



Universiteit
Leiden
The Netherlands

Invisibility and selectivity. Introduction to the special issue on Dutch overseas migration in the nineteenth and twentieth century

Schrover, Marlou; Faassen, Marijke. van

Citation

Schrover, M., & Faassen, M. van. (2010). Invisibility and selectivity. Introduction to the special issue on Dutch overseas migration in the nineteenth and twentieth century. *Tijdschrift Voor Sociale En Economische Geschiedenis*, 7(2), 3-31. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/17761>

Version: Not Applicable (or Unknown)
License: [Leiden University Non-exclusive license](#)
Downloaded from: <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/17761>

Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

INVISIBILITY AND SELECTIVITY

Introduction to the special issue on Dutch overseas emigration in the nineteenth and twentieth century

Abstract — Invisibility and selectivity. Introduction to the special issue on Dutch overseas emigration in the nineteenth and twentieth century

The contributors to this special issue describe the emigration of people from the Netherlands to the most important overseas destinations (the USA, Canada and Australia) in the nineteenth and the twentieth century. Part of the Dutch (overseas) emigrants formed strongly separated communities. Dutch emigrants were also rather invisible. In North America we see a combination of separateness and invisibility, in Australia mainly invisibility. Both in the nineteenth and in the twentieth century, migration was highly selective (with differences according to religion, class, ethnicity and gender). Only in the twentieth century (and especially after 1945) there was a strong influence of government policy on migration. In this issue, the comparison of emigration from one country – the Netherlands – to several destinations and the comparison over time show the influences of the societal context of the country of origin on the formation of Dutch emigrant communities.

At a recent conference, organised by the Dutch Centre on Migration Studies, it was concluded that Dutch emigration is under-researched.¹ This special issue is the result of a call for papers in response to this observation, and attempts to fill at least part of this void.² It presents five studies on Dutch

1. The conference *Weg uit Nederland. De geschiedenis van de Nederlandse emigratie* on 19 May 2006 was organised by Corrie van Eijl (Leiden University) and Marijke van Faassen (Institute of Netherlands History The Hague). See also: Marijke van Faassen, 'Min of meer misbaar. Naoorlogse emigratie vanuit Nederland: achtergronden en organisatie, particuliere motieven en overheidsprikkels, 1946-1967', in: S. Poldervaart *et al.* (eds.), *Van hot naar her: Nederlandse migratie vroeger, nu en morgen* (Amsterdam 2001); Corrie van Eijl and Leo Lucassen, 'Holland beyond borders: emigration and the Dutch state, 1850-1940', in: Nancy L. Green and François Weil (eds.), *Citizenship and those who leave. The Politics of emigration and expatriation* (Paris 2007) 156-175.

2. The call for papers appeared on H-migration – the international discussion list for migration historians. For the archive of H-migration see: <http://www.h-net.org/~migrate/> (21 March 2010).

overseas emigration in the nineteenth and twentieth century, and looks at migrant community formation from the perspective of emigration. This issue does not attempt to deal with Dutch emigration or the formation of migrant communities on the whole, but takes a less ambitious approach focussing on one cluster of aspects that influenced migrant community formation: how the situation in, and policies of the country of origin, and responses to that in the countries of settlement, affected community formation.

The very large literature on factors that influence the formation of immigrant communities and their continuation over time mentions as important: the size of the migrant population, its homogeneity in terms of regional origin and religion, the sex ratio and age structure of the migrant population, the various forms of capital of the migrants, (perceived) differences between migrants and the dominant group in the country of settlement, the duration of the migration process (arrival within a short time span versus over decades or centuries) and its temporary or permanent nature, the motives of migrants (forced, economic, or family migration), and the economic and political opportunity structure of the country of settlement.³ A complete study of community formation requires an examination of two societal contexts – that of origin and that of settlement – but in most research the society of origin is ignored.⁴ In this issue we look at how community formation was influenced by what happened before migration, how the emigration was prepared, how migrants prepared themselves and were monitored on their journey, and how and by whom they were first received in their countries of settlement. All authors in this issue address this topic in combination with some of the other factors mentioned above.

We analyse the effects of the country of origin on community formation by making comparisons over time and between migrants from the same country – the Netherlands – to several destinations. This divergent/convergent approach has been strongly advocated, but has not been pursued often, and certainly not for Dutch emigration.⁵ All authors in this issue are – not by coincidence – either themselves Dutch emigrants, or hail from Dutch emigrants in a near or distant past. Their knowledge of Dutch society and language, and

3. A good overview of theories is provided in: Richard Alba and Victor Nee, *Remaking the American mainstream. Assimilation and contemporary immigration* (Cambridge Mass. 2003).

4. John W. Berry, 'Immigration, acculturation, and adaptation', *Applied Psychology. An International Review* 46:1 (1997) 5-34, 16. Studies that do take both into account include: P.R.D. Stokvis, *De Nederlandse trek naar Amerika, 1846-1847* (Leiden 1977); Annemieke Galema, *Frisians to America 1880-1914. With the baggage of the Fatherland* (Groningen 1996); Hans Krabbendam, *Vrijheid in het verschiët. Nederlandse emigratie naar Amerika 1840-1940* (Middelburg 2006).

5. Nancy L. Green, 'The comparative method and poststructural structuralism: new perspectives for migration studies', in: Jan Lucassen and Leo Lucassen (eds.), *Migration, migration history, history: old paradigms and new perspectives* (Bern 1997) 57-72, 70.

of Dutch migrant communities, make them uniquely suitable to take this approach.

Two articles – by Michael Douma and Robert Schoone-Jongen – deal with Dutch emigration in the nineteenth century, and three – by Nonja Peters, Joost Coté and David Zwart – with Dutch emigration in the twentieth century. The issue focuses on those overseas countries that received most Dutch emigrants: the USA, Canada and Australia.

This introduction starts with some general remarks about the literature on Dutch emigration from the perspective of the Netherlands.⁶ Its aim is not to give a complete overview – which would be impossible within the scope of this introduction – but rather to point out some gaps in the literature.⁷ The next section deals with aspects that several authors regard as typical for Dutch emigrants: separateness and invisibility. Sections on the nineteenth century, and the contribution to the literature made by Douma and Schoone-Jongen, and on the twentieth century and the contributions by Peters, Coté and Zwart follow these remarks.

Some gaps in the literature

Emigration from one country is, of course, immigration into another country, but immigration and emigration are rarely integrated into one study.⁸ Migration is usually studied from the perspective of the country of arrival (immigration) rather than from the country of departure (emigration). States were as a rule more interested in the people who came, than in those who left, and consequently developed more policies regarding immigration, than on emigration, although in the first decade after the Second World War interest was more or less balanced due to the refugee crisis.⁹ The difference in perspective – coming or going – resulted in different emphasises in research. Immigration research focuses on factors that explain integration, while emigration research questions motives for departure and studies how ethnic identity is retained.

6. For studies from the perspective of the country of settlement, see the numerous references in the contributions to this issue.

7. Hans Krabbendam, 'Op het spoor van de landverhuizer', *Groniek* 156 (2002) 353-370.

8. See: Herman Obdeijn and Marlou Schrover, *Komen en gaan. Immigratie en emigratie in Nederland vanaf 1550* (Amsterdam 2008).

9. See for the relationship between 'refugee' and 'free' migration in these years: D. Hoerder, *Cultures in contact. World migrations in the second millennium* (London 2002) 478-480, 509; J.D. Steinert, *Migration und Politik Westdeutschland, Europa, Übersee 1945-1961* (Osnabrück 1995) and the forthcoming dissertation of M. van Faassen, *Emigratie uit Nederland 1945-1967* (research guide Institute for Netherlands History).

Coming and going are two sides of the same coin.¹⁰ People switch between the role of emigrant and immigrant in the process of their migration. It is from the perspective of the state that migrants are defined as immigrants or emigrants. In the Dutch case, policy makers even did not regard some emigrants as emigrants at all. The Dutch Emigration Law, that was introduced in 1936 and remained in force until 1967, only regarded free overseas migration as emigration, and not refugee migration or migration to neighbouring countries, or the colonies.¹¹ Scholars implicitly or explicitly followed this definition, and paid little attention to Dutch emigration to the neighbouring countries, although it was always important.¹² The emigration of Dutch refugees¹³ and the emigration to the colonies¹⁴ are usually described separately from other emigration.

There are also other imbalances. Differences according to gender have been ignored in the literature, and the same is true for difference according to class, differences between generations, temporary overseas migration and return migration.¹⁵ There is some literature (but not nearly enough) on the emigration of Dutch traders and craftsmen within Europe.¹⁶ Furthermore, there is much more literature about the migration of Protestants than about Catholics,

10. Nancy Green, 'The politics of exit: reversing the immigration paradigm', *The Journal of Modern History* 77:2 (2005) 263-289.

11. E. van Bolshuis, *Landverhuizingswet 1936* (Den Haag 1937); G.Th.J. Delfgaauw, 'Emigratie als bijdrage tot vermindering van de bevolking van Nederland', *De Economist* 101:1 (1953) 337-359, 357.

