Children: Burden or Gift?

Dutch perspectives on post-war child migration towards Australia and New Zealand, 1945-1960.

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1. Introduction

The post-war era offered the opportunity for many people to change their life prospects and seek adventure in a different country somewhere on the other side of the globe. Many European countries were in fear of overpopulation in the decades after the Second World War.[1] Other countries, such as Australia, on the other hand could benefit tremendously from a growing population.[2] This interaction between countries helped establish several migration agreements and regimes. Australia targeted predominantly young adults, both men and women, but a large number of children have been helped across the ocean as well during the twentieth century.[3] The United Kingdom was the main facilitator of Australian immigration and has been known for their Child Migrants Programme stretching from the 1920s until the 1970s. This programme has been highly contested from the 1990s onwards. Around this time the Child Migrants Trust was founded which helped organise all children who had been forced to migrate to Australia.[4] Considering the demand for child migrants in Australia was high and England was keen on the emigration of certain groups of children, the establishment of the British Child Migrant Programme was not an odd development in itself.[5] The fact that the consequences for these children have been horrible however makes it an interesting topic to research, especially in the light of the Dutch context.

Up until now the topic of Dutch child migration to Australia has not yet been researched. This is partially due to the lack of direct evidence proving its existence so far. Considering the existence of a British programme it would not have been surprising that the Dutch government had explored the option of a similar programme as well. Especially since the Australian government was very keen on taking in these children the possibility was certainly within reach. To research this topic, I focus on the question whether Dutch child migration towards Australia was considered in the post-war period and what actors have been involved in the potential establishment of such a programme. The question central to this thesis will therefore be: *'What actors were involved in the potential Dutch child migration towards Australia and New Zealand in the post-war period until 1960 and why did The Netherlands eventually reject it?'* I have decided to include New Zealand in this question because Dutch migrants have settled in this

[1] B.P. Hofstede, *Thwarted Exodus: Post-War Overseas Migration from The Netherlands*, (The Hague 1964), 53.
[2] Herman Obdeijn and Marlou Schrover, *Komen en gaan: Immigratie en emigratie in Nederland vanaf 1550* (Amsterdam 2008) 220.
[3] David Day, 'The 'White Australia' Policy', in: Carl Bridge (ed.), *Between Empire and Nation: Australia's External Relations from Federation to the Second World War* (Melbourne 2000) 31-46, 31-33.
[4] Geoffrey Sherington and Chris Jeffery, *Fairbridge: Empire and Child Migration* (London 1998) 38.
[5] Jenny Keating, *A Child for Keeps: The History of Adoption in England, 1918-45* (London 2009) 175.

country as well and because British child migrants were placed over there too. Canada is often mentioned in this context as well, but I am focusing on Australia and New Zealand because these two countries were mostly associated with the negative impact the Child Migrants Programme has had.[6]

The thesis is meant to provide a new insight in Dutch migration to Australia and New Zealand in the post-war period. Most literature has put focus on migration in general or have looked at the role women played in this migration process. Children are often forgotten in history writing and therefore I would like to contribute to establish what role the Dutch government and other actors have played in the circumstances of child migration. It will offer an insight in the Dutch evaluation of child migration and its mode of governance involved in this process of evaluation. The thesis is divided into four parts. The first part elaborates on the theoretical framework, historiography, material and method. The second part provides information on the Dutch context and elaborates on the topic of child migration in the British context. The third part analysis my primary sources, which leads to the conclusion in the fourth part.

1.1 Theoretical Framework

I have identified four concepts relevant to my research. Furthermore in this section, the preliminary hypotheses are presented.

1.1.1 Child and Childhood

Generally speaking the concept of a child is a very contested concept, because many different nations and cultures adhere to different ideas about what it exactly entails to be a child and when the child becomes an adult.[7] Because the concept is key to this thesis and a large variety of ideas about childhood exist it is important to evaluate the concept of a child and define what exactly should be considered a child in the timeframe of this thesis. The concept is highly time- and place bound and has undergone significant change around 1900. The Dutch context in the direct post-war period until 1960 will largely be the focus of the evaluation of the concept child, but the turn of the century provides context to establish what exactly has changed.

[6] The Guardian, 'Britain's child migrant programme: why 130,000 children were shipped abroad', https://www.theguardian.com/society/2017/feb/27/britains-child-migrant-programme-why-130000-children-were-shipped-abroad, accessed 23-03-2017.
[7] Keating, *A Child for Keeps,* 18.

Nowadays the understanding of what constitutes a child is predominantly determined by international agreements. Combined with the growing influence of globalisation this has increasingly led to a more coherent idea about childhood on an international scale. The United Nation's (UN) Convention on the Rights of the Child that came into force in 1990[8] states for example that a child is a human being below the age of eighteen.[9] In this case age is a decisive factor in determining childhood. Children were in these international agreements valued emotionally, whereas before 1900 children were predominantly valued and appreciated economically.[10] Especially during the years of industrialisation in the second half of the nineteenth century children were contributing to the economic welfare of the family. Education was not a priority yet as the first acts date from 1900, a generation after the first act against child labour had been implemented. Children usually helped around the house and on the lands, but industrialisation introduced children to factories. The long hours kept children out of school however which caused the Dutch government to fear that these children would grow up with a lack of morality and would be more easily inclined in conducting mischief.[11]

The late nineteenth and early twentieth century mark changes in the attitude towards children. The compulsory education act of 1900 and the first act against child labour in 1874[12] signify these changes. Other institutions such as Child Protection[13] and Institutions focused on correctional education[14] were founded to help achieve a moral society in which children were encouraged to develop themselves and not to be exploited by the poor population any longer. This could all be traced back to the idea that The Netherlands should continue to remain a civilised society.[15] The wellbeing of the child gained more attention from the early twentieth century onwards. Child negligence and exploitation was fought more actively to benefit Dutch society in decreasing youth criminality and overcoming poverty by educating the young.[16] Children became less so economically valued and more seen as something desired emotionally.

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[8] The first version of this agreement dates from 1924, but is less detailed than its successor. United Nations Human Rights, Geneva Declaration of the Rights of the Child, 1924', http://www.un-documents.net/gdrc1924.htm accessed 20 April 2017.
[9] United Nations Human Rights, 'Geneva Declaration of the Rights of the Child, 1990', http://www.ohchr.org/EN/ProfessionalInterest/Pages/CRC.aspx, accessed 20 April 2017.
[10] Keating, *A Child for Keeps,* 18-19.
[11] Ben White, 'Children, Work and 'Child Labour': Changing Responses to the Employment of Children' (Inaugural Address delivered at the Institute of Social Studies, The Hague, The Netherlands, 16 June 1994), 13-14.
[12] Het Kinderwetje van Van Houten. This act prohibited children under the age of 12 to work in factories.
[13] De Kinderbescherming (Child Protection) was founded in 1905.
[14] Heropvoedingsinstellingen (Institutions focused on correctional education) were mostly concerned with inappropriate behaviour of children.
[15] Bernard Kruithof and Piet de Rooy, 'Liefde en Plichtsbesef: De Kinderbescherming in Nederland rond 1900', *Sociologisch Tijdschrift* 4 (1987) 637.
[16] Fedor de Beer et al., *Canon Zorg voor de Jeugd,* (Amsterdam 2013) 41.

Another aspects that determines how children are viewed are the living circumstances. This can already be derived from the notion that poverty in the late nineteenth century led to largescale child labour for example. But also growing up in times of war can influence the understanding of childhood. In these circumstances children are often required to behave as adults in order to survive and protect their families.[17] This idea of children as small adults was also common during the late nineteenth century. But due to a stark increase in children's rights and the prevention of child labour a more sentimental stance towards children could take hold and prevail from the post-war years onwards.[18] In this thesis the concept of child(hood) therefore predominantly resembles the UN declaration mentioned above. All human beings under the age of eighteen are to be regarded as children and should be enabled to enjoy adult protection.

1.1.2 Child- vs. Youth Migration

The topic of childhood is related to the distinction between child- and youth migration. The aim of this thesis is to focus on child migration specifically because this is the most vulnerable group in terms of agency as the following paragraphs will point out. Child migration and youth migration have different characteristics, but in one area they do overlap. Both categories can fall within the same age group. As children have been categorised as a group of human beings below the age of eighteen in the previous paragraphs it is rather peculiar to find that youth migrants are often identified within the ages of fifteen and twenty-four. The categories overlap so to speak three years.[19]

To differentiate between child migration and youth migration other factors are taken into account as well. Three main pillars can be identified: time span, intention and occurrence. The first pillar time span is signified by the fact that child migration is usually meant to be permanent.[20] The child that emigrates will continue its life in a new environment and is often either adopted by a family or placed in an orphanage. On the contrary youth migration is more likely to be of a temporary nature.[21] The youngster emigrates for a set amount of time to an in

[17] Ilse Hakvoort, Louis Oppenheimer, 'Children and Adolescents. Conceptions of Peace, War, and Strategies to Attain Peace: A Dutch Case Study', *Journal of Peace Research* 1 (1993) 65.
[18] Keating, *A Child for Keeps*, 18-19.
[19] Neil Argent and J.I.M. Walmsley, 'Rural Youth Migration Trends in Australia: An Overview of Recent Trend and Two Inland Case Studies', *Geographical Research* 2 (2008) 139.
[20] Note: Exceptions to this idea of permanence exist of course – The Bleekneusjes e.g. – But the overall trend shows that child migration is usually meant to be permanent.
[21] Kenneth Härttgen and Stephan Klasen, 'Well-being of migrant children and migrant youth in Europe', Princeton, NJ: Princeton Global Network on Child Migration, Available from www.globalnetwork.princeton.edu, accessed 6 February 2017, 6.

advantage determined country where they will work. Often a contract is drawn up to guarantee the purpose of the migration which is predominantly in the agricultural sector to learn the occupation.[22]

The second difference between child- and youth migration is the intention of it. This connects to the idea that agency is more involved in youth migration than it is in child migration. As children are usually considered innocent and vulnerable child migration is also mostly portrayed as something that is considered involuntarily. The child is not an agent itself, but is rather forced to migrate by another person who in that case determines the agency. Often the ties with its origin are cut as well, leaving the child without any known relatives.[23] Youth migration is on the contrary largely viewed as something voluntary. Family is involved and will stay informed throughout the youngster's experience abroad. Most youngsters are the agents in the scenario of temporary migration and often decide for themselves if they are willing to take the leap.[24]

The third pillar is tied to occurrence. Youth migration is nowadays still present in the agricultural sector, but also increasingly in education.[25] Child migration on the other hand is being rejected more and more and is increasingly viewed as trafficking rather than migration.[26] Whereas youth migration is still accepted and often even stimulated to expand people's horizons, child migration is seen as more problematic and undesirable and therefore highly discouraged. Within this thesis child migration will entail all human beings below the age of eighteen who have been forced to migrate permanently to another area often without the possibility to remain in contact with their relatives, which is therefore seen as undesirable in terms of child protection agreements.

1.1.3 Governance

Besides the concept of childhood and the consequential distinction between child and youth migration, the aspect of governance is a central concept to this thesis. Governance is a debatable concept as it can occur under a variety of circumstances. The term is not particularly bound by specific rules and can occur on the very local level, but also on the international level. The

[22] Argent and Walmsley, 'Rural Youth Migration Trends in Australia', 140-41.
[23] Julia O'Connell Davidson, 'Moving Children? Child Trafficking, Child Migration, and Child Rights', *Critical Social Policy* 3 (2011) 462-63.
[24] Argent and Walmsley, 'Rural Youth Migration Trends in Australia', 149.
[25] EF programmes and the Erasmus exchange programme are fit examples of temporary youth migration in a contemporary context.
[26] O'Connell Davidson, 'Moving Children?', 458.

concept is however made up of key factors that determine it to be identified as a form of governance. First of all the concept of governance should be distinguished from the somewhat similar term government. Even though both concepts sound alike, their differences are to be noted.

Colebatch differentiates between the two concepts in the following way. Governance can be seen as a collaboration between governmental and non-governmental organisations in making policy. The more traditional view of government is the idea of a rational actor making decisions for the good of the people. The government as an overarching independent institution. The government is regarded as sealed off from the people whereas governance is more of a cooperation between government and people within society.[27] I find this a very clear way to describe the relation. The concept of governance could be further developed however along the lines of the following three points.

Firstly, governance can be seen as a cooperation between government and society or organisations to solve problems.[28] Governance is often employed in case a problem cannot easily be solved by a government alone. This happens for example on the international level where governmental actors are reluctant to get involved themselves because of the chances of risking their neutrality. Secondly, it needs to be stated that the actors involved in governance are all dependent on each other. The cooperation governance is built on can only function if all actors contribute whereas a government is only dependent on itself in its decision making. Thirdly, the participating actors in governance need to be authorities on the matters they are discussing. As they perform the act of governing it has to be clear to the public that these acting organisations have earned their credit and are powerful actors.[29]

In light of this thesis the concept of governance provides an extra dimension to the way in which the possibility of child migration was received in The Netherlands and what actors were involved in the evaluation of the Australian and New Zealand request for children. In the analysis the idea of governance is leading and is going to lay bare what actors can be identified and in what way they influenced the debate.

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[27] H.K. Colebatch, 'Governance as a conceptual development in the analysis of policy', *Critical Policy Studies* 1 (2009) 62.
[28] Jan Kooiman, 'Societal governance: Levels, models and orders of social-political interaction', in: Jon Pierre (ed.), *Debating Governance* (Oxford 2000) 142.
[29] Peter Gatrell, 'The world-wide web of humanitarianism: NGOs and population displacement in the third quarter of the twentieth century', *European Review of History* 23 (2016) 102.

1.1.4 Explaining Child Migration

The Child Migration Scheme in Britain could have sparked interest among the Dutch government to establish a similar agreement. As mentioned above no studies so far exist evaluating the debate on potential child migration schemes in The Netherlands during the post-war years. Many families and individuals did take the leap however across the oceans to find better fortune in different countries. Below a number of hypotheses are outlined which may explain the reasons why a child migration scheme could have been established. The hypotheses are divided in two main categories. Firstly, reasons to engage in a child migrants programme. Secondly, reasons not to engage in a child migrants programme. Within both categories the Dutch and the Australian and New Zealand perspectives are considered.

For Australia and New Zealand a child migrants programme with The Netherlands would have been very beneficial. The countries, but mostly Australia, wanted to increase their population as they believed the country was underpopulated.[30] Furthermore attracting migrants would help stimulate the growth of both the countries their economy. Part of the issue was namely that the growth of Australia's economy was hampered by a lack of workforce. Adults were attracted to solve this on the short term, but children would be better in the long run.[31] The last probable idea is that Australia found the Dutch children desirable due to their Western looks and the physical similarities they shared with the Australian population.[32] New Zealand largely followed the same motivations as Australia. The growth of their economy was the principal motivation however combined with the Western looks of the children.[33] The Netherlands on the other hand were dealing with overpopulation.[34] At the same time the war had increased the number of unmarried mothers in the country however. Their children were in need of accommodation as the women were a vulnerable group and could often not take care of the children themselves.[35]

A number of reasons not to engage in a child migrants programme existed as well however for The Netherlands. First and foremost the lack of adoption legislation could have hampered the children from emigrating.[36] Secondly, the blood ties played a very important role

[30] Day, 'The 'White Australia' Policy', 31-46.
[31] Obdeijn and Schrover, *Komen en gaan*, 220.
[32] Sydney, 'The White Australia Policy', *Foreign Affairs* 1 (1925) 97-111.
[33] Patrick Ongley and David Pearson, 'Post-1946 International Migration: New Zealand, Australia and Canada Compared', *The International Migration Review* 3 (1995) 765-793.
[34] Hofstede, *Thwarted Exodus*, 54-55.
[35] Heidi Offerman, *Andere tijden, andere meiden…?: 100 jaar hulp aan ongehuwde moeders* (Amsterdam 2005), 61.
[36] C.J.B.J. Trimbos, 'Adoptie in Nederland', *Nederlands Tijdschrift Geneeskunde* 108 (1964).

in Dutch foster care. A child and its mother should never be separated, was the idea. This also hindered potential emigration[37] and connects to the Christian political climate of The Netherlands at the time. This may have influenced negotiations on a child migrants scheme as well.[38] Thirdly, the Jewish orphans after the war were largely supported by their own community in The Netherlands and would not engage with Australian authorities.[39] In addition, previous experiences may have had an influence on a negative stance towards child migration as well.[40] The Australian and New Zealand governments did not really experience any reasons not to engage in a child migrants scheme with The Netherlands.[41] These preliminary hypotheses are to be revised and supplemented in chapter three to function as guidelines for the analysis.

1.2 Historiography

As mentioned above the topic of child migration to Australia and New Zealand during the post-war years has not yet been dealt with very extensively in the Dutch context. Therefore the historiography focuses on the topics intersecting with this area of research to establish what has been done so far that could be linked to this thesis. I have decided to include five topics in this historiography of which Dutch post-war migration to Australia and New Zealand in general is the first. I have included this one to establish what has been researched about this migration so far in order to argue that child migration has not yet been included in this research. The topic has been researched extensively already and would be too large to cover completely, therefore my focus is primarily on the studies that have included governance aspects.

