⁰⁹ They decided that importing prefabs would allow them to avoid material shortages. In the first report they confessed to their friends that they were overstating their potential abilities a little, but had thereby gained very good connections²¹⁰ including Dutch government support for the export of prefabs.²¹¹

Kovacs and Cropley, op.cit., p.14.

²⁰⁸ Roofing iron, nails and galvanised water pipe, plus bricks and weatherboards, were all in short supply. The problem was noted by The Mercury on 1 Apr 1950, p.1, 28 June 1950, p. 4 and 12 Aug 1950, p.12. To alleviate the shortage, the Tasmanian government placed an order overseas for 1 million super feet of Baltic Pine weatherboards. The Mercury 21 July 1950, p.3. This disgusted the G7 scouts because they classed this timber as firewood. They asked their colleagues still in Holland if they could use their contacts and organise something better from Borneo? Either way, they thought it odd that this was all necessary considering that Tasmania had beautiful native timbers. ABC letters, 24 July 1950, p.28. The Master Builders Association of Tasmania wrote to Mr Fagan, Attorney General and Minister in charge of price control, that the problem was caused by the low price paid to sawmillers for weatherboards, it was below the cutting cost. Ref. 182/6/80, 24 July 1950. File ref. PCS 1/100, 182/1-20, 1950. Archives of Tasmania. Mr Fagan agreed to a price increase two days later. Ref 182/6/1950, 26 July 1950. File ref. ibid. In September, the government placed an order for iron and steel products, because there were no businesses with the capacity to place an order worth £200,000. This was the minimum order size that could be placed because of an international shortage of these products. The Mercury 13 Sep 1950, p.4. This was in response to a Minute Paper dated 22 May 1950 from the Controller of Building Materials noting delays of 18 months in the delivery of Australian iron products. File ref. PCS 1/100, 182/1-20, 1950. Tasmanian State Archives.

They emphatically reminded their colleagues that all measurements had to be imperial, not metric, and specifications had to be in English. A detailed, approximately 1200 word, specification of the proposed prefabs followed. ABC letters, 14 June 1950, pp. 1-2.

The Commonwealth Bank proposed to finance a subdivision for the ABC to develop, but the idea was too novel for the men to deal with. ABC letters, 14 June 1950, p.2.

An Australian Government delegation travelled through Europe in 1950 to investigate the importation of prefab housing to Australia. "De Heer Louw van Economische zaken heeft destijds de Australische Commisie ontvangen en rondgeleid en deze ongetwijfeld medewerking verlenen voor het verkrijgen van de nodige uitvoer vergunningen." ABC letters, 14 June 1950, p.3.

The G7 scouts arrived on or after ten June 1950 and before the fourteenth, but most probably on the 12th.²¹² On 22 June they made an offer to purchase land to build 2 houses on, gave instructions for the balance of their funds to be transferred from the Netherlands and opened an account with the Commonwealth Bank.²¹³ They were beginning to put down roots. It would be almost a month before their jeep arrived, despite their efforts to hasten the process and improve their mobility,²¹⁴ but Pinkster got a driving licence in anticipation.²¹⁵

Finding accommodation became a priority, as for reasons unknown they no longer wanted to or could not stay with Rhee.²¹⁶ The use of the facilities of the company office of Dr Boot²¹⁷ lasted a little longer.²¹⁸ He had suggested Tasmania as their migration destination, but now the ethnic bond was insufficiently strong to keep them together. Finding accommodation was difficult, even with the aid of the Consul,²¹⁹ because there was a shortage of housing,²²⁰ public

²¹² On Friday 9 June they visited the family of Mr Higgie, the Australian immigration official in The Hague, in McCleod, a suburb approximately ten kilometres NE of Melbourne. The first letter from Tasmania was written on 14 June and contains information that would have taken several days to obtain. In the letter dated Saturday 17 June they mention the church service of that morning, which suggests that letter was written over two days. There is no mention in their letters of their activities of Sunday 11 June (nor of any other activity after their landing in Sydney on date unknown and proceeding to Melbourne on 6 June). If they were then already in Hobart, they would have made contact with Dr Boot and Rhee, and gone to church with them, and not spoken about the service of 18 June as if it were the first time. As Calvinists they would have preferred not to travel on Sundays, so they most probably arrived on Monday the 12th. The first and only Sunday they ever worked was 12 February 1967, after the bush fires, to help provide emergency housing in Snug. See also S. Bunning, Purpaleanie and other permutations, The Middleburg Press, Orange City, Iowa, 1978, pp.51-54.

The land was numbers 26 and 28 Hutchins St, Kingston. ABC letter 22 June 1950, p.11.

²¹⁴ ABC letter 14 July 1950, p.25.

There was no test involved, only the payment of a ten shilling fee. ABC letter 22 June 1950, p.12.

Then living at 'Meyendell', Browns River Road, Taroona, according to his Application for Naturalisation, Archives. Dr Boot was a Netherlander - his name translates into English as 'boat'.

²¹⁷ CCC, 18 Elizabeth St. Hobart

As a postal address until 20 July. p.30. For the typewriter until 24 July. p.27. PMR G.R. Swanton was consul from 1948-1960. He was the organist at St. Johns, also director of a shipping line, and dealt in building materials and insurances, but he was not Dutch. ABC letter, 22 June 1950. p.12. De Geschiedenis van een Aantal Nederlandse Consulaten in Australië, Dienst Documentaire Informatievoorziening (DDI), H. Steenhard Sluyter, DDI/ON, July 1998.