12. This was also reflected in the answers to our call, which was only answered by authors who study free overseas migration, with the exception of Torsten Feys, whose article appeared in the previous issue of *TSEG*. Torsten Feys, 'The visible hand of shipping interests in American migration policies 1815-1914', *Tijdschrift voor Sociale en Economische Geschiedenis* 7:1 (2010) 38-62. For some studies on migration to neighbouring countries see: N. van de Broek, '"Met het doel daar te arbeiden". Trekarbeid naar Duitsland 1870-1918', in: A. Eijnyck e.a. (eds.), *Werken over de grens. 350 jaar geld verdienen in het buitenland* (Assen 1993) 130-139; Serge Langeweg, 'Trekwerkers en pendelaars. Grensarbeid in oostelijk Zuid-Limburg, 1875-1914', in: *Zestig jaar voren in de geschiedenis. Jubileumboek Het Land van Herle 1945-2005* (Heerlen 2006) 295-308; Van Eijl and Lucassen, 'Holland beyond borders', 156-175.

13. R. van Roosbroeck, *Emigranten. Nederlandse vluchtelingen in Duitsland (1550-1600)* (Leuven 1968); D. Ormrod, *The Dutch in London: The influence of an immigrant community 1550-1800* (London 1973); Joost Roosendaal, *Bataven! Nederlandse vluchtelingen in Frankrijk 1787-1795* (Nijmegen 2003).

14. For references see: Ulbe Bosma and Remco Raben, *Being "Dutch" in the Indies. A history of creolisation and empire, 1500-1920* (Singapore and Ohio 2008); Gert Oostindie, *Het paradisijs overzee. De Nederlandse Caraïben en Nederland* (Leiden 2000).

15. F. Bovenkerk, *The sociology of return migration: a bibliographic essay* (Den Haag 1974); J.H. Elich and P.W. Blauw, 'En toch terug'. Een onderzoek naar de retourmigratie van Nederlanders uit Australië, Nieuw-Zeeland en Canada (Rotterdam 1981).

16. Interesting studies include: Karina Meeuwse, *Opkomst en ondergang van de Ruslui* (Utrecht 1996); Jan Willem Veluwenkamp, *Archangel. Nederlandse ondernemers in Rusland 1550-1785* (Amsterdam 2000).

although Protestants did not migrate more frequently.¹⁷ The migration to the USA under the guidance of Protestant ministers and the Dutch emigrant communities that these migrants founded, have been studied extensively.¹⁸ In the 1950s and 1960s, when Dutch emigration reached unprecedented heights, several studies were published that dealt with emigration to Canada and Australia.¹⁹ In these publications, religious organisations were put on centre stage, while non-religious organisations were largely ignored, although they did play an important role. In recent years emigration figures are on the rise again, and this has resulted in some new studies.²⁰ Forthcoming dissertations on the 'culture of emigration' among Dutch emigrants to North America by Enne Koops, and that on the role of the state and civil society in post-war emigration by Marijke van Faassen, will fill important gaps in the literature.²¹

Dutch invisibility, separation, and silent ethnicity

A 'dutchman' is a word that is used in the American building trade for a piece or wedge inserted to hide a bad joint, or poor workmanship, or to replace a

17. But see: M. Smits, *Met kompas emigreren. Katholieken en het vraagstuk van de emigratie in Nederland (1946-1972)* (Nijmegen-Den Haag 1989); and the trilogy: H. van Stekelenburg, *Landverhuizing als regionaal verschijnsel 1820-1880. Van Noord-Brabant naar Noord-Amerika 1820-1880* (Tilburg 1991); H. van Stekelenburg, *Hier is alles vooruitgang. Landverhuizing van Noord-Brabant naar Noord-Amerika 1880-1940* (Tilburg 1995); H.A.V.M. van Stekelenburg, *De grote trek. Emigratie vanuit Noord-Brabant naar Noord-Amerika, 1947-1963* (Tilburg 2000).

18. For instance: Henry S. Lucas, *Netherlanders in America. Dutch immigration to the United States and Canada, 1789-1950* (London 1955); R.P. Swierenga (ed.), *The Dutch in America* (New Brunswick 1985); Jaap Jacobs, 'Migration, population, and government in New Netherland', in: Hans Krabbendam, Cornelis A. van Minnen and Giles Scott-Smith (eds.), *Four centuries of Dutch-American relations, 1609-2009* (Amsterdam/New York 2009) 85-96.

19. *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 door Prof. dr. Sj. Groenman* (Den Haag 1958); W. Petersen, *Some factors influencing postwar emigration from The Netherlands* (Den Haag 1952); W. Petersen, *Planned migration. The social determinants of the Dutch-Canadian movement* (London 1955); N.H. Frijda, *Emigranten, niet-emigranten. Kwantitatieve analyse van een onderzoek naar de motieven van een groep emigranten* (Den Haag 1960); R. Wentholt, *Kenmerken van de Nederlandse emigrant. Een analyse van persoonlijke achtergronden, omstandigheden en beweegredenen* (Den Haag 1961); B.P. Hofstede, *Thwarted exodus. Post-War overseas migration from the Netherlands* (Den Haag 1964); J.E. Ellemers, *The determinants of emigration. An analysis of Dutch studies on migration* (Amsterdam 1964).

20. See for example: Harry van Dalen and Kène Henkens, *Weg uit Nederland. Emigratie aan het begin van de 21e eeuw* (Amsterdam 2008).

21. Enne Koops, *De dynamiek van een emigratiecultuur. De emigratie van gereformeerden, hervormden en katholieken naar Noord-Amerika in vergelijkend perspectief (1947-1963)* (Hilversum 2010); Van Faassen, *Emigratie uit Nederland*.

natural defect in the wood, such as a knot. When the dutchman is inserted with skill, the repair should be invisible.²² Although the etymology of the word is not clear, and its origin may have nothing to do with Dutch migrants in the USA, it is striking that not only dutchmen, but also Dutchmen are associated with invisibility.

The literature on Dutch overseas migrant communities uses two words frequently: invisibility and separation.²³ Some authors refer to Dutch ethnicity as silent ethnicity.²⁴ The label invisible has also been attached to other migrant groups. English and Scottish immigrants in nineteenth-century America have been labelled invisible because they were setting the norms to which other migrants had to adjust.²⁵ Migrant women have been labelled invisible because few authors paid attention to them until recently.²⁶ Migrants from the (former) European colonies have been regarded as invisible because these repatriates rarely figure in the burgeoning literature on immigration and integration in Europe.²⁷ West Indians in the USA have been called invisible because they are mistaken for Afro-Americans.²⁸ People who migrate

22. Archie Green, '“Dutchman”: an on-the-job etymology', *American Speech* 35:4 (1960) 270-274.

23. See for example: Howard Palmer, 'Canadian immigration and ethnic history in the 1970s and 1980s', *International Migration Review (IMR)* 15:3 (1981) 471-501, 487; G. Primeau, *Les Hollandais à Montréal. Profil d'une communauté ethnique de Montréal* (Montreal 1983) 5, 14; W.C. Van den Hoonaard, *Silent ethnicity: the Dutch of New Brunswick* (Fredericton 1991) 54; Y. van Dongen, 'The invisible immigrants', *New Zealand Geographic* 15 (1992) 66-92; W. Walker-Birckhead, 'The invisible Dutch in Australia: cultural meanings of migration', in: B. Grüter and J. Stracke (eds.), *Dutch Australians taking stock: proceedings of the first national Dutch Australian Community Conference, Melbourne, November, 1993* (Melbourne 1995) 59-69; Michiel Horn, *Becoming Canadian: memoirs of an invisible immigrant* (Toronto 1997); Kirsten Velthuis, *The Dutch in NSW. A thematic history* (Albury 2005) 9, 16; Bart Pegge, 'The invisible Dutch – a pilot study evaluating Dutch migrants' path to New Zealand from 1996 to 2006', NCRE Online Paper No. 06/02, August 2006. <http://aei.pitt.edu/10943/> (3 April 2010); Kaye Louise Webster, *The maintenance of group identity through social networks in the Bay of Plenty Dutch community* (Master thesis University of Waikato 2007) iii. In 2006 an exhibition toured Australia called 'The Invisible Dutch 1606-2006'. See also the references in the other contributions to this issue.

24. For instance: Frans J. Schryer, *The Netherlandic presence in Ontario. Pillars, class and Dutch ethnicity* (Waterloo 1998) 2.

25. Charlotte Erickson, *Invisible immigrants: the adaptation of English and Scottish immigrants in nineteenth-century America* (Leicester 1972).

26. M. Morokvasic, 'Birds of passage are also women', *IMR* 4 (1984) 886-907; Suzanne Sinke, *Dutch immigrant women in the United States 1880-1920* (Urbana-Chicago 2001).

27. Andrea L. Smith, 'Europe's invisible migrants', in: Andrea L. Smith (ed.), *Europe's invisible migrants* (Amsterdam 2003) 9-32, 17.

28. Mary Waters, *Black identities: West Indian immigrant dreams and American realities* (Harvard 1999).

illegally are invisible since they do not show up in government statistics.²⁹ In the case of the Dutch migrants, the word invisible is used with a different meaning, which is akin to assimilated or integrated, although it is not quite the same, as we will show below. The word is not used for other northern European groups of migrants, such as the Danes, Belgians or Swedes.³⁰ There is a reason why authors prefer the word 'invisible' for the Dutch to 'assimilated' or 'integrated'.

