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Introduction ***1***

Excerpt from the magazine of the *General Sturgis*, 1948;
translated from Lithuanian.¹

I am travelling. On the horizon we can see the outline of the Australian continent. That's my future homeland. Homeland? No. Because I have a homeland. Then why am I travelling? Looking for happiness, fortune?

No, you see, I'm not an ordinary traveller. I'm not paying for my passage. Also I get my food free. My clothing is also unusual. Shoes from the USA, trousers from Canada, coat ... who knows where that is from? I'm called DP, that is Displaced Person, God's bird. That's why I neither sow nor reap.

I left my fatherland, flowering meadows, undulating grain-fields. I left my weeping mother who blessed me, wishing me a happy journey. I left my brothers, sisters and relatives. I left the thriving young fir trees which I had planted around our orchard so that they would protect it against fierce winds. I left part of myself. Like one half-crazed, I departed not knowing where to or wherefore. I reassured my mother that I would return before long. I certainly didn't really believe it myself. Only to pacify her. I glanced back at my beloved home as it faded into the distance. I couldn't hold back my tears. Yes, I departed ...

I wandered for a long time. Diplomats talked a lot about me, famous journalists wrote. I was abused, I was called war criminal, Fascist, agent of imperialism. I suffered all this. However, there were also people who clothed me, fed me, gave me shelter. Never shall I forget their kind-heartedness.

Then why do I wander the world if I have my own homeland? Is it because there is not enough room for me there? That the people are bad, or is it that I myself am not worthy of my homeland?

Also ... no!

My beloved homeland is drowning in blood and tears, she is trampled by cruel executioners from the east. However, the love of my homeland and freedom is perpetually burning in my heart and I know there will come a time when each hand will be worth gold to it, so too shall mine. I leased my muscles now for two years to a foreign country, but not in order to sell them later. I am not an ordinary traveller: you could compare me with a soldier who retreats from a lost battle in order to win the decisive war.

¹ The *General Sturgis* was one of many transport ships that brought Displaced Persons to Australia. This narrative is contained in Catherine Panich's, *Sanctuary? Remembering Postwar Immigration*, Allen & Unwin, Sydney, 1988, pp. 22-23.

The opening narrative is an extract from a journal that was kept by a Lithuanian passenger on the transport ship the *General Sturgis*. The narrative expresses the feelings and experiences of a Lithuanian immigrant whose journey to Australia from a Displaced Persons camp in Europe was fraught with confusion, ambiguity and uncertainty. The narrative conveys the feelings of a lost traveller rather than a voluntary migrant, "... the love of my homeland and freedom is perpetually burning in my heart and I know there will come a time when each hand will be worth gold to it, so too shall mine."

This thesis explores the early experiences of Lithuanian immigrants who arrived in Australia as part of Arthur Calwell's Displaced Persons scheme after World War II and came to settle in Tasmania.² The author sets out to explore the extent to which displaced persons have led dual lives. In relation to their working lives³, social lives, and in particular in relation to their outlook. In the early years of their arrival in Australia, Lithuanians, like their carefully selected Baltic and Nordic neighbours, were presented as the 'blonde, blue eyed' migrants who would easily blend into Australian society. They were officially called 'new Australians', and they were on the exterior, physically compatible to their new social landscape. Yet internally, they were Lithuanians and as will be seen through this thesis, some fought hard to preserve their cultural uniqueness and Lithuanian heritage. Of these people, some held deep political as well as social feelings toward their country, nationalistic in outlook and they held anti-communist views. As refugees they felt responsible to provide a voice that was denied their compatriots and work toward Lithuania's independence. These people held onto the hope that Lithuania would soon be freed from Russian occupation. They remained culturally tied to Lithuania for many years after their arrival, refusing to be

² The nature of Arthur Calwell's Displaced Persons scheme, together with a definition of Displaced Persons is covered in chapters two and three of this study.

³ Many Lithuanian migrants experienced dual working lives, from employment in Lithuania to their new roles in Australia. They possessed educational and professional skills indicative of their middle class backgrounds which they could not apply immediately on arrival in Australia.

assimilated. As time passed they shed more and more of their home culture and adapted to a new life in Australia.

It is shown in chapter two of this study, that Lithuanians, like other displaced persons, were invited into Australia on the basis that they work for Australia for two years and they would relinquish their 'old' ways in order to adopt the new. In order to be accepted by the larger Australian community their public roles were shaped by assimilationist policy. Yet privately they maintained their 'old ways'. To many Australia was viewed as a temporary home. They didn't want to be assimilated as they were preparing emotionally, if not physically, to return home. The author wanted to explore the extent to which such a dualism existed; if so, how far reaching were its implications, and how did the experiences of first generation immigrants affect the lives of their descendants. In turn the author aimed to open up the often private and misconceived world of refugee immigration.

In order to begin to understand Lithuanian sentiments and the lasting impact of early experiences, it is necessary to understand the historical context of post World War II Lithuanian migration to Australia. In chapter three of this study, it is shown that Lithuanians, like their Baltic neighbours Latvians and Estonians, were 'political refugees'. What this label fails to convey, and is often loosely treated by authors, is that Lithuanians as 'political refugees' were fleeing for their lives. They were escaping from the situation in their country not from their country. This is expressed in the opening narrative, 'the love of my homeland and freedom is perpetually burning in my heart'. Unable to return to their Soviet-occupied homelands through fear of death or incarceration, they awaited assistance from overseas bodies.

Because this thesis investigates the lives of Lithuanian immigrants within the political, economic, and social context of post World War II Australian society, a number of other themes besides 'duality' are explored in order to gain a more complete picture of

this historical context. Firstly Tasmania offers a unique backdrop to understanding the experiences of Lithuanians displaced by war, Soviet occupation of their homelands and the uncertainty of their immediate safety. Tasmania draws out the immigration experience as it pertains to the dynamics of a smaller community. Thus having a different tone to the larger urban centres of Melbourne, Sydney and Adelaide. Through her geographical isolation and composition of foreigners, Tasmania was one of the most mono-cultural regions in Australia prior to the arrival of migrants after World War II with only a small percentage of the migrant population being of non-British birth.⁴ Lithuanian migrants together with other ethnic groups arrived in Tasmania when Tasmania was at its early stages of cultural transformation, or transition, from monoculture to multiculture.

Secondly, this thesis draws on the lives of Lithuanian displaced persons and their arrival in Tasmania and presents their many individual experiences. In chapters four and five, the author records both responses to questionnaires⁵, a small number of interviews with first generation Lithuanians and an array of written and printed material. First generation Lithuanians were questioned about their arrival in Australia, their settlement and early experiences, their cultural, political and social links with the Lithuanian and Baltic communities and their continued life in Tasmania. With only a small number of first generation Lithuanian born living in Tasmania today, second and third generation Lithuanian- Australians offer an enlightening perspective into the dual lives of their parents as the second generation lived the duality. The later generations were questioned about their experiences growing up in Australia, many in Tasmania.

⁴ Tasmania in 1947 had its smallest ever foreign population, with only 3% of Tasmania's population born overseas and a mere 1% being of non-British origin. O'Brien, E. *Tasmania Transformed or Transportation Revisited? Immigration to Tasmania, 1945-1955*, M.Hum Thesis, University of Tasmania, Hobart, 1992, p. 36. James Jupp writes, "Australia in 1947 was one of the most monocultural societies in the world", see Jupp, J. *Australian Retrospectives: Immigration*, Oxford University Press, Melbourne, 1995, p. 95.

⁵ The questionnaire consisted of an explanatory cover note (Appendix A), demographic background questions, questions relating to settlement and early experiences, cultural inheritance, and continued life in Tasmania. The questionnaires are included as Appendix B. The questionnaires contain some questions that were first utilised by Monica Baltutis in her study, *Lithuanians in Melbourne: 1947-1980*, B.A Honours, Department of History, University of Melbourne, 1981. These questions have been modified to suit the particular focus of this study.

As many children of this generation attended Lithuanian Sunday schools, cultural, political and social gatherings, many learnt the Lithuanian language as well as the customs and traditions of their parent's homeland. The author also wanted to ascertain how this culture affected their lives, as they were growing up in Australia socialising with their Australian born school mates and friends.⁶

Finally, the author acknowledges Ramunas Tarvydas' book titled *From Amber Coast to Apple Isle: Fifty Years of Baltic Immigrants in Tasmania, 1948-1998* printed in 1997. Tarvydas, himself of Lithuanian background, has had a close affinity with the Lithuanian community in Hobart since his arrival in Tasmania in 1972. Through his association with the community he was able to catalogue the experiences of many Lithuanian migrants living in Tasmania together with the experiences of Latvian and Estonian migrants. Tarvydas' commemorative work is a highly valuable source especially for the responses of the post World War II Lithuanian migrants who are no longer living today. Within the epilogue of his study, Tarvydas raises many issues pertinent to further discussion and important in understanding the Lithuanian immigration experience. This thesis begins to address some of these issues, including the experiences of many single men who arrived on the first transport ships. Many of these men spoke scant English, were unable to work within their professions in Australia, they found it difficult to fraternise with local girls and consequently many did not marry and some found solace in drink.⁷ These 'people on the periphery'⁸ by all intents and purposes assimilated into Australian society. Yet they faced many inner

⁶ The sample included twelve first generation Lithuanians, three spouses of first generation Lithuanians (fifteen responses) and twenty-two second and third generation Lithuanians, or the children and grandchildren of the original immigrants (This constituted a return rate of 37/50 or 74 percent). Of the second and third generation number, differing age groups were represented and a number of people surveyed and later interviewed wished for their responses to be anonymous. Their anonymity has been respected throughout the thesis. In addition to the responses generated through questionnaire and interview, the experiences of Lithuanians were drawn from other works, including Ray Tarvydas' commemorative work on Baltic migrants and Kazokas Doctoral thesis on Lithuanian Artists in Australia.

⁷ Tarvydas, R. *From Amber Coast to Apple Isle: Fifty Years of Baltic Immigrants in Tasmania, 1948-1998*, Baltic Semi-centennial Commemoration Activities Organising Committee, Hobart, 1997. p. 89.

⁸ A descriptive label that Baltutis has applied in her study, Baltutis, M. *Lithuanians in Melbourne: 1947-1980*, B.A Honours Thesis, Department of History, University of Melbourne, 1981, pp. 26-31.

struggles that will be examined in chapter three of this study. Tarvydas also raises the issue that a number of Baltic migrants, including Lithuanians, were labelled Nazi collaborators, a label that was difficult for many to deal with. Chapter three of this study will illustrate how the war had placed Lithuania and her Baltic neighbours in a difficult position, where Lithuania's geographic borders proved her greatest foreign policy weakness.

*The Nature of Arthur Calwell's
Displaced Persons Scheme*

The Nature of Arthur Calwell's Displaced Persons Scheme

In retrospect of Australian immigration, historian James Jupp believes:

The post World War II immigration program began in an exceptional atmosphere of reform and reconstruction, which influenced Australia as it did other societies emerging from the war. Amidst the glamour of nationalist fervour and the populate or perish imperative, many lives were transformed or re-defined through the immigration process.⁹

Post World War II immigration took place in an atmosphere of 'populate or perish'¹⁰, where Australia embarked on policies of reform and reconstruction after the Second World War. It was commonly believed at the time, and this belief was perpetuated by policy makers, that Australia was underpopulated - a large country of sparse numbers in comparison with her crowded northern neighbours. The depression years of the 1930's had resulted in a low birth rate and this decade was coupled with an increased net migration of people to Britain. Between the war years, the great thrust of Australia's immigration policy was the Empire Settlement Scheme, which facilitated the assisted passage of British migrants to Australia.¹¹ The number of British migrants who arrived through this scheme (282 000) was well below the anticipated number, many of those who came were disillusioned and dissatisfied with life on the

⁹ Jupp, J. *Australian Retrospectives: Immigration*, Oxford University Press, Melbourne, 1995, p. 70.

¹⁰ The 'populate or perish' theme dates back to the previous century but was given greater force by the events of the Pacific War, see Bolton, G. *The Oxford History of Australia, Volume 5: The Middle Way 1941-1995*, Oxford University Press (Second Edition), Melbourne, 1996, p. 53.

¹¹ This scheme included British migrants who either were nominated by an individual or organisation in Australia, or were selected by the states for particular purposes, such as land settlement, farm labour or domestic help. Child and youth migration schemes, such as the Fairbridge Society and Big Brother movement, were also part of the assisted package scheme, see O'Brien, E. *Tasmania transformed, or Transportation Revisited?: Immigration to Tasmania, 1945-1955*, M.Hum Thesis, University of Tasmania, 1992.

land in Australia, different to the 'paradise' which was often advertised and soon returned to Britain, thus contributing to the numbers leaving Australia.¹²

Through Japan's drive in the Pacific War and the Japanese advances on the coasts of Australia, the military weakness of having a small total population in Australia was identified. Australia also lacked large scale public works and there was a shortage of manual labour to stimulate industry. There were numerous vacancies in building, engineering, mining and manufacturing industries, and the demand for labour exceeded the supply. Within the immediate context of the 1940s and adhering to a populate or perish belief, rapid population increase was seen as a solution to Australia's military and economic weakness.

An immediate solution to the vulnerability of Australia as an isolated nation and the shortage of labour, was the implementation of a program of mass immigration. Between the years 1947-1954, immigration to Australia took on a new form and a significant increase took place in the numbers of immigrants arriving in Australia.

A significant reformatory measure in 1945, spurred on by the populate or perish slogan was the establishment of the Commonwealth Department of Immigration.¹³ Arthur Calwell was sworn in as first Minister for Immigration on July 13 1945. Under Prime Minister Chifley's government and through the nationalist vision for a 'greater Australia', Calwell was given the position and power to begin the immigration scheme. Chifley announced in 1949, true to the populate or perish dogma, "The great immigration drive would not abate until Australia had the population it needed to achieve full development to guarantee the security from outside attack."¹⁴ The initial policy proposed in 1947, after the completion of demobilisation, was a mass scheme

¹² Jupp, J. (ed), *The Australian People*, Angus and Robertson, North Ryde, 1988, pp. 91-94.

¹³ Upon the death of Prime Minister John Curtin, Calwell shared his ideas and vision for the creation of an immigration portfolio. Ann-Mari Jordens analyses the role of this department in responding to the settlement needs of migrants from 1945-75 in her book, *Alien to Citizen: Settling Migrants in Australia*, Allen & Unwin, St Leonards, NSW, 1997.

¹⁴ Quoted in the *Mercury*, 15 November 1999.

of British migration as well as a Scandinavian contingent, aimed at fulfilling, 'the desperate need for tradesmen and labourers in heavy industry, home building and public works'.¹⁵ Migrants from Britain, Scandinavia and Holland were seen as the most desirable and most likely to assimilate into Australian society. Northern Europeans were described as being the good looking 'blonde and blue eyed' peoples who would make 'wonderful additions to Australia'.¹⁶ The then Labor government adhered to a White Australia policy, a policy which first became enshrined in politics during the Labor Party's first national platform in 1906. Under the white Australia policy coloured peoples were classified as 'non-desirable' immigrants.¹⁷ The initial plan for British and Northern European migration, where Calwell had proposed that for every 'one European there would be ten British'¹⁸, fell short as the incentive to leave northern Europe and Britain in particular had diminished through the emergence of improved employment opportunities in these countries, a shortage of transport ships and a general unwillingness to leave their country.¹⁹

The next source for migration became the displaced persons camps across France, Germany and Austria. In these camps almost two million displaced persons (DPs), uncertain of their future, awaited relocation as well as offers of homes.²⁰ The number of the displaced was initially much greater, especially in the early years after the war. The number of Germans²¹ displaced by war initially amounted to twenty million, whilst non-Germans were estimated to number between eight to ten million.²² The

¹⁵ Lack, J and Templeton, J. *Bold Experiment: A Documentary History of Australian Immigration Since 1945*, Oxford University Press, 1995, p. 8.

¹⁶ A large number of Finnish, Dutch and German peoples who spoke English and were free from 'communist tendencies' were also classed as desirable, see Kunz, E. *Displaced Persons: Calwell's New Australians*, Australian National University Press, 1988, p. 6, and Fox, C. 'The Changing Workforce 1945-1974', *History of Australia: Reader Two*, Department of History and Classics, University of Tasmania, 1997, pp. 305-330. pp. 351.

¹⁷ see Jupp, J. *Immigration*, p. 82.

¹⁸ Australia, House of Representatives, *Parliamentary Debates*, Vol. 189, 1946, p. 508.

¹⁹ The British Government were engaged in post-war reconstruction and in expanding its welfare provision and so the counterattractions of Australia was limited further, *Ibid*, p. 71.

²⁰ Lack, J. and Templeton, J. *Bold Experiment*, p. 8.

²¹ The post war division of Germany created a new homeless group - the Volksdeutsche, referring largely to homeless ethnic Germans from non-German speaking countries.

²² Kunz, E. *Displaced Persons*, p. 29.

mass movement across Europe's boundaries of these displaced people, the forced repatriation and emigration to western countries, together with the resettlement of many of these persons in safer locations, accounts for the great reduction to these initial estimates.²³

Upon reaching the DP camps in Europe, Calwell was impressed with the 'class' of migrants present, "Many were red headed and blue-eyed. There was also a number of natural platinum blondes of both sexes. The men were handsome and the women beautiful."²⁴ Promoted as the 'desirable types', new arrivals would be accepted by Australians and the door would then be opened for other Baltic people and generally to other Eastern Europeans.²⁵ On the 21st of July 1947, Calwell signed an agreement on behalf of the Commonwealth of Australia with the preparatory commission of the International Refugee Organisation (IRO), a United Nations (UN) agency, allowing displaced persons to come to Australia.²⁶ The agreement entailed the Australian government paying a contribution of £10 per migrant to the Commission in return for the IRO providing the necessary shipping to Australia.²⁷ From 1945-1947 refugees were supported by the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA). In 1947 the IRO took over a collapsed UNRRA. Subsequently, under IRO schemes, displaced persons comprised the large contingent of immigrants who arrived in Australia after the war.²⁸

Social historian and demographer Egon Kunz provides a comprehensive account of the plight, context and experiences of many displaced persons in Australia in

²³ Holborn, L. W. *The International Refugee Organisation, a Specialised Agency of the United Nations: Its History and Work, 1946-1952*, London University Press, London, 1956.

²⁴ Calwell, A. A. *Be Just and Fear Not*, Lloyd O'Neil Pty. Ltd., Hawthorn, Victoria, 1972, p. 103.

²⁵ Kunca, J. 'Lithuanians', in Jupp, J. (ed). *The Australian People: An Encyclopedia of the Nation, Its People and their Origins*, Angus and Robertson Publishers, North Ryde, NSW, 1988, pp. 683.

²⁶ Calwell's initial reactions and commentary from his journeys to Europe and a review of his decisions after this visit can be found Kiernan's biography of Calwell, see Kiernan, C. *Calwell A Personal and Political Biography*, Thomas Nelson, Pty. Ltd, West Melbourne, Australia, 1978.

²⁷ The shortage of shipping was an early obstacle to the mass migration scheme.

²⁸ Australia was a signatory to the constitution of the IRO. Established in 1947 to assist with the resettlement of an estimated 1.6 million refugees in some 920 camps in Germany, Austria and France, O'Brien, E. *Tasmania Transformed or Transportation Revisited*, 1992, p. 26.