²²⁰ Offerings in the 'To Let' column of *The Mercury* in this period confirm very little availability. A typical column offered cottages at various seaside resorts plus Fern Tree, a small room and a gentleman's residence in Hobart, and a room in Moonah. *The Mercury*, 2 September 1950.

transport was infrequent and telephones were few. Eventually they took a room at the Australasian Hotel in Kingston Beach at £4 per person per week. They begrudged the cost, although the easy access to the bar was appreciated, ²²¹ then consoled themselves with a brandy and the thought that soon their gear would arrive and they could move into their tent on the block they were buying. ²²²

The following days the scouts were busy organising and meeting and arranging. They saw Mr Watchorn at the HEC regarding licence requirements for migrant electricians, and the Education Department to enquire about teacher qualifications on behalf of friends still in the Netherlands. They met with Mr Mellor²²³ in the Immigration Office to expedite, if possible, the outward passage of some tradesmen. They made arrangements with Miss Freeman to rent her house,²²⁴ and walked many a country mile to find Mrs Geard. Their first evening in Kingston was given to walking on the beach and watching the moonlight on the water while contentedly smoking. Although they had so much still to do, they relaxed and enjoyed the beauty of their new home.²²⁵

On Monday 26 June, the scouts met with the Kingborough Council about splitting their land for two houses, ²²⁶ then with the RSL about becoming members, ²²⁷ and in the afternoon with

The Dutch enjoyed alcohol but differently from the way Australians did. Koos Schuur complained that 'there were no cafes, only beer abattoirs and wine houses, all standing only places, because they drink so hastily here, they don't need stools.' K. Schuur, *De Kookaburra lacht*, Uitgeverij De Bezige Bij, Amsterdam, 1966., p.91. Not drinking in the Australian manner is probably the root of the claim 'The Dutch Reformed did not drink alcohol' in R. Julian, 'The Dutch in Tasmania: An Exploration of Ethnicity and Immigrant Adaptation', University of Tasmania, 1989. p.127.

ABC letter, 22 June 1950, p.14. Whilst staying there, they taught the barkeeper how to make a proper *rumgroc*, a mixed drink peculiar to their tastes and unknown to the dictionary. ABC letters,14 July 1950, p.25. The crate containing their effects arrived in Hobart on Friday 14 July, so they moved into the tent the following day. ABC letter, 14 July 1950, p.27. The tent possibly stuck a romantic cord in the journalist who wrote for the *Australian Women's Weekly* of 11 Feb 1959, p.12 - 'The two Dutchmen had some money but few prospects when they landed in Devonport, Tasmania, and set off by jeep to seek land to settle. The back of the jeep was stacked with blankets, tents and cooking utensils. At night, the men camped by the roadside ... '

The G7 scouts never refer to anybody by their Christian names, or indicate the initials, except for Fred Mitchell and Archibald H Smith.

This was the house they were helping A.H. Smith to build, and she did not need it until the following January.

Within three weeks of arriving they began using this term. ABC letter 27 June 1950, p.18.

The land for which they had made an offer.

To their amazement their application was rejected, although the Federal government had accepted them as as ex-servicemen in a migration subsidy scheme

the Premier, Mr Cosgrove. By their own account they did as if they were big businessmen and so gained the front page of *The Mercury* the following day, an introduction to government officials concerned with housing and finance, a tour of Hobart, Moonah and Glenorchy to see houses being built by the Agricultural Bank, and an invitation to be interviewed on ABC radio.²²⁸

During July the two men kept themselves busy with negotiations concerning the prefabs and organising official paperwork to properly register their business. On Sunday 8 July they had a 2 pm meeting with the acting-Premier, Mr Fagan²²⁹ and AH Smith. They discussed the housing situation in general and prefabs in particular. They also discussed the need to bring some unskilled labourers besides the tradesmen that Tasmania so desparately wanted, and told Fagan that hostel accommodation for migrants needed to be suitable for families because it was families that wanted to come to Tasmania. Mr Fagan promised to write a letter to the Immigration Office in The Hague and do what he could to give full support to the migrants.²³⁰ He also wrote a letter to hasten the production and export from the Netherlands of ten prefabs.²³¹ Use of the temporary office facilities at CCC in Elizabeth St, Hobart, was discontinued as they were now established in Hutchins St, Kingston. In addition to the 3 blocks they bought from Fred Mitchell, 232 their offer of £360 was accepted by Miss Liptrot for her 2 blocks. A local architect, Wilson, was engaged to see these and sketch some plans for 'on spec' houses.²³³ All of this activity was consistent with their stated intent of establishing a building business and assimilating here, but all of a sudden a new plan was put forward.234

On 2 August the scouts bought about five acres, on the northwest side of Kingston, about one and a quarter miles from the main road, in the hills, for £500.²³⁵ The immediate object was to

²²⁸ ABC letter 27 June 1950, pp. 18 & 19. Memo from Director of Housing to Premier Cosgrove - 'met and discussed prefabs with vdLaan and Pinkster . Arranged meetings for them with Senior Architect, tour of Goodwood Housing Estate.' Ref 182/35/50 - 7 Jul 1950. File ref. PCS 1/101, 182/21 - 183/40, 1950. Archives Office of Tasmania

²²⁹ Mr Fagan normally held the posts of Treasurer and Attorney General.

²³⁰ ABC letter 14 July 1950, p.25.

²³¹ ABC letter 14 July 1950, p.26.

²³² ABC letter 20 July 1950, p.30.

ABC letter 2 August 1950, p.34. Wilson was chosen because they had seen his work in the house of Rhee. There is no other reference to his Christian name or the name of his practice in the letters.

²³⁴ The plan was hinted at in the letter of 14 July, p.30.

[&]quot;Aan de andere zyde van Kingston ongeveer 1 1/4 Myl van de hoofdweg op de heuvels hebben we ca. 5 acres gekocht voor £500." ABC letters 2 Aug 1950, p.32.

subdivide this into 20 blocks.²³⁶ There would be some costs²³⁷ but the arithmetic appealed - a net cost of £40 per block compared to £200 per block on the main road. The description of the land and the possibilities was very optimistic, and apart from the 20 proposed houses, they also expected to build a large joinery, a workshop and a concrete block making factory. Apart from the finances, this would also allow workers to work close to home and so obviate the need for transport, as southern Tasmania was not suitable for bicycles and cars were expensive.²³⁸ Most importantly, it would solve the accommodation problems. The tent had not been a good idea in the middle of winter, and the scouts were now living in the building shed of AH Smith. This could only be temporary until houses were built, and many houses needed to be built because many families were already on the way or planning on coming.²³⁹ The scouts were but two of 67 Dutch migrants who arrived in Tasmania in the year ended 30 June 1950. The following year another 600 came, and in the year ended 30 June 1954, 960 arrived²⁴⁰

Geard nominated the name Little Groningen for the proposed settlement,241 and the scouts

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This was the fourth subdivision proposal put to them and the first time it appealed. It seems that this was not what they were initially looking for. Eric Johnston, a lawyer and director of the largest cement factory here, showed them a 20 acre lot in Blackmans Bay, but at this stage the idea either did not appeal or was beyond their current thinking and did not gel. ABC letter 5 July 1950, p.22. In Burnie they had visited a Jennings subdivision, the Commonwealth Bank had offered them finance for a subdivision in mid-July, and Archie Smith had shown them a subdivision being prepared in Kingston.