There is an extensive literature on concepts such as *acculturation*, *integration* and *assimilation* and opposites such as *separation* and *marginalisation*, including a large variety of definitions for each of the concepts.³¹ This literature is riddled with metaphors such as the culinary metaphors (the classic melting pot³² and the more recent salad bowl³³), metaphors of rootedness³⁴ (such as uprooted³⁵ and transplanted³⁶), water metaphors (whereby migration is described by using words like wave, ebb and flow³⁷) and the mosaic metaphor (which emphasises that the whole is greater than the sum of its parts).³⁸ In the classical 1936 definition, *acculturation* 'comprehends those phenom-

29. See for instance: Tessa Morris-Suzuki, 'Invisible immigrants: undocumented migration and border controls in postwar Japan', *The Journal of Japanese Studies* 32:1 (2006) 119-153.

30. It would be interesting to do comparative research from this perspective. As yet no such research is available.

31. For an overview see: Alba and Nee, *Remaking the American mainstream*. See also: John Hutchinson and Anthony D. Smith (eds.), *Ethnicity* (Oxford/New York 1996); Marita Krauss, 'Integration und Akkulturation. Eine methodische Annäherung an ein vielschichtiges Phänomen', in: Mathias Beer, Martin Kintzinger and Marita Krauss (eds.), *Migration und Integration. Aufnahme und Eingliederung im Historischen Wandel* (Stuttgart 1997) 11-25.

32. Wyndham Lewis, *Paleface: the philosophy of the 'melting pot'* (London 1929). Lewis, who was an admirer of early fascism, used the concept melting pot with an explicitly negative connotation. Others later used it with a more neutral connotation. See also T.D. Stewart, *Anthropology and the melting pot* (Washington 1947).

33. Michael D'Innocenzo and Josef P. Sirefman (eds.), *Immigration and ethnicity: American society: 'melting pot' or 'salad bowl'* (Westport 1992).

34. Liisa Malkki, 'National geographic: the rooting of peoples and the territorialization of national identity among scholars and refugees', *Cultural Anthropology* 7:1 *Space, Identity, and the Politics of Difference* (1992) 24-44.

35. Starting with the classic study of Oscar Handlin, *The uprooted: the epic story of the great migrations that made the American people* (Little 1951).

36. John Bodnar, *The transplanted. A history of immigration in urban America* (Bloomington 1987).

37. Many authors use water metaphors. See: Adam Mckeown, 'Global Migration, 1846-1940', *Journal of World History* 15:2 (2004) 155-189; Stephen Castles, 'The factors that make and unmake migration policies', *IMR* 38:3 (2004) 852-884. Mckeown and Castles use words like ebb, flow, and stream on every page of their articles.

38. First introduced by J. Gibbon, *The Canadian mosaic* (Toronto 1938) to emphasise differences between Canada and the USA, later frequently used in combination with multiculturalism.

ena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact with subsequent changes in the original culture patterns of either or both groups'.³⁹ Although the definition includes changes in both groups, changes in the migrant group are studied more frequently than changes to the culture of the country of settlement.

Assimilation has been defined as the phenomenon that occurs when individuals do not wish to maintain their cultural identity and seek daily interaction with other cultures. When individuals place value on holding on to their original culture, and wish to avoid interaction with others, this is *separation*. When this non-interaction is not by choice, it is *segregation*. *Integration* happens when there is an interest in maintaining one's original culture, while daily interactions with other groups are an option. Finally, *marginalisation* occurs when individuals have little possibility or interest in maintenance of their original culture, and few possibilities for having relations with others because of exclusion or discrimination.⁴⁰ Recent literature has emphasised that, in the first place, the society in the country of settlement is far from homogeneous and migrants can adapt to a part of it (*segmented assimilation*).⁴¹ Secondly, processes such as assimilation or integration are far from linear and may even reverse. Lastly not all differences are perceived as equally important, they may be attributed a different meaning per group, and the significance attributed to differences can change over time. These criticisms on the simplistic assimilation models have been reason for some authors to talk about the end of assimilation theories, although they continue to be used widely.⁴²

The reason why authors use the term 'invisible' for the Dutch rather than 'assimilated' or 'integrated' is that outwardly many people of Dutch descent seem assimilated or integrated, but that especially in North America they keep their worshipping community, schooling, home life, marriage patterns, and recreation separated from mainstream society.⁴³ The Dutch in North America stand out because of their tendency to form separated communities, which are fragmented along religious lines.⁴⁴ Dutch-Americans, currently, do not fit

39. R. Redfield, R. Linton and M. Herskovits, 'Memorandum on the study of acculturation', *American Anthropologist* 38 (1936) 149-152.

40. John W. Berry, 'Immigration, acculturation, and adaptation', *Applied Psychology. An International Review* 46:1 (1997) 5-34, 7.

41. R. Silberman, R. Alba and I. Fournier, 'Segmented assimilation in France? Discrimination in the labour market against the second generation', *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 30:1 (2007) 1-27.

42. Richard Alba and Victor Nee, 'Rethinking assimilation theory for a new era of immigration', *IMR* 31:4 (1997) 826-874.

43. Robert P. Swierenga, *Faith and family. Dutch immigration and settlement in the United States, 1820-1920* (New York 2000) 213.

44. James D. Bratt, *Dutch Calvinism in modern America* (Grand Rapids 1984) lx.

the standard patterns of North-western European immigrant groups, because they have not entirely assimilated to Anglo-American culture.⁴⁵ Part of the Dutch and their descendants clustered and built communities with a strong coherence and persistence.⁴⁶ Spatial concentration, and other forms of clustering occur among many migrants.⁴⁷ People, who were neighbours before migration, become neighbours after migration, partly because people at the destination provide aid, information, and encouragement to new migrants.⁴⁸ Some of the Dutch migrant communities – especially in North America – showed more persistence than others, but not all Dutch migrants clustered, as the contributions to this issue show. Moreover those who did cluster, have received more than their fair share of attention.

Dutch invisibility has also been linked to rapid language loss. Successive population census data in the USA, Canada, Australia and New Zealand have shown that Dutch immigrants are at the top of the list of migrant groups who give up their language within one generation, and shift to English.⁴⁹ Some authors have explained this language loss by high levels of exogamy among Dutch migrants.⁵⁰ But since only some groups show these high levels of exogamy, while all show rapid language loss, others argued that it could be explained by a dominant characteristic of Dutch identity, which is the denial of Dutch identity. Furthermore, many Dutch people do not perceive the Dutch language as a core-value to cultural identity.⁵¹ Dutch-Australians ranked the Dutch language at the bottom of a list of desirable cultural values to be maintained. The Dutch concept of *gezelligheid* (cosiness) was judged more important, as were the 'family structure and values', 'Dutch food and eating habits', and the 'Dutch concept of home'. Second generation Dutch-Australians did not link knowledge of Dutch language to Dutch ethnicity.⁵²

45. Phillip Webber, *Pella Dutch: the portrait of a language and its use in one of Iowa's ethnic communities* (Ames, IA 1988); Krabbendam, *Vrijheid in het verschiet*, 303-310.

46. Rob Kroes, *The persistence of ethnicity. Dutch Calvinist pioneers in Amsterdam, Montana* (Urbana 1992).

47. For references see: Clé Lesger, Leo Lucassen and Marlou Schrover, 'Is there life outside the migrant network? German immigrants in 19th century Netherlands and the need for a more balanced migration typology', *Annales de Démographie Historique* (2003) 29-45.

48. Charles Tilly, 'Transplanted networks', in: Virginia Yans-McLaughlin (eds.), *Immigration reconsidered. History, sociology, and politics* (New York/Oxford 1990) 79-95, 92.

49. Jetske Klatter-Folmer and Sjaak Kroon, 'Dutch overseas: introductory remarks on Dutch as an immigrant language', in: Jetske Klatter-Folmer and Sjaak Kroon (eds.), *Dutch overseas. Studies in maintenance and loss of Dutch as an immigrant language* (Tilburg 1997) 1-18.

50. Madeleine Hulsen, *Language loss and language processing. Three generations of Dutch migrants in New Zealand* (Nijmegen 2000) 14.

51. G. Extra, 'The context of ethnic communities and ethnic community languages in the Netherlands', in: T. Vallen, A. Birkhoff and Tsalling Buwalda (eds.), *Home language and school in a European perspective* (Tilburg 1995) 85-106, 103.

52. Hulsen, *Language loss*, 15.



Ill. 1 Poster (1950) made for the General Emigration Centre (Algemene Emigratie Centrale) encouraging people to learn English before they migrate. IISG: BG D30/780.