Displaced Persons : Calwell's New Australians. According to Kunz, 'the introduction of displaced persons to Australia was a remarkable national undertaking for both its bold innovation and for its magnitude'.²⁹ In the late 1940's Arthur Calwell was responsible for bringing to Australia almost 180 000³⁰ displaced persons from Poland, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Hungary and Germany. As Kunz states, "The refugees were far from a homogenous group. Coming from many distinctive ethnic origins, they differed not only from each other, but also from other communities in their birthplaces."³¹

The mass immigration program was a 'bold experiment' that was bound to have inconsistencies, problems and implications and as is the nature of any new policy, its impact can only fully be assessed in retrospect. This is the theme of John Lack and Jacqueline Templeton's, *Bold Experiment* where the authors conclude, "rather than being Australia's humane and generous response to a world traumatised by total war and fascist terror, Australia's post-war immigration scheme was calculatingly and selfishly opportunistic."³² It would be difficult to believe that no compassion was expressed toward displaced people as undoubtedly the policy provided relief for many whose homes and lives were destroyed by war. However, this relief was initially provided to those who happened to fit a select criterion. A criteria for health, age, and race was reinforced, but education and professional qualifications were not. James Jupp states, "The DP program was innovatory in bringing in large numbers of non-British aliens, but conservative in terms of adhering strictly to the White Australia policy".³³ Abiding to this select criterion, the majority of DPs brought to Australia were young men and women between the ages of twenty and thirty five, those who

²⁹ Kunz, E. *Displaced Persons*, p. 253.

³⁰ 170, 700 signed an agreement to work for two years. Another 11, 512 IRO refugees arrived independently of the Australian Government, largely Jewish refugees assisted by Jewish agencies, Jordens, A. *Alien to Citizen*, p. 10.

³¹ Kunz, E. *Displaced Persons*, p. 141.

³² Lack, J. and Templeton, J. *Bold Experiment*, p. 2.

³³ Jupp, J. *Immigration*, p. 72.

passed stringent health criteria and were able to immediately work in labouring industries and domestic services upon arrival.³⁴

Post World War II migrant labour is frequently heralded as a cheap and efficient much needed workforce whose advantages far exceeded any disadvantages that the scheme yielded. The new arrivals were subject to two year indentured work contracts where they were often employed in the construction of public works. The economic advantages for Australia and the desire to develop Australia as a nation were the driving factors in its implementation. The nature of the policy was a post-war reform measure set amongst a perceived necessity to populate Australia or 'she shall perish'. The policy was implemented in an experimental manner with the aim of assimilating the 'New Australian' with as little as possible impact on those who were Australian born. Yet with the proposal of assimilation, came many conflicting issues for both migrants and the host people's of their new country.

According to Egon Kunz the three most morally questionable features of the immigration program's implementation as it affected the DPs were, 'forced assimilation, the insensitive administration of the contract system, and the denial of the rights of the highly qualified to practice their professions'.³⁵ Eileen O'Brien, whose thesis explores the links between Tasmania's post-World War II immigration history and Tasmania's convict history, interprets the rationale for the imposition of a two year bond as twofold. Firstly, it ensured that immigrants were not competing against Australians for jobs and thus helped to promote a favourable public attitude toward continuing immigration; secondly, it facilitated the mass movement of migrants either to fill labour needs, or to remove migrants from an area if there were any adverse community responses.³⁶ Male Lithuanians were employed in varied industries comprising the industrial sector. Women without dependent children were assigned to

³⁴ Kunz, E. *Displaced Persons*, p. 49.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 257.

³⁶ O'Brien, E. *Transformation or Transportation Revisited?*, p. 39. O'Brien focuses predominantly on immigrants who were contracted to the HEC in Tasmania.

factory, rural or domestic work.³⁷ These women were often sent as process workers in food and textile factories or as domestic and laundry hands in hospitals, their spouses and other family members sent kilometres away often across Australian state boundaries.³⁸

The imposition of a two year work contract began a segmentation of the workforce, "... displaced persons were 'forced' to sign two-year agreements promising to work wherever they were sent."³⁹ Emigration to Australia was based on the condition that such an agreement be signed. Under indentured work contracts immigrants were employed predominantly in large industrial capital schemes that were labour intensive. In fact many of the public works projects were reliant upon extra workers to ensure their go ahead. In 1950 the Regional Director of the Commonwealth Employment Service, Mr. E. C. Franklin announced that migrants form the main source of labour required to fill 2 773 vacant jobs in Tasmania. Furthermore the demand for labour continued to exceed the supply.⁴⁰ Vacant positions were difficult to fill, as the local population saw these jobs as undesirable. The most notable large public works scheme that New Australians⁴¹ were associated with, was the Snowy Mountains Hydro-Electric Scheme in New South Wales.⁴² The Snowy Mountains project is now viewed retrospectively as being the cultural melting pot leading to multiculturalism. In Tasmania the indentured contract scheme is most memorable as being the impetus for Tasmania's hydro-electric industrialisation.

³⁷ Dryza, G. & S, *A Migrant Story: The Lithuanian Experience in Australia 1947-1997*, Australian Lithuanian Federal Executive, Sydney, 1997, p. 3.

³⁸ Birsks et al, *The Baltic Peoples*, p. 21.

³⁹ Fox, C. 'The Changing Workforce 1945-1974', p. 314.

⁴⁰ *The Mercury*, 5 October 1950.

⁴¹ The title of New Australian was applied in official Commonwealth publications to alleviate the local hostility that arose through name calling and mildly abusive terminology for particular ethnic groups, New Australian was later replaced with migrant, see Jupp, J. *Arrivals and Departures*, Lansdowne Pty. Ltd, Melbourne, 1966, p. 9.

⁴² The Snowy Mountains Hydro scheme took 25 years to complete. A series of tunnels and dams were built diverting the head waters of the Snowy river, fed by the Australian Alps, into the Tumut-Murrumbidgee system, see Bolton, G. *The Oxford History of Australia*, p. 56.

Despite the demand for labour and the necessity to secure migrants to fill these positions, work contracts limited the level of negotiation rights DPs had, compared to free workers or union labourers, and contracted work restricted their movements in Australia.⁴³ In particular, the prior skills and training of many of these workers were ignored upon their arrival, through their contracted years and even later post contract. Fox says, "...prior to coming to Australia, less than ten percent of displaced persons were labourers."⁴⁴ In Tasmania, Liberal Alderman McCann publicly warned that a mistake would occur if displaced persons were employed longer than twelve months. McCann stated, "Some of the men that I employed were exceedingly lazy and good for nothing."⁴⁵ There is no doubt that some workers fitted McCann's description, however it is more accurate to suggest, in line with Fox's findings, that the men were often unsuited to the type of work they were being assigned to.

Not only were many displaced persons becoming initiated into a new type of work, but they were also introduced to new work dynamics. For those who knew English well, Australian colloquialisms did not assist with their understanding of work practices.⁴⁶ Likewise the division of the working day was all different to the new arrivals. For example, lunch time was considered dinner time: the European practice was to sit down to the main meal and drink with your meal, rather than a 'ten minute rest break'. Despite differences in social and work behaviour, Zubrzycki's Latrobe Valley study conducted ten years after DP arrival, concluded that fifty-seven percent of

⁴³ The location of assigned work often played an important role in how skilled work was valued. Polish migrants residing at Butler's Gorge were described as fortunate in being able to associate more closely with Tasmanians in their work. Migrants at Butler's Gorge received English lessons, instructions in reading, writing and conversation and lectures presented on the Australian way of life. It was stated in *The Mercury* in 1949 that with easier assimilation through language classes, migrants "...were gradually changing from labouring jobs to the type of work they were doing before the war." This situation was different at outposts like Tarraleah, where there were fewer Tasmanians to the number of migrant arrivals, *The Mercury*, 8 October 1949.

⁴⁴ Fox, C. 'The Changing Workforce 1945-1974', p. 315.

⁴⁵ *The Mercury*, 5 April 1949.

⁴⁶ Such expressions as 'tucker time', 'hand me that cobber', and 'see ya later', were all new to migrants and often as in the case of 'see you later', it was believed that the person would be seen later and preparations were made for this anticipated visit. One Lithuanian lady informed the researcher of the time she was told whilst polishing a table to 'put some elbow grease into it!', of which she replied, 'where can you get this Elbow Grease?'.

those born in Baltic countries considered their jobs were better than those they had pursued in their native lands. These figures compared well with the proportion of migrants whose level of schooling was completed at the final year of their primary education.⁴⁷ In economic terms the resettlement of DPs in Australia brought considerable material benefits for many unskilled migrants as well as for Australia. Many unskilled workers or labourers were able to achieve upward social mobility through the work skills during the two year contract period.⁴⁸ For the remaining forty-six percent the situation was different. For this forty-six percent, an understanding of their prior skills and occupations needs to be addressed.⁴⁹

Non-recognition of many professional qualifications and skills held by immigrants continued into the 1950's. Subsequently many of these workers continued working in the manual labour industries. Manual labour often ensured job security, whilst seeking work in white collar industries was more uncertain. Many migrant women, continued to work in semi-skilled areas after their contract was completed.

The implementation of the displaced persons' program has been described as a relatively trouble free enterprise largely accepted by members of the host nation. This paved the way for further immigration in the decades that ensued. Public perception was positive at large. It could be argued that this was due to the alienation of new settlers upon their arrival in Australia and the silence in the printed media of the role of the new arrivals in Tasmania, more so than the liberal cultural attitudes of the host population. In accordance with O'Brien⁵⁰ who looked at newspaper clippings from the HEC newspaper archives and found few mentions of the new arrivals in Tasmania,

⁴⁷ Around fifty percent of the Baltic refugees who arrived in Australia had completed their level of education at primary and secondary level, see Zubrzycki, J. *Settlers of the Latrobe Valley: A Sociological Study of Immigrants in the Brown Coal Industry in Australia*, ANU Press, Canberra, 1964.

⁴⁸ Kunz, E. *Displaced Persons*, p. 254.

⁴⁹ Education and work history of Lithuanian migrants will be reviewed in greater detail in chapters two and three of this thesis.

⁵⁰ O'Brien, E. *Tasmania Transformed or Transportation Revisited? Immigration to Tasmania, 1945-1955*, M. Hum Thesis, University of Tasmania, Hobart, 1992.

in *The Mercury* and the *Launceston Examiner* Naturalisation ceremonies, the activities of the Good Neighbour Council and isolated stories of migrant experience relating to mainland cities and towns, dominate the newspaper stories that were printed. Tasmanian newspapers published surprisingly little about their work, lives, cultural encounters and very little was written of female migrants in general. For the Australian born, accepting the differences of others often required periods of adjustment.⁵¹ Janet McCalman's *Struggletown* provides a useful overview of how "old" Australians reacted to the changing ethnic character of Richmond in the 1950's: "... the first response of old Australians to New Australians was essentially racist... those in Richmond felt threatened by cultural differences".⁵² McCalman found that misunderstanding and fear of change often lead to negative encounters.

Tasmanian views were voiced most strongly when fear and concern mounted that housing migrants in residential areas would lead to permanent slum areas. A proposal to establish a hostel centre for European migrants at Mowbray Heights was strongly opposed by local residents. Residents argued that sites equally as suitable could be found further from the built up area of the city.⁵³ A deputation from the Mowbray Progress Association claimed, "residents at Mowbray did not object to migrants as such, but they objected to temporary dwellings or camps in a residential area."⁵⁴ They feared their homes would depreciate in value rapidly. Residents held local meetings, which became political in nature when Liberal politicians took up their cause in opposition to Labor migration policies. A survey conducted by a Liberal candidate for Bass, found that of 200 homes visited, 154 opposed the camp.⁵⁵ The residents circulated a petition which gained many signatures, mainly from the Mowbray area.

⁵¹ Shifting phases of acceptance have occurred throughout Australia's history, most notably the Irish immigrants later Southern Europeans and more recently Asian migrants, see Jupp, J. *Immigration*.

⁵² McCalman, J. *Struggletown: Public and Private Life in Richmond 1900-1965*, Melbourne University Press, Carlton, Victoria, 1985, p. 280.

⁵³ *The Examiner*, 7 October 1949.

⁵⁴ *The Mercury*, 11 October 1949.

⁵⁵ These survey results were presented in *The Mercury*, 5 October 1949.

Similarly opposition mounted against the proposed construction of a migrant camp at Exeter in the State's north. The main issue of concern was that Exeter did not contain a water supply or a sewerage system. It was questioned how an hygienically clean camp could be established under such circumstances. Exeter residents, like Mowbray residents, voiced their opposition through letters to the editor and public forums.⁵⁶

The sheer diversity of peoples arriving in Australia between 1945 - 1952 significantly changed the ethnic composition of Australia. During this period, 359 800 new arrivals came from Britain and other Commonwealth countries, with just over 50% (362 000) making up all non-British arrivals (see Table 1).

Table 1: Declared nationality of permanent new arrivals in Australia, October 1945 - December 1952

| Nationality | Numbers | Percentage Of Total |
|--------------------------|----------------|------------------------|
| British | 359 800 | 49.8 |
| <i>Non - British</i> | | |
| Italian | 70 600 | 9.8 |
| Polish | 70 400 | 9.8 |
| Dutch | 43 400 | 6.1 |
| Yugoslav | 24 700 | 3.4 |
| Latvian | 19 700 | 2.8 |
| Russian | 19 600 | 2.7 |
| German | 15 500 | 2.1 |
| Hungarian | 13 700 | 1.9 |
| Czechoslovak | 11 500 | 1.6 |
| Greek | 11 500 | 1.6 |
| Lithuanian | 10 000 | 1.4 |
| American | 7 400 | 1.0 |
| Estonian | 6 200 | 0.9 |
| Others | 36 000 | 5.1 |
| <i>All Non - British</i> | 362 000 | 50.2 |
| <i>All Nationalities</i> | 721 000 | 100.0 |

Source: Lack, J. and Templeton, J. *Bold Experiment: A Documentary History of Australian Immigration Since 1945*, Oxford University Press, 1995, p. 44.

For many of the British and Australian born, migrant culture initially had little or no impact on their lives.⁵⁷ Those of the 362 000 non-British arrivals that came from

⁵⁶ *The Examiner*, 11 October 1949; 14 October 1949.

⁵⁷ Kunz, E. *Displaced Persons*, p. 258.

European DP camps, were contracted to work in rural "isolated" regions and their assimilation into Australian society was actively promoted through government policy and public opinion. It was when migrants settled in urban communities that the 'urban' Australian born were most likely to come into contact with them. In large cities such as Melbourne, Adelaide and Sydney this contact was most frequent. However, within the smaller communities of Canberra, Newcastle, Perth, Ballarat, Hobart and Wollongong, immigrant populations took on a distinctly different character. For many migrants smaller communities were far removed from their experiences in Europe, particularly for those who had lived in urban cities and came from middle class backgrounds. Subsequently during their early years, a sense of physical as well as social detachment from their experiences in Europe and the political and social experiences their countries were facing, was felt. This sense of detachment was largely misunderstood and continues to be often misrepresented, particularly when displaced persons are stereotyped as 'blue collar' workers of rural backgrounds. Through the focus on one particular group of new settlers, Lithuanian immigrants, it is perhaps possible to see how lives were transformed and how experiences were shaped.

*Uncertainties: The Lithuanian
Immigration Experience*

Uncertainties: The Lithuanian Immigration Experience

A brief survey of Lithuanian history

Lithuania has long been a country marked by other people's wars and other nation's territorial ambitions.⁵⁸

Lithuania has a long and varied history with the earliest evidence of inhabitants dating back some twelve thousand years. Lithuanian ethnic culture evolved from a people known to archaeologists as "the cord-ware culture" who spread over a vast region of Eastern Europe between the Baltic Sea and the Vistula river in the west and the Moscow-Kursk line in the east around five thousand years ago. Merging with the indigenous population, they gave rise to the 'Balts', a distinct Indo-European ethnic group whose descendants are the present-day Lithuanian and Latvian nations and the now extinct Prussians.⁵⁹ Lithuania (see appendix C) and her bordering neighbours of Latvia and Estonia, are known collectively in the geographical sense as the Baltic states. Linguistically the term 'Balts' refers only to Lithuanians and Latvians whose languages derive from Sanskrit.⁶⁰ 'Balts' has also been a colloquial term applied to the displaced persons who arrived and worked in Australia. As people from the Baltic nations were among the early arrivals, the colloquial term was often applied to these immigrants and subsequently all DPs were referred to as 'Balts'.

⁵⁸ Danyš, M. *DP Lithuanian Immigration to Canada After the Second World War*, Multicultural History Society of Ontario, Toronto, 1986, p. 3.

⁵⁹ Kazokas, G. *Lithuanian Artists in Australia*, *World Book Encyclopedia*, Danyš, M, *Lithuanian Immigration to Canada after the Second World War*.

⁶⁰ *Ibid*, p. 1. Kazokas' PHD thesis offers a useful sketch of Lithuania's early history. An incisive scholarly attempt to locate the ancient homeland of the Baltic Peoples through language study is, Sabaliński, A. *We, The Balts*, Science and Encyclopedia Publishers, Vilnius, Lithuanian, 1993.

Lithuanian history also has a dominating feature - its physical boundaries were in fact its major foreign policy problem. In the thirteenth century Lithuania was invaded by the Teutonic knights from the East where Lithuania had managed to stand her ground. The fourteenth to seventeenth centuries of Lithuania's history saw repeated assaults by Tartars, Swedes and Russians and Napoleon occupied Kaunas en route to his invasion of Russia.⁶¹ Lithuania's geographic location was to play a significant role in the Russification of Lithuania and the incorporation of Lithuania into the Russian Empire during the Third Partition in 1795, the German army occupation of Lithuania in 1915, and the Polish occupation of Eastern Lithuania in 1920.⁶²

An interlude to the conflict that is associated with the first half of Lithuania's twentieth century history, was the period from 1918 to 1940 or the interwar years. In 1918 Lithuania regained her independence.⁶³ During this time a comprehensive system of education was developed, with the extensive development of primary and secondary schools together with tertiary education. The Lithuanian language became the state language of instruction and this period saw the development of the press and cultural medias of literature, music, the arts and theatre.⁶⁴ This was a significant period in the re-birth and reinforcement of Lithuanian cultural and national pride. Despite the relatively prosperous interwar period, Lithuania was once again to struggle for its independence.

Lithuania's geographical boundaries have often changed throughout its history but none so dramatically as the changes that occurred through the second world war and can be visually represented by a series of maps (see Appendix D). Prior to the outbreak of war, Lithuania was wedged between two imperial giants, Germany to the west and the Soviet empire to the east. Between 1937 and 1947, Lithuania went from

⁶¹ Suziedelis, S. (ed), *Lithuanica Encyclopedia*, Juozas Kapocius, Boston, Massachusetts, 1970.

⁶² *World Book Encyclopedia*, World Book, London, 1992.

⁶³ Kunca, J. 'Lithuanians', in Jupp, J. (ed). *The Australian People: An Encyclopedia of the Nation, Its People and their Origins*, Angus and Robertson Publishers, North Ryde, NSW, 1988, pp. 682-84.