Bulldozer hire £50, water pump to bring water up from Browns River £200, electricity transformer £20 ABC letters 2 Aug 1950, p.35.

Motorised bicycles were thought to have insufficient power to deal with the hills here. A car was so rare, the jeep they had would need to take the children to school from Howden, where they had the use of a property belonging to A.H. Smith, and take the men to work each day. ABC letter, 20 Jul 1950, p.30. In his memoirs, P Laning tells of taking up to 29 children from the Reformed Church building on the Channel Highway in Kingston to Little Groningen, a distance of about three kilometres, in a standard Holden sedan in 1959. The scouts were confident Kingston would soon receive a trolley - line service to solve the transport problem. Letters, 20 Jul 1950, p.30. They may have confused this with the proposed Southern Outlet. In the minutes of the Council meeting of 13 Jun 1950, Cr Pryde is on record asking 'when will the Southern Outlet be started?" Kingborough Council Minutes, ref MCC 19/19, Archives Office of Tasmania. p.422.

ABC letter, 2 August 1950, pp. 35, 36. To encourage more potential migrants they sent a copy of the speech given by the Minister for Immigration, Mr Harold Holt, to the Immigration Planning Council, which predicted that up to 15,000 building workers were needed to join the industry in 1950 of which 14,000 had to come from migration. This speech was reported in *The Mercury* on Saturday 9 Sep 1950.

R.S.J. Farmer, 'The Geography of Migration in Tasmania, 1921 - 1961', Unitas 1968, pp.220. and 540.

²⁴¹ ABC letter, 2 August 1950, p.35.

speak of building a wonderful community here, possibly thinking that all the Dutchmen to come would buy a block here at one-fifth of the price of anywhere else, as if price was the only consideration. We do not need to imagine the conception of a Dutch enclave at this point. The shortage of housing and the urgent need for more in large quantities, and the shortage of and cost of building blocks, are vital to understanding the situation. The purchase and subdivision of a five acre lot was an attractive solution to the difficulties they faced.

The creation of a Dutch community was a by-product of the subdivision proposal, and seen as a springboard to other possibilities. At this stage, the scouts were beginning to see Tasmania as a more or less uncultivated land in which, with all their strength, they planned to conquer a spot for themselves, and to use that as a base to create a new culture if not to add new elements to the existing order. The aim was not simply to create a new existence for themselves and their children, nor to become wealthy, but to make a small contribution to developing what God had created, which in Australia was fallow land. Van der Laan thought that as a 'Dutch colony' they could be the salt that restores, ²⁴² a thought that filled him with joy. He was beginning to have a vision of the wonderful task that lay before them, a task he wanted to begin work on as soon as possible, a task he needed his colleagues for. They were necessary, firstly to arrange for material needs and then to graft the riches of Western Europe

His reference is to Matthew 5:13. What he meant with the term 'Dutch Colony' is not absolutely clear, because when Little Groningen became a reality full of Dutch families, vd Laan claimed the purpose of the settlement was not to be a Dutch colony. *De Spiegel*, No. 7, 14 Nov. 1953. pp. 28-31. In an earlier interview he noted "there was no desire to become an exclusive Dutch community. Our wives meet weekly with Australian women, one week here, the other week in their homes. This promotes mutual understanding and friendship. We now have a very mixed social club, the Dutch-Australian Glee Club, that has brought more unity.' Dutch newspaper, 18 June 1953, JM Wierenga collection. An accompanying photo confirms his testimony. Van der Mast claimed in 1960 that there was no desire to establish a Dutch colony. van de Mast p.81. In fact, he said, no Dutch enclave existed in Kingston, citing the high intermarriage rate (1 in 3) as partial evidence. Van der Mast p.83.

onto the new growth here. 'Australia is an infant needing us urgently,'243 he wrote.

Some reactions from locals confirmed their impression that Tasmania was a little backward. The solicitor Fred Mitchell, who had helped them with the paperwork for establishing their business and in purchasing land, admired the coats the scouts wore, so they arranged to have one in his size sent from Holland and gave it to him, a small price for the goodwill it generated.²⁴⁴ Dutch souvenirs and Dutch and European stamps were valued gifts.²⁴⁵ Many locally available items, such as gin, were considered by the G7 to be of poor quality²⁴⁶ or, such as blankets, extremely scarce.²⁴⁷ Some items simply did not exist on the Tasmanian market, such as various types of bean seed and a long list of household articles. 248 Beside all that, the first carpenters to arrive in early August were very unhappy with the low standards of the

broodnodig."

ABC letter, 14 August 1950, p.45. "wy zyn liever aan het timmeren dan dat we ons met administratiev rompslomp bezig houden. Wat is dat nu. Een soort reactie op de over-organisatie van het geciviliseerde Nederland, een zekere cultuurmoeheid of is het cultuur-bezetendheid d.w.z. dat je met al je kracht bezig bent je een plaats te veroveren in dit min of meer ongecultiveerde land om dan van uit die veroverde plaats weer een nieuw cultuur te scheppen of beter gezegd aan het hier bestaande elementen nieuw toe te voegen. Als ik deze zin overlees vraag ik me zelf af zit je nu niet te hoog in de boom, maar als ik er goed over nadenk geloof ik toch dat dit er achter zit. Het is zo doodgewoon als je zegt, we willen ons hier een nieuw bestaan scheppen voor ons en onze kinderen, maar dat is mij inderdaad te gewoon, er zit altijd iets in me van de "Streber" - niet in zin van veel geld verdienen ect. (sic)- maar het bydragen van dat hele kleine steentje aan de verdere ontwikkeling van wat God geschapen heeft en in dat opzicht ligt er hier in Australië een terrein voor ons braak, dat niet te overzien is. Wij kunnen hier als Hollandse kolonie een zoutend zout zijn en daarom jongens ben ik zo blij, dat ik hier ben (spreek een beetje persoonlijk, maar Ep is hier vast met mij eens - hij zit nog steeds te vossen wat we vergeten hebben en dat komt dan straks weer). Ik zie hier een geweldige taak voor ons liggen en daarom jongens kom hier zo gauw mogelijk toe. Tracht je zaken zo goed mogelijk af te wikkelen en aarzel niet de eerste de beste boot te nemen. We heben jullie nodig, eerst om on onze materiele behoeften te voorzien en voorts de rijkdom van West-Europa te enten op het nieuwe hier. Australië staat nog in de kinderschoenen en heeft ons

ABC letter, 14 August 1950, p.46.