There is also reason why authors use *silent ethnicity* for the Dutch migrants rather than *symbolic ethnicity*, *symbolic religiosity*, *privileged ethnicity*, or *invented ethnicity*. *Symbolic ethnicity* refers to the behaviour of third and fourth generation descendants of European immigrants, who arrived in the USA in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. According to Herbert Gans, who coined the concept, their ethnic behaviours and affiliations are publicly visible, but are merely symbolic expressions of concern with identity and group consciousness. These forms of identification lack structural cohesion, are detached from the practice of an ongoing ethno-religious culture, do not penetrate into everyday lifestyles and do not require functioning groups or networks, or strong commitments.⁵³ In later work, Gans pointed out that in some cases it is hard to distinguish ethnic from religious identity. Some groups show *symbolic religiosity*, which is an attachment to a religious culture that does not involve regular participation in its rituals or organisations.⁵⁴ *Privileged ethnicity* is used for instance for English migrants in the USA or Australia, who were the preferred ethnic group.⁵⁵ *Symbolic religiosity* and *symbolic ethnicity* do not come at high social cost (in terms of for instance investment in time), but might generate social capital (in the form of contacts and loyalties). *Privileged ethnicity* has no costs and only gains. *Invented ethnicity* means that immigrants and their descendants incorporate, adapt, and amplify pre-existing communal solidarities, cultural attributes, and historical memories through continuous negotiations between them and the dominant ethno-culture. This does require group awareness and active participation.⁵⁶ To some measure Dutch ethnicity is an *invented ethnicity*, and this in part – but not fully – explains the stronger religiosity of the Dutch in the USA (as compared to other countries of destination) because generally in the USA religion plays an important role in ethnic identity construction.⁵⁷ Dutch ethnicity is primarily a *silent ethnicity* since it has a low visibility and does require investments, both in contrast to *symbolic ethnicity*. It is not a *privileged ethnicity* because

53. H. Gans, 'Symbolic ethnicity. The future of ethnic groups and cultures in America', *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 2 (1979) 1-20, 12.

54. Herbert J. Gans, 'Symbolic ethnicity and symbolic religiosity: towards a comparison of ethnic and religious acculturation', *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 17 (1994) 577-592, 585-586.

55. Carol Johnson, 'The dilemmas of ethnic privilege: a comparison of constructions of 'British', 'English' and 'Anglo-Celtic' identity in contemporary British and Australian political discourse', *Ethnicities* 2 (2002) 163-188.

56. Kathleen N. Conzen, David A. Gerber, Ewa Morawska, George E. Pozzetta, and Rudolph J. Vecoli, 'The invention of ethnicity: a perspective from the U.S.A.', *Journal of American Ethnic History* 12 (1992) 3-41, 4-5.

57. Timothy L. Smith, 'Religion and ethnicity in America', *American Historical Review* 83 (1978) 1155-1185; Robert D. Orsi, *The Madonna of 115th street. Faith and community in Italian Harlem, 1880-1950* (New Haven 1985); Swierenga, *Faith and family*. See also references in the other articles of this special issue.

they were only the second best option, and not the most preferred group. In the sections below, we examine to what extent this is true for all Dutch migrant communities.

Aspects of Dutch emigration and community formation in the nineteenth century

Dutch migration to the USA increased around 1840 (see table 1). The Dutch migrant communities that have received most scholarly attention are those of orthodox Protestant migrants called Seceders (*afgescheidenen*), who left the Netherlands for the USA in the middle of the nineteenth century.⁵⁸ However, in the nineteenth century, 65 percent of Dutch immigrants to the USA belonged to the Dutch Reformed Church (*Nederlands Hervormde Kerk*), 20 percent were Catholics, and only 13 percent were Seceders.⁵⁹

TABLE 1 Dutch migration to the USA 1820-1899

Period	Number of Dutch immigrants	Total number of Dutch at the end of the period
1820 - 1829	360	337
1830 - 1839	891	1 125
1840 - 1849	17 248	16 989
1850 - 1859	20 069	33 344
1860 - 1869	19 381	46 639
1870 - 1879	19 412	57 400
1880 - 1889	34 112	80 600
1890 - 1899	28 559	94 800

Source: C.A. Oomens, *De loop der bevolking van Nederland in de negentiende eeuw* (Voorburg 1989) Supplement table 2.

The 1834 secession (*Afscheiding*) in the Dutch Reformed Church in the Netherlands affected the formation of Dutch migrant communities in the USA. Around 1840 there were over 40,000 Seceders in the Netherlands. Dutch authorities tried to check the movement by levying fines on dissenting clerics and banning worship services. When on top of that the potato blight struck in 1845 and 1846, entire congregations of Seceders departed for North Ameri-

58. Robert P. Swierenga, 'Local-cosmopolitan theory and immigrant religion: the social bases of the antebellum Dutch reformed schism', *Journal of Social History* 14:1 (1980) 113-135.

59. Stokvis, *De Nederlandse trek naar Amerika*, 53-55; Krabbendam, *Vrijheid in het verschiët*, 15-16. See also Douma in this issue.

ca.⁶⁰ Definitely not all Seceders left the Netherlands; emigration was largest among the most dissident communities.⁶¹

The Seceders' leaders had established ties with the Old Dutch communities in the USA, which had been founded in the seventeenth century, in the hope of getting support upon arrival. The Old Dutch met the newcomers at customs, and provided them with lodging, food, clothing, and money. Later migrants drifted towards the communities formed by the Seceders. Many migrants had other reasons for migration, than a search for religious freedom: shortage of land for agriculture, attempts to escape loan sharks, cholera, cattle disease and potato blight, charities which were willing to pay for their departure, or favourable wheat harvests that provided them with means to leave.⁶² Despite the different reasons, the nature of their settlements in the USA was religious.

Douma analyses identity formation among Dutch emigrants in the USA in the first part of the nineteenth century, which has been studied much less than that in the second half. The Seceders, despite their small number, had considerable influence on Dutch-American circles, and were primarily responsible for keeping religious debates alive. They settled almost exclusively in Dutch colonies in the USA, while other Dutch migrants did not. The Dutch government did little to encourage or organise migration, but it did see it as a solution to poverty and unemployment.⁶³ Emigrants were seen as people who could not make it on their own in the Netherlands, or as those who did not fit in. The Dutch emigrants tried to prove this assumption wrong, and wrote many letters to the Netherlands to attest to this, and these stimulated the departure of later migrants.

In the Netherlands, the Seceders were discriminated against, but they were also divided among themselves. Partly for this reason, they formed relatively isolated communities in the Netherlands. The vast space available to the Seceders in the USA made it possible for them to live their dream of 'wholeness' (but in isolation) to a much greater degree than was possible in the Netherlands. The isolated communities were connected via letter exchanges and newspapers. The Dutch formed islands on purpose, but also connected them on purpose, as Douma points out. They were building on a tradition, which had been developed by Calvinist migrants in sixteenth and seventeenth century Europe, who believed that their banishment from an earthly country,

60. Swierenga, 'Local-cosmopolitan theory and immigrant religion', 115.

61. Stokvis, *De Nederlandse trek naar Amerika*, 53-55.

62. Michael Wintle, 'Push-factors in emigration: the case of the province of Zeeland in the nineteenth century', *Population Studies* 46:3 (1992) 523-537, 523-525.

63. W.F. Andriessen, 'Is emigratie naar de Vereenigde Staten van N.-Amerika nog langer aanbevelingswaardig?', *Economist* (1892) 109-122.

made them Citizens of Heaven.⁶⁴ In the USA, connections between isolated communities led to the creation of a new, but separate paramount identity, as Douma shows, which strongly influenced the idea of what Dutchness is in the USA today.

The Dutch in the USA clustered in settlements, which could have been characterised as 'little Holland', but were in fact 'little Zeeland', 'little Groningen' or 'little Overijssel'.⁶⁵ The clustering was mainly a rural, nineteenth century phenomenon, but also in cities like Chicago in 1930s, the Dutch stood out because they differed in their separation from other migrant groups.⁶⁶ Only Protestants favoured this form of clustering. There were some Dutch group migrations of Catholics to the USA.⁶⁷ Until 1969 the Vatican, however, officially forbade the formation of separate churches based on language or ethnicity. In the USA, the Catholic clergy showed some leniency towards separate churches, and German, Irish, Polish, and Italian Catholics did set up their own churches.⁶⁸ The Dutch Catholics did so too, but without strong leadership, and with no church doctrine to sanction it, they quickly disappeared. Dutch Catholics in the USA worshipped and intermarried with German, Belgian, and Irish Catholics, and established almost no immigrant colonies, whereas the Protestants, and especially the Seceders, formed enclaves wherever they settled.⁶⁹

At the end of the nineteenth century, separation among the Dutch in the USA was stimulated by neo-Calvinist ideas, especially on sphere sovereignty (*souvereiniteit in eigen kring*). According to this view there is an all-encompassing order, created, designed and governed by God, and each sphere of life has its own responsibilities and authority. Diversity must be acknowledged, appreciated, and maintained.⁷⁰ These ideas were transferred to the USA and

64. Ole Peter Grell, 'The creation of a transnational, Calvinist network and its significance for Calvinist identity and interaction in early modern Europe', *European Review of History: Revue européenne d'histoire* 16:5 (2009) 619-636, 625, 632-633.

65. Robert P. Swierenga, 'The settlement of the old northwest: ethnic pluralism in a featureless plain', *Journal of the Early Republic* 9:1 (1989) 73-105, 100.