⁶⁴ Damusis, A. *Lithuania Against Soviet and Nazi Aggression*, The American Foundation for Lithuanian Research, Inc, Chicago, 1998, p. 12.

a neutral country not under foreign occupation, to a USSR occupied area in 1940, a country under axis military occupation from 1941-44, to once again Soviet occupation from 1944-1990.⁶⁵

The Ribbentrop-Molotov agreement between Soviet Russia and Nazi Germany, signed on 23 August 1939, was a public pact of mutual assistance. Behind this public pact, however, a secret protocol implied the division of Eastern Europe into "spheres of influence." A line was drawn through Poland, Germany was to have influence over Lithuania and Russia took control of Latvia, Estonia and Finland. When Germany failed to enlist Lithuania as an Ally, a revised agreement ensued. Lithuania was handed over to the USSR in exchange for Lublin and the province of Warsaw and \$7.5 million in gold. After the partition of Poland, under the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, the Volksdeutsche⁶⁶ of Lithuania were not recalled to the Reich immediately as were the German minorities of Estonia and Latvia. With the admission of the three Baltic states into the Soviet Union, sovietisation of the Baltic states began. The ministers and ambassadors of the three Baltic States lost their diplomatic immunity and were arrested, leading to deportations.⁶⁷

From 14 -21 June 1941, what has been labelled 'Terrible June', mass deportations of Baltic peoples to Siberia and other parts of the USSR occurred. On 22 June 1941, Germany attacked the USSR, drove the Russians out and occupied the three Baltic States until mid-1944. Despite threats and fear Lithuanians could not be persuaded to form an SS (Nazi police force) unit to fight on the German side, although in the closing stages of the war a Lithuanian Territorial Force was established. The refusal to form SS units and widespread unwillingness to join German forces, gave a strong impetus to the Germans to concentrate on extracting forced labour contingents and resulted in the rounding up and deportation of some 30 000 Lithuanians, mainly young

⁶⁵ Kunz visually highlights the changes in Europe's boundaries before, during and after the second world war. This visual representation is included in this study as Appendix D.

⁶⁶ Ethnic Germans.

⁶⁷ Dunsdorfs, E. *The Baltic Dilemma*, Robert Speller & Sons, Publishers, New York, 1975, p. 17.

men, to Germany. Forty five community leaders were arrested and held as hostages in Stutthof concentration camp.⁶⁸ Throughout this period resistance groups grew and emotional feelings toward Lithuania enveloped many people.

The Soviets returned in 1944, forcing the Germans out of Lithuania and resumed mass arrests and deportations. In addition conscriptions into the Soviet Army and placement in lumber camps in Arctic regions, saw one quarter of those conscripted perish.⁶⁹ Many Lithuanians, like their Baltic neighbours were deeply traumatised, through these murders, deportations and conscriptions. The Lithuanians had seen their country occupied by two totalitarian regimes, both of which they had opposed.⁷⁰ The second Soviet occupation of Lithuania, was closely followed with the mass exodus of Lithuanians westward, mainly to Germany, but also to Sweden, Denmark and Austria. Ironically, the Lithuanians had spent three years resisting Nazi domination from the west. Fearing their lives approximately 80 000⁷¹ Lithuanians fled from the Russians. Putting themselves and their families out of danger and the conviction that they would return to their homelands as soon as possible was the driving rationale behind the mass exodus for many people.⁷²

An understanding of this 'tug-o-war' between opposing aggressors, goes some way to comprehending the fears, struggles, lack of stability yet the emotional pride and regard that Lithuanians had toward their country. After the war ended in 1945, Germany was divided into four zones controlled by the four allies: Soviet Union, United Kingdom, United States of America and France. Lithuanian refugees who found themselves in

⁶⁸ Damusis, A. *Lithuania Against Soviet and Nazi Aggression*, pp. 152-153. Aleksandras Kantvilas was one of the surviving hostages of Stutthof concentration camp. Alex played a significant role in the Hobart Lithuanian community up to his passing in 1997. Chapters three and four of this study include Alex's experiences as reflected through the memories of his widow Nina Kantvilas.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

⁷⁰ For a detailed chronology of major events and activities of Soviets and Nazi Germans during their periods of occupation in Lithuania, see Damusis, A. *Lithuania Against Soviet and Nazi Aggression*, The American Foundation for Lithuanian Research, Inc., Chicago, 1998.

⁷¹ This figure is an approximation and varies according to source, Straukas places the numbers who fled at around 100, 000, see Straukas, B. 'Lithuanians in Australia', *Australijos Lietuviu, Metrastis II*, S.A. Print Co., Adelaide, South Australia, 1983, pp. 9-21.

⁷² Kazokas, *Lithuanian Artists in Australia*, p. 18.

East Germany, the Soviet Zone, were required to register for immediate return home. Unlike those who migrated for economic reasons, Lithuanian displaced persons had left Lithuania, under duress without full recognition to that fact, taking with them uncertainties about the fate of family members and friends as well as the tag of 'stateless person'.

Lithuanian Displaced Persons

In the three West German zones, UNRRA established camps in former army barracks, convents and prisons, where Lithuanian refugees and other DPs were accommodated and fed. Life in displaced persons camps was accompanied with many uncertainties. Stories circulated in camps about atrocities committed by the allies. Many had lost their homes and their relatives, and at war's end were left waiting or fearing that 'something would happen'.⁷³ Some Lithuanians spent long periods in Germany uncertain of their future, some up to five years, where they were often shifted from one camp and location to the next.⁷⁴ Within these camps Lithuanians, like other migrant groups, coordinated and promoted cultural and educational activities as both a means of self preservation as well as a way to ensure that however long they were in this confined predicament they would maintain a Lithuanian way of life in anticipation of their return home. Food, accommodation and employment were scarce in war-torn Germany and many participated in the economies of trade in order to obtain necessary goods. Within DP camps communal links were strong and Lithuanian identity was strengthened.

Those who endured camp life hoped it was not more than temporary subsistence. Endrius Jankus, who was drafted to dig trenches for the Germany army during the war, was one of the first Lithuanians to answer Calwell's call and he arrived in

⁷³ Baltutis, M. *Lithuanians in Melbourne*, p. 15.

⁷⁴ Dryza, G. & S, *A Migrant Story: The Lithuanian Experience in Australia 1947-1997*, Australian Lithuanian Federal Executive, Sydney, 1997, p. 1.

Australia in 1947. As a young man living in the confines of a displaced persons camp, he felt it necessary to beat an uncertain situation by seeking refuge elsewhere.⁷⁵ Nina Kantvilas was a university student of the art faculty⁷⁶ of Vilnius University, majoring in English. After the closure of the University by the Germans in 1943, Nina worked in the State Library in Siauliai (Lithuania). Nina's command of the English language was valuable during her time spent as a displaced person in Germany. Nina worked as welfare officer, Camp Administrator, and interpreter with UNRRA and the IRO for displaced persons in Germany. It was in a DP camp that she married Aleksandras Kantvilas. As a married couple they were searching for a temporary settlement that was safe and secure. Many educated and politically minded people, like the Kantvilas couple, heavily endorsed the principles of the Atlantic Charter and were inspired by the key principles of British Prime Minister Winston Churchill and US President Roosevelt's Atlantic Charter (or Eight Points). In particular how the Atlantic Charter could lead to the freedom of Lithuanians from Soviet occupation.⁷⁷ Nina Kantvilas states,

"If the Atlantic Charter meant what it was supposed to mean and our country had been free in a few years, we would have gone home [to Lithuania]. We did not look for a better life, we only wanted to be alive and free."⁷⁸

From time to time, DP camps were visited by representatives of various countries: the United Kingdom, United States of America, Belgium, Canada, Venezuela and so forth. Lithuanians began to immigrate to the USA, England and Canada. The USA conducted migration via sponsorship where Canada and England took only single men

⁷⁵ Endrius Jankus, response to questionnaire.

⁷⁶ Equal to Humanities Faculty.

⁷⁷ Adolfas Damusis in his book *Lithuania Against Soviet and Nazi Aggression*, summarises the Eight Key thematic points/principles of the Atlantic Charter as being: no 'big brother' concern about free people, sovereign rights and their restoration, access to trade and raw materials, social security, hope for the establishment of peace, free access to the world's waterways and abolition of force and disarmament of aggressors, p. 327.

⁷⁸ Nina Kantvilas, response to questionnaire.

and women. This meant a long wait for families seeking assistance.⁷⁹ Immigration was deemed by many the best, perhaps the only, solution to the predicament facing DPs. Australian recruiters appeared around 1946-47. The prerequisites that accompanied migration to Australia and indeed other countries included the screening of political tendencies, youth, good health, unmarried status and a general willingness to work hard. Tarvydas presents the experience of a Baltic migrant undergoing the selection process,

Good health was one of the requirements. Besides that, numerous political screenings took place. There were questionnaires about basic knowledge of Australia. From memory, nobody knew that Canberra was the country's capital. As a matter of fact no one had even heard of Canberra. The whole process was very slow and frustrating for us.⁸⁰

The arrival of Lithuanian immigrants in Australia

Those who answered Calwell's immigration invitation did so for motives of; immediate safety, freedom, to escape unemployment, food shortages and poor living conditions, and as political refugees, in protest at the continued occupation of their country and determined to fight for its independence.⁸¹ Baltic migrants, including men, women and children, were the first non-British displaced persons to make the four week journey to Australia on the transport ship *General Heintzelman* in 1947.⁸² As the initial preference was for single male migrants the *Heintzelman* contained more males than females. Proportionately Lithuanians had the greatest disparity between males and females on board, with 417 males and 22 females. Those who remained in DP camps awaited news from those came to Australia. Ale Liubinas in her autobiographical novel *Aviete and After*, writes of her memories of life in a DP camp. When Ale first heard of Australia she was informed, "Australians are fierce people and still live with snakes and other savage animals in the deep jungles.. the ants down

⁷⁹ Baltutis, M. *Lithuanians in Melbourne*, p. 11.

⁸⁰ An account by Raimonds Kristovkis in Tarvydas, R. *From Amber Coast to Apple Isle*, p. 7.

⁸¹ Straukas, B. 'Lithuanians in Australia', p. 13.

⁸² The Gen. Heintzelman arrived in Fremantle on November 28 1947. The 843 DPs on board were transferred to HMAS Kanimbla and reached Melbourne on 5 December 1947.

there are as big as chickens, the crocodiles can swallow a man whole..⁸³ These images were frightening to a child, but soon dismissed when Ale received letters of friends describing a more peaceful and friendly place.

Between the years 1947 and 1951, Under the Displaced Persons Scheme, some 9906 Lithuanians arrived in Australia. A further 140 Lithuanians came without Government assistance. With 440 Lithuanians arriving in Australia in 1947, Lithuanians were the largest group among the early arrivals. They also arrived to a country where there was a very small Lithuanian presence. In 1933 the Lithuanian born population in Australia, was 155 males and 80 females. By 1954 the total number of Lithuanians, according to the 1954 census was 5272 males and 3172 females.⁸⁴ The vast majority of Lithuanians who came to settle in Tasmania arrived in 1948 and were contracted to work in that state. The number of arrivals diminishing almost by half in 1949, 1950, 1951 and 1952 (Figure 2.1).

What is significant about the years 1948-1952 is the high masculinity ratio of the Lithuanian population. Census data (1954) and arrival records⁸⁵ confirm that Lithuanian migrants had the highest masculinity ratio of the Baltic refugees. In the intake for the year 1948 there were thirteen Lithuanian males for every one Lithuanian female. In 1949, the proportion was still three to one: “.. the proportion of single men was higher among the Lithuanians, especially in the first transports where preference was given to the needed work category of ‘young, fit, single men’.”⁸⁶ A second graph (Figure 2.2) shows age distribution. The greatest number of male arrivals were aged between 17-24 and 25-32.

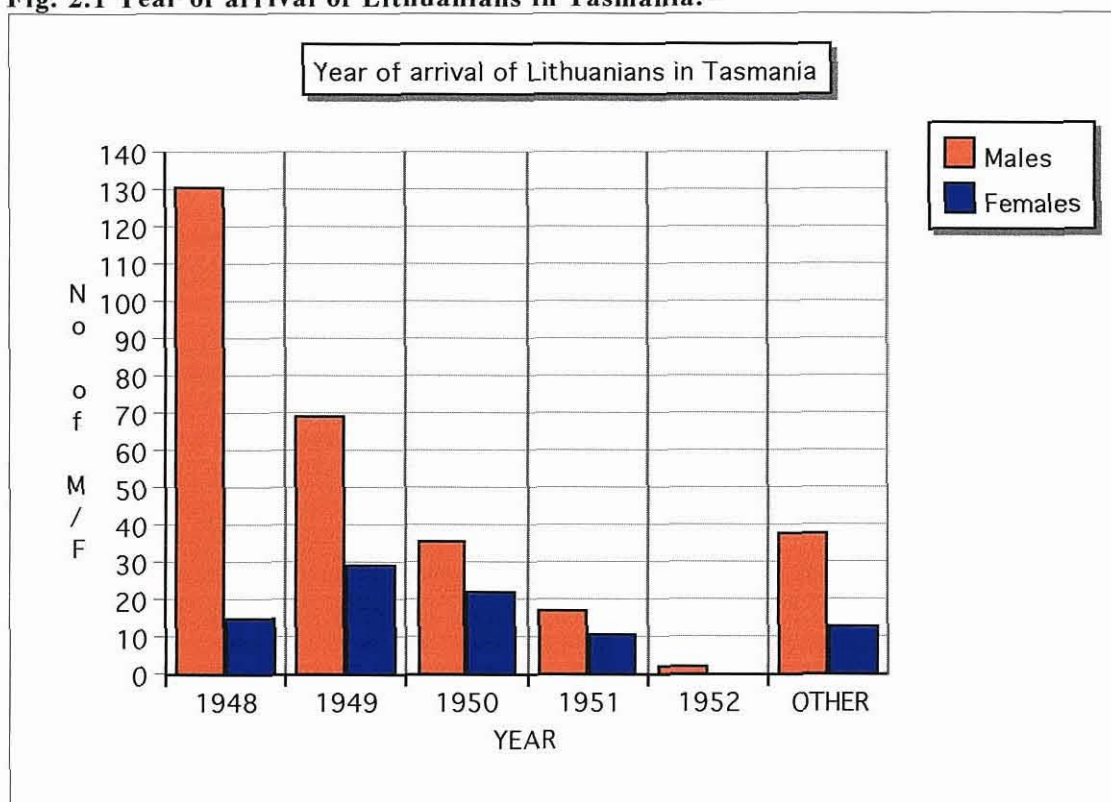
⁸³ Ale Liubinas recounts her life experiences in novel format as she explains, 'All of the names in the book are fictitious, but the characters, locations and the events closely resemble the people and the places where I grew up in Lithuania, and later during the turmoil of The Second World War. *Aviete and After* tells of a young girls' suffering and lost childhood, Liubinas, A. *Aviete and After, An Autobiographical Novel*, Fosbee P/L, Ascot Vale, Victoria, 1998.

⁸⁴ Zubrzycki, J. *Immigrants in Australia: A Demographic Survey Based Upon the 1954 Census*, Melbourne University Press, Victoria, 1960, p. 42.

⁸⁵ Including Nominal Rolls of DP Transport ships, utilised in Kunz's study of DPs, see Kunz, E. *Displaced Persons, Appendix 1*, p. 261-265.

⁸⁶ Birskys et al, *The Baltic Peoples*, p. 19.

Fig. 2.1 Year of arrival of Lithuanians in Tasmania.⁸⁷



A survey of the Lithuanians who came to Tasmania, shows that compared to the 131 males who arrived in 1948, only 15 Lithuanian females arrived.⁸⁸ A table showing age upon arrival also reveals this high masculinity rate (Table 2.2). A 1973 study by Krupinski, Stoller and Wallace of eastern Europeans in Melbourne, which covered the entire 31, 000 refugee population of Victoria, revealed that Baltic immigrants had the highest rates of male psychiatric illness. Although it is difficult to define what triggers psychiatric illness, or when illness begins, this high rate was attributed to loss of status and the high rates of alcoholism that accompanied wartime and post wartime experiences.⁸⁹ Baltutis (1981) in her Melbourne study draws on the high masculinity

⁸⁷ Raw data was drawn and sorted from R. Tarvydas' - 'List of Baltic immigrants in Tasmania' an appendix to Tarvydas' book *From Amber Coast to Apple Isle*. The sex, marital status, year of arrival in Australia, year of arrival in Tasmania and age on arrival of Lithuanian immigrants, is contained in Appendix E.

⁸⁸ Of the males who arrived in Tasmania, there is some uncertainty as to the precise year that 53 males arrived. Likewise there is some uncertainty as to the actual year 26 Lithuanian females. These Lithuanians have been plotted in the most likely arrival year. A statistical breakdown of the number of uncertainties against the year of arrival can be obtained from Appendix E.

⁸⁹ Krupinski, J. Stoller, A. & Wallace, L. 'Psychiatric Disorders in Eastern European refugees now in Australia', in *Social Science and Medicine*, Vol. 7, 1973, p. 31.

rates, particularly in the beginning of the DP program, as leading to many males 'missing out' on Lithuanian and European brides. Those who "missed out on the marriage stakes" and who were shunned away from marrying Australian brides, never married and were more likely to be amongst this group.⁹⁰ What also needs to be mentioned as possible causes of illness, was the loss of homeland, limitations of personal development and the continuing fear of Soviet persecution.⁹¹

The majority of Lithuanian displaced persons who came to settle in Tasmania, were those who had escaped Lithuania in 1944, after witnessing the horrors of two foreign occupations, Soviet (1940-41), and German (1941-44). These refugees remained frightened and intimidated. Above all they were scared of being returned to Lithuania, or 'got at' some how by the Russians.