²⁴⁵ ABC letters, 19 and 14 August 1950, pp. 54 and 46.

ABC letter, 3 August 1950, p.39.
 ABC letter, 14 August 1950, p.46.

ABC letter, 25 September 1950, p.61.

local builders.²⁴⁹ Thus the work of the first six men,²⁵⁰ the completion of the first cottage at the end of August, was considered a great advertisement for their reputation.

The migrants came here with a reasonable command of English and were happy to use it. Their skill with the language can be seen in the translation of the legal agreement they made between themselves, in the letter they wrote to Mr Higgie, in their dealings with Customs, in their discussions with state and local government officials, in their negotiations with credit providers and freight companies, and in their social intercourse. There was in fact little need or opportunity to converse in their mother tongue except in the daily letter home. A week or so after arriving in Hobart, the scouts wrote a letter to Mr Higgie, the Australian immigration official based in The Hague, who had obviously interviewed them prior to departure. In a mixture of personal and business matters, in sentences sometimes betraying Dutch word order, they flattered this official a little and encouraged him to expedite the passage of their families and friends to this new land for the benefit of Australia. This was the justification for his work.²⁵¹

On Friday 30 June the scouts went to Customs to enquire about import duties on the machinery they planned to bring from Holland for their construction business. The quoted amount of 47.5% was far more than they could pay, so they negotiated an alternative solution. The next day they watched the Kingston Football Club thrash the visitors 61-10, after which jubilant fans shouted them three beers in the Kingston Beach Hotel. During these midwinter days they worked almost daily with A.H. Smith, who always cooked a barbecue lunch for them, to their delight. Through him they gained introductions to Mr Fagan,

ABC letters, 14 and 16 August 1950, pp. 45 and 48. Over the following years the exceptional carpenter was placed in the joinery, and Australian building methods adopted, except for brickwork. W. Van der Mast, *Praktijk en patroon van recente Nederlandse groepsmigraties. Met een suggestie voor een gewijzigde vorm van groepsmigreren: Interlinked migratie.* Noordhoff NV,Groningen,1963. p.92. 'The houses in Australia are all built 'unhappily' and mostly as cheap as possible, such that would send a shiver up the spine of a Dutchman.' Schuur, *op.cit.*, p.34.

Reg Doedens was brother-in-law to Jetze Schuth through his sister, and to the brothers Wim and Henk Sikkema through his wife. The four men arrived on 10 August, and Eerke and Eb were preferring hands on work to administration. ABC letters 14/08/1950, p.42. The four men were tradesmen who had been engaged to work for the ABC while still in the Netherlands. Van der Mast, op.cit., p.78.

p.78.

ABC letter, 19 June 1950, p.10. They told him there was also a bonus - he would be making government officials, and the individuals involved, happy. The language and content are so familiar, there must have been a healthy and friendly relationship between these men.

²⁵² ABC letter, 5 July 1950, p.21.

²⁵³ *ibid.*, p.22.

influential Cabinet member, and through Geard to Rex Townley, leader of the Opposition, and used these contacts to promote their plan of building prefabs.²⁵⁴

By early September it looked as if everything was falling into place. They had just moved into the first cottage they had built in Hutchins St, when Councillor Shoobridge, from the Kingborough Council, dropped in to discuss their plans for Little Groningen. The scouts were invited to present their plans to the Council meeting of 11 September. They were made welcome²⁵⁵ and then advised that the Council needed a £3000 bank guarantee for the road that needed to be built as part of their subdivision.²⁵⁶ The scouts had not factored a cost of that nature in their plans, a cost that would add £150 to the cost of each block. It was resolved that ten houses could be built on the road, with a road reserve to the back of the block where the settlers planned to build their workshops. A reporter from *The Mercury*, present for the meeting, took the opportunity to interview the men.²⁵⁷

When the scouts first arrived in Tasmania it was incumbent on them to explore possibilities before making commitments. This meant a trip to Launceston²⁵⁸ and the northwest coast, during which they met various Dutchmen already established in there.²⁵⁹ This mobilisation of ethnicity was fruitless except that it eliminated some possibilities. Excepting for the baker van Pernis in Launceston the scouts agreed together that these Dutchmen were poor imitations of real Dutchmen, although they probably meant that these men were not favourably disposed to their Calvinistic pillar. They concluded that there were better opportunities for them in Hobart where influential people were willing to help them, without

²⁵⁴ *ibid.* The Minister of Justice was the son-in-law of A. H. Smith. The G7 scouts met with Mr Fagan several times about the prefabs. ABC Letters, 2 Aug 1950, p.33.

²⁵⁵ "De Heren waren allen zeer vriendelyk en we moesten verschillende moedgevende speeches aanhoren. ABC Letters, 18 Sep 1950, p.57.

²⁵⁶ Although he could see that he guarantee would be a big obstacle, Cr Shoobridge was keen to see the subdivision proceed. Cr Bylett said he appreciated the class of migrants that were coming - it was hoped to keep Australia white and we should do all we can to encourage the Dutch. Cr Crane said the Dutch had a good name as workers. Kingborough Council Minutes ref MCC 19/19, Archives of Tasmania. p.443.

²⁵⁷ The Mercury Tuesday 12 Sep 1950,. p.4. The report mentioned Little Groningen in passing.

This part of the trip was with Rhee, the brother-in-law of Dr Boot, with whom they were staying. It was primarily an acceptance of hospitality, not a mobilization of ethnicity. Besides, as they themselves noted, it saved them several pounds in bus fares. ABC letters, 14 Jun 1950, p.3.

They either did not know of, or deemed it fruitless to visit, the group of Dutch migrants that arrived in Georgetown at the beginning of April. *The Mercury*, 4 April 1950, p.5.

Telephone contact with family and friends still in Holland was difficult. There was a promise of a phone call via London on Saturday 24 June, advised by telegram through Rhee. The family Lucas made their phone available, and the men waited until 11 pm before waiting some more all day Sunday. On Monday morning they were advised that the call was cancelled, there would be no chat with loved ones yet to leave for the new land. They had to settle for a chat with their hosts and their new neighbours, because all of Kingston wanted to know 'had they had their call yet'.²⁶¹

It was necessary for the G7 to sponsor other Dutchmen to migrate to Tasmania for several reasons. In the first place the Dutch government wanted people to leave the Netherlands, partly because there was a shortage of housing. These 'surplus' people needed somewhere to go, and Australia had decided it desperately needed more people to justify occupation of this continent and keep it white. Emigrants sponsored by somebody already here, somebody to arrange employment and housing for the immigrant, were preferred. There were not enough British candidates, so Dutch migrants were keenly sought as the next best choice. There was a shortage of housing throughout Australia, so tradesmen were desperately needed to build to eliminate the backlog, and to build for themselves, in addition to schools and other infrastructure.