66. Otis Dudley Duncan and Stanley Lieberson, 'Ethnic segregation and assimilation', *The American Journal of Sociology* 64:4 (1959) 364-374, 369.

67. Lucas Ligtenberg, 'In the shadow of the "Schut": Dutch Roman Catholic emigration to the Fox River Valley, Wisconsin', in: George Harinck and Hans Krabbendam (eds.), *Morsels in the melting pot. The persistence of Dutch immigrant communities in North America* (Amsterdam 2006) 147-160.

68. J. Dolan, *The immigrant church, New York's Irish and German Catholics, 1815-1865* (Baltimore 1975); D. Liptak, *Immigrants and their church* (New York 1989).

69. Swierenga, 'The settlement of the old northwest', 73-105, 104.

70. James C. Kennedy, 'The problem of Kuyper's legacy: the crisis of the Anti-Revolutionary Party in post-war Holland', *Journal of Markets & Morality* 5:1 (2002) 45-56; Peter S. Heslam, 'Prophet of a Third Way: the shape of Kuyper's socio-political vision', *Journal of Markets & Morality* 5:1 (2002) 11-33.

used as a justification for continued separations and frequent schisms.⁷¹ Currently, in the USA, the more orthodox the church, the stronger its claim on Dutchness. Perhaps rather surprisingly, this claim is not related to the extent to which church members are able to speak Dutch (almost none can).

Robert Schoone-Jongen moves away from the rather dominant emphasis on religious identity and provides a perfect case study of the relative impact of locality and timing of immigration on community formation. He describes Dutch migration to the Passaic Valley of New Jersey, which began in the late 1840s. These Dutch achieved social, economic, and political prominence in the area, and established themselves as significant actors in the textile industry, in construction, and in food production. Schoone-Jongen makes the interesting point that ethnic community formation and niche formation intertwined, and this enforced the coherence of the community.⁷² The community ties were strengthened because the Dutch concentrated in a restricted number of jobs only. However, Schoone-Jongen's case is not a classical story of niche formation combined with community formation. Several niches existed parallel to each other, and none was very large. The Dutch did not concentrate in one sector only. Furthermore, unlike in most cases when ethnic community formation and niche formation intertwine, the Dutch came from various regions in the Netherlands, rather than one. Lastly there is the religious aspect. Instead of religious homogeneity – which would fit the niche formation profile – Schoone-Jongen finds religious diversity.

The Dutch-Americans in the Passaic Valley remained unusually isolated from their compatriots in the Midwest. They were influenced by the presence of the descendents of the Dutch colonists, who had come to the Hudson Valley in the seventeenth century. The lack of sustained personal interaction with the larger colonies in the upper Midwest during the formative years, and the presence of the old colonial Dutch families, moulded the community in ways found nowhere else in the USA. The New Jersey Dutch immigrants in the mid-nineteenth century were a link between the Old Dutch (who were nearby) and the Midwestern Dutch (who were geographically at a distance). The closeness to the colonial Dutch and similarities to the Midwestern Dutch resulted in a separateness of the Passaic Valley Dutch from both. The nature of the community was strengthened, because in the course of the nineteenth

71. Because of these schisms the Dutch-American communities currently support fifteen separate Protestant churches. The most important are: RCA, CRC, PRC, NRC, and URC. Corwin Smidt et al., *Divided by a common heritage. The Christian Reformed Church and the Reformed Church in America at the beginning of a new millennium* (Grand Rapids 2006); Terence Guy Schoone-Jongen, *Tulip time, U.S.A.: staging memory, identity and ethnicity in Dutch-American community festivals* (unpublished thesis Ohio State University 2007) 126.

72. Compare: Marlou Schrover, 'Immigrant business and niche formation in a historical perspective. The Netherlands in the nineteenth century', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 27:2 (2001) 295-311.

century it was fed by new arrivals from the Netherlands, who shared fewer characteristics than those who settled in the Midwest. It made the Passaic Valley Dutch unique on the one hand, although their separateness made them typically Dutch on the other hand.

Double selectivity and Dutch emigration in the twentieth century

In the second half of the twentieth century, the nature and scale of Dutch emigration changed drastically, and so did Dutch emigration policy. In contrast to the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century, emigration became strongly state-regulated. In the first half of the century, changes were minor. The most important change affecting Dutch emigration was that around 1900 the USA government began to try to control who left Europe. It delegated this task to the large European shipping companies (including the Dutch HAL, which was one of the most important players in the field). The shipping companies stopped some people from embarking and thus influenced the size and nature of migrant communities in the USA.⁷³ Another change occurred in 1909, when a Dutch government committee on unemployment suggested emigration as a solution to unemployment and poverty.⁷⁴ The Dutch government followed up on this, made emigration part of a labour allocation policy, and stimulated the creation of organisations that encouraged emigration.⁷⁵

After 1945, large numbers of people migrated from the Netherlands (which had a population of ten million at that time) to Canada, Australia and the USA (see table 2). There were restrictions on who could migrate. Canada, Australia and New Zealand had White Policies until the mid 1960s, and this limited options for people from the (former) Dutch East Indies (currently Indonesia).⁷⁶ The migration of Jews to Australia was restricted by Australian quota measures, which had been installed after the Second World War. The Dutch Catholic church did not encourage migration, but if people wanted to migrate, the church favoured Australia and New Zealand. The Calvinist (*gereformeerde*) Church strongly encouraged migration to Canada (see table 3).⁷⁷

73. For more references see: Feys, 'The visible hand', 38-62.

74. *Staatscommissie over de werkloosheid* (ingesteld bij koninklijk besluit van 30 juli 1909 nr. 42) (Den Haag 1913).

75. R. van Bekkum, *Tussen vraag en aanbod. Op zoek naar de identiteit van de arbeidsvoorzieningsorganisatie* (Den Haag 1996) 238-239, 243, 523, 558.

76. J.H. Elich, *Aan de ene kant, aan de andere kant. De emigratie van Nederlanders naar Australië 1946-1986* (Delft 1987); Freda Hawkins, *Critical years in immigration. Canada and Australia compared* (Kingston and Montreal 1989) 35-36.

77. Smits, *Met kompas emigreren*, 21-28; Hofstede, *Thwarted exodus*, 96-116.

TABLE 2 *Dutch emigration (overseas) 1946-1969*

	Canada	Australia	USA	South Africa	New Zealand	Brazil	Other	Total
1946-59	137 005	104 111	53 726	29 591	18 549	4 082	5 854	352 918
1960-69	28 107	31 833	30 788	9 362	7 468	1 937	1 487	110 989
Total	165 112	135 944	84 514	38 953	26 017	6 019	7 341	463 907

Based on: J.H. Elich en P.W. Blauw, *Emigreren* (Utrecht-Antwerpen 1983) 22.

TABLE 3 *Religious background of Dutch emigrants to the major countries of destination in percentages (1948-1962)*

	Canada	Australia	USA	South Africa	New Zealand	Other	Total
Catholic	29	45	27	21	47	36	34
Reformed (Hervormd)	26	26	30	35	25	20	27
Calvinist (Gereformeerd)	32	8	12	16	8	9	18
Other/none	13	21	31	28	20	35	21
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Based on: Smits, *Met kompas emigreren*, 23.

Australia wanted to attract migrants as workers, but also wanted to populate the country for economic and security reasons. Canada also had economic and demographic reasons to encourage migration, but had to cope with anti-immigration feelings among the French-Canadians in Quebec. The country had a preference for farmers: 80 percent of the Dutch immigrants had an agricultural background.

New Zealand and the USA welcomed migrants from the Netherlands, but restricted their entrance by quota.⁷⁸ In the 1950s, New Zealand introduced a Nomination System, which meant that churches, businesses and the Dutch Emigration Service could suggest candidates, but only if they could guarantee work and housing for them. Unsuccessful migrants were returned to the Netherlands at Dutch expense. The New Zealand quota for Dutch migrants was never filled. One of the reasons for this was that there was a housing shortage in New Zealand and therefore the country wanted mainly single men, whereas the Dutch had a preference for sending families.⁷⁹ On the whole, the emigration of single women to any country was not encouraged in

78. Joop Hartog and Rainer Winkelmann, 'Comparing migrants to non-migrants: The case of Dutch migration to New Zealand', *Journal of Population Economics* 16 (2003) 683-705, 684.