Table 2.2 Number of married Lithuanians (who later settled in Tasmania)⁹²

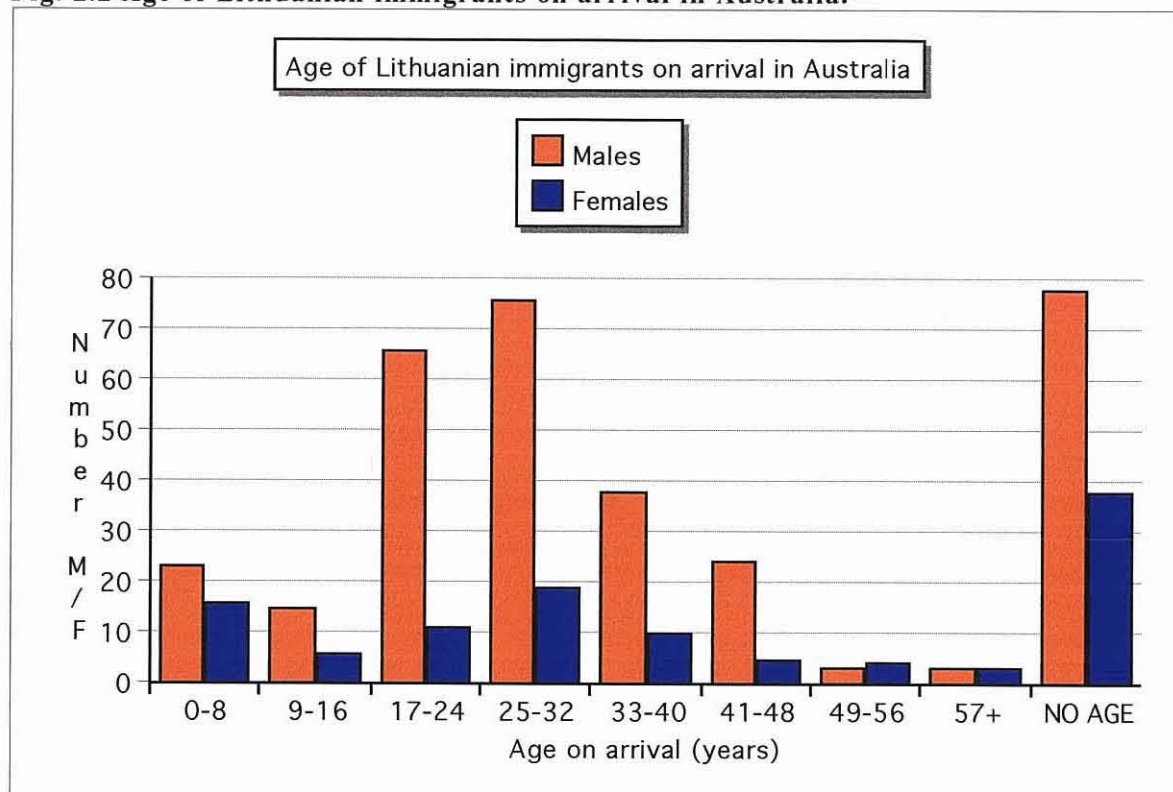
| Age range | Males | % of total | Females | % of total |
|-------------|-------|------------|---------|------------|
| 17-24 | 3 | 4.5% | 8 | 72.8% |
| 25-32 | 14 | 18.5% | 13 | 68.4% |
| 33-40 | 16 | 42% | 8 | 80% |
| 41-48 | 13 | 54% | 3 | 60% |
| 49-56 | 3 | 100% | 3 | 75% |
| 57+ | 2 | 2/3 | - | - |
| AGE UNKNOWN | 13 | 16.7% | 15 | 39.5% |

⁹⁰ Baltutis, M. *Lithuanians in Melbourne, 1947-1980*, pp. 29-30.

⁹¹ Kazokas, M. *Lithuanian Artists in Australia*, p. 57.

⁹² There was a number of widowers on arrival, see Appendix E.

Fig. 2.2 Age of Lithuanian immigrants on arrival in Australia.⁹³



A number of Lithuanians who came to settle in Tasmania were already married upon their arrival. This accounts for both the very small number of Lithuanians marrying Lithuanians in Tasmania, as compared to other states, and the higher proportion of Lithuanians that married out of their nationality. Seventy-three percent of females in the age group 17-24, sixty-eight percent in the age group 25-32 and eighty percent in the age group 33-40 were married upon their arrival in Australia (Table 2.2).

In Tasmania a large proportion of Lithuanian males married other Europeans and Australians. Attitudes to companionship and marriage between Baltic migrants and Australians, were often complicated and hindered by beliefs that the migrants were dangerous, associated with the Nazis and those attracted to them were called the lowest of the low. There was always an exception to the rule, however, where a foreign

⁹³ Raw data was drawn and sorted from R. Tarvydas' - 'List of Baltic immigrants in Tasmania' an appendix to Tarvydas' book *From Amber Coast to Apple Isle*. The chart refers to Lithuanians who arrived in Australia and their age upon arrival. This refers to Lithuanians who came directly to Tasmania as well as those who served their contracts on the mainland and came to Tasmania afterwards as well as those who migrated to Tasmania in other years. This chart does not include those who came to Australia and settled on the mainland, see Table 2.1 (Appendix E).

husband or wife was accepted instantly. At the same time, there was considerable pressure on single Lithuanians not to marry out, but to form "pure" Lithuanian families. This was impossible due to the higher proportion of Lithuanian males.

Lithuanian migrants first experience of Australia, was of the mainland reception centres they were allocated to upon their arrival. These centres were refurbished former Australian army camps with three main functions according to Tarvydas, "to check the health of the new arrivals, introduce them to the Australian way of life, and allocate immigrants to their jobs."⁹⁴ Mainland receptions centres also set the tone of isolating new arrivals from the host nation. Waters were being tested on how well the host nation would receive the new arrivals and the expectations that immigrants had of their relocation. The new arrivals were viewed with curiosity and intrigue by the general public.⁹⁵

In January 1948, the first displaced persons arrived in Tasmania. Due to its separation from the mainland and limitation of rural and mineral resources, together with a relatively small population, Tasmania had insufficient workers for proposed hydro-industrial expansion. On March 24 1949 Tasmanian premier, Robert Cosgrove, announced that one hundred Baltic migrants would arrive monthly until the end of June 1950 to curb this shortage.⁹⁶ There were difficulties in recruiting local labour to manual jobs which were for many undesirable. It was announced that Baltic peoples would be employed within the Lands and Works and Public Works departments.⁹⁷ Many Lithuanians served their contract period on the mainland, coming to Tasmania at a later date as can be seen by Fig. 2.1.

⁹⁴ Tarvydas, R. *From Amber Coast to Apple Isle*, pp. 10-11.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 10-11.

⁹⁶ *The Mercury*, 25 March 1949, between 1948 and 1952, 332 Lithuanians arrived in the state, with 51 arriving either before or after these dates, see Figure 2.1

⁹⁷ Baltic migrants were employed in Tasmania within, Aberfoyle Ltd., Carbide Co. Ltd., Australian Newsprint Mills, British Titan Produces, Electrolytic Zinc Co., Forestry Department, Goliath Portland Cement Co., HEC, Portmaster General's Dept., Public Works Dept., Royal Derwent Hospital, Rural Work and other workplaces including factory work and domestic service.

Stepas Augustavicius was contracted to Tasmania, "I suppose I settled in Tasmania as soon as I arrived. After finishing the two year contract, I married, bought a house..". Juozas Paskevicius was contracted to the Zinc Company in Risdon. There was some confusion over the contracted time of his employment. Many Baltic migrants argued that they had signed a work contract for one year in Germany, yet once in Australia the contract was changed to two, Endrius Jankus who arrived in Australia in 1947 recalls, "We were told in Germany that our contract was twelve months, but on arrival at Bonegilla were told it was two years by the decision of parliament".⁹⁸ Many immigrants felt deceived by this decision and a riot almost broke out at Bonegilla. Others couldn't remember actually signing a contract with the numerous other pieces of paper that were placed before them. This was the case for Algimantas Taskunas who was nineteen years old upon his arrival in Australia in 1949.⁹⁹ Algimantas served his contract period in Merredin, Western Australia. He worked as a labourer for the Royal Australian Air Force (R.A.A.F) and was also a junior worker for the Western Australian Government Railways. Taskunas recalls, "Our group completed its two year task in one year. We were encouraged to look for work locally for the second year." The contract was remembered by Nina Kantvilas as: 'two years wherever appointed by the government', and Stepas Augustavicius recalls: 'to accept any job allotted during the two years of contract'.¹⁰⁰ Stepas Augustavicius served his contract at Australian Newsprint Mills (ANM) in Boyer in Tasmania.¹⁰¹ There were a number of Lithuanian immigrants who were too young to be given work contracts.

Apart from being contracted to work in Tasmania, other reasons for arrival included climate, family and friends or the prospect of finding better work opportunities. For Antanas Andrikonis, Tasmania was introduced to him through his father's correspondence with a friend in Tasmania.¹⁰² For Nina Kantvilas climate was the

⁹⁸ Endrius Jankus, response to questionnaire.

⁹⁹ Personal conversation with Algimantas Taskunas, 19 July 1999.

¹⁰⁰ Stepas Augustavicius and Nina Kantvilas, responses to questionnaires.

¹⁰¹ In Lithuania Steve worked in farm and road building works.

¹⁰² Antanas Andrikonis, response to questionnaire.

decisive factor,: "the changing climate in South Australia did not agree with me. My brother was contracted to Tasmania and wrote that the climate in Tasmania was more like Europe."¹⁰³

In Tasmania immigration did not always equate with settlement. Of the number of Lithuanians who arrived in Australia and became associated with Tasmania from 1948-1952, many left the state after their contract was complete¹⁰⁴, some left Australia altogether.¹⁰⁵ Many of those who arrived as displaced persons in Tasmania, are today elderly, a number have succumb to illness and death. According to Tarvydas, the Australian census of 1996, showed eighty-five respondents in Tasmania who were born in Lithuania. Of this number, between five and ten came as free settlers.¹⁰⁶ A Lithuanian-born Tasmanian believes this total number to be closer to sixty.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰³ Nina Kantvilas, response to questionnaire.

¹⁰⁴ A number of Lithuanians also came to Tasmania from other states.

¹⁰⁵ Many Lithuanians left Australia bound for the USA after hearing of more favourable conditions through correspondence. By taking out Australian citizenship and thus being able to hold an Australian passport many had later left. This was the case for Endrius (Andrew) Jankus. Andrew was born in Lithuania and arrived in Australia in 1947. He was single upon arrival. Prior to arrival, Andrew had completed his high school education and had attended the Maritime College in Lithuania. Unable to pursue his chosen career after he completed his contract he left Australia. Likewise Jonas Adickas arrived in Australia in 1947, arrived in Tasmania in 1948 (under contract). Jonas was a student before arriving in Australia and was single. He served his contract period in Victoria, South Australia and Tasmania. Did not work in original occupation or trade and believed he did not have adequate housing. Jonas left Australia in 1976 to go to the USA and returned in 1981. By 1958 Approximately 2, 000 Lithuanians, or 20% of those in Australia, had left for the USA, Kazokas, M. *Lithuanian Artists in Australia*, p. 58.

¹⁰⁶ Tarvydas, R. *From Amber Coast to Apple Isle*, p. 67.

¹⁰⁷ Personal communication with Ron Jameson, pseudonym applied at request, 5 September 1999.

*Duality: A Survey of Lithuanian
Immigrants in Tasmania*

Duality: A Survey of Lithuanian Immigrants in Tasmania

For Lithuanian immigrants one way of adjusting to living in a country that was both culturally and aesthetically different to which they were born, was to maintain the links to their own culture. Lithuanian migrants hoped that they would return to a liberated Lithuania in the not too distant future. Many retained and some actively promoted Lithuanian culture through social and cultural activities. Intrinsicly many nurtured nostalgic regret over the separation from their familiar landscape. Many also wanted to fit in, to be 'accepted'. Lithuanians in Tasmania are bonded in varying degree by their first language and their shared history. As a group, however there is as much that separates them. Diversity of social and economic background, of age and place and status of birth in Lithuania, meant that many Lithuanians in Tasmania would perhaps have never met if they were in Lithuania.

When first confronting this new environmental landscape, the most common reaction was that Tasmania was a neglected 'back water', a few considered it an 'exotic place'. Nina Kantvilas recalls: "at first it looked 'dead', seeing the Eucalyptus trees. Later [I] became accustomed after seeing European trees in the parks and gardens."¹⁰⁸ Nina's brother, Olegas Truchanas¹⁰⁹, who became a pioneer in the field of conservation and famous art photographer, was thought to have symbolised his feelings of loneliness and despondency upon arrival to a new country through his early art, as Kazokas in her doctoral thesis noted "his subjects were frequently dead and dying trees and

¹⁰⁸ Nina Kantvilas, response to questionnaire.

¹⁰⁹ Olegas Truchanas life and work is presented in Max Angus', *The World of Olegas Truchanas*, Olegas Truchanas Publication Committee, Hobart, 1975.

isolated valleys. 'As well, he made a number of solemn portraits.'¹¹⁰ A sense of the physical distance from home, together with a sense of uncertainty were felt by many.

Reactions to Tasmanians were more dynamic. Strong emotions on both the Australian side and Lithuanian side intertwined which sometimes made for complex and dynamic interactions. When questioned on their early encounters and impressions of Australians (Tasmanians) common responses ranged from, 'We were hated wherever we went', 'only a very small minority showed any human kindness', 'we were considered different, inferior', 'we were constantly harassed to "speak English!"', to 'impressions were both positive and negative', 'very favourable', and 'we made many friendships some of which we still have today'.¹¹¹ Three respondents, all wishing to not have their names included, felt that acceptance was gained by 'saying only what Australians wanted to hear, otherwise keeping quiet'.¹¹² Antanina Millen expressed the view of many "although there was much discrimination, there were people who were accepting of us. As time went by, the community changed and things were easier, but now and then pockets of discrimination and actual hate still existed."¹¹³

The 'assimilation' of Lithuanian immigrants in Tasmania.

They did not want to assimilate, regarding themselves as temporary immigrants, waiting for the defeat of communism when they would return to their homelands.¹¹⁴

The ideal immigrant was the one who assimilated easily, one who 'became more similar to the host population as a result of social interaction and through the shedding

¹¹⁰ Kazokas, G. *Lithuanian Artists in Australia*, p. 332.

¹¹¹ Many respondents to this question felt that their early impressions of Tasmanians were limited due to being outside the workforce, if working at home raising a family, to working within contract work away from the main townships where they felt they only saw a certain side of Tasmanians.

¹¹² These responses here expressed in the words of Francis Duvall, pseudonym as requested, personal communication, 8 October 1999.

¹¹³ Antanina Millen, response to questionnaire. Antanina was assisted by her daughter in completing the questionnaire.

¹¹⁴ Tarvydas, R. *From Amber Coast to Apple Isle*, p. 89.

of attributes of their culture'.¹¹⁵ Assimilation was a mind set in as much as it was an Australian government policy. Assimilation implied the immigrant fitting in easily into existing social, cultural and economic systems within Australia, relinquishing the 'old' for the 'new'. The 'outward' indicators that this was occurring was the use of English and the becoming of Australian citizens. O'Brien believes, "The pressure to assimilate was particularly effective in Tasmania where displaced persons and European migrants under bond were scattered throughout the state, at remote HEC sites and in other country locations, rendering unlikely the concentration of any significant proportion of a single ethnic group."¹¹⁶ Panich further asserts that immigrants were, 'expected to assume their niche in Australian society by undergoing an absolute metamorphosis'.¹¹⁷ Panich's view can be scrutinised in the sense that immigrants were able to maintain strong cultural links in 'private', the unseen world. However in 'public', often fear, uncertainty and a sense of unknown on the part of both Australians and the new arrivals, pre-empted a push toward a partial metamorphosis.¹¹⁸

After the completion of their contract, undoubtedly there were some Lithuanians who settled into Australian society, perhaps married Australians, and rarely to never took part in Lithuanian celebrations in Australia. For all purposes their transition into an Australian way of life was relatively trouble free. Yet for many Lithuanians, from the late 1940s to the mid-1950s through their social and working lives, together with their political, social and cultural outlooks, they were different from their Australian counterparts illustrating that the ability to relinquish all former culture, language, ideals and aspirations was highly improbable, if not impossible.

¹¹⁵ Lewis, G. & Slade, C. 'Chapter 7: Communicating in Multicultural Australia', in *Critical Communication*, Prentice Hall Australia, Sydney, 1994, p. 151.

¹¹⁶ O'Brien, E. *Tasmania Transformed or Transportation Revisited*, p. 50.

¹¹⁷ Panich, C. *Sanctuary?*, p. 171.

¹¹⁸ Assimilation was a term or concept not used by the common person in the late forties to mid-fifties, however it was implied by their actions. Panich argues that public expectations were that the immigrant's loyalties should now be towards Australia, yet Australia itself had at the time curiously ambivalent attitudes in this respect, torn between its own individuality as a nation and its fervour to maintain a British identity, Panich, C. *Sanctuary?*, p. 171

Lithuanian Working Lives

The stated occupations of Lithuanian immigrants upon their arrival in Australia gives a limited and often inaccurate picture of the skills and qualifications they held prior to their arrival in Australia. Non-British refugee workers were allotted into one of two categories: labourer for men and domestic servant for women. Yet there was a high proportion of professionally qualified people among the Lithuanians together with Latvians, Estonians and Hungarians. This high proportion was cited when describing displaced persons of these nationalities as excellent types, when arguing for their inclusion in the scheme.¹¹⁹ The skills that were valued by Australian recruiters were those required upon their immediate arrival, and beneficial to the construction of physical economic infrastructure. For those who had trained and worked in a similar field in Europe, their employment in manual industry was less intrusive.

Stepas Augustavicius, was a skilled labourer prior to his arrival and was able to work in his trade. Juozas Paskevicius, whose prior background included the completion of high school education and army service, felt his contracted work at Risdon Zinc Company was favourable. He learnt 'new ways' and was accepting of his new career in Tasmania. For Endrius Jankus contracted work was far removed from his training at the maritime college in Lithuania. Endrius Jankus served his contract labouring: fruit picking in the Shepparton district (VIC), fruit picking in Huonville (TAS) and at Goliath Portland Cement in Railton (TAS). For others contracted work was a negative experience. George Swansea felt very detached from his working environment stating: "At the time (early 1950's) new Australians were not acceptable."¹²⁰

¹¹⁹ Kunz. E. *Displaced Persons*, p. 49.

¹²⁰ Pseudonym as requested. George was born in Germany. George Swansea, response to questionnaire.

Within the first five years in Australia (which meant Tasmania for many) few Lithuanians were able to work within their own trade or profession. Nina Kantvilas arrived in Australia in 1949 with her husband whom she had met and married at a DPs camp in Bamberg Germany. Nina served her two year contract with her husband in Woodside, South Australia as Block Supervisors in the Woodside Holding Centre. Mr and Mrs Kantvilas later worked as interpreters with the Tasmanian Institute of Sport (TIS) in Hobart. Nina's husband had been a medical student back in Lithuania who discovered he could not complete his studies in Tasmania due to the location of training outside Hobart¹²¹ and commitments to his family. Alex did however manage to study accountancy at night whilst working through the day. A remarkable feat which led to his occupational change to accountancy.¹²²

The vast majority of Lithuanians continued to work within the public works companies and manual industries in which they were first employed. For immigrants or anyone who changes location, housing plays an important role in the perception of one's new surroundings. Housing is invariably linked to work. In post-war Australia, including Tasmania, housing shortages existed for both locals and new comers. Housing the needs of Australians and the British migrants were prioritised in the house hunting stakes. In some cases, the family unit was split. Nina Kantvilas and her husband were able to work together and thus live together. They reunited with her brother, who had been contracted to Tasmania, once their two year contract was complete. Even once united, housing shortages meant difficulties in finding adequate housing for families within the first five years of their lives in Australia. The Kantvilas family believed they 'only just' had adequate housing, this being rental housing. Antanas Andrikonis' family rented with friends, he believed this arrangement to be adequate. Housing for those completing contract work and continuing in the same or similar line of work included hostels. Stepas' accommodation during his early years in Tasmania,

¹²¹ There was a lack of appropriate training facilities for medical practitioners in Hobart at this time.

¹²² Accounting was to play a key role in Alex's working life in Tasmania and his dedication to the Lithuanian community.

was employer-built huts in a camp. Stepas was allotted a small hut to be shared with another person and he ate meals provided by the camp's kitchen. Endrius was housed in a similar fashion.