The G7 were in a position to sponsor migrants, initially tradesmen, with housing and employment. There was thus some logic to sponsoring Dutch migrants, men who would have known skills in both trade and language. This is not to say they were aiming at establishing a Dutch enclave. This would not be possible because, apart from themselves, they could only

²⁶⁰ ABC letter, 17 June 1950, pp. 4 - 7.

ABC letter, 5 July 1950, p.21. The ABC Letters do not mention that the telephone, Kingston number 3, was in the hotel. The note about the community query and the note from Cr Pearsall suggest this was in fact the case. Cr Pearsall referred to the pending departure of the Lucas family from the Australasian Hotel, Kingston Beach. Kingborough Council Minutes ref MCC 19/19, Archives of Tasmania p.433.

²⁶² A. Lodewyckx, *People for Australia*, Angus and Robertson, London, 1956. p.164. W.D. Borrie *The Peopling of Australia*, University of Sydney, 1958. p.10. ²⁶³ Peters, *op.cit.*, p.15.

Because of a lack of workers, 'the beautiful Tasmanian timber was barely harvested' and poorly handled and the Tasmanian Government bought 1 million super feet of Baltic Pine for housing construction. The G7 scouts considered this to be firewood and urged their colleagues to enquire through their connections if it was possible to obtain better quality timber in Borneo. ABC letter, 24 July 1950, p.28. Tasmania needed 4000 new houses. *ibid.*, p.27.

accommodate another thirteen families in Little Groningen, and more than thirteen workers are needed to support a building company with seven directors. They were happy, however, to make arrangements with authorities here to ease the way for any old countrymen who asked. There would be no room in Little Groningen for them, but this did not matter. The aim was to bring them out. He Groningen for them, but this did not matter. The aim was to bring them out. He Groningen for them, but this did not matter. The aim was to bring them out. He Groningen for them, but this did not matter. The aim was to bring them out. He Groningen for them, but this did not matter. The aim was to bring them out. He Groningen for them, but this did not matter. The aim was to bring them out. He Groningen for them, but this did not matter. The aim was to bring them out. He Groningen for them, but this did not matter. The aim was to bring them out. He Groningen for them, but this did not matter. The aim was to bring them out. He Groningen for them, but this did not matter. The aim was to bring them out. He Groningen for them, but this did not matter. The aim was to bring them out. He Groningen for them, but this did not matter. The aim was to bring them out. He Groningen for them, but this did not matter. The aim was to bring them out. He Groningen for them, but this did not matter. The aim was to bring them out. He Groningen for them, but this did not matter. The aim was to bring them out. He Groningen for them, but this did not matter. The aim was to bring them out. He Groningen for them was to bring them out. He Groningen for them, but this did not matter. The aim was to bring them out. He Groningen for them, but this did not matter. The aim was to bring them out. He Groningen for them, but this did not matter. The aim was to bring them out. He Groningen for them, but this did not matter. He was the second for them was to bring them out. He was the second for them was the second for them. He was the second for them was the second for th

The G7 were Christian men with a Calvinistic leaning, and this reflected in their attitude to daily life. Their view of Christianity was of a relationship with God rather than a religion committed to specific rituals at specific times in specific places. As far as they were concerned there were no sacred places because all places were sacred. Christianity was an all of life business that influenced everyday relationships, speech and actions. It was one of the reasons they did not like any of the Dutchmen they had met in the north of Tasmania in their first weeks here, because these men all swore terribly.²⁷¹ They thought the Methodist Church might have something to offer, but the congregation in Windsor Street, Kingston Beach, disappointed them. The priest of the Kingston Church of England was judged to be a better painter than a priest.²⁷²

The Presbyterian Church, on the other hand, impressed them. The low numbers in the Taroona daughter church of St John's Presbyterian did not bother them, but they were impressed that there was first a talk for the children, that the melodies of the hymns were

The first major job they took on was the Dover School, worth £54,000. The Mercury, 6 Sep 1950, p.5. Not a job for a little company of thirteen workers supporting seven directors. Van der Mast, op.cit., p.78.

²⁶⁶ ABC letters, 22 and 27 June, 14 July 1950, pp. 13 (teachers), 17 and 26.

ABC Letter, 5 Jul 1950, p.23.

²⁶⁸ ABC letter 24 July 1950, p.28.

²⁶⁹ Advice to the Stichting Landverhuizing. ABC Letters, 3 Aug 1950, p.41.

²⁷⁰ ABC letter, 19 Aug 1950, p.53.

²⁷¹ ABC letter, 17 June 1950, p.7.

ABC letter, dated 29 June but should be 25 June 1950, p.17. The Methodists behaved like a closed circle, not advising any passers by with a notice board noting worship service times. The Anglican priest gave less of a sermon, more of a homily, to a congregation consisting of five women and six girls, and was busy painting his front gate an hour after the service.

mostly familiar, and that the sermon was simple and orthodox. Here they felt comfortable, and they looked forward to a meeting with the Rev. Reid.²⁷³ It was on his recommendation that they went to look for the residence of Mrs Geard on their first Sunday in Kingston.²⁷⁴ After an hour of walking they finally asked for directions at the home, unbeknownst to them, of the Kingborough Municipal building inspector. A cup of tea and an hour conversation cemented another relationship.²⁷⁵ Once found, Mrs Geard proved to be a real blessing to the lives of the two scouts - she provided them with regular transport to church services at St. Johns, and several meals. The scouts later counted it as a miracle that they met this woman and her husband,²⁷⁶ despite the fact that he was a Freemason.²⁷⁷ Although not agreeing with the beliefs of the Freemasons, the G7 enjoyed a friendship with them and worked well with them, to each others mutual advantage. Geard is mentioned nine times in the letters, and A.H. Smith, also a Freemason, twelve times.²⁷⁸

The G7 scouts were worried about the international situation with respect to the possibility of war.²⁷⁹ War and rumours of war featured in every edition of *The Mercury*, so confirming

ABC letters 18 June 1950, p.8. All seven of the original group were content in the Australian Presbyterian Church because the local preacher was orthodox. Van der Mast, *op.cit.*, p.84. The Presbyterians proposed that when more Dutch migrants arrived, they could hold a service in Kingston, in the C of E building. ABC Letters 14 Aug 1950 p.42.