79. Hartog and Winkelmann, 'Comparing migrants to non-migrants', 685-686.

Dutch Protestant and Catholic circles. Dutch women's organisations however initiated information centres for all women who wanted to emigrate.⁸⁰

The USA remained a preferred destination for Dutch emigrants, as it had been in earlier decades. Interest to migrate to the USA was much larger than the yearly USA quota allowed (3153), and by 1952 there were 40,000 candidates on the waiting list. In 1953 and 1957, the USA adopted acts which allowed the entrance of extra Dutch emigrants. People were selected who had suffered severe losses during the Second World War, or during the 1953 flood, or who were repatriated from the Dutch East Indies. Potential emigrants had to have a sponsor in the USA, for instance a church based organisation. Selection and sponsoring structured and shaped migrant communities.⁸¹

An important effect of the so-called 'active emigration policy', on which Dutch authorities embarked after 1945, was the creation of a double selectivity. Countries of destinations selected whom they wanted to accept, but the Dutch pre-selected candidates. There was enough enthusiasm for emigration. Shortly after the war, one in three Dutch people said they wanted to migrate, if they could. People feared another war, Soviet occupation of the Netherlands, and unemployment. The feeling that the Netherlands was becoming too crowded was so strong that sociologists referred to it as an overpopulation psychosis.⁸²

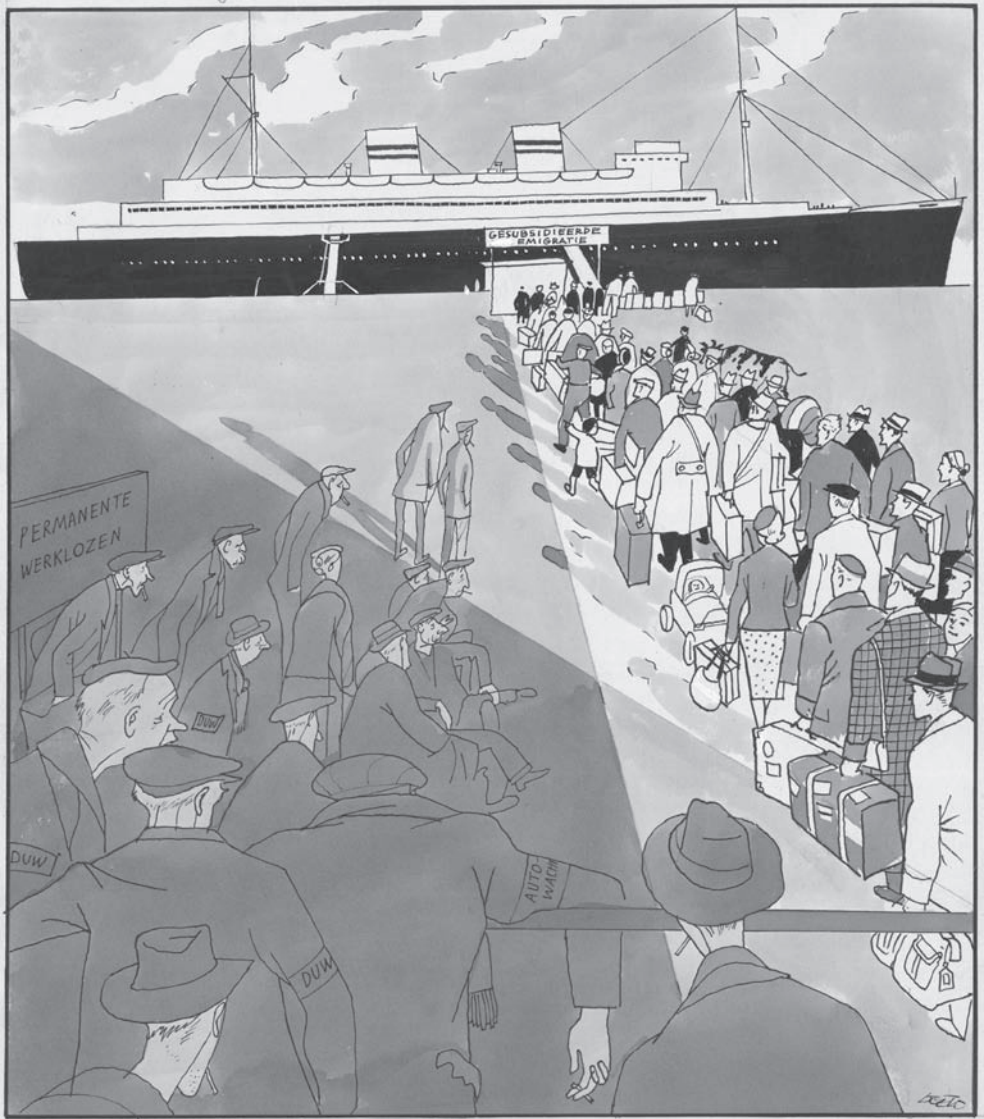
Already during the war, the Dutch government in exile in London started negotiations with possible countries of destination. The Dutch government feared a structural lack of employment. Immediately after the war 350,000 people returned from Germany, where they had been forced labourers or prisoners. 300,000 people came to the Netherlands from the Dutch East Indies. Dutch society was confronted with severe housing shortages. During the war 100,000 houses had been lost (4.5 percent of all houses). In 1955 there was a shortage of 200,000 houses. There were also shortages of land for agriculture. Dutch authorities started to support individual emigrants financially. First only those who could be missed by Dutch society were supported: large families, small farmers, the unemployed (or people living in regions with high unemployment), the unskilled, the bakers and the hairdressers. From 1955 onwards, everybody could get financial support.⁸³

80. Smits, *Met kompas emigreren*, 91; M. van Faassen, 'Vrouwen in den vreemde. Emigratievoorlichting door het Nederlandse Vrouwen Comité', *Spiegel Historiae* 37:7-8 (2002) 325-329.

81. The Church World Service acted as a sponsor in 64 percent of the cases and the National Catholic Welfare Conference in 19 percent.

82. Hofstede, *Thwarted exodus*, 57.

83. Van Faassen, 'Min of meer misbaar', 61-65.



Ill. 2 Drawing entitled: Dutch emigration: men going and men staying (De gaande en de blijvende man). The title was used for a policy report with a similar title (De gaande man) which appeared in 1958. It suggests emigration as a solution to unemployment and depicts emigrants as people with guts. Drawing by Eppo Doeve, appeared in Elseviers Weekblad 15 November 1952. IISG: BG D79/541 30051002327309.

In 1952, the Dutch government issued a law which made the government and private organisations (the so-called emigration centres⁸⁴) responsible for the migration policy, administrative procedures and pre-selection. These 'emigration authorities' – in which the private organisations held a majority – provided courses in English, issued propaganda material (leaflets, films), published in the journals of the private organisations and organised large meetings for potential migrants, which were advertised in the national and local newspapers. This active migration policy was continued until 1961.

Dutch policy was part of a collective Western European effort to plan, control and organise migration. Immediately after the Second World War, Europe was confronted with a pressing refugee problem. There were large numbers of displaced persons still in camps throughout Europe. Germany had to accommodate the *Volksdeutschen*, who were forced out by several countries shortly after the war. The USA feared a rise of communism in Italy, and hoped that an active emigration policy would counter poverty and decrease the support for communism. The refugee problem, and the outbreak of the Cold War formed justifications for government interference with migration in all Western countries and for the creation of international bodies. The International Refugee Organisation (IRO) shifted displaced persons to overseas' destinations from 1947.⁸⁵ An intertwining of refugee policies and the regulation of emigration resulted in the continuation and strengthening of bilateral contracts between countries of origin and destination, and in new multilateral agreements and the creation of an Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration (ICEM), which was not part of the United Nations. Although the major aim of the ICEM was to stimulate the emigration of surplus labourers from white Western Europe, in the literature the organisation is usually described as a (unsuccessful) refugee organisation.⁸⁶

Double selectivity, which resulted from strong government interference by the countries of origin and of destination and multilateral agreements, partly built on selective practices that were common in displaced person camps. Double selectivity led to tensions. Dutch authorities had a preference regarding the people they wanted to leave, and Canada, Australia, New Zealand and the USA had preferences regarding the people they wanted to accept. The countries of destination competed with each other for the most wanted

84. Katholieke Centrale Emigratie Stichting, *Christelijke Emigratie Centrale, Algemene Emigratie Centrale, Gereformeerde Stichting tot Bijstand van Emigranten en Geëmigreerden*, Nederlands Zuid-Afrikaanse Vereniging.

85. Nonja Peters, *Milk and honey but no gold: postwar migration to Western Australia 1945-1964* (Perth 2001).

86. Van Faassen, *Emigratie uit Nederland*, Ch. 3; Miriam Feldblum, 'Passage-making and service creation in international migration', Draft working paper 40th annual convention of the International Studies Association, Washington, DC, February 16-20, 1999, <http://www.ciaonet.org/isa> (10 March 2010).

candidates. They did not want to receive only those who could be missed. 'Undesirable' migrants had to be matched by desirable ones, such as construction workers. Dutch authorities did not want to spoil their good relations with the countries of destination by sending only less desirable migrants.

Selection, planning and organisation were not only important for migration to Canada, Australia, New Zealand and the USA, but also to other countries, although they could work out in a different way. Latin-American countries, for instance, were not the most favoured destinations for Dutch emigrants, but Dutch authorities saw them as a good alternative in case other countries were willing to take fewer candidates than were available. Authorities tried to stimulate group migrations to Brazil, where entirely Dutch communities were created such as Holambra (1948), Monte Alegre (1949) and Castrolanda (1951).⁸⁷ Candidates were selected on their willingness to emigrate in groups. Dutch authorities did not expect these migrants to assimilate rapidly. They believed that the success of their migration depended on the formation of semi-permanent (religiously based) Dutch migrant communities, rather than on integration into the wider, and poorer, Catholic and non-white society.⁸⁸ It was an idea that mirrored ideas about the (successful) nineteenth century migration to the USA.