When Antanina Millen arrived in Australia in 1949 she was married. She had reached primary level in her education and classed herself as 'unskilled'. In Australia Antanina recalls that circumstances were such that she worked to support her large family - gardening work, factory work and domestic help. Antanina believed her family's housing¹²³ not to be adequate, "Our living conditions were terrible and I requested to be sent back to Germany." Migrants were paying board of two pounds four shillings a week at the Brighton migration centre. Many of the residents believed these living quarters not to be worth the money paid and voiced their concerns in *The Mercury* newspaper.¹²⁴ For Lithuanian migrants, like other DPs, accommodation found came at a great expense as many landlords sought to make a business out of over inflated renting fees.¹²⁵ Many DPs worked exceptionally hard to save for their homes, this sometimes led to resentment by Australians. One Lithuanian wrote in her questionnaire: 'we worked hard to achieve what we had, but we were taunted for not wanting to be a battler'. Since most Lithuanians lacked capital for their own housing, a self-help credit union "TALKA" was established in Melbourne to provide low-interest loans.¹²⁶

¹²³ Antanina's husband had arrived in Tasmania a year before her arrival and he requested that his wife and family be united with him.

¹²⁴ *The Mercury*, 12 November 1949.

¹²⁵ Inflated rent prices was widespread and effected the 'old' Australians as well as 'new Australians'. Studies have shown that 'new Australians' were more likely to be targeted as they were in a vulnerable position in a new country not fully aware of its practices, Murphy, H. 'The Assimilation of Refugee Immigrants in Australia', *Population Studies*, Vol. 5, No. 3, March 1952, p. 185.

¹²⁶ Straukas, B. 'Lithuanians in Australia', *Australijos Lietuviu, Metrastis II*, S.A. Print Co., Adelaide, South Australia, 1983, p. 20.

The preservation of Lithuanian culture

In Tasmania, Lithuanian organisations were at their most active in the 1950s, once contracted work was completed. Of Lithuanians living in Hobart, a number estimated at around two hundred lived mainly in the suburbs of Springfield and Glenorchy¹²⁷. The Hobart Lithuanian Community Council (HLCC) was formed in 1950 and elected Jonas Motiejunas as its first president.¹²⁸ Unlike Lithuanian communities in larger cities, namely Sydney and Melbourne, where the organisation of Lithuanian cultural activities was more visible and therefore the signs of cultural preservation more obvious, the Hobart Lithuanian Community often met at people's homes.¹²⁹ In many ways this provided a more intimate, close knit, atmosphere where the Lithuanian language could be freely spoken. In Launceston a smaller Lithuanian association was formed on the 14 January 1951 with approximately fifty members.¹³⁰

Lithuanian immigrants often encouraged their children to be part of the Lithuanian community. In 1953 a weekend school was established by the HLCC for teaching Lithuanian to children. The weekend school was first held at St. Theresa's Catholic Church Hall in Moonah (Illus. 2). The weekend school achieved mixed results. With the relatively small number of Lithuanians residing in Tasmania, those who attended the school initially numbered only fifteen. In the first years of their lives in Australia, Lithuanians wanted to pass on their experiences to their children, whether through the belief that they would soon be travelling home to Lithuania, or as a means of ensuring that children would learn of the cultural and social lives of their parents. For some

¹²⁷ Aleksandras Kantvilas in *Metraštis*, Vol. 1, p. 206 quoted in Kazokas, G. *Lithuanian Artists in Australia*, p. 325. Lithuanians who were contracted during this period or continued to work in rural areas were not involved in the Lithuanian community as this time. Time spent working away from main urban centres limited Endrius' role in the Lithuanian community and attendance at activities, Endrius Jankus, response to questionnaire.

¹²⁸ Kazokas, G. *Lithuanian Artists in Australia*, p. 326.

¹²⁹ In the 1970s, Bonafacas Siksnis converted a large garage at his Springfield home into an area suitable for community activities, Kazokas, G. *Lithuanian Artists in Australia*, p. 326.

¹³⁰ Tarvydas, R. *From Amber Coast to Apple Isle*, p. 67. With many Launceston Lithuanians leaving for the mainland numbers in this community dropped, and by 1973 the association disbanded, Kazokas, G. *Lithuanian Artists in Australia*, p. 326.

time the Kairys' home was used for children to be taught the language. These teachings according to Dawn Kairys were very relevant as they "broadened my outlook plus the outlook of my children." As the Lithuanian way of life was part of their father's heritage, Dawn and her husband encouraged their children to be involved in the Lithuanian community and to learn the Lithuanian language.¹³¹ There was an active and passionate commitment to having children learn their cultural heritage. Nina encouraged her children to be involved in Lithuanian cultural activities as she and her husband wanted them "to know where their parents and grandparents came from, and apart from being Australian citizens (as they were all born in Australia) to love Lithuania also."¹³² Others stated they wanted their children to: 'know and understand their past' and 'to be ready for a return home'. However, the school had limited success as attendance numbers initially high dwindled over the years. The school lasted for around fifteen years by which time interest in learning Lithuanian had waned, largely because of mixed marriage and competing interests.^{133 134}

Aspects of Lithuanian culture and beliefs were also maintained and transmitted through the medias of art, dance and music. Kazokas' study of 137 Lithuanian artists in Australia from 1950 to 1990, including the work of four Tasmanian artists, Olegas Truchanas, Linas Vaiciulevicius, Aleksandras Kantvilas and Mark Bartkevicius, highlighted the significance of prior culture on an artist's outlook, interpretations and style. Kazokas found that the themes of the artists creating works in Australia predominantly related to Lithuania and its culture, even transcending one generation to the next.¹³⁵ Through their art they were able to comfortably express their ethnicity. Song and dance were also mediums where Lithuanians could express their Lithuanian identity. Dawn Kairys, who was married to a Lithuanian immigrant and participated in

¹³¹ Dawn Kairys, response to questionnaire.

¹³² Nina Kantvilas, response to questionnaire.

¹³³ Kazokas, G. *Lithuanian Artist in Australia*, p. 327.

¹³⁴ The Lithuanian weekend school re-opened in the 1980's under the leadership of professional teacher Regina Krutulyte-Share, due to insufficient numbers once again it closed.

¹³⁵ Kazokas, G. *Lithuanian Artists in Australia*, p. 748.

folk dance groups, musical activities, sporting events, and "Lithuanian Church"¹³⁶, recalls, "My family always enjoyed the culture of the Lithuanian people". Dawn's daughters danced in the biennial 'Sventes'¹³⁷ throughout Australia (Illus. 3). When questioned of the cultural events the second generation most admired of their upbringing, dance was rated most highly.¹³⁸

Aleksandras Kantvilas played a significant role in promoting Lithuanian cultural and social life in Tasmania. He urged that the national and religious commemorations be more meaningful as well as maintaining celebrations for National Day, Independence Day and Mother's Day.

Social and Political Outlooks

What weight can one give to nationalism, patriotism and exile's feeling of homesickness in the overall makeup of Lithuanians' ethnicity?¹³⁹

According to Putnins (1986) and Tarvydas (1996) the cause of freedom for the Baltic nations brought Estonians, Latvians and Lithuanians into close relationship. Baltic association stemmed from geographic origin, similar backgrounds and a common wartime past. Putnins in his study of Latvians in Australia, found that "Latvians came to Australia with a feeling of being in forced exile... a sense of responsibility was felt towards those who remained in Latvia in conditions that were seen as worse than those which the immigrants found themselves in."¹⁴⁰ The ongoing fellowship between Lithuanians, Latvians and Estonians can be witnessed through the annual combined

¹³⁶ The people of Lithuania are predominantly Roman Catholic, there are also a number of Lutherans. "Lithuanian Church" refers to church services that were delivered in the Lithuanian language. Visiting priests from Melbourne gave service in Lithuanian until a Lithuanian priest was appointed to Tasmania full-time in 1953, Tarvydas, R. *From Amber Coast to Apple Isle*, p. 79.-80.

¹³⁷ Every two years, Lithuanians from all over Australia assemble for a week-long festival (Svente) of singing, folk dancing, theatre and other cultural performances. The official name of the event is 'Lietuviu Dienos' (Lithuanian Days).

¹³⁸ Seventeen of the Twenty-two second and third generation Australian - Lithuanians, took part in and enjoyed folk dancing.

¹³⁹ Baltutis, M. *Lithuanians in Melbourne*, p. 25.

¹⁴⁰ Putnins, A. 'Latvia and Latvians', in *The Baltic Peoples, Lithuanians, Latvians and Estonians in Australia*, AE Press, Melbourne, 1986.

commemoration of the massive Soviet deportations, which started in June 1941, of Baltic peoples to Siberia.

War experiences and the experience of living in displaced persons camps, gave Lithuanians different social and political outlooks to those who had not experienced this life. These differences in experience, together with cultural differences played a significant role when it came to social relationships in the early years after the arrival of Lithuanian displaced persons in Tasmania. Endrius mixed mainly with Lithuanians and other migrants stating that within this group, "we understood one another better".¹⁴¹ Stepas mixed socially with Lithuanians and other migrants, "I worked with them, went to dances, was invited to married workmate's houses." Ten of the thirteen first generation Lithuanians in this survey were active members of the Lithuanian community in Hobart and continued to attend cultural and community gatherings.

Almost all first generation Lithuanians who responded to questionnaires, stated that links with the people back home in Lithuania were 'very important' in the early years of their lives in Tasmania. Some Lithuanians in Tasmania travelled to mainland Australia fairly regularly to attend cultural days and sport carnivals and to take part in the events run by Lithuanian community organisations, where they could meet up with other Lithuanians, sometimes family, living on the mainland.¹⁴² In 1973 the Hobart Lithuanian community organised and staged their first Australia-wide Lithuanian sporting carnival in Hobart (Illus. 4).¹⁴³ A Lithuanian sports club, "Perkunas" (Thunder) was established in 1957 with basketball comprising the most popular sport of the club (Illus. 5). Another important way of keeping in touch with home affairs, together with Lithuanian events in Australia, was by reading Lithuanian newspapers.

¹⁴¹ Endrius Jankus, response to questionnaire.

¹⁴² Baltutis writes. In Jean Martin's 1972 study *Community and Identity*, a study of Adelaide refugee communities, she found that Lithuanians had the third highest number of special interest associations out of fourteen groups studied. In Melbourne, forty-one organisations could be named (many are named by Baltutis), see Baltutis, M. *Lithuanians in Melbourne*, p. 32

¹⁴³ In 1977 Perkunas hosted its second, and its last, Australia-wide Lithuanian sporting carnival.

A number of newspapers published in Lithuanian were circulated in Australia.¹⁴⁴ In 1949 a weekly newspaper *Musu Pastoge* (Our Haven), was published in Sydney. *Musu Pastoge* had a fairly large print run, and many of those questioned in this study read *Musu Pastoge* at one time or another during their lives in Australia. This newspaper is continuing to be published (as at November 1999); so is another weekly *Teviskės Aidai* (Echoes of Homeland) in Melbourne. Other printed services included, *Australijos Lietuvis* (The Australian Lithuanian) a bi-weekly newspaper which began circulation in South Australia in 1948 and stopped eight years later. The reading of Lithuanian books and newspapers was a vital part of the lives of Lithuanian immigrants. As time has passed, many stated that the Lithuanian printed word became less important whilst others continued to avidly read works by Lithuanian authors. For the older generation these links are still important. Through his life in Tasmania Stepas Augustavicius has continued to subscribe to two Lithuanian weeklies and makes an effort to buy all books published by Lithuanian authors.

¹⁴⁴ Lithuanians like many other migrant groups circulated and read such papers, of which twenty five percent of each newspaper had to contain English during the early years. This proposal made by the Commonwealth Government was later lifted.

Preservation of culture and the younger generations

"Instead of kicking a ball around or similar, we would have to dress up and 'perform' at events with people who you knew quite well but weren't really your friends", David Smithton.¹⁴⁵

"We had regular dances at the Polish Hall, my childhood was full of fun times with the Lithuanian community and dancing group", Carol Thomas.¹⁴⁶

During the early years cultural gatherings were organised by adults in the Lithuanian community and the attendance of younger members at Lithuanian cultural events and gatherings was vital in order for them to understand their Lithuanian cultural heritage. When questioned, 'do you take, or have you in the past taken, an active part in the Lithuanian community in Tasmania?', eighteen respondents stated 'yes' to the past with a smaller number nine still being involved in such gatherings. Some of the younger generation responded to feeling detached from these events. For Vic Eskirtas cultural gatherings were sometimes awkward, "those present were often much older and there was a lack of common interest."¹⁴⁷

To the question, 'did you ever resent attending Lithuanian cultural events and gatherings?', only one respondent out of twenty-two answered yes. This same respondent stated that she often felt very different from her friends at school and was taunted for the way she dressed and the way she talked. There were a number who believed they sometimes felt different from their Australian-born peers as they ate differently, dressed differently and spoke differently. 'Difference' became more evident when the children reached their teenage years. Regina Stokman stated, "As I got older (teenager) compulsory mass attendance was the one I objected to."¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁵ David Smithton, Pseudonym as requested, response to questionnaire.

¹⁴⁶ Carol Thomas, response to questionnaire.

¹⁴⁷ Vic was born of Lithuanian heritage in Sale, Victoria and he married a Lithuanian, Vic Eskirtas, response to questionnaire.

¹⁴⁸ Regina Stokman, response to questionnaire.

When questioned, what memories do you have of attending Lithuanian cultural gatherings, the vast majority of responses were positive. For Regina Stokman, they were, "Happy occasions with a strong sense of belonging."¹⁴⁹ Regina Ona Stokman was born in Virbalis, Lithuania, and arrived in Australia as a young child. Likewise Katryna Livermore shared similar positive memories of cultural events, "Wonderful food, warm people and a strong sense of community and beautiful singing by the men." Katryna was born in Launceston Tasmania. She attended regular Easter celebrations, including colouring Easter eggs in a traditional way¹⁵⁰, and patriotic commemorative celebrations. Katryna has encouraged her children to be a part of cultural celebration stating, "It's part of their heritage and the older Lithuanians are now dying and many of the traditional gatherings are ending."¹⁵¹

The younger Lithuanians enjoyed Lithuanian sporting events and folk dancing in particular. David Smithton took part in the Lithuanian dancing group and social activities, but referred to sporting activities as being most memorable.¹⁵² Maree Dawn Pash was a member of the Lithuanian dancing group for twenty-four years, she participated in 'Sventes' throughout Australia, and enjoyed the social occasion that accompanied dancing, including the barbecues and protests. She attended many cultural functions as a child, including all the "Sventes", dancing and demonstrations for church activities and to teach children, "I always loved participating and carrying on tradition."¹⁵³ In 1992 Maree travelled to Lithuania with her grandmother and her daughter. Carol Thomas was also actively involved in the Lithuanian community in Tasmania and took part in the National Folk Dancing. Carol also attended musical activities, sporting events, weekend schools and Lithuanian Church, "We had regular

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid*

¹⁵⁰ This was explained to me by Nina Kantvilas. After a hollowed egg is placed in dye, intricate designs are painstakingly etched onto the egg using a fine needle or pin. Detail is exquisite and Nina's husband Aleksandras was able to create extremely detailed symmetrical designs.

¹⁵¹ Katryna Livermore, response to questionnaire.

¹⁵² David Smithton, response to questionnaire.

¹⁵³ Maree Dawn Pash, response to questionnaire.

dances at the Polish Hall. My childhood was full of fun times with the Lithuanian community and dancing group."¹⁵⁴

Among the younger generations the author discovered there was an absence of the national pride toward Lithuania exhibited by first generation Lithuanians. This finding collaborates with Zubrzycki's study of La Trobe Valley refugees and Baltutis' study of Lithuanians in Melbourne among others.¹⁵⁵ However the surprise result was the overwhelmingly 'positive experiences' they disclosed of their childhood, particularly the social events they attended. In this respect the younger generations in Tasmania were very similar to those surveyed by Baltutis in Melbourne. Baltutis found very little trace of the type of anxieties and conflicts with identity and experience that are presented in other studies. Baltutis in her Melbourne study found, "Their (the younger generations) commitment to the Lithuanian community appeared to be more of a social rather than cultural or ideological nature".¹⁵⁶ Baltutis interviewed a second generation largely in their 20's and 30's (in 1981). The Tasmania sample referred to here are an older sample, most were aged between forty and fifty five, some in their sixties. Perhaps this accounts for their positive views of childhood as there has been greater time passed or more time to reflect and re-evaluate their lives.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁴ Carol Thomas, response to questionnaire.

¹⁵⁵ Zubrzycki discovered efforts to teach children traditions of their homeland 'did not result in the inculcation of a strong chauvinistic feeling in the second generation', see Zubrzycki, J. *Settlers of the Latrobe Valley: A Sociological Study of Immigrants in the Brown Coal Industry in Australia*, ANU Press, Canberra, 1964, p. 141 and Baltutis, M, *Lithuanians in Melbourne*, p. 42.

¹⁵⁶ Baltutis, M. *Lithuanians in Melbourne*, p. 45.

¹⁵⁷ A further more in depth study of the children of displaced persons is needed here. Likewise the third generation would provide an interesting demographic to examine further. What have been their experiences with their multicultural links?, how has it affected their lives?, what is their relationship with their grandparent's like?, what do they know of their grandparent's lives? A small sample of twenty two second generation Australian Lithuanians were investigated in this study. Perhaps a larger sample will reveal more.

