

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.¹ The economic crisis of the 1930s and the five years of struggle against the German Nazi regime had reduced social structures and cohesion.² Economic structures had also been weakened, and the prospects of normalisation, of the restoration of life and culture as it had been, seemed remote.³ 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.⁴

That same NIPO poll in 1947 found that one third of the population was seriously considering emigration.⁵ The incipient flood was hindered by the severe shortage of shipping.⁶ About one-quarter of the aspirant emigrants did eventually leave during the 1950s,⁷ 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.

¹ H. Speerstra, *Het wrede Paradijs*, Uitgeverij Contact BV, Arnhem, 2002., p.21.

² *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.

³ 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.

⁴ 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.

⁵ 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.

⁶ 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.

⁷ Figures in Appendix A

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,⁸ 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.⁹

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 of accommodation, or transport, or public toilets, or the shortage of building materials or decent coffee, to

⁸ *De Spiegel*, Christelijk National Weekblad, T. van Vliet (redacteur), Wageningen, The Netherlands. No. 7, 14 Nov. 1953. pp. 28-31.

⁹ 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.

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.¹⁰ As the weeks went by they urged their colleagues to hurry to leave, to save themselves before the inevitable.¹¹ 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.¹² 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.¹³ 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.¹⁴ The fear did not last, and by 1956, fear of war was an issue with only 6% of emigrants.¹⁵

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 1951.¹⁶ 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.¹⁷ Altogether, about 60% of all Dutch migrants arrived on assisted passage between

¹⁰ 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.

¹¹ '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

¹² *The Mercury*, 12 Sept 1950, p.4.

¹³ H. Martin, *Angels and Arrogant Gods: Migration Officers and Migrants Reminisce 1945-85*, Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra, 1988. p.21.

¹⁴ K. Schuur, *De Kookaburra lacht*, Uitgeverij De Bezige Bij, Amsterdam, 1966., p.119.

¹⁵ Beijer, *op.cit.*, p.42.

¹⁶ Peters, *op.cit.*, p.18.

¹⁷ 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.

1947 and 1974.¹⁸ 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.”¹⁹ 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.²⁰

It was the impression of Australian immigration officers that the Dutch working class were very badly off.²¹ 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,²² yet 94% of the respondents in this survey claimed to be reasonably well off.²³ Unemployment was not a factor either, for by 1955 Marshall Plan funds generated almost full employment in reconstruction.²⁴ Beijer is convinced from his study that real economic need was not a driving force towards emigration.²⁵ Jupp came to the same conclusion, albeit from a very small sample of interviewees.²⁶ The G7 were

¹⁸ 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.

¹⁹ 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.

²⁰ 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 plaats, dus voor al onze mensen is er gemakkelijk plaats.’ The 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.

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

²² Beijer, *op.cit.*, p.25. 38% = *Hfl*3-4000; 24% = *Hfl*2-3000; 15% = *Hfl*1-5000 pa. In comparison, the one-way fare from Rotterdam to Melbourne in 1952 for a single adult was *Hfl*1200. C. Berry, *Canned Rabbits and Corduroy*, Ulverstone Council, 1992, back cover.

²³ Beijer, *op.cit.*, p.42.

²⁴ Only 2% of emigrants were unemployed at the time they decided to leave. *ibid.*, p.44.

²⁵ *ibid.*, p.82.

²⁶ Sample size of 37. J. Jupp, *Arrivals and Departures*, Lansdowne Press, Melbourne, 1966. p.131.

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.²⁷ Only Appleyard found to the contrary, although his study was limited to a small group of immigrants to Western Australia in the years 1959-1961.²⁸

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.²⁹ In the 1930s there was a perception that the country was becoming too crowded and so people would need to be encouraged to leave.³⁰ Nothing came of this because of the world-wide recession, and so there were no receiving countries.³¹ After the war the Dutch government adopted policies to target surplus citizens and encourage them to emigrate.³² At the same time Australia advertised,³³ and pioneer emigrants advised, of opportunities.³⁴ The Second World War had convinced the Australian government that the population should be boosted

²⁷ Beijer, *op.cit.*, p.119.

²⁸ 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.

²⁹ 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.

³⁰ 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.

³¹ F. Hawkins, *Critical Years in Immigration: Canada and Australia Compared*, McGill-Queen's University Press, Toronto,1989. p.26.

³² 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

³³ '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.

³⁴ 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.

as soon as possible in the interest of long term security and economic growth.³⁵

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.’³⁶ 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.’³⁷ In addition to speeches, the Dutch government established 300 emigration offices throughout the country by 1950 to facilitate the migration process.³⁸ Assistance with the cost of the passage did not begin until 1951,³⁹ except for ex-servicemen. The G7 claimed this status, and were recognized as such by the Australian government.⁴⁰ This allowed them to make plans to use the money⁴¹ 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.⁴² Being an emigrant was associated with poverty, being surplus, gotten rid of, in the early years of the emigration program.⁴³ There was no prospect of return, of seeing loved ones again,⁴⁴ except perchance they followed. The distance was too great, the expense beyond expectations.⁴⁵ Communication was limited to letters, sometimes a telegram if the

³⁵ 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.

³⁶ Peters, *op.cit.*, p.51, cites Elich *Aan de Ene kant...*

³⁷ 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”

³⁸ Peters, *op.cit.*, p.72.

³⁹ Julian, *op.cit.*, p.88.

⁴⁰ ABC letters, 27 June + 7 August 1950, pp. 17 and 50. However, the RSL rejected their application for membership. ABC letters p.17.