So far the emphasis has largely been put on the emigration of Dutch families and single men or women. Unaccompanied children have not been attributed a separate place in the literature yet, but have only been treated as part of a family. *Thwarted Exodus: Post-War Overseas Migration from the Netherlands* written by B.P. Hofstede and published in 1964 is viewed as one of the most complete accounts on Dutch post-war migration and focuses

[37] René A.C. Hoksbergen, 'Intercountry Adoption Coming of Age in The Netherlands: Basic Issues, Trends, and Developments', in: Howard Alstein and Rita J. Simon (eds.), *Intercountry Adoption: A Multinational Perspective* (New York 1990) 141-160.
[38] J.H. Elich, 'Aan de Ene Kant, aan de Andere Kant: De Emigratie van Nederlanders naar Australië 1946-1986' (PhD diss., Rijksuniversiteit Leiden, 1987).
[39] Elma Verhey, *Kind van de Rekening: Het Rechtsherstel van de Joodse Oorlogswezen 1944-2004* (Amsterdam 2005); Diane L. Wolf, *Beyond Anne Frank: Hidden Families and postwar families in Holland* (Berkeley, CA 2006).
[40] Berthy Dam, 'Een Verweesde Paragraaf. Het Sturen van Weeskinderen naar Suriname in 1690', *Skript Historisch Tijdschrift* 1 (2014); Ivo Sicking, *In het Belang van het Kind: Nederlandse Kinderemigratie naar Zuid-Afrika in de Jaren 1856-1860* (Utrecht 1995); Annette van Rijn, 'Treinen tussen twee werelden: Hongaarse kinderen en hun pleeggezinnen, 1920-1928', in: Gerard van der Harst and Leo Lucassen (eds.), *Nieuw in Leiden. Plaats en betekenis van vreemdelingen in een Hollandse stad (1918-1955)* (Leiden 1998) 77-92.
[41] Ongley and Pearson, 'Post-1946 International Migration', 774.

primarily on the institutions enabling emigration. Different governmental and non-governmental organisations and state institutions are outlined, but also the influence of social groups such as church communities.[42] Like B.P. Hofstede, J.H. Elich has offered insight in the Dutch-Australian migration history as well in his *Aan de ene kant, aan de andere kant*[43] published in 1987. This later account is of a sociological nature and is built around the actors that have been involved in Dutch emigration and how the Dutch migrants organised themselves in their country of arrival. The dissertation also takes Australia's immigration policy into account however. More recent studies have shed new light on governance from a historical point of view within the topic of Dutch migration to Australia and New Zealand. M. van Faassen has contributed to the idea that a lack in coherent governing policy from the Dutch government existed at the time as explained in her article *Min of Meer Misbaar* from 2001. In most works the active emigration policy the Dutch state carried out is portrayed as one system, but Van Faassen argues that the cooperation between different departments was not entirely clear and that many institutions performed similar duties. In addition to this article Van Faassen has also contributed to the research on this topic by putting the Dutch emigration policy and systems in an international context. The book *Polder en Emigratie* focuses on the establishment of the Dutch emigration system; what actors participated in the development of it and; how this turned out in practice. Her work views these aspects within the framework of a governance perspective to evaluate the level of cooperation between different institutions, but also to make room for the acknowledgement of smaller local actors.[44] All preceding works have either focused on the institutional organisation of Dutch migration or on the different groups of migrants that were enabled to go abroad. A large part of the literature has however also been specifically attributed to the female migrant. The book *Old Ties, New Beginnings: Dutch Women in Australia* is predominantly concerned with the active role women played in maintaining their Dutch culture. Dutch migrants have often been praised for their fast assimilation and their invisibility[45], but in this account it is argued that assimilation did not go as far as is often portrayed.[46] Not only the strong role of women in the household is accounted for, but also their attitude towards migration in general. In *Annulering van de Emigratie* it is stated that most cancellations of migration were

[42] Hofstede, *Thwarted Exodus*.
[43] J.H. Elich, 'Aan de Ene Kant, aan de Andere Kant'.
[44] Marijke van Faassen, 'Polder en Emigratie. Het Nederlandse Emigratiebestel in Internationaal Perspectief 1945-1967' (PhD diss., Rijksuniversiteit Groningen, 2014) 411.
[45] Marlou Schrover and Marijke van Faassen, 'Introduction to the Special Issue on Dutch Overseas Migration in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Century', *Tijdschrift voor Sociale en Economische Geschiedenis* 2 (2010) 8-9.
[46] Elly Zierke et al., ed., *Old Ties, New Beginnings: Dutch Women in Australia*, (South Melbourne 1997) 9.

initiated by women.[47] This also connects to the idea that women were seen as less likely to emigrate due to feelings of homesickness and their closer ties to family and friends in general than men as argued in *De Gaande Man.*[48]

The second topic intersecting with the central question of this thesis is the way children have been researched in history writing. The perspective of the child has not merely been underrepresented in history writing concerning the topic of Dutch migration towards Australia and New Zealand, but has a much wider impact. In the past children have usually been viewed from a pedagogic viewpoint. This viewpoint primarily contributes to the idea of what childhood is and to perceptions of childhood in earlier times under different circumstances. The importance of family[49], fatherhood[50] and motherhood[51] for the development of children for example has been accredited a lot of attention in history writing. These studies predominantly focus on the psychological implications certain circumstances have for children. Mostly because children are largely regarded as persons who lack agency and are usually portrayed as vulnerable. Furthermore the position of children in the nineteenth century[52] and child labour[53] have been addressed in history writing so far in both the Dutch and English context.

The third area of intersection is the topic of Dutch child migrants. Even though nothing has been written about Dutch child migrants to Australia and New Zealand so far this does not mean questioning it is rather odd. Moreover the question has been long overdue an answer, especially considering other forms of child migration in Dutch history have been known and covered in the literature already. I will cover three groups of children in this part: the Dutch Jewish children after the Second World War, the *bleekneusjes* (the pale noses) and the children born of German fathers and Dutch mothers during the Second World War. Examples of earlier child migrations exist as well. Around the 1690s a large group of orphaned children was sent

[47] Regeringscommissaris voor de Emigratie, Bureau Onderzoekingen, *Annulering van de Emigratie: een Onderzoek bij 500 Australië-units naar de Redenen waarom zij van Emigratie afzagen* ('s-Gravenhage 1959) 10.
[48] Sj. Groenman, *De gaande man. Gronden van de emigratiebeslissing. Rapport naar aanleiding van een onderzoek verricht in opdracht van de Regeringscommissaris voor de emigratie met een inleiding,* (Den Haag 1958) 30.
[49] Ellen Ross, *Love and Toil: Motherhood in Outcast London, 1870-1918* (New York 1993) 129.
[50] Laura King, 'Hidden Fathers? The Significance of Fatherhood in Mid-Twentieth-Century Britain', *Contemporary British History* 1 (2012) 26.
[51] Carol Dyhouse, 'Mothers and Daughters in the Middle-Class Home, c.1870-1914', in: Jane E. Lewis (ed.), *Labour and Love: Women's Experience of Home and Family, 1850-1940* (Oxford 1986) 31.
[52] Cornelis B.A. Smit, 'De Leidse Fabriekskinderen: Kinderarbeid, Industrialisatie en Samenleving in een Hollandse Stad, 1800-1914' (PhD diss., Universiteit Utrecht, 2014).
[53] Stephen Cunningham, 'The Problem that doesn't exist?: Child Labour in Britain, 1918-1970', in: Michael Lavalette (ed.), *A Thing of the Past: Child Labour in Britain in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Liverpool 1999) 139-172.

to Surinam[54] for example and during the late 1800s children were sent to South-Africa[55] After the First World War a group of 150,000 Hungarian foster children came to The Netherlands as well.[56] For now the focus is on the research closer to the Second World War.

Kind van de Rekening, written by Elma Verhey, provides a complete account on the Dutch Jewish orphans after WWII and focuses on the attitude of the Dutch state at the time in not granting any extra aid to the Jewish community in order to prevent the resurgence of anti-Semitic feelings shortly after the war and the migration to Israel of many Jewish orphans in the post-war years. Central to the book is the question of lost heritage the children might have suffered during this period.[57] In response to Verhey's account H.G. Vuijsje developed a critique mainly used to support those who had responsibilities for the Jewish orphans and to acknowledge that their resources at the time were very limited.[58] The narrative of the Jewish orphans often entailed permanent emigration to Israel. Another account on Dutch Jewish children during the war is given by Diane L. Wolf. Her book *Beyond Anne Frank* provides an insight in the experiences of Jewish children after the war by making use of interviews.[59]

The *bleekneusjes,* another vulnerable group of children, have been attributed more attention in the literature. The literature is divided in accounts on pre-war camps where health could be regained[60]; research by contributors in foreign post-war holiday camps[61] and personal accounts[62]. Especially the last mentioned personal account provides an accurate idea about the *bleekneusjes* in both the factual events as well as the psychological backgrounds.

The third and last group of children consists of those who were born to a German father and a Dutch mother. The *Moffenkinderen*[63], as they were often called, were usually born in special German institutions and were often placed in orphanages or at foster parents. Historian Monika Diederichs, herself the daughter of a German soldier, wrote about the search for identity

[54] Dam, 'Een Verweesde Paragraaf', 49.
[55] Ivo Sicking, *In het Belang van het Kind,* 30-34.
[56] Van Rijn, 'Treinen tussen twee werelden', 77-92.
[57] Verhey, *Kind van de Rekening*.
[58] H.G. Vuijsje, *Een Goede Naam: Een Reactie of 'Kind van de Rekening' van Elma Verhey* (Amsterdam 2006) 33.
[59] Diane L. Wolf, *Beyond Anne Frank*.
[60] Nelleke Bakker, 'Kweekplaatsen van Gezondheid. Vakantiekolonies en de Medicalisering van het Kinderwelzijn,' *BMGN – Low Countries Historical Review* 4 (2011) 31-33.
[61] Martine Vermandere, *We zijn Goed Aangekomen! Vakantiekolonies aan de Belgische Kust (1887-1980)* (Brussel 2010).
[62] Jan Sintemaartensdijk, *De Bleekneusjes van 1945: De Uitzending van Nederlandse Kinderen naar het Buitenland*, (Amsterdam 2002).
[63] The word 'moffenkinderen' is composed of the two Dutch words 'mof' and 'kinderen'. Mof is the Dutch equivalent for the English 'Kraut' during the Second World War and 'kinderen' is Dutch for the English 'children'. The word was used during and right after the Second World War to denote children who were fathered by German soldiers with Dutch women.

most *Moffenkinderen* went through.[64] This account would imply that *Moffenkinderen* would usually stay with their biological mothers or were put into Dutch foster care. Likewise the children born as *liberation babies*[65] were generally taken care of by their biological mothers.[66] The state did regard the unmarried mothers as a problem however and mostly urged them to give up their babies.[67] The literature on unmarried mothers[68] is extensive as it was regarded as a societal problem after the war.[69]

The topic of orphaned children already introduces the fourth topic of this historiography. The literature on Dutch adoption regulations. It may seem as the odd one out in this historiography, but it is useful to include this topic to see whether it can reveal what rules states are bound by and what implications this has for the child's wellbeing. The Netherlands have been rather late in the implementation of adoption regulations. Adoption regulations and the establishment of these regulations have been covered in multiple fields, but are most frequently encountered in history, sociology and law research. C.J.B.J. Trimbos gives an early account about adoption in The Netherlands after its legalisation in 1956. It predominantly covers the developments of adoption in The Netherlands and explains the Dutch situation in a more international context. [70] Hoksbergen follows later with his account on adoption in *Intercountry Adoption* published in 1990 and is largely concerned with the development of Dutch adoption regulations as well.[71] The earliest and most influential work regarding the topic of adoption is the work of H.P. Cloeck however. His dissertation dating from 1946 was the first to argue the wellbeing and interests of the child needed to be given priority in the evaluation and legalisation of adoption.[72] The controversy surrounding adoption in The Netherlands is covered in *Vijftig Jaar Adoptie in Nederland*.[73] In legislative research the adoption act of 1956 is mostly seen in the light of child protection and mentioned in connection to other laws relating to child protection such as child labour prevention.[74] Even though adoption often entails migration, the

[64] Monika Diederichs, *Kinderen van Duitse militairen in Nederland: Een Verborgen Leven* (Soesterberg 2012).
[65] Children born out of the short affairs between Dutch women and the liberating foreign soldiers.
[66] Bonnie Okkema, *Trees krijgt een Canadees: bevrijdingskinderen in Nederland* (Zutphen 2012).
[67] Offerman, *Andere tijden, andere meiden…?,* 61.
[68] Ernest Hueting and Rob Neij, *Ongehuwde Moederzorg in Nederland* (Zutphen 1990).
[69] Anna Lambrechtse, 'Van gevallen vrouw tot maatschappelijk probleem: Zedelijkheid en sociale zorg voor ongehuwde moeders in Amsterdam, 1941-1956' (Master thesis, Universiteit van Amsterdam, 2009).
[70] Trimbos, 'Adoptie in Nederland', 2133.
[71] René A.C. Hoksbergen, 'Intercountry Adoption', 142.
[72] H.P. Cloeck, *Adoptie als Vraagstuk van Kinderbescherming: Onderzoek naar het Afstaan en Aannemen van Kinderen* (Amsterdam 1946).
[73] René Hoksbergen, *Vijftig Jaar Adoptie in Nederland: Een historisch-statistische beschouwing* (Utrecht 2002) 5.
[74] A.P. van der Linden, F.G.A. Ten Siethoff and A.E.I.J. Zeijlstra-Rijpstra, *Jeugd en Recht* (Houten 2014) 27.

Dutch literature views it predominantly in the context of child protection rather than in relation to migration. Internationally adoption is however mostly evaluated in relation to migration.[75]

The fifth and last topic of this historiography concerns the British Child Migrants Programme. I have included this topic because it has inspired me to research this theme in the Dutch context and I therefore need to clarify what exactly has been written about this topic already considering this programme could also have functioned as a framework or deal breaker for the potential migration of Dutch children towards Australia and New Zealand. The book *Fairbridge* provides an elaborate account on the origins of its founder and the initial goal of the establishment Fairbridge Farm.[76] Other publications have focused on the implications for children who were sent to Australia at the time. The Child Migrants Trust has for example contributed to the literature in their *Lost Children of the Empire*.[77] More recently more attention has been attributed to the acknowledgement of child migration of both the British and the Australian government by the woman behind the Child Migrants Trust.[78] Britain's literature on child migration has been well established over the years. Especially due to the inclusion of former child migrants and their ability to organise in the Child Migrants Trust.

The five topics outlined in the historiography above prove that the topic of Dutch child migration to Australia and New Zealand has not yet been researched in other studies concerning the same geographical area and migration timeframe. At the same time it can be concluded however that other kinds of child migration were present from The Netherlands to other places in the world such as Israel and have been throughout history. Furthermore the number of orphans had increased due to war victims first and foremost, but also the number of unwanted children increased due to a growing number of unmarried mothers during and right after the war. In addition, Dutch adoption regulations were not in place yet and would take up until 1956 to be installed formally due to the prominent position of blood ties, whereas many other European countries had already established these. At the same time Australia had been leading a successful child migrants programme since the 1920s and their government was still keen on facilitating the migration of other European children.

Considering child migration did exist in The Netherlands in the post-war period, it would be interesting to find out whether the British child migrant programme offered some space for the Dutch government to engage in a similar arrangement as well. The fact that this

[75] Roeland Smeenk, 'Migratie en Beleid: Een Paradox: Het Nederlandse Interlandelijk Adoptiebeleid 1956-1980' (Master thesis, Universiteit Leiden, 2014) 3.
[76] Sherington and Jeffery, *Fairbridge,* 36-37.
[77] Philip Bean and Joy Melville, *Lost Children of the Empire,* (London 1989).
[78] Margaret Humphreys, *Empty Cradles*, (London 2011).

possibility has not yet been explored or even mentioned in the literature altogether is surprising as it could open new insights in Dutch governance concerning child protection.

1.3 Material and Method

The topic central to this thesis is very small and has not yet been developed extensively. The historiography has clarified that the topic intersects with a variety of fields. Consequently the material used in this thesis was obtained from a wide scope of institutions as well. Within these different archives the material was often limited due to the specificity of the topic. The things that have been obtained however, are valuable and offer insights to answer the research question. To establish an idea about the potential child migration from The Netherlands towards Australia and New Zealand had, first digitalised newspaper articles obtained from the websites of *Delpher, Trove* and *Papers Past* have been used. The articles have been used to illustrate the Dutch, but also the Australian and New Zealand perception of child migration. Furthermore the *Nationaal Archief* (NA) in The Hague was visited. Within this institute the archives of several Ministries, the International Refugee Organisation and the Dutch Emigration Service have been used to consider their views on child migration. In addition, also the *National Archives of Australia* (NAA) have been looked at. The archive *Child Migration – General A461* was most important and has proven insightful to establish the Australian perspective on child migration. In *Atria* the archives of FIOM have been researched and used to establish the share children of unmarried mothers had in a potential child migration scheme. Two personal accounts, a radio interview and speech, have been used to illustrate the existing contacts between The Netherlands and Australia. Lastly, the book *Orphans of the War* functions as a tool to obtain more knowledge about the Australian ideas of child migration in the post-war period.