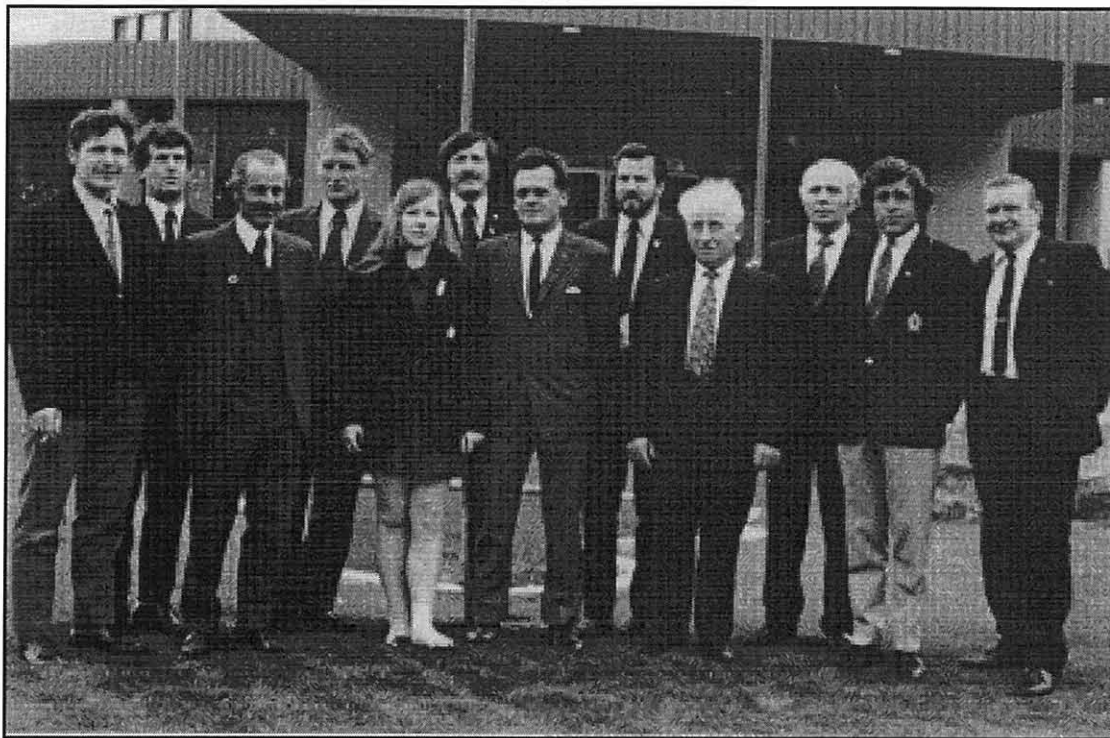
Illus. 2 *Lithuanian weekend school*



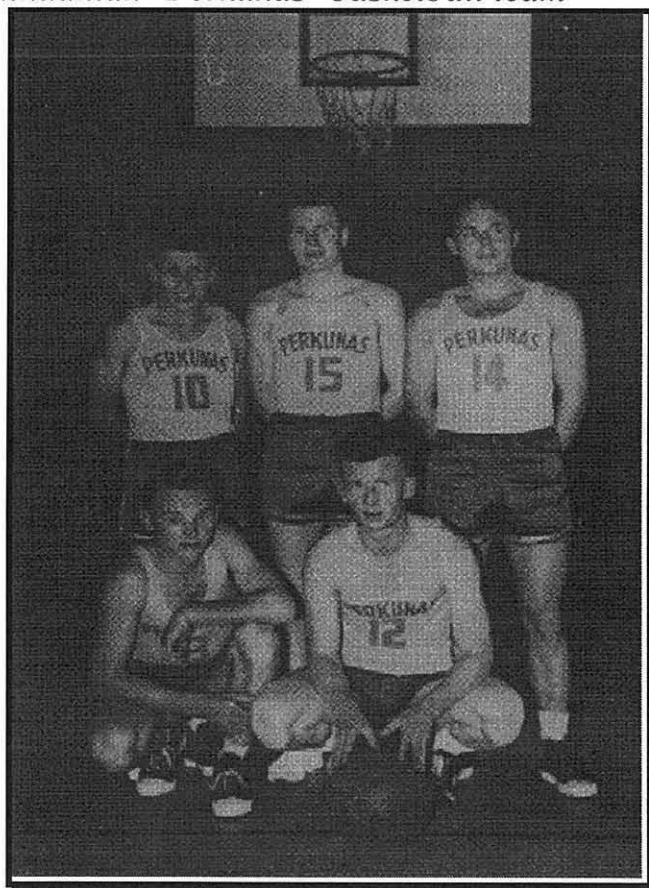
Illus. 3 *Lithuanian folk dancing group "Venta"*



Illus. 4 *Organising committee of the first Lithuanian sporting carnival in Hobart in 1973*



Illus. 5 *Lithuanian "Perkunas" basketball team*



5

*Immigration and Change:
The Continuance of Life in Tasmania*

Immigration and Change: The Continuance of Life in Tasmania

"We felt that we had to make a commitment to this country as there was no hope of returning to live in Lithuania", Antanina Millen¹⁵⁸.

"It was important not to live in a ghetto", Nina Kantvilas¹⁵⁹.

For the New Australians, the transition from one culture often tested their ability to form a new identity or role in their new home. Panich noted, "by the time the postwar refugees had reached Australia, identity had proven to be a very negotiable factor."¹⁶⁰ This is true of those Lithuanian immigrants who did not assume Australia would be the country they would spend the rest of their lives in. Whilst some were more resilient, often young children or those who came with family, for others the change was deeply traumatic and adjusting took time. Little was known of their destination, the scenery, customs and likewise the host nationality knew little of the new arrivals. So "local reactions ranged from curiosity, through suspicion and jealousy."¹⁶¹ O'Brien writes, "The new arrivals were portrayed as handsome, healthy, happy to be in Tasmania, and in awe of the comfortable life and abundance of food."¹⁶² At the other end of the scale there were the 'unstable, deeply traumatised often "neurotic" migrants. But what of

¹⁵⁸ Antanina Millen, written response to questionnaire.

¹⁵⁹ Interview with Nina Kantvilas, 24 September 1999 at her house.

¹⁶⁰ Panich, C. *Sanctuary? Remembering postwar immigration*. Allen & Unwin, Sydney, 1988, p. 175.

¹⁶¹ Tarvydas, R. *From Amber Coast to Apple Isle: Fifty Years of Baltic Immigrants in Tasmania, 1948-1998*, Baltic Semi-centennial Commemoration Activities Organising Committee, Hobart, 1997, p. 21.

¹⁶² O'Brien, E. *Tasmania Transformed or Transportation Revisited? Immigration to Tasmania, 1945-1955*, Masters of Humanities Thesis, University of Tasmania, Hobart, 1992, p. 36

those in between? The vast majority of immigrants however lay somewhere between these two descriptions.

With time and a growing awareness and appreciation for their new social and physical landscape, even the most unwilling of Lithuanians came to call Australia their second home.

Settlement in Tasmania

There are difficulties in gauging past feelings, views and attitudes in the present. Strong feelings once felt, are washed away by time. Lithuanian immigrants who arrived as displaced persons, like their Baltic neighbours and their fellow European DP's are an ageing resource, whose recollections, values and ideas have changed over time. It was difficult for these Lithuanians to pinpoint a year or reason when they knew Australia would play a significant part in their lives. However, from the comments given it can be seen that settlement was a gradual process for many. This process was eased by the coming together of families and the continuance and busyness of their working lives. To officialdom, this realisation was symbolised by naturalisation ceremonies. The decision to become naturalised, was a decision seen to renounce the former nationality and take on a new one. Naturalisation ceremonies were the most publicised aspect of Tasmanian immigration in the newspapers at the time.¹⁶³ The work of the Good Neighbour Council (GNC) in Tasmania predominantly involved making naturalisation and naturalisation ceremonies more attractive to new arrivals and helping those migrants most in need. In a conference on 5 June in Canberra, the GNC resolved to publicise naturalisation ceremonies through foreign newspapers and the ABC and to produce posters showing that notice of intention to seek naturalisation can be given after twelve months residence in Australia.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶³ Both *The Examiner* and *The Mercury*, include frequent references to ceremonies at Butler's Gorge and Bronte Park.

¹⁶⁴ Conferences of the Good Neighbour Council (P6 58/ 3242)

In Baltutis' 1981 survey of Lithuanians living in Melbourne, Baltutis found that by the mid-1950s most had given up hope of returning to Lithuania and were earnestly thinking of becoming Australian citizens. Baltutis found that twelve out of twenty-six first generation migrants were naturalised within the first five to six years of their arrival. Those who had considered leaving or had left Australia had mostly done so by the mid 1950's. Endrius Jankus, responded in the questionnaire that he had left Australia in 1953 disillusioned with his situation after the completion of his contract. He returned to Europe once he was able take out citizenship and travel with an Australian passport, "We were classed stateless, the perpetual refugees of the world". The majority of Lithuanians questioned in Tasmania, were naturalised after five years residence in Australia. This would tend to be interpreted by administrators as evidence that of Lithuanian migrants were assimilating into their new society. However as Baltutis argues and Martin, Zubrzycki, Kunz and Taft conclude, naturalisation rates are poor indicators of assimilation trends.¹⁶⁵ The benefits of naturalisation extended to the possibility of entry into the public service, pleasing one's spouse and family, a chance to regain one's social status, security in old age, protection from soviet designs to extricate its nationals abroad or the ability to leave Australia in search of life elsewhere. When asked the reason for taking out Australian citizenship, the following reasons were mentioned: 'to have a passport', 'mostly to please my wife', 'after having my own family', 'to lose the tag of stateless person', 'I wanted to belong, have a home', and 'if you decide to stay in the country you want to participate in that country's life'.¹⁶⁶

For the Lithuanians questioned in Tasmania, having a sense of security and belonging was based on a number of factors, and early experiences in Tasmania were pre-

¹⁶⁵ see Martin, Jean, *The Migrant Presence*, 1978, Zubrzycki, J. *Settlers of the Latrobe Valley*, 1964, Kunz, E. *Displaced Persons*, 1988 & Taft, R. *From Stranger to Citizen*, 1965.

¹⁶⁶ The terms 'nationality' and 'citizenship' are often used interchangeably in Australia. Whereas in continental Europe 'nationality' means ethnic origin and therefore may be different from a person's citizenship, see Taskunas, A. 'Dual Citizenship', *Baltic News*, February-March, 1980, pp. 5-8.

occupied with work, housing, rebuilding identity, and maintaining social links, life was too productive to enable them to be bitter. When questioned - 'when did you begin to feel at home in Australia?', one first generation Lithuanian replied, 'when I was free from [my] contract and able to be with my family'.¹⁶⁷

A number of Lithuanians in Tasmania stated that they began to feel at home within the first five years, whilst the majority believed they felt at home between five and ten years. This roughly coincides with the time that those questioned had established themselves economically. Economic improvement came at a struggle. It was mentioned in the previous chapter that housing shortages affected the early experiences of Lithuanians in Tasmania, as it effected other migrant groups. Working long hours and saving, which including the pooling together of family finances, often led to the building of homes. For Stepas Augustavicius improved economic position came, "after my wife and I established our own business."¹⁶⁸ Being flexible in the workforce also led to the realisation of economic betterment. Alex Kantvilas, 'studied accountancy at night after he wasn't able to complete his medical training which began in Lithuania'.¹⁶⁹

For some respondents their economic position had noticeably improved ten to twenty years after arrival in Australia. For Endrius Jankus this was when 'both parents worked, built a house, and felt more settled'.¹⁷⁰ Endrius Jankus, created his own Drilling and Blasting Company which he managed for twenty-five years. For Stepas Augustavicius, improvement in his economic situation occurred once he and his wife had established their own business. Since his settlement in Tasmania, Stepas obtained the qualification of diesel mechanic and has owned and operated service stations. Stepas is currently (1999) the secretary of the Lithuanian community in Hobart.¹⁷¹ A

¹⁶⁷ Interview with Alan Kristen, pseudonym applied at request, 16 September 1999 at his house.

¹⁶⁸ Stepas August, response to questionnaire.

¹⁶⁹ Interview with Alex's widow, Nina Kantvilas, 24 September 1999 at her house.

¹⁷⁰ Endrius Jankus, response to questionnaire.

¹⁷¹ Telephone conversation with Stepas Augustavicius, 30 September 1999.

number of Lithuanians have held differing occupations. The government contract itself placed immigrants in a variety of settings and conditions. Algimantas Taskunas who arrived in Australia in 1949, shifted occupations from a porter, train control officer to music teacher and University administrator. After his arrival in Tasmania in 1972 Algimantas took an active role in the Hobart Lithuanian community. Algimantas was a driving force behind the creation of the HELLP (Help Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian Peoples) association¹⁷² (1974-1988), and editor of the regular bulletin *Baltic News* (1975-1990).¹⁷³

For many questioned, feeling at home also coincided with and perhaps reflected feeling comfortable in using the English language. There was greater acceptance by Tasmanians when English was spoken in public. Many first generation Lithuanians continue to speak Lithuanian with family and friends, but this is slowly starting to diminish. Today a number of Lithuanians have 'Australianised' their names, both for ease of pronunciation as well as in an effort to be recognised as being Australians. It must also be noted that even after a few years of settlement in Australia the fears that were first generated through Russian occupation were still around.

With the realisation that Australia was a now a second home, deep feelings toward Lithuania were often subdued but not lost. Aleksandras Kantvilas organised and drew placards for the remembrance of Baltic deportations (by Russia). Alex served on the Committee of the organisation "Wall of Friendship" in Hobart. For many years he was the main instructor at the Lithuanian colouring eggs evenings at the University of Tasmania, showing how Easter eggs were decorated in Lithuania. Both Alex and his wife helped with the charity organisations. He walked from house to house and Nina

¹⁷² Following Prime Minister Whitlam's de jure recognition in 1974 of the Soviet annexation of the Baltic States, Lithuanians in Tasmania, as in other parts of the west, showed their grave anxiety. The case of the de jure agreement is presented in Edgars Dunsdorfs', *The Baltic Dilemma*, Robert Spell & Sons Publishers, New York, 1975.

¹⁷³ Algimantas also initiated the formation of the Lithuanian Studies Society in 1987. This society saw the publication of Lithuanian Papers, based on public lectures on Lithuanian topics - particularly featuring the political events in the Baltic states in 1989 and 1990.

sold buttons for fundraising. Alex carved gifts from wood, usually Lithuanian crosses, for different dignitaries.¹⁷⁴ He also organised events for the visiting Lithuanian Catholic priests from the mainland. Religious activity was heightened with the arrival in Tasmania of a Lithuanian priest from the mainland. Talking with Alex's widow Nina Kantvilas, I found she was in awe of the amount of time her husband devoted to such occasions and events, whilst he worked and created the most intricate of wood carvings at home.¹⁷⁵

As was mentioned in chapter three, not all Lithuanians arrived in Tasmania through Arthur Calwell's scheme. Aldona Nunez and her family originally immigrated to New Zealand in 1949. Aldona spent several years in the USA and arrived in Tasmania in 1967. At first she stated that she associated mainly with Australians in the social sense, unaware of the presence of a Lithuanian community in Hobart. However, she stated that she "came to know that there was a Lithuanian community 'alive' in Tasmania."¹⁷⁶ she attended Lithuanian church, folk dance groups and Baltic commemorative activities. She became the Lithuanian folk dance teacher for a number of years. She encouraged her children to be involved in Lithuanian cultural activities.¹⁷⁷

Mixed marriage, often condemned by family members of both Lithuanian and Australian heritage was significant in terms of shedding language and culture, on the Lithuanian side, whilst leading to a greater understanding on the Australian side. More Tasmanian Lithuanians married out than among Lithuanians. This statistic was reflected in my study, where only two of the Lithuanians interviewed or questioned lived in a Lithuanian marriage. Yet in some instances, the spouse became closely involved with the

¹⁷⁴ Alex Kantvilas began wood carving in Stuttof concentration camp. In Tasmania he once again took up carving. His work is based on traditional Lithuanian concepts with stylised elements, see Kazokas, G. E. *Lithuanian Artists in Australia, 1950-1990, Volume 1: Text*, PHD Thesis, University of Tasmania, Hobart, 1992, pp. 338-339.

¹⁷⁵ Interview with Nina Kantvilas, 24 September 1999 at her house.

¹⁷⁶ Aldona Nunez, response to questionnaire with additional written comments attached.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid*

Lithuanian community. Mrs Kairys, the Australian spouse of a Lithuanian, said she has wonderful memories of Lithuanian cultural events and gatherings. She is saddened that, "the younger generation have grown apart. I have come to know many special Lithuanian families who are very close to my family."¹⁷⁸

Another wife who responded to a questionnaire, Margaret Bartkevicius¹⁷⁹, was married to a Lithuanian who passed away in 1984. Margaret was born in Launceston and first came to know the Launceston Lithuanian community when she was sixteen, "I have known them [Lithuanians] since I was 16 years old and just love them". Margaret celebrated many Lithuanian cultural and political events, all with her 'older Lithuanian friends'. Margaret Bartkevicius took on an active role in the Lithuanian community, helping in cultural displays when her children were smaller, teaching Lithuanian folk dances to the children of the Lithuanian community for the 'Vasario 16' celebration.¹⁸⁰ She stated "I am fascinated with the culture and country. I would like to visit the Bartkevicius relatives in Lithuania". Margaret was 'adopted' in the social sense by the Lithuanian community. Her memories of Lithuanian events and gatherings are fond, "fun, sadness, SINGING!!, Beautiful food, and wonderful warm hospitality. I learnt to involve children in every social occasion! Family is paramount."¹⁸¹ She tried to learn the language, but stated it was too hard, however she did learn some songs and rudimentary phrases.¹⁸²

Many Lithuanians today continue to be involved in the Lithuanian community in Tasmania. They take part in commemorative activities (Illus. 6). The lively Lithuanian community that existed in Tasmania in the early years has changed its tone. What is common between both older members of the community and the second and

¹⁷⁸ Dawn Kairys, response to questionnaire.

¹⁷⁹ Responses from the spouses of Lithuanian immigrants to Australia, often came accidentally. A questionnaire was sent out often intended for one person, only to discover they live elsewhere, have passed away or were unable to reply.

¹⁸⁰ Lithuanian Independence Day.

¹⁸¹ Margaret Bartkevicius, response to questionnaire with additional written comments attached.

¹⁸² *Ibid*

third generations, is the cultural customs and traditions that are still practiced and enjoyed. Families celebrate cultural events such as 'Kucios', the Christmas Eve celebration of feast accompanied with carol singing and exchanging of gifts. Lithuanian culture exists today in a modern adapted form.

Illus. 6

Baltic commemorative activity

6
Conclusion

Conclusion

Reflections on post World War II migration: Lithuanians in Tasmania

Immigration has been a long running theme in Australia's history. A sentiment expressed by the words of historian James Jupp, "Modern Australian history cannot be understood without constant reference to its history as an immigrant nation."¹⁸³ Immigration has played a key role in the cultural, economic and social transformations that Australia has witnessed in its history. The arrival of post-war foreign migrants guided Australia to the most 'significant demographic transformation of Australia since the gold rushes'.¹⁸⁴

Post war immigration was coupled with economic vitality in Australia, and the role immigration played in boosting Australian industry and economic development should not be forgotten, nor should economic prosperity be overstated at the expense of glossing over the unique experiences of the immigrants themselves. The history of Displaced Persons relocated to Australia that has been documented, is one that defines their experience as being both negative and positive, for some a small price to pay for freedom, others a negative experience, but for most a time of readjustment leading to relative future prosperity. As an outline this is true. However, through the investigation of a particular community, the Lithuanians in Tasmania, further depth and understanding is drawn from the lives of those who were transformed through war, their post war experience and then their immigration experiences. It is possible to see that those who lead dual lives were not "inferior settlers".

¹⁸³ Jupp, J. *Australian Retrospectives: Immigration*, Oxford University Press, Melbourne, 1995, p. vii.

¹⁸⁴ McCalman, J. *Struggletown: Public and Private Life in Richmond 1900-1965*, Melbourne University Press, Carlton, Victoria, 1985, p. 279.

In the 1950's the Lithuanian community in Tasmania was an active community. These Lithuanians led dual lives. They lived in a Tasmanian society whilst maintaining many Lithuanian cultural and social customs. This duality did not prevent Tasmanian Lithuanians from successfully settling down and becoming accustomed to new ways. In other words it was possible to attend Lithuanian cultural events, maintain one's cultural identity in private and be accepted into Tasmanian society.