²⁷⁴ ABC Letter 27 June 1950, p.17

²⁷⁵ *ibid.*, p.18.

²⁷⁶ ABC letter, 2 August 1950, p.36.

²⁷⁷ ABC letter, 5 July 1950, p.22.

The first mention of Geard, no additional name information is ever given, is the observation that he is not a Presbyterian like his wife, but a Freemason. Geard then showed the scouts a farmhouse they might be able to rent, introduced them to his father-in-law Mr Rex Townley (the leader of the Opposition), and requested the help of the scouts in finding a Dutch farmhand. All these references in the letter of 22 June. in the letter of 14 July it was noted that the rental proposition fell through. In the letter of 20 July Geard made hop-pickers huts available for temporary accommodation. On 2 August Geard is attributed with nominating the name Little Groningen for the proposed subdivision, and the scouts reflect that it was a miracle they met the Geards. On 13 August they spent an evening with the Geards and the four newcomers. In the letter of 16 August, they mention that the 5 acres they purchased were from Geard. Archibald H Smith is first mentioned on 22 June, when he gave the hitchhiking scouts a lift to Kingston, the first time he had ever done such a thing, and then showed them his shack in Howden, and the block of land in Hutchins St where he was building a cottage. He purchased meat from the local butcher and cooked a BBQ lunch for the scouts, and came to an arrangement with them regarding the construction and use of this cottage on the basis of a handshake. On 5 July he was noted as working daily with the scouts, cooking their BBQ lunch and introducing them to his son-in-law Mr Fagan, a key member of the government. Smith arranged a meeting with Mr Fagan, noted on 14 July, and eventually allowed the scouts to live in his shed on the Hutchins St site, noted on 20 July.

²⁷⁹ ABC letters, 5 and 14 July 1950, and 19 August 1950, pp. 23, 26, 52.

their suppositions. It was with these thoughts in mind that they advised a migration agency in Holland that they could employ lots of Netherlands if the international situation allowed.²⁸⁰ Several weeks later they again urged their colleagues to leave quickly, because they perceived the chance of another world conflagration to be high.²⁸¹ Here, on the other side of the world, they could be safe, and live.²⁸²

The scouts were convinced in their first few weeks in Tasmania that there was plenty of work for those who wished to live here, whether to escape possible war or to escape the Netherlands as their government encouraged. They also thought that Kingston was a beautiful place with plenty of suitable land available. Life in the first days would be pioneering, if not camping, but Kingston was growing, they claimed.²⁸³ For those interested they reported on the availability of tobacco products, about local prices, money, wages, chickens, ²⁸⁴ and on the availability of oil, paint, school, washing machines, heaters, hot water heaters, and about transport between Hobart and Kingston and work for aircraft maintenance.²⁸⁵ For those who were to follow they laid the groundwork for taking on big contracts, and bought blocks of land, and arranged accommodation, and dealt with the paperwork required by the immigration department for prospective migrants so well that Mellor entrusted them with issuing employment and housing declarations.²⁸⁶ He gave them authority to act as if they belonged in Tasmania, and they behaved as if they did.

²⁸⁰ ABC letter, 3 August 1950, p.41.

ABC letter, 14 August 1950, p.42.

ABC letter, 14 July 1950, p.26.

ABC letter, 20 July 1950, p.30.

We recommend you all bring the allowed 200 cigarettes / person in. Not many pipe smokers here, no cigars, no shag of good quality. ABC letter, 24 July 1950, p.29.

ABC letter, 20 July 1950, p.30.

²⁸⁶ ABC letter, 18 September 1950, p.60.

CONCLUSION

The documents clearly show that the G7 emigrated for fear of a Russian invasion of their country. This was the main factor that pushed them to leave the Netherlands. There were also some demonstrable minor reasons, such as the perceived intrusion of the State into areas of life which were the responsibility of the church or the family, their Calvinistic pillar, and the indirect encouragement of the Prime Minister. Migrants that followed the G7 left for different reasons, although nobody left for one reason only. These ranged from a sense of adventure, to a desire for better prospects, to escape from a stifling social environment after serving in Indonesia, or to a desire for better housing. To emigrate was seen as a viable solution to a life situation that was lacking something substantial, a lack that had little prospect of being remedied in the near future.

The documents clearly show that the G7 did not leave for economic reasons. They all had secure, well paying jobs, and houses, although it is not known if they owned them. In fact, most Dutch migrants did not leave for economic reasons, although economic desires did play a role. It cannot be shown if granting independence to Indonesia was a factor, as this matter was never mentioned in contemporary documents.²⁸⁷ Disgust at the supposed soft treatment given to Nazi collaborators, a part of this writers' oral tradition, is also never documented.²⁸⁸

The G7 were going somewhere whereas many migrants were leaving somewhere. This may be part of the reason why the former clearly spelled out their intentions before leaving, and the latter were always vague about their hopes and aspirations. Ultimately, the motivations and intentions of the migrant cannot be known, only indicated. Whether documented at the time or recollected in old age, they can never be a complete record or rank each factor in order of importance. The decision to emigrate, and then the choice of destination, is a personal decision for each migrant. Factors influencing his or her decision can be defined, but a given combination of factors will not guarantee a decision. There were many individuals in ²⁸⁷ It was mentioned by the eldest son of vdLaan when I was collecting

It was mentioned by the eldest son of vdLaan when I was collecting documents. It is also mentioned as a factor in the family history of Jim vd Molen.

A newspaper clipping, probably from a Dutch paper with a column called *Televisie Nederland* and hand dated to Spring 1979, reports on a Dutch TV program transmitted the previous evening in which Eb Pinkster was interviewed. In this he claimed that a part reason for emigrating was that Nazi collaborators received more prestige in society than 'those wild boys' in the Resistance. The claim could be true yet never documented, or documented and not sighted for this study.

Groningen in 1950 that would have had a similar life situation before the war, and similar experiences at the hand of the occupying forces, but few chose to emigrate. On the other hand, individuals with quite different life experiences chose to emigrate.