Due to the specificity of the topic finding solid information has proven to be challenging. The letter exchanges between Dutch, Australian and New Zealand governments and institutions have proven insightful however. Furthermore, the different archives have enabled multiple viewpoints to implement the governance perspective into this research. The archives have represented different involved actors.

2. Context

The idea that The Netherlands was becoming too small for the number of people that resided in it gained increasingly more ground in the late 1940s. This was not only expressed in the academic field, but reached the public in a matter of years. The following event is often portrayed as the onset for Dutch post-war migration. The Dutch post-war Prime Minister Willem Drees voiced the academic concern to the public in his New Year's speech on the radio January 1st, 1950: '[E]en deel van ons volk moet het aandurven zoals in vroeger eeuwen zijn toekomst te zoeken in grotere gebieden dan eigen land.'[79] 'A share of our population must dare as in earlier centuries to venture towards larger areas than our own and seek their future over there.' By stating this he is said to have kick-started the large migrations that followed after the Second World War.[80] Emigration became something that was highly promoted by the Dutch government.[81] This chapter introduces the topic of Dutch emigration and highlights the most prominent reasons for emigration. Furthermore it turns to the immigration policies of Australia and New Zealand to continue with the child migrants in these countries. Lastly, the adoption regulations of The Netherlands are looked at and a few groups of children prone to be included in emigration schemes identified.

2.1 Reasons for Emigration

During the 1950s and the 1960s Dutch emigration numbers soared (Table 1). The Netherlands had suffered tremendously during the Second World War and many people wanted to leave the country. In 1947 a third of the Dutch population was in favour of emigration or had concrete plans to emigrate.[82] Various reasons why the Dutch were so keen on emigrating have so far been identified. Firstly, the Dutch government and many academics stated that The Netherlands was in danger of overpopulation. Partially due to the improved health care facilities[83] people lived longer.[84] Figure 1 shows a stark increase from 1900 onwards leading up to a population

[79] Nationaal Archief, 'Nederlandse Overheid', http://www.gahetna.nl/collectie/index/nt00335/achtergrond/nederlandse-overheid accessed 25 April 2017.
[80] Marijke van Faassen, 'Min of Meer Misbaar. Naoorlogse Emigratie vanuit Nederland: Achtergronden en Organisatie, Particuliere Motieven en Overheidsprikkels, 1946-67', in: Jan Willem Schilt, Saskia Polervaart and Hanneke Willemse (eds.), *Van Hot naar Her. Nederlandse Migratie Vroeger, Nu en Morgen* (Amsterdam 2001) 50-67, 50.
[81] Joed Elich, 'Dutch and Australian Government's Perspectives on migration', in: Nonja Peters (ed.), *The Dutch Down Under 1606-2006* (Crawley 2006) 150-161, 150.
[82] Hofstede, *Thwarted Exodus*, 16-17.
[83] William Petersen, *Some factors influencing postwar emigration from the Netherlands* (The Hague 1952) 1.
[84] R.W. Heer, 'De Tegenwoordige en Toekomstige Demografische Situatie in Nederland', *De Economist*, 1 (1949) 1-35, 10.

of little under 10 million in 1948. In less than fifty years the population of The Netherlands had nearly doubled. If this trend was to continue the country would soon run out of land to house these people it was feared.[85]

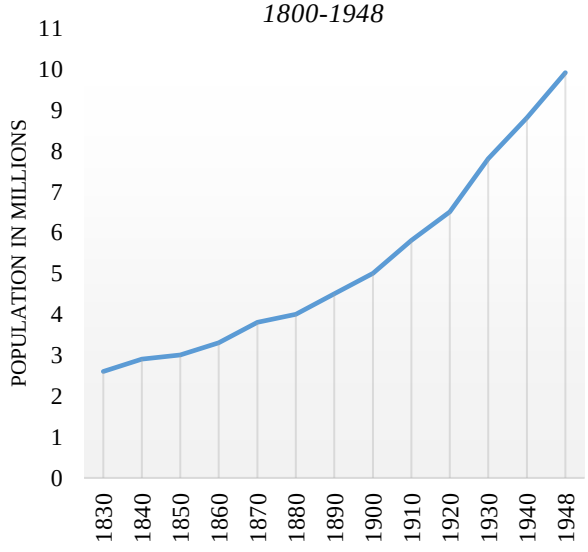
Table 1. *Dutch Emigration and Immigration statistics.*

	Immigration	Emigration
1946/49	244.000	257.000
1950/54	227.000	328.000
1955/59	259.000	293.000
1960/64	289.000	256.000
1965/69	355.000	302.000
1970/74	446.000	306.000

NA, Ministerie van Sociale Zaken en Werkgelegenheid: Directie voor de Emigratie, inv. nr. 130 (NIDI: Bulletin van het Nederlands Interuniversitair Demografisch Instituut, 31 Juni 1978) 4.

A second reason why the Dutch government stimulated migration was the housing shortage. During the war housing construction had stopped. Directly after the Second World War the housing stock could not meet demand because the war had damaged many houses, but also due to the increasing number of single households after the 1960s.[86] In addition, the ghost of the 1930s economic depression still lingered in the back of people's minds. People feared that soon a new crisis would hit.[87] The effects this would have on the labour market within The Netherlands accompanied by the promised chances on the labour market outside of Europe sparked interest in emigration as well.

Figure 1. *Growth Dutch Population 1800-1948*



R.W. Heer, 'De Tegenwoordige en Toekomstige Demografische Situatie in Nederland', *De Economist* 1 (1949) 1-35, 12.

For a long time the idea among the population prevailed that it was not possible to build up a normal life again in The Netherlands among the post-war chaos. Either due to a lack of social contacts and a feeling of detachment from society[88] or to practical issues such as food shortages and lack of work.[89]As written by the *Rijksarbeidsbureau*[90] 'With regards to the extraordinarily high amount of unemployment, which currently taunts our country, it could be of great importance to start a keen interest in emigration

[85] Heer, 'De Tegenwoordige en Toekomstige Demografische Situatie in Nederland', 4.
[86] Clara H. Mulder, and Pieter Hooimeijer, 'Leaving home in the Netherlands: Timing and first housing', Journal of Housing and the Built Environment 17 (2002) 237-268, 238-240.
[87] Hofstede, *Thwarted Exodus*, 21.
[88] Hofstede, *Thwarted Exodus*, 18.
[89] Hofstede, *Thwarted Exodus*, 20.
[90] In English: National Department for Labour

movements towards Australia.'[91] This statement dated from before the war and shows that the shortages on the labour market had already existed before the war too and would determine the people's trust in the post-war years. The crisis before the Second World War was one of the reasons why the Dutch government started exploring emigration options during the beginning of the twentieth century already. During the late 1930s the instalment of several representatives helped continue research and develop contacts abroad. Emigration during the Second World War was troublesome, mostly due to lack of ships[92], consequently it was postponed to the post-war years.[93]

A fifth reason for emigration was the fear for a new World War or the possibility of Russian occupation. After the Second World War the international community quickly moved to a new conflict. The Cold War brought tension and a feeling of unsafety especially to the continent of Europe. Half of the continent was already occupied by the Russian forces and while the United States feared a communist Europe, the European countries started fearing for their own livelihood as nuclear tensions increased between the two world powers. In 1945 50% of the population expected a Third World War and 32% expected this to happen within ten years. In 1948 this even increased to relatively 71% and 52%. The Dutch situation in Indonesia did not benefit this feeling of unsafety and actually fuelled the idea of a coming war.[94]

Even though the Dutch government supported large scale emigration, figure 1.1 shows a stark increase in immigration after the 1950s as well. These numbers can mostly be explained by the people fleeing the post-war situation in the Dutch Indies. Although the Dutch government was not waiting for any more immigrants, they could not refuse them their right to migrate to The Netherlands as they were Dutch citizens. Later these numbers were complemented by guest workers in the late 1960s and 1970s. In addition, the Dutch government hindered their own emigration process by selectivity. The state did not grant everyone the permission to emigrate. The Australians on their end supported this selectivity. They were mostly interested in working men or children of Western European countries. The state subsidised emigration in many cases, but only for those who could be missed. These were either people living in densely populated areas or people who had very common occupations. [95]

[91] NA, Voorlopers Nederlandsche Emigratie Dienst, Correspondentie met het Ministerie van Sociale Zaken, 1933-1946, inv. nr. 101 (Afschrift – Emigratie, 30 Maart 1937) 1.
[92] Petersen, *Some factors*, 14.
[93] Obdeijn and Schrover, *Komen en gaan*, 180.
[94] Hofstede, *Thwarted Exodus*, 22.
[95] Van Faassen, 'Min of Meer Misbaar', 52-53.

2.2 Immigration Policies: Australia and New Zealand

The Dutch choice for Australia as a country for immigration was especially encouraged by the Australian government. The Netherlands had been familiar and involved with Australia from the seventeenth century onwards, but large scale immigration did not start until after the Second World War.[96] Australia on the other hand had known steady influxes of migrants already and was especially focused on the growth of their own population in the post-war period. The government believed that the population of Australia needed to grow in order to stimulate economic developments. In 1945 Australia had 4 million residents. To put this into perspective, The Netherlands had nearly 10 million inhabitants in the same year. The impact of the surrounding Asian powers during the Second World War made the Australian government fear the demise of their own country if it did not act upon its problem of under population.[97] The idea of Populate or Perish became a well-known phrase and the White Australia Policy that was initiated determined the immigration policy of Australia by identifying all non-pure whites as unwelcome. The immigration acts of 1901 drew on the immigration acts of South-Africa in which the distinction in equality of men is made. 'Englishmen and Chinamen are not equal.'[98] The British-Australian was seen as the civilised person who was to maintain the European values in Australia and to establish a power against the upcoming Asian empires.[99] The United Kingdom had so far been the main source of Australian immigrants, but the Dutch population soon enjoyed a second place with preference over other European countries. Only the people who originated from the Dutch East-Indies had difficulty emigrating because their immigration would not be aided by the Australian government and needed to be financed privately combined with help from the Dutch subsidies.[100] Shortly, the main reason Australia wanted to attract migrants was to increase their small population in order to grow economically. This coincided with the fact that many European people suffered unemployment as explained above. The NAMA (Netherlands and Australian Migration Agreement) established in 1951 was to guide the organised migration towards Australia.[101]

New Zealand was another emigration destination in the post-war years. The immigration policy of New Zealand after the Second World War was predominantly characterised by

[96] Nonja Peters, From Tyranny to Freedom: Dutch children from the Netherlands East Indies to Fairbridge Farm School, 1945-1946 (Perth 2008) 13.
[97] Obdeijn and Schrover, *Komen en gaan,* 220.
[98] Sydney, 'The White Australia Policy', 97.
[99] Day, 'The 'White Australia' Policy', 31-33.
[100] Obdeijn and Schrover, *Komen en gaan,* 202-203.
[101] Elich, 'Dutch and Australian Government's Perspectives on migration', 150.

cautiousness and closely linked to the short-term labour market conditions. The purpose of immigration was to fill labour shortages to expand modern industries. Contrary to Australia immigration was not a strategy to encourage population growth in New Zealand.[102] An explicit White New Zealand policy was never adopted either, but the country did draw on various acts restricting immigration. People of British descend had always been preferred. They were allowed to migrate towards New Zealand unrestricted, whereas others needed permits. This was initiated at the beginning of the twentieth century and carried on as the cornerstone of New Zealand immigration policy after World War II. This was reaffirmed in the Immigration Act of 1964. The exclusion of Asians and the strong preference for British, Northern and Western Europeans resulted in a more homogenous group of immigrants. Partly due to the smaller immigration targets, this was as well.[103]

After the Second World War a large and significant group of immigrants consisted of children. During the war the focus had been on evacuees, not all allied children were desired however. The arrangement was exclusively with Britain. In 1949 the Child Migration Scheme was established. The scheme lasted only until 1952, but helped 500 children across for adoption or fostering. As with the Australian case however most children did not benefit from the scheme as the British government had portrayed. The wellbeing of the child was not the incentive for migration, but rather the wellbeing of the British state and the New Zealand labour market-shortages were.[104] In 1950 an assisted immigration scheme was negotiated with the Dutch government as well which led to a significant increase in Dutch migration numbers.[105] No specific data exists in the literature however on the opportunities for child migration towards New Zealand from The Netherlands.

2.3 Child migrants and Fairbridge Farms

Australia was predominantly focused on the growth of their population and the interest was not limited to the large demand for labour forces. Another group was specifically targeted by: children. The Child Migrants Programme was established during the 1920s to help British children across the ocean. The scheme contributed to the organised migration of approximately

[102] Ongley and Pearson, 'Post-1946 International Migration', 767-768.
[103] Ongley and Pearson, 'Post-1946 International', 773.
[104] Kirsten Lovelock, 'Intercountry Adoption as a Migratory Practice: A Comparative Analysis of Intercountry Adoption and Immigration Policy and Practice in the United States, Canada and New Zealand in the Post W.W. II Period', *The International Migration Review* 3 (2000) 907-949, 916-917.
[105] Ongley and David Pearson, 'Post-1946 International Migration', 774.

130,000 unaccompanied children over the course of 50 years.[106] The most well-known institute that has housed a fair share of the British children in Australia is the Fairbridge Farm School established by Kingsley Fairbridge in 1912. The institute had multiple locations all over Australia, New Zealand and Canada. The first one was established in Pinjarra, Australia. The initial idea was that most migrated children would be adopted by families, but as the number of children exceeded the number of available families most children were housed in the Fairbridge Farm Schools or similar institutions.[107]

The initiative was initiated during the early 1900s by the British government to manage its own population. Firstly, similar to the Dutch situation, the British population had been starkly increasing. Furthermore the British economy was going through a decline in the years following the First World War. Thirdly, the growing number of unmarried mothers and their children were a burden on the British state. The previous situations all point to the same thing. The wellbeing of the child was at issue. The British government offered the solution by promising a better future for the children in a different country. A country where children were welcomed and where they would be educated to learn a profession to improve their economic outlook.[108]

The way the government portrayed the Child Migrants Programme did not correspond with the stories that came out during the late 1980s however. The Child Migrants Trust was founded by Margaret Humphrey in 1987 to help organise those who had been shipped to Australia during the twentieth century. Children from the age of three years old had been ripped from all that was familiar to them and often placed in orphanages or Farm Schools. These Farm Schools hardly ever made an effort to provide a solid education for the children. Most children were denied basic education and were put to work instead. Physical and sexual abuse was very common in this context. The Child Migrants Trust was established to create awareness about the damage these schemes have inflicted over the years.[109] Even though the programme was unfortunate in hindsight it did count as something successful in the context of its time. During the programme a noteworthy number of children migrated towards mostly Australia and a smaller share to New Zealand.

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[106] Child Migrants Trust, 'Child Migration History', https://www.childmigrantstrust.com/our-work/child-migration-history/ accessed 28 April 2017.
[107] Sherington and Jeffery, *Fairbridge,* 38.
[108] Sherington and Jeffery, *Fairbridge,* 35.
[109] Child Migrants Trust, 'About us', http://www.childmigrantstrust.com/our-work/about-us/ accessed 28 April 2017.