In the 1990's membership of the Hobart Lithuanian community has diminished in terms of what it once was. Many have maintained their cultural links to Lithuania through their attendance of Baltic commemorative celebrations and through their celebrations of Easter and Mother's Day to name two such celebrations. They continue to celebrate the independence of the three Baltic States which occurred in September of 1991. The younger generations largely enjoyed attending cultural events in their childhood and early adolescence. Yet as they grew older and began to lead lives which they directed, they saw themselves as being more closely identified with their Australian friends than with their Lithuanian heritage. As they approach and pass middle age, this 'younger' generation is perhaps becoming more reflective of their childhood experience and what their cultural inheritance means to them. Maree Pash, the daughter of a first generation Lithuanian, responded to questionnaire stating "My daughter asked recently if Lithuanian school started again could she be involved - I myself would enrol!".¹⁸⁵ Five other respondents reminisced of their childhood and stated that they 'miss the singing and dancing, the closeness of the living Lithuanian community'. Another respondent stated, "It is unfortunate the community has dwindled to elderly people holding the occasional function. The children from my era have gone their separate ways."¹⁸⁶

¹⁸⁵ Maree Pash, response to questionnaire.

¹⁸⁶ Carol Thomas, response to questionnaire.

When reading migrant literature the common argument appears, 'Yes they were unhappy once', and quickly counter punched with 'but they are happy now!' There was a time when Lithuanians, like their Baltic neighbours were afraid to speak out about their experiences in fear of Soviet persecution. In chapter five of this study the process by which many Lithuanians began to feel at home was discussed. Within the last two years there have been a number of personal memoirs written by Lithuanians who grew up under a soviet regime. Not until recently have they felt comfortable writing about their lives.¹⁸⁷ This author believes an understanding of the migration experience and early lives in a new country is vital to our understanding of how world events are proceeding today. The arrival of displaced persons after World War II paved the way for Australia's role in offering shelter for the displaced peoples from other parts of the world, including from Kosovo and East Timor.

Reflections on methodology employed in this study

Questionnaires were utilised in this study to gauge the experiences and views of Lithuanians and their descendants living in Tasmania. The author acknowledges the fact that questionnaires tend to gauge positive responses as the researcher is formulating the questions often in a way that elicits pre-determined outcomes. However in this case, a conscious effort was made to provide room for the respondents to include further comments and define their answers, this lengthened the size of the questionnaire.¹⁸⁸ The author was aware of the need to refrain from the use of emotive language and viewed clarity as being of importance. Care was taken in the presentation of questions and the inclusion of postage paid self-addressed envelopes.¹⁸⁹ Instructions to the questionnaire were provided in the cover note, where respondents were informed to answer the questions they feel most comfortable

¹⁸⁷ Personal memoirs have just started to emerge. Ale Liubinas' autobiographical novel, *Aviete and After*, published in 1999 is one of these memoirs.

¹⁸⁸ Questions were printed on both sides of the paper, totalling three double-sided pages for each questionnaire.

¹⁸⁹ Envelopes were bright blue in colour and attached to the cover note to be easily seen.

with.¹⁹⁰ Of the fifty questionnaires sent, thirty-seven were returned (Seventy-four percent).¹⁹¹

Interestingly, those who provided extra comments in questionnaires were also more likely to want to remain anonymous. Whilst a conscious effort was made to send questionnaires around Tasmania only two responses from Launceston were attained, the other respondents were all residing in the Hobart area.¹⁹²

¹⁹⁰ Apart from questions that were not applicable to the circumstances of individuals, only one respondent chose to not respond to three questions, and these questions pertained to demographic data. In hindsight, I would have placed demographic data at the end of the questionnaire.

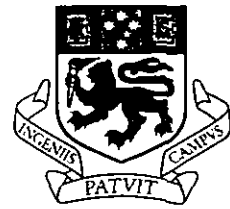
¹⁹¹ Three people that I talked to provided me with a list of first and second generation Lithuanians possibly willing to respond. From this list a number responded. Follow up conversations and some interviews supplied further names. Some respondents photocopied their questionnaires and passed them on. Others through writing provided me with further names.

¹⁹² This was not always the case of course, with locations changing through work and so forth.

Appendices

Appendix A

Cover letters accompanying
questionnaires



UNIVERSITY OF TASMANIA

Erika Boas
59 Bangalee St,
Lauderdale,
Tasmania 7021
Ph. 6248 6460

DATE

Dear (INSERT NAME),

My name is Erika Boas and as part of my History Honours research at the University of Tasmania I am conducting a study of Lithuanian immigrants who arrived in Australia as 'displaced persons' and came to settle in Tasmania.

As the Lithuanian experience is unique, both culturally and historically, and in order to capture the essence of your personal experiences, I require your assistance. I ask you to please complete the questions you feel most comfortable answering on the enclosed questionnaire. The questions relate to your early experiences in Australia as well as your current lifestyle and attitudes.

I appreciate your time as I realise questionnaires can often be inconvenient. If you could send your responses in the stamped self-addressed envelope included as soon as possible, this would be most appreciated and will ensure that your experiences are canvassed in my study.

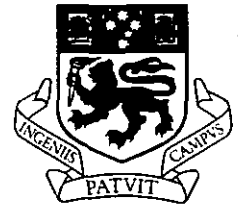
The success of my study depends on your response.

Kind regards and best wishes,

Yours Gratefully,

Erika Boas

I can be contacted on (03) 62486460 with any questions or queries.



Erika Boas
59 Bangalee St,
Lauderdale,
Tasmania 7021
pH. 6248 6460

UNIVERSITY OF TASMANIA

DATE

Dear INSERT NAME,

My name is Erika Boas and as part of my History Honours research at the University of Tasmania, I am conducting a study of Lithuanian immigrants who arrived in Australia as 'displaced persons' and came to settle in Tasmania.

In addition to surveying the experiences of first generation Lithuanians, I also wish to include the early experiences of the children of Lithuanian immigrants who grew up in Australia (particularly in Tasmania). In order to ensure that your perspective is canvassed in my study, I ask you to please complete the enclosed questionnaire.

If you could answer any or all of the questions you feel comfortable with and send your response in the stamped self-addressed envelope, as soon as possible, this would be most appreciated. The aim of the questions is to allow you to reflect on your experiences as being a child with Lithuanian heritage growing up in Australia. I seek to understand how this affected your early experiences as well as your latter life attitudes and values.

I sincerely appreciate your time as I realise questionnaires can often be inconvenient.

The success of my study depends on your response.

Yours Gratefully,

Erika Boas

I can be contacted on (03) 62 486460 with any questions or queries.

Appendix B

Questionnaires

Section A - Arrival

(If not enough space, use borders or attach a separate sheet of paper)

1. Name (Surname) _____ (Christian Name) _____
- May I mention your name in my thesis? ☐ YES ☐ NO
2. Sex ☐ Male ☐ Female
3. Country of Birth: _____
4. Year of Arrival in Australia
- ☐ 1947 ☐ 1950 ☐ 1949
- ☐ 1948 ☐ 1951 ☐ Other _____
5. Marital Status on Arrival
- ☐ Single ☐ Married ☐ De Facto
- ☐ Widowed ☐ Divorced ☐ Other _____
6. Your age on arrival in Australia
- ☐ BELOW 10 ☐ 18-30 ☐ 40+
- ☐ 10 - 17 ☐ 31-40
7. a. Educational qualifications before arrival in Australia:
- ☐ Primary or equivalent ☐ College or equivalent
- ☐ High School ☐ Skilled trade/ apprenticeship
- ☐ University Other _____
- b. Please specify your prior qualifications/ achievements, skilled trades?
- _____
- _____
- _____
- _____
- c. Occupation/ work history before arriving in Australia: _____
- _____
- _____
- _____
8. a. Where in Australia did you serve your contract period?
- _____

b. What kind of work did you do?

c. Do you remember any conditions of your contract?

Any extra comments you wish to make about the contract:

Section B - Settlement and Early experiences

1. Within the first five years in Australia,

a. Did you work in your
own trade or profession?

☐ YES

☐ NO

☐ IN PART

b. Could you communicate
in English?

☐ YES

☐ NO

☐ IN PART

c. Did you have adequate
housing?

☐ YES, owned

☐ YES, rented

☐ NO

Other: _____

d. Did you consider, or had
you left Australia?

☐ YES

☐ NO

Extra comments for questions a - d? _____

2. a. When and Why did you settle in Tasmania? _____

b. What were your early impressions of Tasmania? _____

c. What were your early impressions of the people in Tasmania? _____

3. During your first years in Tasmania, whom did you mix mainly with in a social sense:

☐ Lithuanians ☐ Australians ☐ Other migrants

Why? _____

4. Did you take part in any of the following Lithuanian cultural and religious events in Tasmania?:

☐ Folk dance groups ☐ Weekend Schools
☐ Musical activities ☐ Lithuanian Church
☐ Baltic commemorative activities ☐ Other _____

If so, for how long _____

5. Did you belong to any Lithuanian organisations, clubs, sporting teams in Tasmania? (If so, please list these)

6. How important to you at the time were:

a. Links with people back home?

☐ Very Important ☐ Important ☐ Not important ☐ Had lost touch

7. b. Links with other Lithuanians in Australia (or other countries)?

☐ Very Important ☐ Important ☐ Not important

8. Did you read Lithuanian newspapers or books? _____

9. When did you begin to feel partly at home in Australia?

- ☐ Within the first 5 years ☐ After 5 years ☐ Not at home now
☐ After 10 years ☐ After 15 years

Comments: _____

10. When did your economic position noticeably improve?

- ☐ After 5 years ☐ 5 -10 years ☐ 11-20 years ☐ Later

Comments _____

11. When did you become naturalised and why?

- ☐ After 5 years ☐ After 7 years
☐ After 10 years ☐ Later

Reason(s): _____

Section C - Continued life in Tasmania

1. What is your marital status now:

- ☐ Single ☐ Married ☐ De Facto
☐ Widowed ☐ Divorced ☐ Other: _____

2. a. Do you have any children?

- ☐ YES ☐ NO

How many, and where are they now?

b. Did you encourage your children to be involved in Lithuanian cultural activities? ☐ YES ☐ NO

Why? _____

3. Do you speak Lithuanian with your:

- ☐ Friends ☐ Family

4. Do you currently belong to any Lithuanian clubs or organisations?

☐ YES

☐ NO

If so, which ones and what is your role _____

5. Do you now celebrate cultural events with others of Lithuanian descent in Tasmania?

☐ YES

☐ NO

Which events _____

6. Since your immigration to, and settlement within, Australia what educational or professional qualifications have you obtained:

7. Apart from your contract work, in which occupations have you worked in Australia?

8. What do you believe have been your greatest achievements since living in Tasmania _____

Thank you for your co-operation and your time ☺

Please send your completed form in the envelope provided to:

Erika Boas, 59 Bangalee Street Lauderdale, TAS, 7021.

If you have any questions or comments to make, I can be contacted on 6248 6460

Section A - Background information

If not enough space, please use borders or attach a separate sheet of paper.

(Surname) (Christian Name)

1. Name: _____

May I mention your name in my thesis? ☐ YES ☐ NO

2. Sex: ☐ Male ☐ Female

3. Place of birth: _____

4. Age: ☐ Less than 20 ☐ 20-30 ☐ 31-40
☐ 41-50 ☐ 51-60 ☐ 61+

5. Marital Status:
☐ Single ☐ Married ☐ De Facto
☐ Widowed ☐ Divorced ☐ Other _____

If married, what is the nationality of your spouse: _____

6. Education (highest level attained):
☐ Primary or equivalent ☐ College or equivalent
☐ High School ☐ Skilled trade/ apprenticeship
☐ University Other _____

Comments: _____

7. Do you have children?
☐ YES ☐ NO

Number of children: ☐ 1 ☐ 2 ☐ 3 ☐ 4 ☐ 5+

8. Your current profession or occupation:

Past occupations held:

Section B - Cultural Inheritance

1. Do you speak Lithuanian?

☐ YES☐ NO☐ IN PART

Other languages? please list: _____

2. What language do you speak with your parent(s), friends, children?

Parent(s): ☐ Lithuanian ☐ English ☐ Lith. & Eng. ☐ OtherFriends: ☐ Lithuanian ☐ English ☐ Lith. & Eng. ☐ OtherChildren: ☐ Lithuanian ☐ English ☐ Lith. & Eng. ☐ Other

Comments: _____

3. Do you celebrate any of the following?

'Kucios' ☐ YES ☐ NO'Velyku Marguciai' ☐ YES ☐ NO'Vasario 16' ☐ YES ☐ NO'Your Name's Day' ☐ YES ☐ NO

Comments: _____

4. Do you take, or have you in the past taken, an active part in the Lithuanian community in Tasmania:

☐ YES☐ NO

If YES, What has been your role (please include past experiences as well as current)? _____

5. Do you subscribe to any Lithuanian books, journals, magazines or newspapers?

☐ YES, regularly ☐ YES, occasionally ☐ NO

Comments: _____

6. Do you prepare Lithuanian food dishes?

☐ YES, regularly ☐ YES, occasionally ☐ NO

Comments: _____

7. Do you gather socially with people of Lithuanian birth or their children?

☐ YES, regularly ☐ YES, sometimes ☐ NO

Comments: _____

8. Have you in the past, or do you in the future wish to visit Lithuania?

☐ YES ☐ NO

Why? _____

9. Do you correspond with anyone in Lithuania?

☐ YES ☐ NO

10. Do you currently belong to any Lithuanian organisations or clubs?

☐ YES ☐ NO

Which ones? _____

Section C - Growing up in Australia (Tasmania)

1. a. From your childhood to adulthood did you attend any of the following Lithuanian gatherings and events:

- | | |
|---|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Folk dance groups | <input type="checkbox"/> Weekend Schools |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Musical activities | <input type="checkbox"/> Lithuanian Church |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Sporting events | |

Comments: _____

- b. Apart from those listed above, what other Lithuanian cultural gatherings and events did you attend?

- c. What positive memories do you have of these events and gatherings?

- d. Did you ever resent attending Lithuanian cultural gatherings/ events?

- ☐ YES, Always ☐ YES, Sometimes ☐ NO, Never

Comments: _____

2. a. What Lithuanian traditions and values were taught to you by family and other community members from childhood to adulthood?

- b. How relevant are these teachings to you life today?

- ☐ Very relevant ☐ Relevant ☐ Not relevant at all

Comments: _____

3. As a child growing up in Tasmania, did you feel different from children born to Australian parents?

☐ Often ☐ Sometimes ☐ Rarely ☐ Never

Comments for your response: _____

4. Did you resent your cultural background?

☐ Often ☐ Sometimes ☐ Never

Comments: _____

5. If you have children, have you encouraged your children to learn the Lithuanian language or Lithuanian traditions and customs?

☐ YES ☐ NO

Why?: _____

Extra comments to any of the questions presented in this questionnaire:

Thank you for your co-operation and your time ☺

If you have siblings or know of others who might be interested in participating in this study, could you please write their names and any known contact details below:

Please send your completed form in the envelope provided to:

Erika Boas, 59 Bangalee Street Lauderdale, TAS, 7021.

If you have any questions or comments to make, I can be contacted on 6248 6460

Appendix C

Map of Lithuania

Source: Modified through colour and size changes from the, Apple Computer Corporation, *World Atlas and Almanac CD Rom*, Mindscape Inc. Novato, California, 1995.

Map 1: Lithuania



Appendix D

Maps of Eastern and Central Europe 1937-1947

Source: Kunz, E. Displaced Persons: Calwell's New Australians, ANU Press, 1988, pp. 25- 27.

Maps of eastern and central Europe, 1937 - 1947

Explanatory Note* :

1937

Boundaries as established at Versailles, Trianon and St. Germain.

1940

Boundaries and military occupations after the Anschluss (March, 1938); the carving up of Czechoslovakia (September 1938-March 1939); occupation of Albania; the division of Poland (1939); the seizure of Baltic countries and the adjustment of the Molotov-Ribbentrop line, the cession by Romania of areas to Hungary, Bulgaria and Russia (1940).

1941-42






Map shows the farthest lines of German advance into Russia, and the German occupation areas in the Baltic, Russian and former Polish territories; the division of Yugoslavia. Bessarabia, formerly ceded to Russia, now reincorporated into Romania.

1947









Post war boundaries and occupation zones show Russian advance to the west by the incorporation of Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Carpatho-Ruthenia, Moldavia and parts of Poland and Prussia, while the eastern parts of Germany and Austria, the whole of Poland, Hungary, Romania and Bulgaria are under the military occupation of the USSR. The lost Polish territories in the east are compensated by former German areas in the west. Minor boundary adjustments favoured Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia, two Allied countries, from which foreign troops were withdrawn soon after the end of hostilities.

Shading

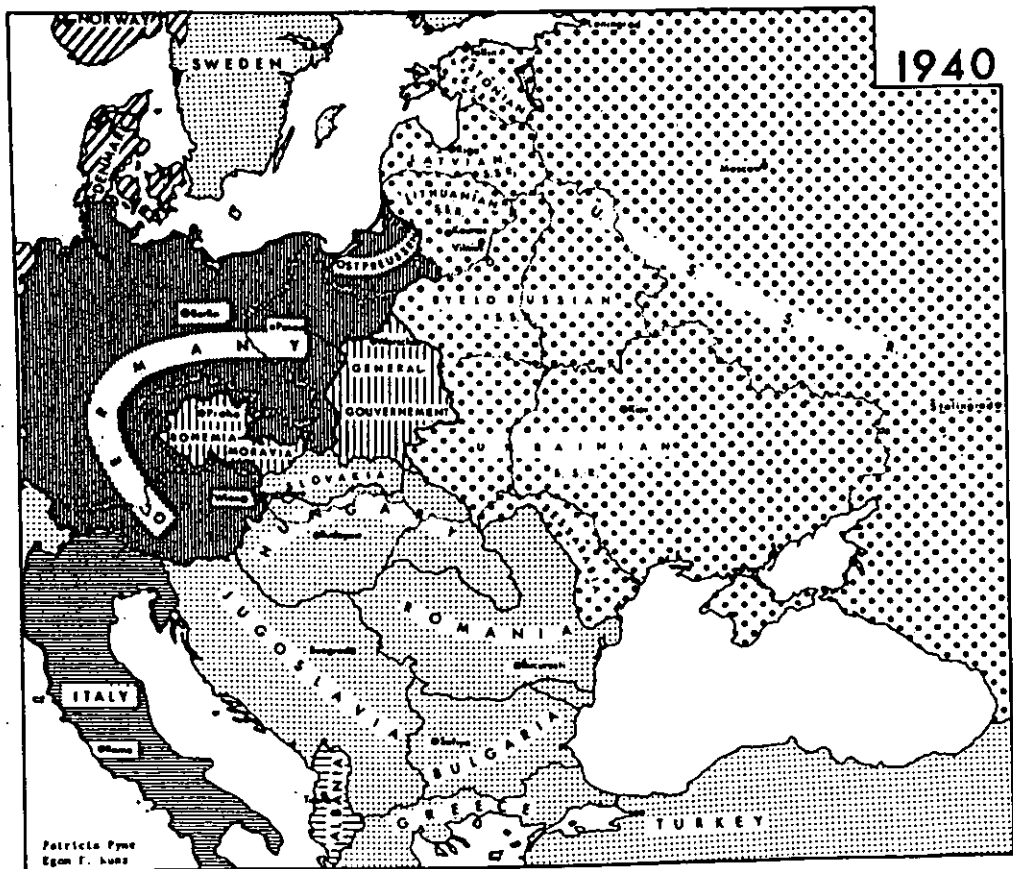
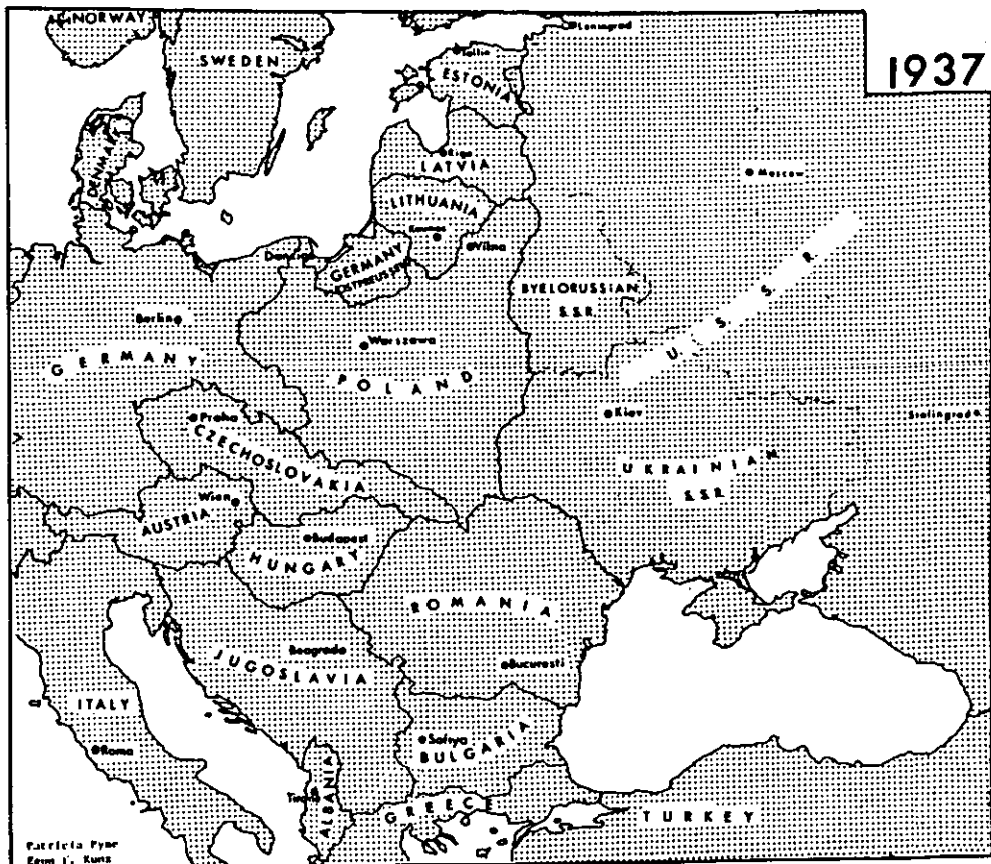
Maps 1940 and 1941-2