Whether being pushed or pulled, aspirant migrants retain that status until there is a receiving country, and Australia obliged. The intentions of the Australian government were to increase the population of the country, preferably with British migrants but otherwise with substitutes.²⁸⁹ Once the migrants had arrived, they were given some cash and left to their own devices.²⁹⁰ Those that had not made prior arrangements were housed in camps which were less than salubrious.²⁹¹

Assimilation was less than initially aimed for because of successful sponsoring. Ever more migrants agreed with the G7 that a delightful place had been found, and ever more migrants established themselves in Kingston.²⁹² This increased the possibilities of inter-Dutch social transactions, both business and private. The gaining of critical mass in organisations catering

²⁸⁹ It was not just government policy, it was a desire in the community. "Cr Bylett said he appreciated the class of migrants that were coming - it was hoped to keep Australia πwhite and we should do all we can to encourage the Dutch." Kingborough Council Minutes p.443. ref MCC 19/19, Archives Office of Tasmania. As a percentage of the total Tasmanian population, they remained but a tiny minority. L. Robson, *A Short History of Tasmania*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1985. p.170.

²⁹⁰ Walker-Birckhead, *op.cit.*, p.7. Australians made some effort to welcome the new arrivals. An ecumenical Hobart Youth group, drawn from the Methodist, Presbyterian and Roman Catholic Churches, organised an evening for New Australians on 23 June 1950. *The Mercury* reported an attendance of 300. *The Mercury*, Sat. 24 Jun 1950, p.4.

W. Walker-Birckhead, *Paying our way: private and public meanings of migration* Australian Journal of Anthropology, April 1998. p.5.

²⁹² So many liked it here, that practically no-one left. W. Van der Mast, *Praktijk* en patroon van recente Nederlandse groepsmigraties. Met een suggestie voor een gewijzigde vorm van groepsmigreren: Interlinked migratie. Noordhoff NV, Groningen, 1963. p.82. He attributes the successful establishment of Kingston to the outstanding individuals involved, especially in comparison to the other eleven Dutch migrant communities he studied in Argentina, Brazil and France. p.424. Watt shows the number of Dutch born in Kingborough - 1947/3, in 1954/211, in 1961/419 - whereafter the number declined. M.G. Watt, Little Groningen: 'Some Aspects of Bilingualism and Acculturation among Dutch Immigrants in Kingborough, Tasmania'. Unpublished (B Ed) Thesis, Uni of Tas. Farmer notes that the establishment of the Reform (sic) Church and attractive proximity to the capital city were contributing factors. R.S.J. Farmer, 'The Geography of Migration in Tasmania, 1921 - 1961', Uni Tas 1968. p.255. At the same time large numbers of Tasmanian born continued to move to the mainland, up to 20 percent by 1954. There is, however, no suggestion of cause and effect. Robson, op.cit., p.173

to special interests precluded joining Australian organisations.²⁹³ The sheer demand on the time of the migrants building new homes for themselves also limited interaction with locals.²⁹⁴ The *Mededelingen Nederlandse Vereniging 'Abel Tasman'* was the newsletter of a club set up to give information to and maintain contact with Dutch settlers.²⁹⁵ Like Little Groningen itself, it eased assimilation by offering support.²⁹⁶ As an ethnic pillar, the Calvinists joined in social activities with ethnic Dutch nationals, but there were few activities based on national Dutch ethnicity, and the social organisation based on this was limited.²⁹⁷

The ever growing number of Dutch migrants to Kingston also increased the critical mass able to sustain some elements of the former way of life. The pressure from the newcomers forced the creation of the Reformed Church.²⁹⁸ That same pressure forced a compromise such that the Church services were in English excepting for the sermon.²⁹⁹ The desire to somehow, eventually, become Australian, always remained.³⁰⁰ This was expressed in the protocol,³⁰¹ and

Julian notes that religious affiliation is an important determinant of the degree and manner of interpersonal relationships. R. Julian, 'The Dutch in Tasmania: An Exploration of Ethnicity and Immigrant Adaptation', University of Tasmania, 1989. p.85. However, so is having the time and place, factors which were at a premium for the migrants. J H Elich, *De Omgekeerde Wereld:* Nederlanders als Ethische Groep in Australië, Rijksuniversiteit te Leiden, 1985, p.24.

²⁹⁴ Van der Mast, *op.cit.*, p.95.

²⁹⁵ M. Gilson, and J. Zubrzycki, *The Foreign Language Press in Australia, 1848 - 1964.* Australian National University Press, Canberra, 1967. p.39
²⁹⁶ Watt, *op.cit.*, p.81.

Van Wamel claims this is typical of Dutch migrants. A.L. Van Wamel, *Nederland mijn moeder*, *Australië mijn bruid*, Doctoral Thesis, Catholic University, Nijmegen, 1993, p.12. Julian agrees that the maintenance of specific cultural practices, values and beliefs requires a structural basis. Julian, *op.cit.*, p.39.

This may be seen as the mobilization of ethnicity as discussed by Julian, (op.cit.,p.25 and 46) or a mobilization of religion only, but no conclusion can be safely reached without an examination of the documents generated at the time. The quote - 'In the beginning (1950) they went to the Methodist Church, where they found a lot of good in the positive orthodox preacher Rev. C. Dodd.' Kort Verslag van de Voorgeschiedenis der kerkstichting te Penguin en Ulverstone.-suggests it was not so simple. Similar documents concerning the Presbyterians and Dutch migrants in Kingston exist.

²⁹⁹ Van der Mast, op.cit., p.84.

³⁰⁰ Kremer 'er was geen overweging voor om zich te isoleren van het Australische volk. Nee, zij wilden op deze manier niets anders dan het volk dienen in welks midden zij hun nieuwe levensbestaan gingen opbouwen.' J. Kremer, *Van Zorg en Zegen: De Gereformeerde Kerken en de Emigratie*, Annual Report, Christelijke Emigratie Centrale, Utrecht, December 1956. p. 15.