2.4 The Dutch Child and Adoption Regulations

After the war The Netherlands were dealing with different groups of vulnerable children. First and foremost the Jewish foster children of which most became either half or completely orphaned during the war, while in hiding at foster parents. The end of the war marked the struggle over who would gained parental rights over these children. The Dutch families who had been taking care of the Jewish children wanted to keep them after the war. After the war orphaned children had basically five options: (1) staying with their (non-Jewish) foster family, (2) moving in with kin, (3) adoption by a Jewish family non-related, (4) a Dutch orphanage or (5) going to Israel (only after 1949).[110] The Jewish institutions wanted to stimulate Jewish orphans to grow up in Jewish families or orphanages. Many children were taken away from their foster families consequently. In hindsight it seems that the children who had been taken away from these families have experienced emotional problems and have been searching for their sense of belonging. A stable living environment was most important to these children after the war.[111]

The second vulnerable group of children were those born outside marriage. The liberation babies and the babies of German soldiers were regularly raised by their biological mothers, but in many cases also in foster care or orphanages. Approximately between 5000 and 6000 children were born in German private hospitals from 1940-1945. Most children were born in the Boerhaavekliniek[112] in Amsterdam. The women were supported by the German Nationalsozialistische Volkswohlfahrt (NSV), a German social benefits systems.[113] In Dutch society the women were not accepted and often viewed as traitors. Their children were unwanted by the state, but often also by the women themselves. The unmarried mothers were seen as morally fallen women[114], but due to the intimate contacts with German soldiers also as traitors.[115] The women involved with liberators did not collaborate, but their behaviour was strongly condemned.[116] Their children were seen as potential problems for the post-war society and the identities of their fathers were often hidden.[117] The government stated that the heritage of German children should be concealed to stimulate quick integration. Furthermore all

[110] Wolf, *Beyond Anne Frank,* 228.
[111] Wolf, *Beyond Anne Frank,* 246-247.
[112] A private hospital which was used by the Germans during World War II to aid Germans and their family in The Netherlands.
[113] Diederichs, *Kinderen van Duitse militairen in Nederland 1941-1946*, 22.
[114] Offerman, *Andere tijden, andere meiden…?*, 9.
[115] Diederichs, *Kinderen van Duitse militairen in Nederland 1941-1946*, 26-27
[116] Offerman, *Andere tijden, andere meiden…?,* 9.
[117] Okkema, *Trees krijgt een Canadees,* 9-10.

illegitimate children would receive a special birth certificate, if necessary, on which their father's acknowledgement would not be mentioned.[118] Sometimes children who had been given away were placed into foster care, but most grew up in orphanages.[119] The Dutch state also believed however that the bond between mother and child should be respected and that the unmarried mothers should take care of their own child. Until the early 1950s this was the prevailing opinion. Especially in Christian circles it was thought the woman had made a mistake for which she needed to take responsibility.[120]

This relates to the topic of adoption. In most European countries adoption regulations had been implemented during the interbellum, but The Netherlands took until 1956 to establish their regulations. Since the 1930s attempts had been made to start the implementation of adoption, but blood ties were generally believed to be of more importance than the interests of children and (foster) parents.[121] A dissertation published in 1946 started altering the perception of adoption however as it became more focused on the topic of child protection and less focused on blood ties. The interests of the child needed to be leading in the question of adoption.[122] The renewed efforts of the Dutch Association for Foster Families and the Federation of Institutions for Unmarried Mothers combined with the dissertation finally led to the legalisation of adoption in 1956 which was initially only meant for adoption within The Netherlands. Disconnecting blood ties remained a controversial issue however in Dutch politics.[123]

Adoption became part of child protection legislation.[124] As mentioned above adoption regulation in other countries had already been in place for some time. Britain had already installed adoption regulation in 1927 which benefitted the largescale child migration towards Australia.[125]

2.5 Conclusion

This chapter has considered the reasons why the Dutch population wanted to leave after the Second World War and has moreover established why it was appealing for the Dutch government to examine the child migration possibilities. Furthermore it has introduced the key elements of Australian and New Zealand immigration policies to clarify what kind of migrants

[118] Diederichs, *Kinderen van Duitse militairen in Nederland 1941-1946*, 28
[119] Diederichs, *Kinderen van Duitse militairen in Nederland 1941-1946*, 51
[120] Offerman, *Andere tijden, andere meiden…?,* 28.
[121] René A.C. Hoksbergen, 'Intercountry Adoption, 142.
[122] Cloeck, *Adoptie als Vraagstuk van Kinderbescherming,* 4.
[123] Hoksbergen, *Vijftig Jaar Adoptie,* 5.
[124] Van der Linden, Ten Siethoff and Zeijlstra-Rijpstra, *Jeugd en Recht,* 27.
[125] Keating, *A Child for Keeps,* 11.

both countries desired most and who was granted permission to migrate. The third section drew the link with the British Child Migrants Programme and consequently outlined what Australia had already been involved in regarding child migration schemes. Lastly, potential groups of children eligible for migration were identified and introduced complemented by the Dutch adoption regulations. All these elements could influence the Dutch idea about child migration. Their evaluation whether children were requested from abroad and whether it was the Dutch themselves who experienced difficulty sheltering their children are all derived from the topics within this context chapter. This new information could have effects on the working hypotheses formulated earlier. Central to beginning of the analysis chapter is the evaluation of these hypotheses to guide the analysis in the following chapters.

3. Analysis of Primary Sources

Before turning to the analysis the hypotheses offered in the theoretical framework are evaluated in light of the new discoveries in the historiography and context. The hypotheses were split into two categories. Reasons to engage in a child migration scheme and reasons not to. Both distributed over The Netherlands and Australia and New Zealand. The reasons to engage in a child migration scheme for Australia and New Zealand are covered in the first part of the analysis and is focused on demand. To establish what the Dutch stance towards a child migration scheme was it is necessary to explore whether the Australian and New Zealand governments were indeed interested in the arrival of Dutch child migrants.

The second part of the analysis is then looking whether The Netherlands experienced problems regarding their orphaned and unwanted children in the post-war period. These could proof to be either reasons to engage in a programme or not to. This chapter focuses on the Dutch groups of vulnerable children and communities or organisations supporting these groups. It also includes the question of adoption and its implications however.

The third and last part is finally offering insight in the Dutch response and will link other influencing Dutch actors to formulate a conclusion. Primarily by making use of letter exchanges between Dutch parties and Australian and New Zealand parties.

3.1 Desirable Dutch Children

The twentieth-century British Child Migrants Programme in both Australia and New Zealand had been highly popular. As established in the second chapter Dutch migration towards Australia and New Zealand became more desired after the Second World War. This fact combined with the number of Dutch war orphans and the increasing number of unmarried mothers and their unwanted children could have opened space for the Dutch government to establish a similar agreement with the two governments that were very keen on taking in children. This first part of the analysis lays out what the public view on child migration was in Australia and New Zealand and shows in what ways the Dutch government and children were mentioned in the context of migration to establish in what way the Dutch government was involved in the plans of Australia and New Zealand.

3.1.1 Public Portrayals of Migration

As early as 1938 word was going round that an agreement between The Netherlands and Australia was to be established. Especially Dutch newspapers elaborately reported on Sir Earle Page's visit that year. Page was minister for trade and public health in Australia and would briefly become Prime Minister in 1939 due to the chosen Prime Minister's unexpected death. Page was highly in favour of establishing an agreement between the Dutch and Australian government to stimulate migration. His visit in 1938 marked his interest and sparked public debate on the topic of overseas migration. *De Telegraaf* reported in June 1938 the arrival of Sir Earle Page on the front page and dedicated a piece on the potential migration of Dutch people to Australia. 'Sir Earle Page announced that he would seize the moment and open discussions with the Dutch government on the possibility of emigration of Dutchmen towards Australia. Since he was here now anyway.'[126] The phrase 'since he was here now anyway' almost sounds like it was not much of a priority for him to establish an agreement between the Dutch and Australian governments. He did have a particular agenda though during his visit to both The Netherlands and the United Kingdom. Sir Earle Page explained that the Australian economy had a lot of potential, but that their lack of labour forces denied them the chance to develop this. A new group of migrants was to stimulate economic growth in Australia. The enthusiasm for an emigration agreement was further signalled by the establishment of a commercial flight connection between The Netherlands and Australia in July 1938. In the *Provinciale Geldersche en Nijmeegsche Courant* Sir Earle Page was mentioned again to voice the gratitude towards the vice Prime Minister who had helped establish the flight connection.[127]

Following these leads it would seem Dutch-Australian emigration was not far away. A different piece from *De Telegraaf* in September 1938 shows the slowness of the process however. The article heads 'Emigration towards Australia does not get up to speed'[128] and puts most focus on the slow process of establishing a sound and complete emigration agreement between The Netherlands and Australia. The Dutch intention was to start emigration before 1940, but it soon turned out that this deadline was not within reach. 'A. Colijn[129], the prime minister's son, stated to Sydney based magazines that the arrangements regarding emigration towards Australia will probably not be completed before the end of 1940 and that it will

[126] 'Emigratie van Nederlanders naar Australië?', *De Telegraaf*, 23 June 1938, *Delpher*, 1.
[127] 'De Nederlandsche Luchtdienst op Australië', *Provinciale Geldersche en Nijmeegsche Courant*, 16 July 1938, *Delpher*, 1.
[128] 'Emigratie naar Australië vlot niet', *De Telegraaf*, 16 September 1938, *Delpher*, 3.
[129] Anton Colijn was the son of Hendrikus Colijn. A former Dutch Prime Minister mostly known for his work to help The Netherlands through the economic crisis of the 1930s.

probably be too late by then.'[130] The Dutch newspapers portray emigration before the war as something desirable and as something that should be arranged sooner rather than later. But also as something not within short-term reach.

To illustrate the Australian side to the emigration agreement between the two countries a few newspaper articles have been selected as well. These newspaper articles are concerned with both British and Dutch migrants. In 1940 the focus is already very much on the adoption of war orphans. Searching for child migrants yields many newspaper articles that focus on the number of children that have lost their parents due to the war already. Australia comes across as very ambitious during these years and mentions the adoption of 50,000 war orphans by Australian families.[131] The United Kingdom had already been engaged in a child migrants programme for twenty years at the time, but most striking is the focus on the Dutch and Belgian children in these newspaper articles. 'Although the shipping problem is the main obstacle in the way of absorbing British, Belgian and Dutch war children, it is believed that Australia may take 50,000 such children. (…) New Zealand also (…). Mayors of many New Zealand are preparing to present a petition to Parliament asking that 25,000 British children endangered by the war should be brought to New Zealand for protection.'[132] This excerpt, from a Tasmanian newspaper published in 1940, confirms the idea of Australia to take in 50,000 children and includes the willingness of New Zealand to take in war orphans as well. The last sentence of the quote ends however with the word 'protection'. This could indicate that the potential child migrants are evacuees rather than adoptees. The article does state however that the children are to be adopted by the Australian population, because this will both relieve the European societies of distress and simultaneously benefit the Australian society. This idea is especially supported and encouraged by Mr. Darby. A man who performs a key role in the Australian desire for child migrants as will be elaborated on later in this chapter.[133]

The idea of taking in Dutch and Belgian children is again stressed in 1940 by the *Queensland Times*. 'Be adopted in Australia?'[134] heads the article which calls for the adoption of children from The Netherlands and Belgium. This is best captured by the following phrase. 'Federal Cabinet next week will discuss a proposal that refugee Dutch and Belgian children should be brought to Australia and adopted by families.'[135] The initial focus of the Australian

[130] 'Emigratie naar Australië vlot niet', *De Telegraaf*, 16 September 1938, *Delpher*, 1.
[131] 'Offers to Adopt War Orphans: Federal Plan', *The Telegraph (Brisbane, Qld*.), 30 May 1940, *Trove*, 4.
[132] 'Australia May Take 50,000 War Orphans', *Advocate (Burnie, Tas.)*, 31 May 1940, *Trove*, 7.
[133] 'Australia May Take 50,000 War Orphans', *Advocate (Burnie, Tas.)*, 31 May 1940, *Trove*, 7.
[134] 'Be Adopted in Australia?', *Queensland Times (Ipswich, Qld.)*, 25 May 1940, *Trove*, 8.
[135] 'Be Adopted in Australia?', *Queensland Times (Ipswich, Qld.)*, 25 May 1940, *Trove*, 8.

and New Zealand governments on the attraction of labour forces makes room for a more child-central stance. The children of Europe become a more desirable group of migrants during these years. Especially because this gesture would make a meaningful contribution to the British' war effort as the British did not have to pay the costs of supporting these children anymore.[136]

During the war Dutch migration was put on hold in Australia. Reports on potential Dutch emigration started being mentioned in the final months of the war again. In 1945 the desperate position of the Dutch was highlighted. The *Glen Innes Examiner* reported in the spring of 1945 how dire the situation of the Dutch was during these final weeks of the war. The famine in the western parts of the country had damaged the population severely and had threatened the lives of many young children. The attention is especially drawn to the Dutch children in this article who had been suffering and consequently brought to England for a short amount of time to recover.[137] Due to the news about the Dutch dire position the Australian acting-Prime Minister in 1945 Mr. Forde wanted to research the possibility to take in Dutch children as well as British children in their post-war migration scheme. 'The Acting-Prime Minister (Mr. Forde) told Group-Captain White (Lib. V) today in the House of Representatives, that the Government had adopted a plan to bring to Australia 17,000 child migrants a year for three years.(…) Group-Captain White asked the Minister to investigate the possibility of bringing Polish and Dutch children as well as British.'[138]

After the Second World War the explicit interest in child migrants became more apparent in Australian newspapers. During the late 1940s most articles were focused on Dutch emigration plans[139] and the establishment of adoption centres[140] that were needed to enable the large group of child migrants.

> 'Child Adoption Centre. Federal Cabinet last month approved the expenditure of £26,000 to purchase a building where it will establish a centre for the adoption of European migrant children. The building is the Princess Juliana Sanatorium, at Turramurra, Sydney, which was built during the war as a convalescent home for Dutch troops. The centre will have accommodation for 80 children. Under this latest immigration scheme, prospective foster parents will be enabled to meet the children at

[136] 'Be Adopted in Australia?', *Queensland Times (Ipswich, Qld.),* 25 May 1940, *Trove*, 8.
[137] 'Desperate Position of Dutch', *Glen Innes Examiner (NSW),* 5 April 1945, *Trove*, 1.
[138] 'Child Migration', *The West Australian (Perth, WA),* 5 July 1945, *Trove*, 4.
[139] 'Dutch Plan to Emigrate', *Morning Bulletin (Rockhampton, Qld.),* 9 May 1950, *Trove*, 1.
[140] 'Child Adoption Centre', *Daily Examiner (Grafton, NSW),* 17 January 1949, *Trove*, 2.

the Centre and become acquainted with them before the adoption formalities are concluded.'[141]

Previous quote highlights that the Australian government and people were certainly expecting a large number of Dutch children. Of course these centres were built for children of all nationalities, but the Dutch held a prominent place in the hearts of Australian adoptive parents as illustrated in newspaper articles during the war. 'A suggestion that Dutch and Belgian children should be adopted by Australian families was placed before the Minister of Interior (Senator Foil), by Mr. Anthony (C.P., N.S.W.), (...).'[142] The children were desired, expected, but mostly requested by the Australian population. Following quote shows the willingness and nearly eagerness of the Australian population to adopt European and British war children. 'The Minister for the Interior (Senator Foil) said today that he had received hundreds of letters, from all over Australia, from persons willing to adopt refugee British, Belgian or Dutch orphans, of either sex. (…) his wife and he [former A.I.F. officer] were prepared to adopt a boy and a girl, and that he personally knew of at least 10 other persons (…) who were willing to adopt such children.'[143] The many requests of Australian families during the war influenced the Australian decisions after the war. The adoption centres were necessary to meet the requests of foster families.

From the 1950s onwards newspaper articles shift their focus to the actual numbers of migrants that entered Australia. These reports can hardly be identified as articles as they are more close to short statements declaring who is arriving. The announcements start off quite neutral and general, stating the number of Dutch migrants coming to Australia and what items these people bring with them to Australia.[144] In 1951 however the newspapers slightly alter their approach and start to specifically mention the number of Dutch children that is coming. To illustrate this the following quotes have been included. In 1950 the more general article states. 'Almost 1000 Dutch emigrants, including 500 children, left here to-day for Australia in the steamer Sibajak.'[145] The children are mentioned in the article, but in a modest way. The 1951 articles report in a slightly different way. '500 child migrants (…) 500 children were

[141] 'Child Adoption Centre', *Central Advocate (Alice Springs, NT)*, 28 January 1949, *Trove*, 15.
[142] 'Dutch and Belgian Children. Adoption by Australian Families suggested', *Wingham Chronical and Manning River Observer (NSW)*, 31 May 1940, *Trove*, 7.
[143] 'Refugee Children. Adoption offers Canberra.', *National Advocate (Bathurst, NSW)*, 30 May 1940, *Trove*, 1.
[144] 'Dutch Migrants for Australia', *Townsville Daily Bulletin (Qld.)*, 21 July 1950, *Trove*, 6.
[145] 'Dutch Migrants for Australia', *Townsville Daily Bulletin (Qld.)*, 21 July 1950, *Trove*, 6.

among the 1450 Dutch emigrants who sailed for Australia yesterday.'[146] As can be seen the tone in the article has changed. The following year another newspaper reports in a similar way. '650 "child migrants" (…) About 650 children under 12 years of age are among the 1,875 Dutch migrants aboard the Fairsea, which reached Fremantle today.'[147]

What can this change in headlines mean? Throughout the Second World War Australia, and New Zealand to a lesser extent, had been interested in adopting war orphans. The desire to take in foreign and mostly northern European children had been tremendous throughout these years.[148] The Dutch migration after the Second World War caught on, but the unaccompanied child migration did not take off however. The children in these articles are part of a family namely. These newspaper articles show that the Australian public was still largely focused on the welcoming of children and that these types of migrants were celebrated more than adult emigrants. This is interesting because it shows that the Australian government was certainly keen on taking in Dutch children, but that the Dutch government was more reserved or perhaps even apprehensive.

These excerpts have all been more focused on the Australian situation. Newspapers from New Zealand have been a bit more reserved altogether with regards to child migrations. Attention in the articles is predominantly displayed to the Australian migration schemes and New Zealand's share in it.[149] Also the Dutch evacuees from the Dutch East-Indies from 1945 onwards are often mentioned in the New Zealand context.[150] These Dutch evacuees largely consisted of children who spend time at Fairbridge Farms as well. The Fairbridge Farm in Pinjarra has housed a fair share of these Dutch evacuee children.