On the whole, and regardless of the country of destination, emigration was always selective. In the 1950s and 1960s, researchers found that people who were less embedded in Dutch society were more likely to migrate.⁸⁹ This applied to men who had been stationed as enlisted soldiers in the Dutch East Indies, people who were repatriated to the Netherlands from the Dutch East Indies, men who had worked (voluntarily or not) in Germany during the war, victims of the 1953 flood, and members of small isolated orthodox Protestant communities. People with strong ties and large and coherent networks were much less likely to emigrate. The same was true for the rich, and for people who owned real estate. Until the early 1950s, the Dutch government allowed

87. C.M.J. Dony, *Brazilië een emigratieland voor Nederlanders* (Porto Alegre 1956); W. van der Mast, *Praktijk en patroon van recente Nederlandse groepsemigraties* (Groningen 1963) 100-289; Frans Buysse, *De Zeeuwse gemeenschap van Holanda, Brazilië [1858-1982]. Een antropologische studie over integratie en identiteit* (Nijmegen 1984); Harald S. van der Straaten, *Hollandse pioniers in Brazilië* (Franeker 1988); Mari Smits, *Holambra. Geschiedenis van een Nederlandse toekomstdroom in de Braziliaanse werkelijkheid, 1948-1988* (Nijmegen 1990); C.H.L. Kiers-Pot, *Castrolanda 40 jaar 1951-1991* (Paraná 1991); Bart Sorgedragter, *Holandeses: Nederlandse landbouwkolonies in Brazilië* (Amsterdam 1991).

88. H.P. Linthorst Homan, *Rapport over de integratie van emigranten in de samenleving van het ontvangende land* (uitgebracht door de Commissie Integratie, ingesteld door de Raad voor de emigratie) (Den Haag 1957).

89. Wentholt, *Kenmerken van de Nederlandse emigrant*, 10, 11, 18-106; Ellemers, *The determinants of emigration*, 14.

emigrants to take only limited amounts of money.⁹⁰ Less embeddedness in Dutch society was seen as a positive criterion: the migrants would maintain few ties with the Netherlands, and would be less likely to return.

Despite tensions caused by double selection, the countries of origin and destination had a common goal: none of them wanted the migration to fail, which meant none of them wanted the migrants to return. In Dutch propaganda and pre-selection there was a strong emphasis on what were believed to be favourable characteristics of potential emigrants. In the countries of destination there was a matching albeit somewhat different image: the Dutch were portrayed as blond, blue-eyed easy assimilators.⁹¹

Nonja Peters, in her contribution to this issue, shows how this image and Dutch invisibility gave Dutch migrants in Australia greater economic and social benefits than other ethnic groups. The Dutch were regarded positively in Australia, compared to other immigrants, and this gave them priority over others. Dutch and Australian authorities both wanted to hold on to this positive image, and sanctioned it with assisted passage and other privileges. Potential Dutch migrants were screened for their skills and for their willingness and ability to adapt. After their arrival in Australia they continued to be seen as the ones who adapted easily. Attempts to become invisible and live up to the image, made the Dutch however at the same time also rather visible since they were held up and used as models to convince Anglo-Australians that migration from another country than England could be good. The double selectivity shaped Dutch immigrant communities and Dutch-Australian ethnicity.

Dutch invisibility in Australia was only linked to separateness in relation to the close-knit Free Reformed (*Gereformeerden vrijgemaakt*) religious communities in Tasmania and Western Australia. They have remained separate from the rest of the Dutch in Australia much like the *Indisch* Dutch – to be described below – but more by choice. Catholic Dutch migrants to Australia outnumbered the Protestants by far. They did not concentrate geographically and showed high levels of exogamy. Most joined Irish Catholic congregations. Hence the level of group cohesion among the Dutch in Australia was far less than in the USA and Canada, where community and church were one and the same.

Dutch ethnicity was not static, as Peters shows. It changed, for three reasons. In the first place, in the 1970s, Australia adopted a multicultural policy. Being different became acceptable and was even sponsored. Secondly, at old age some of the adaptation of the people who migrated as adults reversed. Although this is a process that has been observed among all ageing migrants,

90. Elich, *Aan de ene kant*, 68-70.

91. M. van Faassen, 'Jongens van de Witt. Selling images from both sides. Dutch post-war migration to Australia', <http://www.inghist.nl/Onderzoek/tijding> (10 March 2010).

it was more problematic for the Dutch because easy adaptation had been so much part of their Dutch-Australian immigrant identity. Thirdly, the people who had migrated to Australia as children had problems with their parents' reversal, since easy adaptation had also been the crucial part of their identity and had erased the few elements of Dutchness they originally had. Fitting in had been a survival strategy. Many, but not all, later tried to reclaim their Dutchness. They currently travel extensively to the Netherlands and want to reconnect with their roots by visiting places of significance for their childhood in the Netherlands or places relevant to their ancestry.

Dutch migration was acceptable to Australians because of the portrayal of Dutch migrants as blond and blue-eyed, hard working and part of large families. Part of the migrants from the (former) Dutch East Indies did not fit this image, as Joost Coté shows. Australia was not willing to receive non-white migrants or migrants of so-called Non Pure European Origin (which meant people from the Dutch East Indies with mixed parentage). Some did manage to migrate to Australia due to Dutch government interference. The selectivity of Australian migration policy in this case differed from that of the USA. Among the about 85,000 Dutch people who migrated to the USA between 1946 and 1969 were 31,000 refugees from the Dutch East Indies.⁹² They mostly came via a short stay in the Netherlands and were explicitly portrayed in the USA as refugees. Representatives of USA support agencies interviewed and screened all refugees – not only those from the Dutch East Indies – before departure. The representatives channelled part of the refugees towards the existing (separated) Dutch communities.⁹³ The migrants from the Dutch East Indies did not join existing Dutch-American communities, but started their own separate communities in the USA, very much in line with common practice among other Dutch in the USA.⁹⁴

In Australia the outcome – a separate community of *Indisch* Dutch – was to some measure the same, but the cause was different. In Australia, as Coté shows, their existence was more or less denied, because acknowledging it would jeopardise both the Dutch and the Australian migration policy. The community of the *Indisch* Dutch in Australia was rather disconnected from other Dutch communities and their identity developed in isolation. In the 1970s, this changed when Australia's multicultural policy made all ethnic

92. B.R. Rijkschroeff, *Een ervaring rijker. De Indische immigranten in de Verenigde Staten van Amerika* (Delft 1989); Smits, *Met kompas emigreren*, 132-133.

93. Richard Ferree Smith, 'Refugees', *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 367. *The New Immigration* (September 1966) 43-52.

94. G. Kwik, *The Indos in Southern California* (New York 1989); B. Rijkschroeff, 'The Dutch-Indonesians in the United States. A case of double emigration', in: R. Kroes and H.-O. Neuschäfer (eds.), *The Dutch in North-America: their community and cultural continuity* (Amsterdam 1991) 422-440; H. H. Beaulieu-Boon, *So far away from home: engaging the silenced colonial. The Indies Diaspora in North America* (Leiden 2009).



Hun spelen is leren

Nogmaals, het is absoluut noodzakelijk Engels te leren. Doet U het niet dan leeft U letterlijk eenzaam. U kunt dan niet met de onderwijzer over Uw kinderen praten. U hebt geen contact met Uw buurvrouw, U kunt Uw leveranciers niet begrijpen. U kunt geen krant lezen, U begrijpt niets van de radio en U kunt in de kerk een Australische predikant niet verstaan. En als U werkt, loopt U kans dat de beste baantjes Uw neus voorbij gaan, omdat U de taal niet voldoende kent.

Ill. 3 Illustration from an official information booklet addressing Dutch women and urging them to learn English. If they had no knowledge of English they would live in loneliness, could not talk to the teacher of their children, have no contact with their neighbours, would not be able to understand the sales persons, could not read the newspapers or understand the radio, in church they would not be able to understand the priest, and if they worked they would be passed over for the best jobs. Source: Nederlandse Emigratie Dienst, *Vrouwen in Australië* (Den Haag [1960]).

groups, including the Dutch-Australians, more visible. Because of this policy, the *Indisch* Dutch also became visible and more recognised as a group. Somewhat paradoxically, as a result, they also became more part of the Dutch-Australian community than they had ever been before.

Via migration officers and consular services⁹⁵ Dutch authorities continued to give support to emigrants long after arrival, and lobbied with the governments of countries of settlement on behalf of the migrants. They made great efforts to stay in touch with the Dutch overseas, even though they saw the migration as permanent. The contacts stretched out over years and were well organised. Dutch government officials visited and inspected the so-called holding camps in which migrants were first received, and in which some stayed for years. They organised housing, work and transport within the new country.

The Dutch emigration authorities generally believed that the emigrants to all countries could profit from concentration according to religion. Concentrations of Dutch emigrants were created with support networks based on parish and church. All denominations hoped that retaining the migrants for the Dutch migrant community would mean retaining them for their faith and that this would guarantee the success of the migration. Priest and ministers accompanied the emigrants on the ships, and Dutch representatives were present when the ships docked, and were ready to guide the migrants towards Dutch communities, preferably centred on Dutch churches. Dutch migrants in Canada could choose between various Dutch congregations, all supported by an infrastructure of schools, care facilities and newspapers.⁹⁶ At the start, many of these were funded by Dutch denominations in the USA. In North America – in contrast to Australia – Dutch migration authorities built on structures that had been created during a period of over more than a century of migration.