⁴¹ In the *Acte van Overeenkomst* they promised to deposit the proceeds in the capital fund of their construction business. Article 6.

⁴² Peters, *op.cit.*, p.61.

⁴³ Walker-Birckhead, *op.cit.*, p.3.

⁴⁴ 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.

⁴⁵ 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.

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.⁴⁶

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,⁴⁷ or gave a second thought to their knowledge, or lack, of English,⁴⁸ can be understood as a minor consideration. In fact, it was the decision to emigrate that was the major decision people made. The lesser 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.⁴⁹

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.⁵⁰ 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

⁴⁶ 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.

⁴⁷ 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.

⁴⁸ 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.

⁴⁹ Beijer, *op.cit.*, p.5.

⁵⁰ 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 naoorlogse 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.

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 1950.⁵¹

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%.⁵² Considering that there were only 13 Dutch born individuals in Tasmania in 1947⁵³ 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 1949,⁵⁴ met the G7, and recommended Tasmania.⁵⁵ To make the decision more attractive, they qualified for travel assistance from the Australian government as ex-servicemen.⁵⁶

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.⁵⁷ The reports tended to be

⁵¹ 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.

⁵² 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.

⁵³ 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 Gustav 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.

⁵⁴ 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

⁵⁵ 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.

⁵⁶ ABC letters, 27 June and 7 August 1950, pp.17 and .50.

⁵⁷ Beijer, *op.cit.*, p.7.

encouraging, and decisions to go were made more lightly.⁵⁸ 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,⁵⁹ the decisive factor in the emigration decision of five percent and a contributing factor for many others.⁶⁰ For these people, social cohesion to Holland was distinctly weaker.⁶¹

The G7 were all involved in the Resistance Movement during the Nazi occupation of the Netherlands. In the records of the OVMG⁶² 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.⁶³ 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.⁶⁴ However, these factors are all involved with identity, with the spiritual aspect of life.⁶⁵

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

⁵⁸ '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.

⁵⁹ Beijer, *op.cit.*, pp. 28 and 124. and Julian, *op.cit.*, p.166.

⁶⁰ 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.

⁶¹ Beijer, *op.cit.*, p.65.

⁶² Stichting Oorlogs en Verzetsmateriaal Groningen. <www.ovmg.nl>

⁶³ 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'.

⁶⁴ Beijer, *op.cit.*, p.161.

⁶⁵ E. Becker, *The Birth and Death of Meaning*, 2nd edn, Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1971. p.181.

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,⁶⁶ 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.⁶⁷ The Calvinists believed that ‘character-shaping and opinion-forming functions in Holland belonged to families and churches, not to the state and political groupings.’⁶⁸ The Calvinist world-view asserts that the Scriptures give guidance for every sphere of a man’s life and for all human relationships.⁶⁹ This *Weltanschauung* is the source and confirmation of the social cohesion of the Calvinists, also found by Clyne and van Wageningen.⁷⁰ This social cohesion is possibly also the foundation of the ‘chain’ migration observed by Julian, although she claims it is a Dutch pattern.⁷¹ 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.⁷² The Calvinists believed God would provide, and provided for each

⁶⁶ 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.

⁶⁷ Oosterman, *et al*, *op.cit.*, p.22.

⁶⁸ W. Warmbrunn, *The Dutch under German Occupation 1940-1945*, Stanford University Press, Stanford, 1963, p.278.

⁶⁹ F. Vanden Berg, *Abraham Kuyper: A Biography*, Paideia Press, St. Catherines, 1978. p.255.

⁷⁰ 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)

⁷¹ 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. Zubrzycki, *Settlers of the Latrobe Valley*, The Australian National University, Canberra, 1964. , p.176.

⁷² Speerstra, *op.cit.*, pp.265-266.

other, while those outside that group attempted to be self-reliant.⁷³ For the G7, Christianity was not a religion but a relationship of love towards God and man.⁷⁴

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.⁷⁵ Five years after departure, he found that a total of ten per cent had returned.⁷⁶ 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.⁷⁷ 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.⁷⁸

Several months later ten letters to the editor of the *De Spiegel* were published, a

⁷³ 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.

⁷⁴ Sherwood Eliot Wirt <<http://www.worldofquotes.com/author/Sherwood-Eliot-Wirt/1/index.html>> accessed 20 Oct 2005

⁷⁵ 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.

⁷⁶ 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.

⁷⁷ Beijer, *op.cit.*, pp. 299-300.

⁷⁸ *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.

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 pain.⁷⁹ Typically, Beijer found that returnees had lower social skills, whether in contact with neighbours or church or involvement in community associations.⁸⁰ This is consistent with Maslow's hierarchy of needs.⁸¹ 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.⁸² 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.⁸³

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.⁸⁴ Van der Mast suggests that a sense of adventure remained from their Resistance activities and was a pre-requisite to

⁷⁹ *De Spiegel*, No. 37, 13 Jun 1953, pp. 26-27.

⁸⁰ Beijer, *op.cit.*, p.299.

⁸¹ 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.

⁸² Becker, *op.cit.*, p.75. This finding is essentially the same as the pride and self-interest explanation by la Rochefoucauld for the selective operation of memory noted above.

⁸³ Beijer, *op.cit.*, pp. 179-180. The sense of adventure may have been boosted 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.

⁸⁴ Oosterman, et al, *op.cit.*, p.27.

migration.⁸⁵ 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.

⁸⁵ 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.