3.1.2 Dutch Children in Pinjarra

> 'The time spent in [Japanese concentration] camps had certainly left its marks. The Dutch were recognised by their skinny bodies, bad clothing, by children who were too small for their age and especially by the so-called camp manners. Particularly those camp manners, take what you can get and preferably food, soon proved to lead to

[146] '500 child migrants', *Daily Mercury (Mackay, Qld.),* 30 March 1951, *Trove*, 4.
[147] '650 "child migrants"', *The Argus (Melbourne, Vic.),* 19 July 1952, *Trove*, 1.
[148] Van Faassen, 'Polder en Emigratie', 165.
[149] 'Child Migrants', *Evening Post,* 7 December 1944, *Papers Past,* 8.
[150] 'Dutch Evacuees', *Evening Post,* 19 December 1945, *Papers Past*, 6.

problems with the Australian hosts. These camp manners were the reason to send the children to an Australian shelter and education centre for English orphans.'[151]

'It was paradise. You get food again. You were free. You were not forced to bow for the Japanese or have the fear that you were beaten. When we came into Australia it was [a] completely different world. Because they were really nice to us. They helped us. It was a good experience.'[152]

Australia and the Netherlands East Indies (NEI) already shared a history together. During the Second World War a large number of officials and military personnel had been evacuated ahead of the Japanese occupation to support the war effort.[153] After the Second World War this group was supplemented by evacuees from the NEI. These people consisted of weakened children and their families, officials or people endangered by the growing resistance and terrorism against The Netherlands from within the NEI.[154] Many children who had fled from the NEI were housed in the Fairbridge Farm Schools and then specifically in Pinjarra. Most children stayed for a period of seven to eight months in Pinjarra before returning to The Netherlands or Netherlands East Indies.[155] Several personal accounts of people who have spent time in Pinjarra exist. The two quotes above are examples of these. The most striking in these accounts are the generally positive memories these people have. The British memories of Fairbridge Farm have been predominantly negative, whereas the Dutch situation was the complete opposite. These different perceptions can be explained by a number of factors. First of all the British children were sent for a definite time and more or less raised by the institute until adulthood. The Dutch evacuees were only there for seven to eight months to recuperate and regain strength in order to survive the long journey back to Europe.[156] Another difference is the presence of parents. Many children of the NEI evacuees were still in contact with their parents and parents were often asked to assist at the Fairbridge Farm as a teacher. In contrast the children of British

[151] Willem Plink, 'Voordracht 15 augustus 2012', http://www.indieherdenking.nl/images/bestanden/15%20augustus/2012/PINJARRA%20Willem%20Plink.pdf accessed 20 May 2017, 3.
[152] Radio Netherlands, 'RN Documentary: Fairbridge Farm School', https://beta.prx.org/stories/12348 accessed 20 May 2017, min. 6:46-7:02.
[153] Nonja Peters, 'No Place Like Home: Experiences of the Netherlands East Indies as Real, Virtual and Politically Contested Reality', *Is this the Asian Century?: Proceedings of the 17th Biennial Conference of the Asian Studies Association of Australia, Melbourne, Victoria, 1-3 July 2008,* 1.
[154] Peters, From Tyranny to Freedom, 122.
[155] Willem Plink, 'Voordracht 15 augustus 2012', 4.
[156] Willem Plink, 'Voordracht 15 augustus 2012', 4.

descend had been completely disconnected from their heritage.[157] But foremost the children from the NEI had just returned from years of war. They had spent a significant part of their young lives in concentration camps and finally got the chance to play and learn with other children. They were finally free without fear of Japanese beatings, as it is phrased in the second quote.[158]

The Dutch children from the Netherlands East Indies who spend a few months in Fairbridge Farm Schools after the Second World War could have aided the Australian cause. Considering most of the memories were fond memories this could have benefitted the Australian government as the Dutch government might have started to regard Australia as a good caretaker of children. It needs to be noted however that these fond memories go together with other less positive memories in other places within Australia. On the east coast Australians usually sided with the indigenous population of the NEI and rejected the Dutch evacuees on their first arrival.[159] Besides the impact of the Dutch evacuees from the Netherlands East Indies, BOAS was influential as well.

3.1.3 BOAS

The British Orphans Adoption Society (BOAS) was founded in Sydney in 1939 by Evelyn Douglas Darby, an Australian politician and teacher. Initially the organisation was solely aimed at the adoption of British (war) orphans, but after the war their focus expanded to the adoption of children across the continent of Europe as well.[160] The organisation claimed that Australia was the logical home for the war orphans of Britain and Europe and had a large variety of supporters. Some of its members included (prospective) adopters and others interested in its humanitarian principles. The Society aimed to arrange for the reception and care of war orphans awaiting their legal adoption.[161]

In 1944 E.D. Darby published a book called *Orphans of the War* in which he outlined the moral purpose Australia had to fulfil regarding the war orphans in Europe. 'There are many Australians who await the privilege of giving you a new life in a new land'[162] is the main message that the book wants to express. Australia is portrayed as the country of milk and honey

[157] Willem Plink, 'Voordracht 15 augustus 2012', 3.
[158] Radio Netherlands, 'RN Documentary: Fairbridge Farm School', min. 6:46-7:02.
[159] Willem Plink, 'Voordracht 15 augustus 2012', 1.
[160] Peter Henderson, 'Darby, Evelyn Douglas (1910-1985), http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/darby-evelyn-douglas-12398 accessed 28 May 2017.
[161] E. D. Darby, *Orphans of the War* (Sydney 1944) 32.
[162] E. D. Darby, *Orphans of the War*, 1.

where these children damaged by the war would be able to forget the horrors they had seen.[163] The whole book is one big instrument of propaganda and speaks as much to the Australian people potentially adopting orphaned children as it does to the European people who could stimulate the initiation of a child migrants programme. BOAS reminds a lot of the British Child Migrants Programme, but is in one way very different. The BOAS tried to find an adoptive family for all the children it brought to Australia whereas the British Child Migrants Programme usually resorted to the largescale absorption by Farm Schools. Even though BOAS strived for the legal adoption of all the children it brought to Australia it did share a similar goal with the Child Migrants Programme. In many ways adoption through BOAS was meant to benefit the child in the first place, but the underlying principle remained populating Australia. The children should come to Australia, because they are able to improve their life chances on the continent, but simultaneously Australia needs them too. It needs them to populate their country.

> 'More precisely, Australia should be recognised as one of the logical homes for war orphans. Australia has sunshine, food, accommodation and, most important, people who will care for them. In addition, the arrival of children will be a blessing to this country. We shall need population here.'[164]

Children were the easiest migrant group for Australians following E.D. Darby's reasoning. The birth rate had gone down in Australia during the twentieth century. Intentionally due to birth control, but also due to a rise in infertility rates among married couples who did not want to remain childless.[165] The demand for adoptive children was high and which migrants would be more easily adjustable to new environments than children? Exactly, none.

> 'Children, however, are another matter. Their arrival in Australia will present no difficulty which cannot be dealt with satisfactorily, and which will not in any way interfere with our own internal problems. The most important thing about child migration is that children can be most readily absorbed into our national life. The most successful migration schemes have been those dealing with children.'[166]

[163] E. D. Darby, *Orphans of the War*, 4.
[164] E. D. Darby, *Orphans of the War*, 14.
[165] E. D. Darby, *Orphans of the War*, 19.
[166] E. D. Darby, *Orphans of the War*, 13.

To sell the story of child migration E.D. Darby focused on the potential that children had for Australia and what they could mean for its future. Without children guided by Christian morals the world would be doomed especially considering the horrors the youngest generation had seen. These children deserved a better future in a land without war. The connection with The Netherlands was then easily drawn as the book was partly aimed to address The Netherlands and its orphaned children. In the book multiple references to the country can be found. Generally to signal the food shortages directly after the war, but also more concretely in a pre-war context. The earlier mentioned negotiations between Australia and The Netherlands in 1938 and 1939 have drawn attention in the book as well. The nearing migration arrangement between the two countries opened to E.D. Darby the doors for potential child migration of orphans towards Australia. 'Just prior to the outbreak of war an official from Holland arrived here to discuss the possibility of Dutch immigration.'[167] Even though this arrangement consisted of adult and family migration mister Darby saw this as an opportunity for orphans to make their way towards the country of 'sunshine and food'.[168]

The potential migration of children from The Netherlands towards Australia has been elaborately researched by BOAS. The Australian National Archives give an insight in their stance towards the Dutch children and their contacts with Dutch authorities and organisations. The move of the *bleekneusjes* to England caught also Australian attention. It is referred to in a letter exchange between the manager of a charity and orphanage called Dr. Barnardo's Homes and an unidentified informant most likely tied to BOAS. The letter points out the number of children travelling to the United Kingdom for recuperation and draws attention to the possibility of these children travelling towards Australia in the near future. '[I]t is known that small parties of Allied children, principally Dutch, have been brought to the United Kingdom since the cessation of hostilities in Europe for the purpose of rehabilitating them, but the Commonwealth Government is unaware of any suggestion that any of these children should be brought to Australia from the United Kingdom.'[169] This again shows the desire BOAS has to take in these children. This is namely the response to the question, if any of these children were coming to Australia, BOAS posed. The *bleekneusjes* had however merely been send to countries such as the United Kingdom to recover from the war. These children still had families in The

[167] E. D. Darby, *Orphans of the War*, 14.
[168] E. D. Darby, *Orphans of the War*, 13.
[169] NAA, Child migration – General, A349/1/7 PART 2 (Letter from Dr. Barnardo's Homes, 11 September 1945) 47.

Netherlands waiting for them and were therefore not eligible for emigration in the eyes of the Dutch government.[170]

Besides the question of available children, the number of children and their preferred age groups were topic of debate as well. Who were fit to be included in the Australian society? The book *Orphans of the war* already pointed out that children were the most suitable migrants, because they were still young and much easier adjustable to new environments, cultural habits and languages. This way proper new Australians could easiest be achieved. This is again signalled by the confirmation of child migration scheme and the approval by the Commonwealth Government on certain age groups. '[I]n age groups of from 6 to 14 years for British children and 6 to 12 years for alien children.'[171] The Prime Minister John Derman, who wrote this letter to BOAS, did however also point out the difficulties surrounding the topic of adoption and stated, 'It appears unlikely, owing to legal and other difficulties involved, that children will be brought to Australia for adoption into private homes except, perhaps, when the only surviving relatives of children are already domiciled in Australia.'[172] Adoption is already portrayed as a difficult obstacle in 1945 when the BOAS planned to adopt children from other European countries. Dutch adoption law was indeed only established as late as 1956, so this could mean the adoption of Dutch children was meant in this context. Especially since most European countries did have adoption regulations before this time. Germany on the other hand took until 1976 to establish adoption regulations until 1976.[173] This remark could therefore be aimed at both Dutch and German children. Especially considering BOAS has considered bringing over a number of German war children as well due to their similarity to the 'Australian race' and the dire moral situation these innocent children were in after the war.[174]

The matter of adoption was furthermore discussed among Prime Minister John Curtin and Mr. E.D. Darby, head of BOAS, in a meeting regarding the shipping of children from Britain and other selected parts of Europe. BOAS was a private organisation and purposely kept this way in order to be eligible for government support. The government and BOAS did work together closely however regarding the topic of child migration. As both the government and BOAS shared the same interest, more child migrants. They somewhat differed in other regards. BOAS wanted mainly to aid the deprived children of Europe whereas the government was

[170] Vermandere, *We zijn Goed Aangekomen!,* 103-105.
[171] NAA, Child migration – General, A349/1/7 PART 2 (Letter from Prime Minister, 23 May 1945) 60.
[172] NAA, Child migration – General, A349/1/7 PART 2, 60.
[173] Christine Wilke, *Die Adoption Minderjähriger Kinder durch den* Stiefelternteil (Tübingen 2014) 50.
[174] NAA, Child migration – General, A349/1/7 PART 2 (Letter to Mr. Curtin (Prime Minister), 25 July 1944) 189.

hoping to stimulate the growth of the white Australian population by these means. The Prime Minister defies this stance by claiming that his involvement in the potential establishment of a child migration scheme was specifically to aid the European countries as the following quote aptly illustrates. 'Mr. Curtin said U.N.R.A. was something that ought not to be used for Australia's own economic advantage. Child migration to this country for the purpose of adding to the citizenship of this country is a different thing from the relief which Australia seeks to give to the occupied countries. Mr. Curtin did not want U.N.R.A. to be a continuing thing whereas he would like this migration scheme to go on indefinitely.'[175] The main goal was to help the European Allies. Furthermore the Prime Minister acknowledged the fact that Australia would need the full support of foreign governments in order to bring about a migrant scheme as such.[176] The foreign governments needed to cooperate with the Australian plan in order for it to become successful. Convincing other states of their plans was going to be the next challenge. It can be concluded with certainty that BOAS was very willing to take in non-English speaking children as well. In addition to the claims made above, their annual report of 1944 dedicated a special section to non-English speaking children. The section points out what steps were needed to take in these children and in what way they could be assisted best.[177]

3.1.4 Conclusion

The previous paragraphs show that the demand for children in Australia and New Zealand was clearly present. The demand for British children had already been established, but their enthusiasm about arriving Dutch children confirms that they were very welcome. Firstly, it has been established that Australians particularly put focus on the arrival of children even though these were mostly accompanied by their parents. The newspapers devoted a lot of attention to the dire circumstances of Dutch and other European orphaned children and made an effort to sell the arrival of children as something desirable for the Australian population. The establishment of adoption centres in the post-war years also confirm that Australia was expecting a large number of child migrants.

The second part of this paragraph pointed out that The Netherlands had already enjoyed some experience with child evacuees on Australia. These children were only in Australia for a short amount of time, but their presence did extend contacts between the Dutch and Australian,

[175] NAA, Child migration – General, A349/1/7 PART 2 (Notes of a Deputation representing the British Orphans Adoption Society which waited on the Prime Minister on 7th September, 1944) 219 (218-220).
[176] NAA, Child migration – General, A349/1/7 PART 2, 219 (218-220).
[177] NAA, Child migration – General, A349/1/7 PART 2 (Fifth Annual Report BOAS 1944) 179 (172-179).

potentially New Zealand, governments. Especially considering the memories of Fairbridge Farm School Pinjarra were predominantly positive in the eyes of the former inhabitants. Compared to their war experience Fairbridge signified freedom. The last part of this chapter devoted some space to the organisation BOAS. This adoption society was highly active in the post-war years to establish migration agreements between European countries and Australia focused on the adoption of orphaned children. To achieve this they worked closely together with the Australian government and acknowledged the cooperation necessary with European governments.

This first chapter was meant to clarify to what extent The Netherlands had the possibility to potentially achieve the establishment of a migration agreement for unaccompanied children. The Australian and New Zealand actors (Governments, BOAS and Fairbridge Farm School) were all welcoming the idea of child migration from The Netherlands. All parties either responded positively to the arrival of children or actively searched for them and contacted Dutch institutions. The Dutch involvement in these contacts have been rather abstract until now. The only thing that can be established with certainty so far is that the Dutch government had some experience with children in Australia and that a general migration agreement was on the table. This agreement dated from 1939 and was to be completed after the war. The involvement of the Dutch children in Pinjarra and BOAS could have simplified the establishment of a Dutch arrangement however.

The doubt Australian actors had regarding the possibility of child migration from other European countries solidifies the idea that child migration did not happen in the Dutch post-war context. It can now be confirmed however that this was not due to a lack of demand from Australia and New Zealand or a lack of contact between Australia and The Netherlands. The next chapter will focus on the next question that arises. Did The Netherlands have a problem after the Second World War regarding their orphaned and unwanted children?

3.2 Children: Burden or Gift ?

The previous chapter has clarified the enthusiasm across the ocean for Dutch orphans and the extent to which the Dutch government was already engaged in arrangements nearing the topic of child migration with Australia and New Zealand. The most significant actors across the ocean have been identified, namely BOAS, Fairbridge Farm, the government of Australia and the government of New Zealand. Naturally some actors can be identified on the Dutch end as well, but before turning to that scope let us first consider if specific groups of children were in fact

considered a problem or burden during the post-war years in The Netherlands. As can be derived from both the historiography and the context two groups existed. First and foremost the Jewish war orphans, but also the children conceived by Dutch unmarried mothers who either had had an affair with a German soldier or with a soldier on the other end of the spectrum, a liberator. This chapter will clarify whether the Dutch government experienced a problem finding suitable families to bring up their orphans. It will consequently also aid to provide an answer to the question of child migration and the Dutch stance towards the phenomenon.

3.2.1 Dutch War Orphans

The previous chapter pointed out that the concern for Dutch war orphans was certainly present. Even though this concern could only take effect in the actual migration of children after the Second World War, the involved authorities had already started to explore the option in the early days of the war.[178] The most likely reason for this was the desire of foreign states to aid the Dutch (and European) war orphans and that these foreign authorities had heard about the distress and growing number of war orphans in Europe.[179] To illustrate an early example will be referred to a South African correspondence. This may seem quite strange considering this thesis is focused on Australia and New Zealand. But this particular correspondence provides some insight in the Dutch situation regarding war orphans in the early days of the war and the government's viewpoints on the number of children at hand and their ideas about solving the problem of parentless children.