The protocol claims a desire to become fully Australian as soon as possible. The criteria by which this should be judged is stated to be 'when all services are completely in English'. Protocol of the Institution of the Reformed Churches of Australia, Penguin, 13 October 1951. Also Protocol of the Reformed Church of Kingston, 24 February 1952.

also in response to the Anglican Church regarding burials.³⁰² The Dutch were aware that instituting their own Church would hinder assimilation, but were not prepared to comprise their standards for the sake of assimilation.³⁰³

With respect to employment, there were about ten building companies based in Kingston within the first ten years. Most of these were owned, in whole or part, by Dutch migrants.³⁰⁴ The ABC then had about 100 employees, mostly non-Dutch. Employees on the Hobart Olympic pool job came from 13 countries, and on the Australian Broadcasting Commission transmission tower erection on Mount Wellington, only two of seven workers were Dutch.³⁰⁵ The ABC sponsored people to come to Tasmania if they were desirous of leaving the Netherlands, but not to have some undefined hold over them. Reg Doedens started his own business within nine months of arriving.³⁰⁶ Henk Sikkema listed his occupation as public servant, probate, since 22 March 1954, on his application for Naturalisation.³⁰⁷ Jan Schuringa was employed as a draughtsman by the HEC within a year of arrival.³⁰⁸

Immigration and Naturalisation records³⁰⁹ show when migrants actually arrived and when they applied to be naturalized - the gap is usually the shortest legally permitted and so tells of their commitment to their new life.³¹⁰ The process involved forsaking their beloved House of Orange-Nassau and swearing allegiance to Queen Elizabeth in order to qualify as citizens,³¹¹ an

The Anglicans, after several burial services of Dutch migrants in their cemetery, offered a portion of their ground, this to be free from Anglican burial regulations. They felt able to make this offer because they were satisfied with the procedure followed by the Dutch. The offer was declined because, the Dutch said, we live among you and so we wish to be buried among you. Van der Mast, op.cit., p.85.

De leden van de Reformed Church zijn zich terdege er van bewust, dat hun kerkverband de assimilatie zal remmen, want men staat nu eenmaal voor de opgave Australiër te worden en gelijktijdig het beste, dat men uit Nederland meekreeg, te bewaren en uit te dragen. Want zonder dat laatste heeft men liever in het geheel geen assimilatie. *Trouw* 21 Nov 1953.

³⁰⁴ Van der Mast, *op.cit.*, p.79. This confirms that the ABC did not intend to retain the emigrants it sponsored. It did not claim any type of ownership on migrants or create a structure to keep them and sustain a previous way of life. Van der Mast, *op.cit.*, p.79.

³⁰⁵ The Australian Women's Weekly, 11 Feb 1959, p.12.

³⁰⁶ Verbal response

³⁰⁷ Effectively 30 months after arriving. In private correspondence he claims he took this position so that he could attend university, and was the first Dutch migrant so to attend.

Detail from Application for Naturalisation.

³⁰⁹ Available from the National Archives of Australia.

Hempel claims a speedy naturalisation and integration rate for Dutch migrants in Queensland. J. Hempel, *Dutch Migrants in Queensland*, Australian National University, Canberra, 1960, pp. 2 and 13.

³¹¹ Not an easy process - see Laning family letters.

oath not required of the native born.³¹² At a function in Hobart on 17 October 1953, half of the 150 Dutch migrants present indicated they planned to naturalise as soon as possible.³¹³

The G7 and the Dutch migrants who followed them achieved partial assimilation. This was enough for the historian Geoffrey Blainey.³¹⁴ Their Dutch national ethnicity faded but did not disappear. A new, Australian ethnicity largely took the vacated space, although there was doubt as to what that meant.³¹⁵ The Calvinist ethnicity remained a distinctive feature because it was the core of their lives.

D. Horne, *The Lucky Country*, Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1964. p.86.

Mededelingen Nederlandse Vereniging 'Abel Tasman' G. Rhee (redactie) Issue 21, Nov/Dec 1953. In 1981 it was determined that more than 90% of Dutch migrants were naturalized. Julian, op.cit., p.108. In contrast, Dutch migrants to Brazil and Argentina were not interested in Naturalisation. Van der Mast, op.cit., pp.264 and 318.

Success, he claimed, was measured by 'largely conformed to Australian ways.' J. Lack and J. Templeton, *Bold Experiment*, Oxford University Press, Melbourne, 1995, p.219.

³¹⁵ In 1956 Sir Richard Boyer suggested that Australians might become assimilated to the migrants because they had no definition of Australian. Lack, *op.cit.*, p.16. The old definition of 'British, democratic and Christian' no longer applied. *ibid.*, p.70.

Appendix A

Table indicating number of Dutch born residents in Tasmania and Australia. Table numbers are nominated by the Bureau of Statistics. Tables indicate numbers for selected years from 1954 to 2001. It can be seen that most Dutch born arrived between 1954 and 1961 (column D and G), at which point they comprised more than 1 per cent of the Tasmanian population, and almost that much of the Australian population.

A	В	C	D	E	F	G	H
<u>Table</u>	<u>Year</u>	Tas popn	nee Neth	% of Tas	Aust popn	nee Neth	% of Aust
77	1954	308752	2345	0.76	8986530	52035	0.58
78	1961	350340	3556	1.02	10508186	102083	0.97
79	1966	371435	3367	0.91	11550462	99549	0.86
80	1971	386629	3138	0.81	12719506	98633	0.78
81	1976	400382	2925	0.73	13514947	91548	0.68
82	1981	416749	3034	0.73	14516896	95101	0.66
83	1986	438772	2999	0.68	15542567	94404	0.61
86	2001	460661	2587	0.56	18769228	83324	0.44

Source:

<www.abs.gov.au/Ausstats/abs@.nsf/92498cbb6e1f71fdca2568b5007b861b/7041894c6b42b 791ca256daf007f634c!OpenDocument> accessed 23 August 2005

Table B.2., compiled by the Department of Immigration of the Commonwealth of Australia and printed in Bulletin No.16, October 1955, shows the number of assisted Dutch migrants to Australia for the period 1950 to 1955. It shows a rapid decline in asistance once the pent up demand is satisfied.

<u>Year</u>	Assisted	Assisted ex-Service Men
1950	568	9295
1951	1604	5557
1952	6964	3025
1953	2397	1227
1954	2861	1920
1955	2966	934

Table 3.18 Religious distribution of Dutch-born in Australia, 1966

RCs 39412 = 47.5%Prot 14919 = 18.0%other 1149 = 1.4%no religion/reply 27533 = 34.2% RJ p.92.

2.5% of Kingb'h = Dutch born, 41% of Dutch born in Sthn Tas in Kingb'h (ABS, 1981) most RCs to mainland, Prots to Tas. [claimed without ref or data] RJ p.110.

294/ popn of WA by birthplace

	<u>1947</u>	<u>1954</u>	<u>1961</u>
Netherlands	264	8490	11163
per cent of WA	.06%	1.7%	1.9%
England	52082	63322	63754
Scotland	10824	13185	12754
Italy	5422	17295	25249
WA	413171	491834	574208 Peters

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