In his contribution, David Zwart begins with the influence of the long history of Dutch migration to North America on communities in the 1960s and 1970s. Zwart makes an interesting comparison between the USA, with its long Dutch migration experience, and Canada, where Dutch migration became numerically important only after the Second World War. Congregational commemorations of Dutch immigrants and their descendants living in the USA and Canada in the 1960s and 1970s served to pass on beliefs

95. The ministry of Social Affairs had its own Emigration Service Abroad, which was formally posted at the Dutch embassies and consulates (Foreign Affairs). M. van Faassen, 'Behartiging van belangen van Nederlanders in het naoorlogse Australië', in: Bob de Graaff and Duco Hellema, *Instrumenten van buitenlandse politiek. Achtergronden en praktijk van de Nederlandse diplomatie* (Amsterdam 2007) 22-30.

96. N.J. Prinsen, *De Nederlandse Hervormde Kerk en de emigratie naar Canada en Australië na de Tweede Wereldoorlog* (Leiden 2005) 20; Betsy Biemond-Boer, 'Die Hollanders zijn gek'. *Identiteit en integratie van bevindelijk gereformeerden in Canada* (Amsterdam 2008).

about faith and congregation to the next generation. By looking at congregations on both sides of the border (Canada and the USA) with clear differences in setting and developments, Zwart provides a way to understand the commonalities of the denominations as ethno-religious communities as well as a way to see the diversity within the denomination. Commemorative books – of course – tell stories as the churches, whose histories they are, like them to be remembered. Two aspects are important to these stories. In the first place, as Zwart shows, Dutch society as it was in the first decades after the Second World War shaped the migrant communities in the USA and Canada. Dutch ideas were used as a justification for the continued separatism of some of the churches, or some communities, as had happened in the USA in the nineteenth century.

Secondly, the commemorative books refer to the message of God. According to their authors, God wanted the migrants to leave and wanted them to establish themselves as separate communities. Proof that this was indeed God's plan was found in the growth and continued existence of the churches, to which the commemorative books pay testimony. This echoes older ideas among migrants in seventeenth and eighteenth century Europe, and the nineteenth century USA. Separatism is needed to maintain the claim of being God's chosen people. In the 1980s, however, a rather drastic change occurred. A minister suggested symbolically breaking with the Dutch past by burning the wooden shoes. By that time it proved difficult to ensure the loyalty of the younger Dutch generation, while at the same time some Koreans and Native Americans had joined the church. The change was clearly related to the fact that the Canadian government – at the same time as the Australian government – abandoned its White Policy and embarked on a policy of post-Cold War multiculturalism. Claims of exclusiveness, which justified separation, had been part of Dutch silent ethnicity. The sanctioning of difference within multiculturalism caused a transfer from silent to symbolic ethnicity. Zwart shows that claims of exclusiveness, which were transferred from the Netherlands, could be maintained for generations, but could also be erased within a short period if it helped the church's survival as an institution. The commemorative books helped with the construction of an ethnic identity, which was useful for the continuation of the ethnic institutions, particularly the local congregation. The older generation, that produced the commemorations, constructed an ethnic identity they wanted to pass on in order to ensure the loyalty to the congregation by the next generation, whose loyalty was being tested. The commemorative books led to a form of ethnic freezing; they presented the ethnic identity as homogenous and static. Zwart, however, shows that this could change and like Peters emphasises the fluidity and functionality of ethnic identity formation.

Conclusion

Generally, loss of an ethnic identity is more difficult to describe than its retention. Studies dealing with Dutch emigrants focused much more on those who maintained a Dutch identity than on those who did not. Small orthodox Protestant communities founded in the nineteenth century by Seceders in the USA Midwest, have as a result taken central stage. Furthermore, in the large literature on the factors that influence the formation of immigrant communities and their persistence over time, the societal context of the country of settlement tends to take priority over that of the country of origin. The aim of this issue was to shift the balance to the country of origin. This issue compares emigration from the Netherlands to the overseas countries that received most Dutch emigrants: the USA, Canada and Australia.

Various authors have referred to a tendency among part of the Dutch migrants to form separate communities and become invisible. Others have emphasised rapid language loss and have called Dutch ethnicity a silent ethnicity. Regarding both points, several important observations can be made on the basis of the articles in this issue. Separation was partly the result of highly selective migration from the Netherlands. In the nineteenth century, emigration was largest among the most dissident communities. Communities which had been isolated in the Netherlands, formed isolated communities in the USA and profited from the availability of space to live their dream of salvation of the righteous belief in isolation. Later these communities became more connected, partly because they could and partly because it strengthened their identity, as Douma shows. Not all groups of Dutch followed the same path. The Passaic Valley Dutch lived too far from the Dutch in the Midwest, as Schoone-Jongen points out. The Old Dutch in the Hudson Valley were geographically closer, but since their migration lay in a too distant past, connection to them was also not an option. The Passaic Valley Dutch became thus uniquely separated, but their separation also made them 'typically Dutch'.

Zwart shows that explanations and justifications for separateness, passed on in commemorative books, helped construct an ethnic identity, which was useful for the continuation of the ethnic institutions, particularly the local congregations. For decades, commemorative books presented the ethnic identity as homogenous and static. This static idea started to melt away the moment it became a threat to the community for whose continuation it was created. Dutchness had been emphasised for several decades, but could be abandoned when no longer needed. The process and its outcome were similar for the Dutch in Australia, as described by Peters. The abolition of the White Policies and the shift to multiculturalism in the 1970s changed the construction of ethnic identity, as Peters and Zwart show. In Australia it led to the creation of a new Australian Dutchness, which included the *Indisch*

Dutch, which had long been ignored by Australian society at large and by the Dutch-Australian community, as Coté describes.

Invisibility in the twentieth century was mainly the result of double selectivity, which started with strong government interference with emigration after the Second World War. Double selectivity was influenced by practices of selection by the shipping companies in the interwar period, and that in displaced persons camps immediately after the war. Countries of destination selected whom they wanted to accept, and countries of origin tried to influence who departed. Chances for migrants differed between countries according to class (because of the financial support given to migrants to some countries), gender (fewer opportunities for single women, and a preference in some countries for single men), religion and ethnicity (with an encouragement of Catholic migration to Australia and New Zealand and Calvinist migration to Canada, and better chances for Jews and *Indisch* Dutch in the USA).

Post-war policy makers looked towards the 'success' of non-state-regulated selective migration and the construction of separate communities in the nineteenth century. Attempts by Dutch migration authorities to create Dutch migrant communities centred on a Dutch church, echoed practices of the Dutch migrants in the USA in the nineteenth century. In the USA, where generally religion plays an important role in ethnic identity construction, and among the more orthodox Protestants, which could build on a very long tradition of separation sanctioned by church doctrine, this led to communities with some persistence. The Catholic and more liberal Protestant churches did not favour the creation of so-called ethnic churches, and this was matched by an Australian policy that emphasised assimilation. Double selectivity led to invisibility, but this invisibility was not the same for all migrants and all countries. In Australia attempts to become invisible made the Dutch migrants to some extent visible as model migrants. The Dutch government and that of the countries of settlement, and the migrants themselves, stood to gain from invisibility, but, as the contributions to this issue showed, gains were not the same in all countries and ethnicity changed when its functionality changed. Silent ethnicity was the result of selective migration policies and choices by the migrants. It was advantageous to the migrants and their descendants, and was seen by many (including Dutch migration authorities) as a recipe for continued and successful migration.

Many factors (listed above) contribute to how migrant communities take shape. The societal context before migration, how migrants were selected and prepared, how they were monitored on their journey, and received in their countries of settlement, influenced and shaped communities. The convergent/divergent approach, provided by this issue, shows how and why migrants from the same country formed communities, which showed obvious differences but were also similar. The common characteristics were only true for part of the Dutch migrants, but they did influence ideas about Dutchness.

About the authors

Marijke van Faassen works as an historian at the Institute of Netherlands History (ING) in The Hague. She studied history at the Vrije Universiteit (VU) in Amsterdam. At the ING she edited the Documents on Dutch foreign policy (1940-1945). She is leader of the projects on Dutch emigration (1945-1967) and the Dutch Constitutional committees (1883-1983). She is currently finishing her dissertation on emigration policy.

E-mail: marijke.vanfaassen@inghist.nl.

Marlou Schrover is an Associate Professor of Social History at Leiden University. Recent books include *Illegal Migration and Gender in a Global and Historical Perspective* (AUP, Amsterdam 2008) (with Joanne van der Leun, Leo Lucasen and Chris Quispel), *Komen en Gaan. Immigratie en Emigratie in Nederland vanaf 1550* (Bert Bakker, Amsterdam 2008) (with Herman Obdeijn), and *Gender, Migration and the Public Sphere 1850-2005* (Routledge New York 2010) (with Eileen Janes Yeo). She is leading a large (NWO VICI) research project on gender and migration.

E-mail: M.L.J.C.Schrover@hum.leidenuniv.nl.