Correspondence between the Dutch and South African states on the possibility to bring over war orphans date from 1940 already. The South African Red Cross Committee is in this case the spokesman for South Africa and mister Jhr.W.F. van Lennep, an ambassador for the Dutch government in Pretoria, performs as a spokesman for The Netherlands. The first letter dated from 18 June 1940 and the correspondence continued until 14 March 1941. A part of this correspondence was internal as well between the ambassador in Pretoria and the ministers in The Netherlands. These letters point out the situation in The Netherlands and the position of children. It also stresses that German occupation hampered the potential migration of children and that certain Dutch regulations complicated the journey of children specifically. These conditions will have influenced Australian migration as well and therefore this letter exchange proves insightful to answer the research question.

[178] Van Faassen, 'Polder en Emigratie', 165.
[179] 'Australia May Take 50,000 War Orphans', *Advocate (Burnie, Tas.)*, 31 May 1940, *Trove*, 7.

The first letter dating from 18 June 1940 points out that The Netherlands is dealing with a number of refugees. Due to this problem the possibilities to send some of these people to other destinations such as South Africa are explored. It shows The Netherlands were reluctant to send people away, but that they wanted to be prepared in case it did become necessary to evacuate people. '(…) I have the honour to inform you that we do not plan on evacuating a share of our population from The Netherlands. In regard of the many Dutch refugees however, I consider it advisable to already start taking inventory in South Africa of families who could take in refugees who would be eligible for evacuation.'[180] This excerpt seems to be focused on refugees in general and the potential families who could help them after arriving in South Africa, but the response to this letter a month later points out that the evacuation was predominantly meant for war children. In this letter both the issue of German opposition and the regulation concerning adoption are mentioned and requested to be addressed in The Netherlands. Mostly because the interest of taking in children was high and these families and committees would like to start researching whether adoption could be part of the solution. The number of refugees is not clear at this point in time.

> 'I am aware of the fact that adoption is impossible according to our [Dutch] laws. But I would appreciate it if your Excellency could message me if: a. The Swedish authorities have already been involved in discussing the possibility to send Dutch refugees to the Union of South Africa and if the German government is expected to create difficulties with regard to their departure and b. if maybe by use of an emergency law or Royal Decree a temporary arrangement could be made to open the possibility to adopt Dutch orphans by Union citizens or by Dutch nationals living in the Union.'[181]

The interest of taking in Dutch refugees was mostly focused on war orphans or child refugees. The quote above also highlights the issue of adoption in The Netherlands at the time. As explained in both the historiography and the context adoption was a very contested phenomenon in the 1940s and would only be possible from 1956 onwards. This letter however asks for a way to make an exception in order to help these children escape the war. The issue of adoption

[180] NA, Ministerie van Buitenlandse Zaken (Londens Archief) 1940-1945, Stukken betreffende het opnemen van Nederlandse kinderen door het buitenland 1940-1945, inv. nr. 3707 (Letter: Kabinet van den Minister, 18 June 1940).
[181] NA, Ministerie van Buitenlandse Zaken (Londens Archief) 1940-1945, Stukken betreffende het opnemen van Nederlandse kinderen door het buitenland 1940-1945, inv. nr. 3707 (Letter: Nr. 10169/115-V-15/425, 11 June 1940).

played a role in the establishment of organised child migration in South Africa and was certainly of influence in the Australian and New Zealand situation as well. Furthermore, the power the German authorities exercised over the Dutch government made it more difficult for refugees to leave the country during the Second World War.

In 1941 the first letter from the South African Red Cross Committee reached the Dutch ambassador in Pretoria with concrete proposals and questions regarding Dutch war orphans and their potential journey to South Africa. The central topics of this letter were the number of orphans that The Netherlands were dealing with and how many would potentially make their way to South Africa. Secondly, the adoption regulations in The Netherlands or, if this was not possible, an alternative safeguarding scheme. Lastly the relaxation of certain South African immigration laws would be needed to accomplished.[182] The last point is slightly irrelevant within the context of this thesis and will therefore not be included further on. But the two earlier mentioned questions are highly important to this thesis. Firstly because the number of war orphans has still not been clarified, but also because the establishment of an arrangement that could steer clear of the adoption issue would have been beneficial to the Australian and New Zealand cases as well.

The response was somewhat disappointing as it turned out that the Dutch authorities did not have specific data on the number of war orphans in The Netherlands at the time. The number of children eligible for migration could consequently not be estimated. Furthermore the question of adoption is not elaborated on extensively. The Dutch alternative to adoption is guardianship. The implications for children migrating towards South Africa remain unanswered however as the Dutch ambassador only states the Dutch scenario regarding the placement of orphaned children in Dutch families. 'a. The legation has no records of Netherlands wa[r] orphans. b. Adoption is not possible under the provisions of Netherlands law. Orphans in the Netherlands are placed (…) under guardianship by decision of the Magistrate concerned. As long as this guardianship is valid, no other guardianship can be provided for.'[183] It seems the correspondence halted after a response on 14 March 1941 in which the South African Red Cross Society clearly puts the ball in the Dutch field. It was on them to organise who were coming and if these people would be granted excess to South African. Furthermore the issues

[182] NA, Ministerie van Buitenlandse Zaken (Londens Archief) 1940-1945, Stukken betreffende het opnemen van Nederlandse kinderen door het buitenland 1940-1945, inv. nr. 3707 (Afschrift. The South African Red Cross Society, Ref. WR/CE, 24 February 1941).
[183] NA, Ministerie van Buitenlandse Zaken (Londens Archief) 1940-1945, Stukken betreffende het opnemen van Nederlandse kinderen door het buitenland 1940-1945, inv. nr. 3707 (Copy. 1309, 1 March 1941).

surrounding guardianship were to be resolved before these children would actually make their way across the ocean.[184]

It can be concluded from these excerpts however that the Dutch authorities did not necessarily experience a war-orphan-problem during the early days of the war. The country was still able to provide shelter for these children as the numbers were not very pressing. This is deduced by the fact that no statistics existed on the actual number of war orphans in 1941. If any children had been eligible for evacuation these would have been largely Jewish children. Due to the German interference however the departure of Jewish children would have been unthinkable. For it was the Germans who had to approve of this departure in the end.

3.2.2 Dutch Post-war Orphans

The largest group of orphans after the Second World War in The Netherlands consisted of the Jewish children who had survived the war. The number of Jewish war foster children (*oorlogspleegkinderen*) after the war has been estimated at approximately 3,500. The total number of war foster children consisted of approximately 4000 children. About 500 Roman-Catholic and Protestant children had become parentless due to bombings and several parents had died in the Netherlands East-Indies.[185] What is striking about the group of Jewish war orphans is the development after the war. Most children had stayed in foster care during the war and were able to survive by being part of another family. When the war ended however some Jewish organisations insisted on raising the Jewish children in a Jewish manner. This would not happen if these children stayed in Christian homes and therefore most the children were taken away from their foster families.[186] The Jewish organisation primarily involved in this conflict was Le-Ezrath Ha-Jeled. The Commission OPK[187] was established directly after the war to cater to the needs of the war foster children. Le-Ezrath Ha-Jeled was part of the commission, but the other Dutch (non-Jewish) representatives and the Jewish organisation did not see eye to eye regarding the care these children needed. 'Work slowed down due to dispute among Commission'[188] reads the title of the newspaper article. The commission had been

[184] Nationaal Archief, Ministerie van Buitenlandse Zaken (Londens Archief) 1940-1945, Stukken betreffende het opnemen van Nederlandse kinderen door het buitenland 1940-1945, inv. nr. 3707 (Afschrift. The South African Red Cross Society, Ref. No. WR/CE, 14 March 1941).
[185] Onderzoeksgids Oorlogsgetroffenen WO2, 'Commissie voor Oorlogspleegkinderen', http://www.oorlogsgetroffenen.nl/archiefvormer/Commissie_Oorlogspleegkinderen accessed 16 March 2017.
[186] Offerman, *Andere tijden, andere meiden…?,* 61.
[187] Commissie oorlogspleegkinderen.
[188] 'Zorg voor oorlogspleegkinderen. Werk vertraagd door meningsverschil in Commissie.', *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 20 November 1947, *Delpher*, 1.

assigned two years to either reconnect the war foster children with their biological parents or, in case these children had become orphans, to find them a new place to live. In the opinion to Jewish OPK-members the Jewish children needed to be raised in a Jewish environment. Therefore the children in Christian foster families needed to be replaced.[189]

Most Jewish children were either raised in Jewish foster care or in a Jewish orphanage. From 1949 onwards the Jewish war orphans were encouraged to go to Israel as well to build up the country.[190] Le-Ezrath Ha-Jeled (To the child's aid) was established directly after the war in August of 1945 and set itself the goal to act as a central association for guardianship for all Jewish war foster children.[191] Le-Ezrath Ha-Jeled indeed left their mark on the way the Jewish children were accommodated after the war. The association made sure the Jewish children's heritage was preserved. The Dutch government consequently did not have a reason to send any Jewish children abroad as most had either been found accommodation before 1950 already in The Netherlands or had travelled abroad to build up a life in Israel.[192] In addition the Australian government had restricted the immigration of Jews to their country. The possibility for Jewish war orphans to emigrate to Australia had more or less been cut off.[193]

3.2.3 Children of Unmarried Mothers

Since the Jewish war orphans most likely did not make their way across the ocean altogether the focus shifts to the other group of Dutch vulnerable children. The number of unmarried mothers increased significantly after the war. These women had mostly been involved with either German soldiers or liberating soldiers as explained in previous chapters. Their children became known in The Netherlands as the *moffenkinderen* or the *bevrijdingskinderen*. These children largely grew up without their fathers. These had either been killed during the war or had returned to their home countries. The women who gave birth to the children of foreign soldiers were often viewed with contempt. They had not been able to restrain themselves and had been sinful.[194] The increase of unmarried mothers was considered a burden on the state as these women had no husbands to support them and their child. The mother often ran the risk of banishment from her own family as well however if she was not willing to give up the child.[195]

[189] 'Zorg voor oorlogspleegkinderen. Werk vertraagd door meningsverschil in Commissie.', *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 20 November 1947, *Delpher*, 1.
[190] Wolf, *Beyond Anne Frank*, 246-247.
[191] 'Le-Ezrath Ha-Jeled (Het Kind ter Hulpe)', *Nieuw Israelitisch weekblad*, 3 May 1946, *Delpher*, 5.
[192] Verhey, *Kind van de Rekening*.
[193] Schrover and Van Faassen, 'Invisibility and selectivity', 18.
[194] Offerman, *Andere tijden, andere meiden…?,* 9.
[195] Offerman, *Andere tijden, andere meiden…?,* 27.

For unmarried mothers a few options were at hand after the Second World War. Keeping the baby and raising it on their own or with the help of direct family; giving it up to people close to you; or finding a foster family to raise the child. In practice most mothers ended up giving up their baby. The increase in unmarried mothers is aptly visualised in figure 1.3. These numbers have been derived from year reports of the UVOM[196] The government was concerned with the rapid increase of unmarried mothers during and directly after the war. Over the course of six years however UVOM experienced a growth of 73% of unmarried mothers. From a mere 601 in 1941 to 1,037 in 1946.[197] An increase of unmarried mothers was regarded as undesirable for the Dutch government and the Dutch population. These children needed above all parents to look after them. Perhaps Australia and New Zealand could offer a solution?

Table 2. *Increase of unmarried mothers at UVOM between 1941 and 1951 per age group.*

Unmarried mothers	**1941**	**1942**	**1943**	**1944**	**1945**	**1946**	**1947**	**1948**	**1949**	**1950**	**1951**
Below age of 20	13 %	19 %	16 %	14 %	14 %	12 %	12 %	13 %	15 %	13 %	13 %
20 – 24	37 %	37 %	45 %	46 %	41 %	40 %	32 %	32 %	28 %	30 %	26 %
25 – 29	24 %	25%	18 %	20 %	24 %	25 %	26 %	25 %	25 %	26 %	25 %
30 – 34	15 %	9 %	11 %	13 %	12 %	14 %	17 %	18 %	17 %	17 %	18 %
35 – higher	11 %	10 %	9 %	6 %	10 %	9 %	13 %	12 %	15 %	14 %	11 %
Total	601	709	935	824	809	1037	876	720	600	613	560

Anna Lambrechtse, 'Van gevallen vrouw tot maatschappelijk probleem: Zedelijkheid en sociale zorg voor ongehuwde moeders in Amsterdam, 1941-1956' (Master thesis, Universiteit van Amsterdam, 2009), 70.
The original table in Lambrechtse's thesis includes statistics from 1941-1956.

In The Netherlands the number of foster parents had been relatively low as concluded by the FIOM in 1943.[198] The mothers were discouraged to keep the children themselves as well however. A slight shift in attitude is noticeable after the Second World War. Organisations concerned with the interests of unmarried mothers and their children increasingly gained more power nationally. FIOM[199], established in the 1930s, was one of these organisations focused on the improvement of the social position of the unmarried mother and her child. Directly after the war the social rights of unmarried mothers were not equal to mothers who were married. The FIOM wanted to clarify that this only weakened the position of unmarried mothers and that this was mainly what caused them to become a burden on society. In the post-war years FIOM actively propagated the establishment of equality between married and unmarried mothers.

[196] UVOM (Unie van Verenigingen voor Ongehuwde Moeders – Union of Associations for Unmarried Mothers) was an organisation that helped unmarried mothers and their children.
[197] Lambrechtse, 'Van gevallen vrouw tot maatschappelijk probleem', 29.
[198] Atria, FIOM, Jaarverslagen 1930-1965, inv. nr. 5b (Jaarverslag over 1943), 11.
[199] Federatie van Instellingen voor de Ongehuwde Moeder en haar kind - Federation of Institutions for the Unmarried Mother and her child.

The increase of the number of unmarried mother could have been a reason for FIOM to invest time in improving the position of unmarried mothers, but it could also have aided their cause. Considering the FIOM had already been present since the 1930s it is more likely that the increase of unmarried mothers after the Second World War actually helped them establish what they wanted. Due to the sudden increase, unmarried motherhood and the wellbeing of them and their children became a more pressing matter. 'From the South various calls for help have reached the F.I.O.M. about the lack of space in several homes for unmarried mothers, in the children's homes, about the more than friendly contacts between the Dutch women and our liberators etc.'[200] This quote originates from a letter sent to the medical chief inspector of public health[201] in The Netherlands by FIOM in 1945 and brings the increasing contacts between Dutch women and liberating soldiers to the attention. The involvement of Dutch women with German soldiers had already been known, but the prospect of liberating soldiers who would increase the number of unmarried mothers even further was a reason to call for help. Considering the number would eventually increase with 73%, the letter shows not to have been redundant.

FIOM wanted to improve life for unmarried mothers and their children. The year reports of the organisation and letter exchanges between them and other authorities show that the distributions of social benefits were unevenly divided between the married and unmarried mothers.[202] Childcare benefits were for example only available to working men with a family consisting of three or more children in the 1930s. In 1946 the law was adjusted and provided for families starting from their first born child, still a working man needed to apply for the benefits however.[203] Consequently the barrier on a number of children was not the reason to disregard the unmarried mothers, it was their status as amoral woman that denied them childcare benefits. This was problematic considering the unmarried mother was already in a more vulnerable position than most families.

These previous paragraphs mainly underlined that unmarried motherhood in the post-war period was still not accepted. Even though organisations such as FIOM tried to improve the circumstances unmarried mothers were in, it was still far from ideal to become pregnant outside marriage. After birth the child was often raised in foster care. It is peculiar however

[200] Atria, FIOM, Ingekomen en minuten van uitgaande stukken van (adviserende) leden van het bestuur. 1942, 1944-1975, inv. nr. 20, (Letter: 170/45/P 121,3, 20 June 1945).
[201] In Dutch: Geneeskundig hoofdinspecteur van de Volksgezondheid.
[202] Atria, FIOM, Notulen van bestuursvergaderingen, met bijlagen 1939, 1941, 1946-1967, 1972, inv. nr. 2 (Letter: No 1380/50/D/F. Dossier No 501-12, 2 June 1950).
[203] Mr. Clemens Ruijters, 'Een Zondepotje voor het natuurlijke kind', *Politieke Opstellen 1980*, 30-36, 31.

how the Dutch state visualised this. Foster care would only be temporary until the mother got married and she could take her child back again. Important to know in this case is the role blood ties played in the Dutch idea of mother and child relationships. In the next paragraph this is outlined in more depth. These previous paragraphs also pointed out however that the position of unmarried mothers was starting to change. Institutions protecting these women and their children slowly gained more power and were able to influence political decision making in solidifying the financial and social position of the unmarried mother. At the same time however the problem of unmarried motherhood became a national issue.[204]

3.2.4 Dutch Foster Families

As stated above the unmarried mothers often ended up giving up their children to foster families. The foster family in the Dutch post-war years did not have the legal rights to the child. The biological parents always remained the legitimate parents and could claim their child back. The aforementioned blood ties were very important in the Dutch government's eyes and could not be broken.[205] During the Second World War the demand for foster families grew significantly due to the number of Jewish children that needed shelter. The FIOM stated in their year report of 1943 however that their active campaigning to gain more families who were willing to take in foster children was unfortunately rarely prized with success.[206] The number of foster families did not increase during the war in the way they had expected and moreover had needed it to increase. The reason FIOM was so diligent on finding new foster families depended on the war situation in The Netherlands. In 1943 the war was at full speed, the Jewish families needed to decide how to survive the war. Not for everyone the foster family came in time however as some did not survive until .[207]

Foster parents did not have the legal rights to the child, but dr. H.P. Cloeck stated in his plea to Dutch society that The Netherlands should reconsider their stance on adoption, due to the increase of unmarried mothers and the care for their children. Dr. Cloeck wrote his dissertation about the adoption legalisation in The Netherlands. Following this dissertation he wrote a plea to publicly display his stances on the matter and to politically influence the Dutch view on adoption. His main message is supported by two arguments. Firstly, the unmarried mother should be supported in her decision making. In 1946 the woman was not allowed to

[204] Lambrechtse, 'Van gevallen vrouw tot maatschappelijk probleem'.
[205] René A.C. Hoksbergen, 'Intercountry Adoption', 142.
[206] Atria, FIOM, Jaarverslagen 1930-1965, inv. nr. 5b (Jaarverslag over 1943) 11.
[207] Atria, FIOM, Jaarverslagen 1930-1965, inv. nr. 5b (Jaarverslag over 1943) 11.

give up her child, but this entailed that she would always be capable of taking care of it. 'We have learned that it is not right to say that the unmarried mother can never take care for her own child, but it is just as wrong to state that she can always take care of it.'[208] The position of both the unmarried mother and the child is granted protection this way, just as the FIOM was already fighting for. Every case needed to be looked at individually according to this statement, rather than viewing all unmarried mothers as one and the same.[209]

Secondly, the case of foster parents is mentioned. This is the more important point according to dr. Cloeck himself. Up until 1946 the blood ties had been the most important feature in considering foster care. The blood ties between mother and child were not to be broken for the wellbeing of the mother and child. Dr. Cloeck argued however in his plea that blood ties were not the most important aspect to take into account. He states that the child's wellbeing should be at the centre of consideration and that this wellbeing was largely determined by a stable living environment. If the mother could not provide such an environment, adoption would be the better option. Adoption and not foster care, because foster care still remained unstable, for both the foster parents and the child. Considering the biological parents still had the legal rights to the child, they could ask for permission to get the child back. This situation would prevent the child to grow up in a steady environment. Adoption would take away this uncertainty and leave the responsibility for the child at one set of parents.[210]

> 'Article 1 determines: „Adoption of children can only occur, if it serves the interests of the child." The main actor at the adoption agreement is in our opinion the child, the adoptee. In earlier legislation the adoptive parent was leading; the continued existence of his family name, the transfer of his noble title. We consider the interests of the child as a priority, the adoptee is at the centre of attention, just as this is the case in the modern Scandinavian legislation and the modernised French, Belgian and Italian legislation. The question of adoption has evolved into a problem of societal aid, a question of child protection.'[211]

[208] Atria, FIOM, Het vraagstuk der hulpverlening aan de buitenlandse ongehuwde moeder in Nederland (1934) en Cloeck, H.P. e.a., 'Het vraagstuk der adoptie (1946), inv. nr. 6 (Het vraagstuk der adoptie (1946)) 3.
[209] Atria, FIOM, Het vraagstuk der hulpverlening aan de buitenlandse ongehuwde moeder in Nederland (1934) en Cloeck, H.P. e.a., 'Het vraagstuk der adoptie (1946), inv. nr. 6 (Het vraagstuk der adoptie (1946)) 3.
[210] Atria, FIOM, Het vraagstuk der hulpverlening aan de buitenlandse ongehuwde moeder in Nederland (1934) en Cloeck, H.P. e.a., 'Het vraagstuk der adoptie (1946), inv. nr. 6 (Het vraagstuk der adoptie (1946)) 4.
[211] Atria, FIOM, Het vraagstuk der hulpverlening aan de buitenlandse ongehuwde moeder in Nederland (1934) en Cloeck, H.P. e.a., 'Het vraagstuk der adoptie (1946), inv. nr. 6 (Het vraagstuk der adoptie (1946)) 4.

The desire for legalisation of adoption was certainly present it would however take until 1956 before the adoption legislation in The Netherlands would take effect.[212] Adoption in this context means internal adoption, that is adoption of Dutch children by Dutch parents.

Considering the demand for children in Australia and New Zealand it would not have been strange if this topic had been discussed within the framework of dr. Cloeck's adoption proposals. This can however not be traced back in the responses to his proposal in 1946. What can be found in the responses are points of critique by prominent persons. A returning critique is shaped by the "unnatural agreement" adoption forms. This connects to the idea that blood ties are the foundation of a relationship between mother and child[213], but goes even as far as stating that artificial agreements cannot replace this bond and that such developments are undesirable with regard to the child's wellbeing.[214]

The negative attitude towards adoption was mostly shaped by the blood ties and the implications breaking these would have for the child. This would also explain why emigration was not even discussed. If direct separation within the same country was already unthinkable, the emigration of the children of unmarried mothers was even worse. Therefore Dutch foster care was most desirable. The shortage of foster parents during the war, was compensated by the number in the post-war years. This resulted in a lot of rejections by the Commission of FIOM responsible for the placement of children.

> 'Regrettably we have to inform you, that we, considering the very high number of applications of foster parents (+/- 500 a year) and the very limited number of children that the Commission places annually (+/- 15), cannot guarantee you that we will be able to trust a child upon you in the near future. Merely the foster parents who stand out due to their extraordinary suitability are placed on the waiting list. Naturally our decline does not entail that you as foster parents are not deemed fit to raise a child. Because it is illegal according to the Adoption law to adopt a child younger than six months old in your family without consent of the board of child protection, we feel the need to stress that adopting a child on own initiative is highly discouraged.'[215]

[212] René A.C. Hoksbergen, 'Intercountry Adoption', 142.
[213] René A.C. Hoksbergen, 'Intercountry Adoption', 142.
[214] Atria, FIOM, Het vraagstuk der hulpverlening aan de buitenlandse ongehuwde moeder in Nederland (1934) en Cloeck, H.P. e.a., 'Het vraagstuk der adoptie (1946), inv. nr. 6 (Het vraagstuk der adoptie (1946)) 10.
[215] Atria, FIOM, , Ingekomen en minuten van uitgaande stukken van de Commissie tot Centralisatie inzake Afstand van kinderen, inv. nr. 391 (Letter: No. 1067/57/vL/T Dossier No. 222-5150, 29 March 1957).

A few aspects stand out in this letter from FIOM. Firstly, in relation to 1943 the number of foster parents had increased. This letter was sent however in 1957, so after the implementation of new adoption regulations. Perhaps this stimulated many aspiring foster (adoptive) parents. It however also shows that the number of eligible children for either foster care or adoption were relatively low in The Netherlands in 1957 and the years before. Thirdly, the topic of emigration is again not mentioned within the topic of adoption in The Netherlands. All information is focused on the national situation. The only situation in which emigration was a topic of debate was when the foster parents or biological parents were thinking of emigration. But that is still regarded as within the national context. The child remains in the care of a Dutch family after all.[216] In case the foster parents had the intention of emigration and would be keen on taking their foster child with them as member of their family, then the child could dismissed from guardianship and taken in by the foster parents as their own.[217] This was decided relatively early in 1950 however and does show that the government was trying to find compromises regarding the care of foster children. It also points out however that emigration of unaccompanied children was not really a matter elaborately discussed in the context of unmarried mothers and their children in The Netherlands.

3.2.5 Conclusion

In the early days of the Second World War emigration to other nations was explored. The Dutch state was trying to find out what possibilities existed in terms of migration of children. It turned out that primarily their adoption regulations prevented permanent emigration of children. Also the lack of information concerning the actual number of eligible children for emigration and the German occupation prevented the establishment of an actual emigration programme to South-Africa. This example is insightful for Australia and New Zealand, because it shows what had been explored before their involvement. The interest from Dutch perspective was present during these years it can be established. After the war it turned out however that the number of war orphans were relatively limited (the Jewish community largely took care of its Jewish orphans) and that the children of unmarried mothers were taken care of by organisations such as FIOM. In addition, the lack of adoption regulations made it difficult for unmarried mothers to give up their child. The importance of blood ties were considered over the actual wellbeing

[216] NA, Federatie Kinderbescherming, Emigratie voogdijpupillen, inv. nr. 161 (Letter: No. 9089 W./K., 5 December 1950).
[217] NA, Federatie Kinderbescherming, Emigratie voogdijpupillen, inv. nr. 161 (Letter: No. 9089 W./K., 5 December 1950).

of the child and the fact if the child was wanted by the biological parents. Dutch foster families had been in a disadvantaged position as well however. The lack of adoption regulations weakened their position as a guardian and their chances of remaining the child's parents. The government did show flexibility however as foster parents were often enabled to emigrate with their foster child. Organisations such as FIOM influenced the debate by supporting unmarried mothers and primarily their children, but also the Jewish community influenced the way the government handled the post-war orphaned children by claiming their share in finding a solution.

In short, The Netherlands did not have a problem regarding their orphaned and unwanted children. The lack of adoption regulations also made it more difficult for children to move abroad as they could not be adopted while being under aged. The last part of the analysis looks at concrete proposals and enquiries of both Australia and New Zealand and considers the Dutch response to these proposals.

3.3 The Dutch Response

Chapter 3.1 has so far clarified that Australian and New Zealand demand for unaccompanied children was certainly present. Chapter 3.2 has on the other hand also established that The Netherlands did not really experience a problem regarding their orphaned or unwanted children. Most of these children were either taken in by their community, like the Jewish children, or given a place with foster parents somewhere in The Netherlands. At all times the bond between mother and child was kept in mind by the Dutch government and other involved institutions.[218] This chapter looks at concrete proposals and enquiries of Australian and New Zealand actors regarding Dutch child migrants and identifies which Dutch actors responded in what way to these requests. Letter exchanges between Australian and New Zealand actors and Dutch actors will guide this part of the analysis complemented by the Netherlands and Australian Migration Agreement (NAMA) in order to verify certain claims. The chapter is divided in Australian proposals and New Zealand proposals.

3.3.1 Stranding Australian Enquiries

During the pre-war negotiations between Australia and The Netherlands the first rough draft of the 1951 NAMA was established in 1939. This agreement was a first outline of what both the

[218] René A.C. Hoksbergen, 'Intercountry Adoption', 141-160.

Australian and Dutch government expected of their cooperation.[219] As established in chapter 3.1 the Australian interest in Dutch unaccompanied children started in the final year of the war and was largely incited by the head of BOAS, Mr. E.D. Darby. This is also confirmed by the enquires the Dutch ambassador in Canberra made in December 1944. The first letter, dated 7 December 1944, was aimed at the Dutch minister of Foreign Affairs and expressed the desire of BOAS to help children migrate from The Netherlands towards Australia.

> 'I have the honour to inform your Excellency that the "British Orphans Adoption Society" based in Sydney has reached the following decision in their council meeting: "As a first offer in celebration of the liberation of France, Belgium, Holland, Greece, Jugo-Slavia and Poland, the Society will undertake from each of these countries, the complete care of 20 orphaned children under the age of 7 years, preferably who are available for legal adoption, such children to be cared for by the Society until adoption arranged, and if adoption is not arranged, until they reach the age of full adulthood." (…) Considering the Dutch law is unfamiliar with adoption, the children would remain Dutch. Pending several details, I would like to hear from your Excellency if this offer of the association could be accepted in principle.'[220]

The BOAS was clearly trying to establish a connection with The Netherlands. The letter did not receive a response and therefore a second letter was sent two weeks later. The Dutch ambassador stated in this letter that recently the press had started propaganda items concerning the immigration of 17,000 children a year for 3 years. It also pointed out multiple times the attractiveness of accepting immigrants from The Netherlands.[221] The Dutch were certainly aware of the eager Australians, but also remained cautious as it was stated that the organisation is not yet well-established and it was believed that also this organisation did not come across as financially capable to take care for such a group of children.[222] This shows that the Dutch ambassador is seriously concerned with the children's wellbeing. The organisation needed to

[219] Elich, 'Dutch and Australian Government's Perspectives on migration', 150.
[220] NA, Ministerie van Buitenlandse Zaken (Londens Archief) 1940-1945, Stukken betreffende het opnemen van Nederlandse kinderen door het buitenland, inv. nr. 3707 (Letter: C 8/4334/220, 7 December 1944).
[221] Nationaal Archief, Ministerie van Buitenlandse Zaken (Londens Archief) 1940-1945, Stukken betreffende het opnemen van Nederlandse kinderen door het buitenland, inv. nr. 3707 (Letter: U 6/4451/127, 20 December 1944).
[222] Nationaal Archief, Ministerie van Buitenlandse Zaken (Londens Archief) 1940-1945, Stukken betreffende het opnemen van Nederlandse kinderen door het buitenland, inv. nr. 3707 (Letter: U 6/4451/127, 20 December 1944).

be able to carry the responsibility of large groups of children before the Dutch children were to be trusted upon them. The letter exchange of this period is incomplete and does not include the response to the ambassador. But the next letter exchange in 1948 can help to establish that an agreement was not reached and that the Dutch government was rather apprehensive. Even though the letters in 1944 communicated the BOAS best intentions, their inexperience and lack of financial resources may have slowed down the process. In 1948 Mr. E.D. Darby himself sought contact with the Dutch government however.

> 'Could you please be good enough to give me some information with regard to the Agreement with the Netherlands Government entered into as the result of negotiations instituted by Sir Earle Page in 1938 or 1939. (…) I am a member of the Millions Club of New South Wales, and also am interested, as President of the British Orphans Adoption Society of Australia, in reiterating an offer that was made in 1944 to arrange for the legal adoption of a small number of Dutch children.'[223]

In the continuing paragraphs he stated that he knew of several families with Dutch ancestry that would be keen on adopting a Dutch child. Mr. Darby was still determined to find out whether the Dutch migration agreement could be supplemented with a child migrants arrangement. The answer provided by the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs noted the reoccurrence of the question and pointed out that in 1945 Australian representatives had repeatedly enquired for Dutch children. Back then the matter had been discussed with the Minister of Justice, who informed them, that the question of sheltering Dutch war orphans was not an issue fortunately. Considering a relatively small number of such children existed and that all of these children had found a place among a Dutch family.[224] What has been established in the previous chapter returns here. The Netherlands were not coping with a large problem considering their children. The parentless or undesired children were primarily taken in by Dutch foster families. Consequently the necessity for the Dutch state to send children abroad was hardly there.

Children from The Netherlands itself were not send to Australia, but in this letter something else is indicated by the Dutch Minister of Foreign Affairs. If Australia desired the

[223] NA, Ministeries voor Algemeene Oorlogvoering van het Koninkrijk (AOK) en van Algemene Zaken (AZ): Kabinet van de Minister-President (KMP), Stukken betreffende de adoptie van Nederlandse weeskinderen door Nederlanders woonachtig in Australië, inv. nr. 5399 (Letter: 20.9.48 28528, 13 September 1948).
[224] NA, Ministeries voor Algemeene Oorlogvoering van het Koninkrijk (AOK) en van Algemene Zaken (AZ): Kabinet van de Minister-President (KMP), Stukken betreffende de adoptie van Nederlandse weeskinderen door Nederlanders woonachtig in Australië, inv. nr. 5399 (Letter: No. 106696, 20 October 1948).

Minister suggested it could turn to the Department of Justice situated in Batavia or the Dutch Red Cross to inform about taking in and raising children from the Dutch-Indies.[225] In the second chapter the high levels of immigration were explained in The Netherlands. It seems that the Dutch government was trying to lift the pressure of their immigration numbers by informing the Australian government of the possibility to turn to the NEI. Considering the Australian government was following a strict white policy however people from the NEI were usually not admitted to Australia and therefore the chances of the Australian government to actively engage in a child migrant programme in this geographical area was close to zero.[226]

Furthermore, according to the Dutch reply, E.D. Darby indicated in the very beginning of his letter that The Netherlands and Australia had already discussed the adoption of Dutch children before the war. It may have occurred however that the Dutch Minister of Justice and his colleagues have misinterpreted this sentence. If the two excerpts are put together an incongruence is noticeable. 'Could you please be good enough to give me some information with regard to the Agreement with the Netherlands Government entered into as the result of negotiations instituted by Sir Earle Page in 1938 or 1939. – E.D. Darby'.[227] No explicit mention of an agreement regarding child migration is made in this excerpt. The Dutch response reads however. '[C]oncerning the adoption of a small number of Dutch children by Australians. In this letter an agreement is broad up which was approved of by the Government as a result of negotiations with Sir Earle Page in 1938 or 1939.'[228] The Dutch Minister immediately linked the agreement to the adoption of children which resulted in the final conclusion that in the Archives of the Justice Department nothing regarding an agreement as indicated by Mr. E.D. Darby could be found.[229] The agreement E.D. Darby is referring to is most likely the NAMA. In 1939 the first draft of this future agreement was drawn by the Dutch and Australian governments. This agreement outlined what groups of people were targeted for a future

[225] NA, Ministeries voor Algemeene Oorlogvoering van het Koninkrijk (AOK) en van Algemene Zaken (AZ): Kabinet van de Minister-President (KMP), Stukken betreffende de adoptie van Nederlandse weeskinderen door Nederlanders woonachtig in Australië, inv. nr. 5399 (Letter: No. 106696, 20 October 1948).
[226] Obdeijn and Schrover, *Komen en gaan*, 202-203.
[227] NA, Ministeries voor Algemeene Oorlogvoering van het Koninkrijk (AOK) en van Algemene Zaken (AZ): Kabinet van de Minister-President (KMP), Stukken betreffende de adoptie van Nederlandse weeskinderen door Nederlanders woonachtig in Australië, inv. nr. 5399 (Letter: 20.9.48 28528, 13 September 1948).
[228] NA, Ministeries voor Algemeene Oorlogvoering van het Koninkrijk (AOK) en van Algemene Zaken (AZ): Kabinet van de Minister-President (KMP), Stukken betreffende de adoptie van Nederlandse weeskinderen door Nederlanders woonachtig in Australië, inv. nr. 5399 (Letter: Nr. 20353, 22 September 1948).
[229] NA, Ministeries voor Algemeene Oorlogvoering van het Koninkrijk (AOK) en van Algemene Zaken (AZ): Kabinet van de Minister-President (KMP), Stukken betreffende de adoptie van Nederlandse weeskinderen door Nederlanders woonachtig in Australië, inv. nr. 5399 (Letter: No. 106696, 20 October 1948).

migration programme. In these files children are not a specifically targeted group in the agreement, but merely included in the presence of their parents.[230]

These excerpts have made clear again that Australian requests for children reached The Netherlands during the war already and were reiterated in 1948. The way in for the Dutch as concluded in chapter 3.1 was clearly present, but the Dutch government was also apprehensive due to the inexperience of the BOAS as an adoption institution to manage such a large number of children. Furthermore the letter exchange of 1948 reaffirms that The Netherlands were not experiencing an issue regarding their orphaned and unwanted children during the 1940s. Most children were taken care of nationally or by the Dutch Jewish community specifically.

3.3.2 A Dutch Answer to A New Zealand Request

The New Zealand request for children started later than the Australian one. The first contact was established by the New Zealand Salvation Army based in Wellington and addressed to their Dutch counterpart in Amsterdam. The enquiries made in the letter were of a researching nature. The Salvation Army in Wellington was considering the possibility of adopting Dutch child migrants and were primarily meant to find out whether Dutch child migrants would be able to come to New Zealand. 'Could you tell me if there is any possibility of arranging for a party of children from Holland to be brought to N[e]w-Zealand and, if so, could you give us details of what might be arranged by you. (…) The most important question, however, is as to whether you think the children will be available and could get a boat.'[231] Mr. R. Astbury addresses these questions to Mr. Chas Durman, the commissioner of the Dutch Salvation Army. The letter is forwarded from the Dutch Salvation Army to Mr. J.P.B. de Graan. In 1949 he is part of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs as the head of a bureau concerned with the travelling industry.[232] The following points were for him to answer. 'a. are there any children available? b. the age barrier. c. what kind of children, if necessary "displaced persons". d. potential possibilities for transportation and the costs.'[233] The Dutch Salvation Army would never receive an answer from him however, because Mr. De Graan had forwarded the letter to the Ministry of Social Affairs.[234] This Ministry felt it was the task of the International Organisation for Refugees

[230] NA, Ministerie van Sociale Zaken en Werkgelegenheid: Directie voor de Emigratie, inv. nr. 1157, Emigratieovereenkomsten tussen Nederland en Australië, 1939-1950 (Netherland Australia Migration Arrangement (NAMA)).
[231] NA, IRO, kinderen, inv. nr. 87 (Letter: Wellington, 29 November 1948).
[232] NA, IRO, kinderen, inv. nr. 87 (Letter: No. 141780/2816/WS, 20 January 1949).
[233] NA, IRO, kinderen, inv. nr. 87 (Letter: Leger des Heils, 15 January 1949).
[234] NA, IRO, kinderen, inv. nr. 87 (Letter: No. 141780/2816/WS, 20 January 1949).

(IRO) however and forwarded the letter again.[235] On 10 March 1949 the Dutch Salvation Army could finally receive an answer to the questions posed by the New Zealand Salvation Army. The IRO Chief of The Netherlands Mission responded to the letter four months later. In the letter Mr. Sark explained what the Dutch situation was and how New Zealand's request would fit into this.

> 'I must confess that the New Zealand letter is very unclear to me and I wonder what exactly the Salvation Army in New Zealand has in mind. Perhaps you know that in Holland the number of war orphans is very limited and that the number of offers by foster parents in this country is always very great. Especially for war orphans close relatives have offered to take care of them and in general it can be said that Holland can very well look after its own child problems.'[236]

Similar to the responses Australia received and what had been developed in chapter 3.2 The Netherlands did not experience a significant problem regarding their war orphans or unwanted children. The nation was very capable of solving the problems itself. In the summer of 1949 the question of child migration towards New Zealand comes up again. This time the Dutch Association for Emigration (Stichting Landverhuizing Nederland) was approached by a New Zealand emigration attaché. During the previous encounter the obscurity of the earlier enquiries was criticised. Perhaps because, as stated in that same letter, the New Zealand government had not yet made any concrete plans regarding the migration of children.[237] In the letter on the first day of June 1949 it was clear the New Zealand attaché had informed the Dutch Association for Emigration elaborately on their plans however.

> 'In a letter from the emigration attaché of New Zealand I have been asked to inform whether the interest exist to send a number of orphans from ages of 5 till 15 years. In New Zealand great interest exists regarding the adoption of children; the waiting list is very long and the idea is to have the younger children adopted and the older ones placed at a trainings farm near Rotorua. These children will be trained to become dairy farmer or sheep farmer.'[238]

[235] NA, IRO, kinderen, inv. nr. 87 (Letter: Nr. 1532, 2 March 1949).
[236] NA, IRO, kinderen, inv. nr. 87 (Letter: R/690, 10 March 1949).
[237] NA, IRO, kinderen, inv. nr. 87 (Letter: Wellington, 29 November 1948).
[238] NA, IRO, kinderen, inv. nr. 87 (Letter: DL. 1364, 1 June 1949).

In contrast to the previous letter the destination of the children has been clarified and the age barriers have been acknowledged too. These were originally both questions the New Zealand Salvation Army had posed on the Dutch institutions. Furthermore the question of transport is also dealt with. Both in terms of financial aspects and the number of children that needed to be transported. The New Zealand government had requested the help of the Child Welfare Department to aid them in the process. The New Zealand government proposed that the Dutch and New Zealand governments could share the transporting costs as both would benefit from the arrangement.[239] The proposal sounds very concrete and almost as if an arrangement was not far from reality, the answer the Dutch Association for Emigration received from the National Department for Labour (Rijksarbeidsbureau, a department of the Ministry of Social Affairs) shows the opposite however. So far the reasons for both the rejection of New Zealand and Australian child migration arrangements have been largely connected to the limited number of duped children. The letter from the National Department for Labour noted however another reason why child migration was off the table.

> 'Replying to your above mentioned letter I inform you that orphans in The Netherlands are, with few exceptions, generally cared for in private institutions which the government does not control. Based on received information regarding the topic none of the above mentioned institutions will dare justify housing children, who have been trusted to their care, somewhere else than where they are under their direct supervision. Emigration of these children to another country is therefore excluded.'[240]

The sense of responsibility these private institutions had over the children they took in would decrease the chances of agreement with an arrangement such as the New Zealand government had in mind. In The Netherlands these children would be more or less assured that they would be cared for in a foster family, whereas the New Zealand situation did not offer this guarantee. The Dutch responses to Australian and New Zealand enquiries were largely negative. The offers have been looked into, but have all been declined as well. Firstly, due to the inexperience institutions such as BOAS had with largescale child migration. The BOAS had in its earlier days focused on smaller groups of children. Secondly, the Dutch government did not experience

[239] NA, IRO, kinderen, inv. nr. 87 (Letter: DL. 1364, 1 June 1949).
[240] NA, IRO, kinderen, inv. nr. 87 (Letter: DL. 1364, 23 June 1949).

their issue of orphaned and unwanted children as something they could not handle themselves. The number of children was very limited and in addition the number of foster parents relatively high during the post-war years. Thirdly, the fact that most of the institutions taking care of duped children were private institutions prevented (1) the government from interfering and (2) the institutions from sending away children due to their responsibility.

3.3.3 Conclusion

Chapter 3.3 has delved into the proposals Australia and New Zealand sent to the Dutch government and Salvation Army. Both countries explained their interest in Dutch children and a potential scheme and enquired for more information. The Dutch response to these enquiries were not satisfying for the foreign authorities. The first attempt of the Australian government was met with apprehension regarding their inexperience with large groups of child migrants and the doubt whether they could deal with the costs. Later in 1948 a second attempt by the head of BOAS, Mr. Darby, was not successful either. Again the Dutch authorities were apprehensive, but primarily decided on the fact that the number of children eligible for emigration were limited considering they all had found a place within Dutch families already.

The New Zealand enquiries came slightly later than the Australian ones and were directed towards the Dutch Salvation Army. Again the limited number of children was used as a reason not to continue exploring this option. After a concrete proposal with details about shipment costs and housing facilities with opportunities for the children to learn an occupation was developed the Dutch representative gave some insight into the actual reality. It was indeed true that the Dutch number of orphaned and unwanted children was limited and that this issue was largely covered internally, but the orphanages and institutions who took care of these children were often private. Therefore the government could not decide solely whether these children would be send to either New Zealand or Australia. The decision was for these institutions to make. In terms of governance it turned out that the Dutch state was not the sole actor in this issue of child migration. They were largely dependent on other organisations who took care of their respective communities according to their ideas of child wellbeing.

4. Conclusion

The literature has so far predominantly been focused on adults and families who emigrated to Australia and New Zealand from The Netherlands in the post-war period. This thesis set out to explain the way a potential child migration programme was received in The Netherlands and in what way different actors influenced the debate, while keeping the idea of governance in mind. Firstly, the Australian and New Zealand perspective was covered to see whether any interest in the Dutch orphans existed from 1945 onwards. This chapter showed that the Australian and New Zealand interest was clearly present and that the organisation of BOAS already assumed that Dutch orphaned children would eventually make their way across the ocean. This is especially indicated by the built of adoption centres in the late 1940s, but also by the preparations BOAS made. The Dutch *bleekneusjes* caught a lot of attention and the organisation distributed information to foster parents who were about to take in a non-English-speaking child. Furthermore the first chapter of the analysis outlined the Australian-Dutch experience regarding child migrants. The children from the Netherlands East-Indies were accommodated in Pinjarra for seven to eight months in 1945. Their largely positive memories of the Fairbridge Farm and Australia as child migrants could have been of great influence for the Dutch authorities after the Second World War.

The second analysing chapter focused more on the Dutch situation. The demand was clearly there from the Australian and New Zealand actors, but in this chapter the Dutch experiences with orphaned and unwanted children held a central position to see whether the Dutch authorities could meet the Australian and New Zealand requests. It turned out that The Netherlands were not experiencing a problem regarding their orphaned and unwanted children. The issue was covered by multiple institutions in cooperation with the Dutch government. Firstly, the post-war Jewish community was determined to shelter the Jewish war orphans. Secondly, organisations such as FIOM and UVOM helped unmarried mothers and their children. Unmarried motherhood was still condemned and frowned upon, but these institutions helped to find suitable families for the children and helped the women through their pregnancy and returning to their home towns. Thirdly, the number of aspiring foster parents in The Netherlands was relatively high compared to the number of orphaned and unwanted children. All in all the government did not have to worry extensively about how to help these children as the nation could shelter all of these children themselves due to the involved institutions. Especially FIOM and UVOM have contributed to this with their role in the legalisation of adoption. The government, largely influenced by Christian values, still valued the importance

of blood ties over the legalisation of adoption. FIOM, UVOM and H.P. Cloeck have shown to be of great importance in this debate and have consequently indirectly influenced the possibility for mothers to legally give up their child.

On the other hand the lack of adoption regulations have also helped to prevent the establishment of child migration in The Netherlands however. This becomes especially clear in the last analysing chapter. In letter exchanges between the Dutch government and the Australian and New Zealand requesting parties, the role adoption played was significant. The foreign authorities would have liked to adopt Dutch children, but the Dutch law hampered this possibility. Thus the establishment of a migration scheme proved to be more difficult. Breaking the blood ties was still unthinkable in the Dutch context and besides this the limited number of children were again stressed as a reason not to engage in child migration. The most valuable information in terms of governance however was derived from the fact that the orphanages in The Netherlands were private institutions. This (1) prevented the government from making decisions without the consultation of the orphanages themselves and (2) decreased the chances of a child migration scheme due to the sense of direct responsibilities the orphanages had over the children.

To draw a link with the United Kingdom, the Dutch government had a lot less influence over their orphaned and unwanted children. The several institutions serving their communities (Jewish orphans, unmarried mothers, unwanted children) protected these vulnerable groups from child migration. At the same time the Dutch state however did not enthusiastically engage with the foreign requests for children either. The authorities primarily voiced their concern over the inexperience foreign authorities had with the shelter of a large number of children, but were also concerned with the importance of blood ties. Adoption in The Netherlands was not yet possible and therefore the idea of children moving abroad, even further away from their biological mothers, would be ridiculous.

Coming back to the hypotheses posed at the beginning of the thesis we can conclude the following. The Australian and New Zealand authorities were concerned with under population and their economic growth. Simultaneously they wanted to attract white immigrants. The Dutch children would have been suitable candidates who mostly fit this profile and therefore the numerous requests from Australia and, to a slightly lesser extent, New Zealand do not come as a surprise. The Dutch reasons for engaging in child migration however could not be verified. The Netherlands indeed thought their country was overpopulated, but the idea to send children away to restore the balance in population has not been encountered in literature or primary sources. The *bleekneusjes* have been an apt example of Dutch child migration, but these were

only away on a temporary basis and should be considered as evacuees. Furthermore these children were mostly accommodated within Europe. The only thing that came close to this was the suggestion for Australia to enquire in the Netherlands East-Indies whether they had any children who needed help. Secondly, the increased numbers of orphaned and unwanted children turned out not to be a big issue that The Netherlands could not control themselves.

The reasons not to engage in a child migration programme for The Netherlands have partially depended on the lack of adoption regulations, but the limited number of orphans and unwanted children was a bigger factor. The role blood ties played would certainly be of importance until at least 1956 when the adoption regulations were implemented. The Christian values which stipulated that an unmarried mother should not give up her child were strongly connected to this. Furthermore the Jewish community played a role as well. Their involvement decreased the number of orphaned children potentially eligible for emigration. Lastly, previous experiences of the Dutch government with child migration have not been mentioned in the literature.

Governing the issue of child migration and primarily the different opinions on the matter of child migration has proven not to be a task for the government itself alone. Even though other factors have only indirectly influenced the response of the Dutch government towards the Australian and New Zealand requests it can still be viewed as a form of governance. Especially regarding the position the Jewish community held within the debate on the Jewish post-war orphans. A large share was taken on by the Jewish community rather than the Dutch national government. Likewise the organisations of FIOM and UVOM have meant a lot for the emancipation of unmarried mothers and have thus solidified the position of unwanted children as well. Hence the unwanted children could be seen as a less vulnerable group. In this context governance has not been a form of direct cooperation. It has rather shown that the Dutch government was limited by other institutions in their power. In contrast to the United Kingdom where (1) adoption regulations did not form a problem and (2) the government could sovereignly decide what the solution was to overpopulation, namely sending children away. The reason why the Dutch government ended up rejecting the idea of a child migration programme was mostly tied to the prevailing Christian values and the importance of blood ties. The contributing actors played a role as well however as they limited the actual number of eligible children for emigration within their separate communities. This provided the government with a second reason not to involve in child migration.

4.1 Further Research

The topic of this thesis was very specific, but intersected with a variety of fields. So far it had been untouched in history writing and therefore the secondary material specifically linked to this topic was very limited. The different fields involved have been included and have provided insight in the links between these fields of research and in what way they all related to the topic of child migration. Due to the small topic the material was not always easily accessible. Useful material did exist however and therefore I set out to find out whether the Dutch child migration did have a story behind it. This has been the first step within this field of research and perhaps further research could develop more insights on the topic of child migration from The Netherlands in the post-war period. Due to the scope of this research and the fact that it was introducing a new topic my recommendation for further research would be to delve further into the specific letter exchanges that have been analysed in chapter 3.3. The institutions involved could perhaps lead to new information. Even though Dutch child migration towards Australia and New Zealand did not take place in the post-war period, it has still been insightful to establish that the Dutch morals of blood ties and the limited number of children have been leading reasons to reject this.

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5.2 Tables and Figures

Figure 1

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