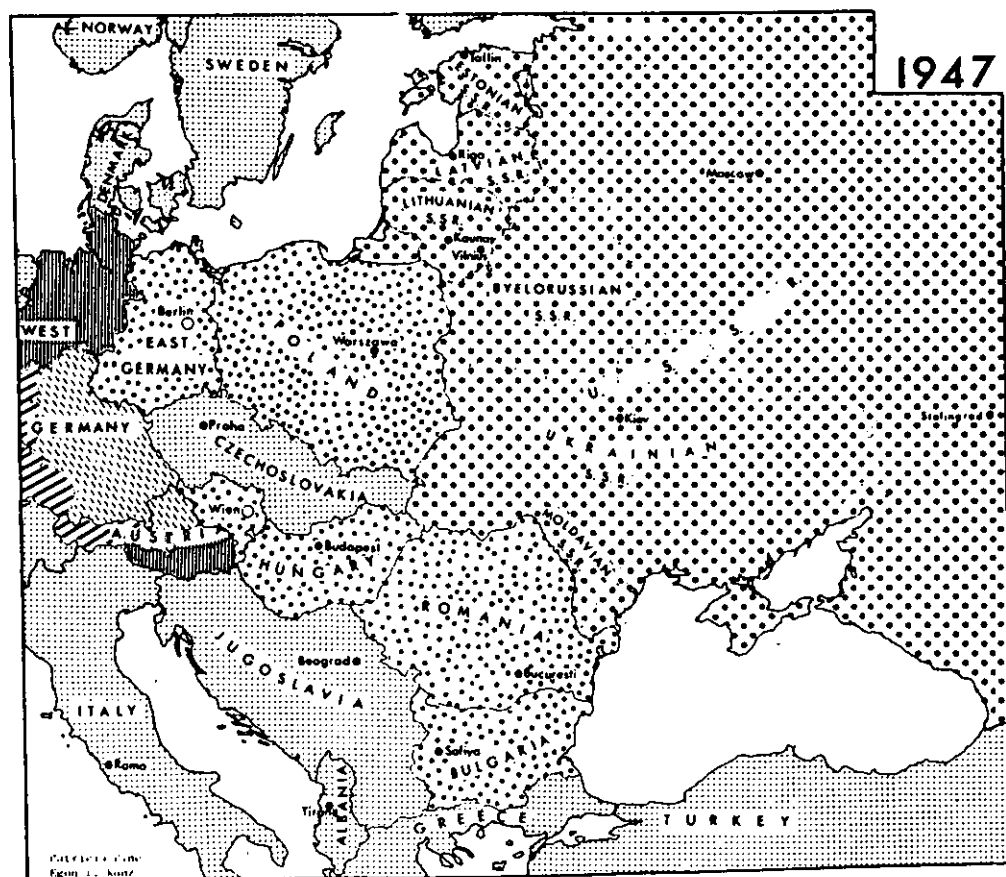
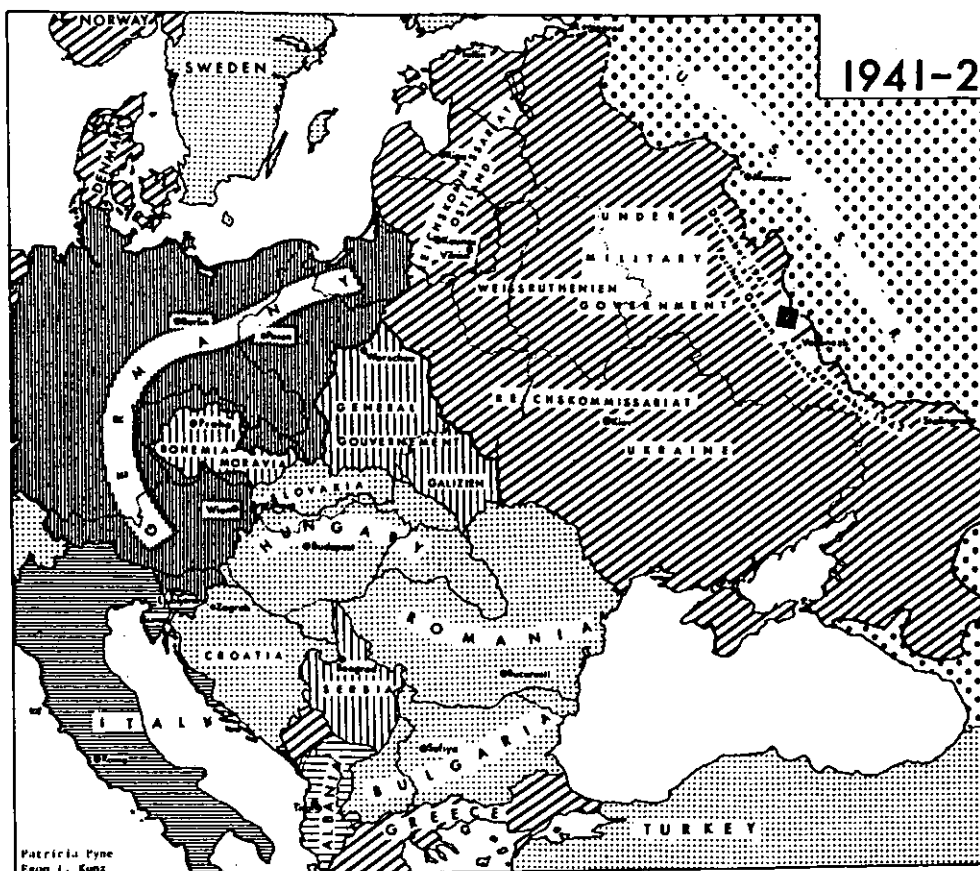
| | |
|---|---------------------------------|
|  | Germany with incorporated areas |
|  | Italy with incorporated areas |
|  | USSR with incorporated areas |
|  | German Protectorates |
|  | Italian Protectorates |

Maps 1937 and 1947

| | | | | | |
|---|--|---|------------------------------|---|--|
|  | Areas under Axis military occupation |  | USSR with incorporated areas |  | Countries not under foreign occupation |
|  | Fully or 'de jure' independent countries |  | USSR occupation zone. | | |
| | |  | British occupation zone. | | |
| | |  | French occupation zone. | | |
| | |  | US occupation zone. | | |

* Kunz, E. *Displaced Persons: Calwell's New Australians*, ANU Press, 1988, p. 25..





Appendix E

Raw data, Lithuanian immigrants in Tasmania

Source: Extracted from data of Baltic immigrants compiled by R. Tarvydas, *From Amber Coast to Apple Isle: Fifty Years of Baltic Immigrants in Tasmania, 1948-1998*, Baltic Semicentennial Commemoration Activities Organising Committee, Hobart, 1997.

Lithuanian immigrants in Tasmania

Table 2.1

| | GENDER | MARITAL STATUS | YEAR ARRIVED IN AUS | YEAR ARRIVED IN TAS | AGE ON ARRIVAL |
|-----|--------|----------------|---------------------|---------------------|----------------|
| 1. | M | S | 1947 | 1948 | 18 |
| 2. | M | S | 1950 | 1950 | 26 |
| 3. | M | S | 1947 | 1948 | 30 |
| 4. | M | M | 1949 | 1949 | 42 |
| 5. | M | S | 1949 | 1949 | 3 |
| 6. | F | M | 1949 | 1949 | 41 |
| 7. | M | S | 1949 | 1949 | 10 |
| 8. | M | S | # | 1948? | # |
| 9. | M | S | 1947 | 1948 | 18 |
| 10. | F | S | 1948 | 1948 | 20? |
| 11. | F | M | 1948 | 1948 | 39 |
| 12. | M | M | 1948 | 1948 | 43 |
| 13. | M | S | 1949 | 1949 | 25 |
| 14. | M | S | 1947 | 1954 | 20 |
| 15. | M | S | 1948 | 1948 | 25 |
| 16. | M | S | 1947 | 1948 | 28 |
| 17. | F | M | 1950 | 1950 | # |
| 18. | M | M | 1950 | 1950 | 23 |
| 19. | M | S | 1948 | 1948 | 42 |
| 20. | M | S | # | # | # |
| 21. | M | S | 1947 | 1940 | 18 |
| 22. | M | S | # | 1949? | # |
| 23. | M | S | 1949* | 1948* | 24 |
| 24. | M | S | # | 1964 | # |
| 25. | M | M | 1950 | 1950 | 37 |
| 26. | F | S | 1950 | 1950 | 2 |
| 27. | M | S | 1950 | 1950 | 11 |
| 28. | F | M | 1950 | 1950 | 23 |
| 29. | M | S | 1947 | 1949 | 34 |
| 30. | M | M | # | # | # |
| 31. | F | M | # | # | # |
| 32. | M | S | # | # | # |
| 33. | M | # | # | # | # |
| 34. | F | S | # | 1950 | 2 |
| 35. | M | M | 1948 | 1949 | 27 |
| 36. | F | M | # | 1950 | # |
| 37. | M | S | 1950 | 1950 | 31 |
| 38. | M | S% | # | 1950? | 35 |
| 39. | M | S% | # | 1950? | 25 |
| 40. | M | S | # | 1954? | # |
| 41. | M | S | # | 1952? | # |
| 42. | M | S | 1947 | 1948 | 32 |
| 43. | M | S | 1947 | 1948 | 47 |
| 44. | M | S | 1949? | 1948 | 47 |
| 45. | M | # | # | # | # |
| 46. | M | S | 1947 | 1948 | 39 |
| 47. | M | S | 1949 | 1949 | 20 |
| 48. | M | M | # | 1975 | # |
| 49. | M | S | # | # | # |

| | | | | | |
|------|---|----|-------|-------|-----|
| 50. | M | S | 1949 | 1949 | # |
| 51. | M | S | 1949 | 1949 | # |
| 52. | M | # | # | # | # |
| 53. | M | # | # | # | # |
| 54. | M | M | 1948 | 1948 | 39 |
| 55. | S | S | 1948 | 1948 | 28 |
| 56. | M | S | 1950 | 1950 | 6 |
| 57. | M | S | 1950 | 1950 | 1 |
| 58. | M | S | 1950 | 1950 | 1 |
| 59. | M | M | 1950 | 1950 | 40 |
| 60. | F | S | 1950 | 1950 | 12 |
| 61. | F | M | 1950 | 1950 | 41 |
| 62. | M | S | 1953 | # | 30 |
| 63. | M | S | 1947 | 1948 | 27 |
| 64. | M | S | 1947 | 1948 | 19 |
| 65. | M | S | 1948 | 1948 | 21 |
| 66. | M | # | # | # | # |
| 67. | M | M | 1949 | 1949 | 28 |
| 68. | F | S | 1949 | 1949 | 1 |
| 69. | F | M | 1949 | 1949 | 24 |
| 70. | M | S | 1947 | 1948 | 34 |
| 71. | F | S | # | # | # |
| 72. | M | S | # | # | # |
| 73. | F | M | 1950 | 1951 | 22? |
| 74. | M | S | 1950 | 1951 | <1 |
| 75. | M | M | 1948 | 1949 | 38 |
| 76. | M | S | 1947 | 1948 | 25 |
| 77. | M | M | 1950 | 1950 | 47 |
| 78. | M | S | 1947 | 1948 | 24 |
| 79. | M | S | 1947 | 1948 | 30 |
| 80. | M | S | # | 1954? | # |
| 81. | F | M | # | # | # |
| 82. | M | M | 1950 | # | 37 |
| 83. | F | S | # | # | # |
| 84. | M | S | 1950 | 1950 | 28 |
| 85. | M | # | 1947 | 1948 | # |
| 86. | M | S | 1947 | 1948 | # |
| 87. | M | S | 1947 | 1948 | 20 |
| 88. | M | S | 1949 | 1949? | # |
| 89. | M | S | 1947 | 1948 | 28 |
| 90. | F | W? | # | 1949? | # |
| 91. | F | S | 1948 | 1948 | 21? |
| 92. | F | S | 1950 | 1950 | # |
| 93. | M | M | 1948 | 1948 | 39 |
| 94. | F | M | 1950 | 1950? | 29 |
| 95. | M | S | 1950 | 1950? | # |
| 96. | M | W | 1949 | 1949 | 39 |
| 97. | F | S | 1949 | 1949 | # |
| 98. | M | S | 1949 | 1949 | 16 |
| 99. | M | S | 1949? | 1948 | 24? |
| 100. | M | S | 1947 | 1970 | 30 |
| 101. | M | S | # | 1950 | # |
| 102. | M | S | 1948 | 1948 | 31 |
| 103. | M | S | 1947 | 1948 | 25 |
| 104. | M | S | 1947 | 1948 | 26 |
| 105. | M | M | 1949 | 1949 | 43 |
| 106. | M | S | 1947 | 1948 | 18 |
| 107. | F | M | 1949 | 1950 | 30 |

| | | | | | |
|------|---|----|-------|-------|-----|
| 108. | M | S | 1950 | 1950 | 44 |
| 109. | F | M | 1949 | 1949 | 46 |
| 110. | M | S | 1949 | 1949 | 8 |
| 111. | F | S | 1949 | 1949 | 6 |
| 112. | M | M | 1949 | 1949 | 49 |
| 113. | M | S | 1947 | 1948 | 31 |
| 114. | M | S | 1947 | 1948 | 30 |
| 115. | M | S | 1949 | 1949 | 33 |
| 116. | M | S | 1947 | 1948 | 24 |
| 117. | F | S | 1947 | 1948 | 22 |
| 118. | M | S | # | 1948 | # |
| 119. | M | S | # | 1953? | # |
| 120. | M | S | 1947 | 1948 | 23 |
| 121. | M | # | # | # | # |
| 122. | M | S | 1948 | 1948? | 27 |
| 123. | M | M | 1948 | 1948 | 40 |
| 124. | M | S | 1949 | 1949 | 13 |
| 125. | F | M | 1949 | 1949 | 38 |
| 126. | F | W | 1951? | 1951 | 61? |
| 127. | M | S | 1951? | 1978? | 13 |
| 128. | M | S | 1951? | 1954? | 18 |
| 129. | F | S | 1951? | # | 12 |
| 130. | M | S | 1951? | 1961? | 14 |
| 131. | M | S | 1950 | 1950 | 19 |
| 132. | M | S | 1951? | 1951? | 17 |
| 133. | M | S | 1950? | 1950 | 25 |
| 134. | M | S | 1947 | 1948 | 28 |
| 135. | M | S | # | 1948 | # |
| 136. | M | M | 1949 | 1951 | 29 |
| 137. | F | M | 1949 | 1951 | 28 |
| 138. | M | M | # | 1948? | # |
| 139. | M | S | 1947 | 1948 | 27 |
| 140. | M | S | 1949 | 1949 | 40? |
| 141. | F | M | 1961 | 1961 | 32 |
| 142. | F | S | 1961 | 1961 | # |
| 143. | M | S | 1950 | 1950 | 14 |
| 144. | F | S% | # | 1948 | # |
| 145. | F | S | 1948 | 1948 | 26? |
| 146. | F | S | 1948 | 1948 | 27 |
| 147. | M | M | 1949 | 1949 | 38 |
| 148. | F | M | 1949 | 1949 | 39 |
| 149. | M | M | # | # | # |
| 150. | M | S | 1949 | 1949 | 20 |
| 151. | M | M | 1949 | 1949 | 45 |
| 152. | M | S | 1949 | 1949 | 6 |
| 153. | M | S | 1949 | 1949 | 10 |
| 154. | F | M | 1949 | 1949 | 45 |
| 155. | M | S | 1947 | 1948 | 23 |
| 156. | M | S | 1947 | 1948 | 21 |
| 157. | F | M | 1950 | 1950 | 31 |
| 158. | M | M | 1950 | 1950 | 45 |
| 159. | F | S | 1950 | 1950 | 15 |
| 160. | M | S | 1948 | 1951 | 28 |
| 161. | F | S | 1947 | 1951 | 26 |
| 162. | M | S | 1947 | 1948 | 22 |
| 163. | M | M | 1957? | 1957? | 34? |
| 164. | M | S | 1947 | 1948 | 18 |
| 165. | M | S | 1947 | 1948 | 26 |

| | | | | | |
|------|---|----|-------|-------|----|
| 166. | F | S | 1950 | 1950 | 3 |
| 167. | M | S | 1950 | 1950 | 1 |
| 168. | F | M | 1950 | 1950 | 25 |
| 169. | M | M | 1949 | 1949 | 31 |
| 170. | M | S | # | 1952? | # |
| 171. | F | S% | # | 1948 | # |
| 172. | M | S | 1949 | 1949 | 32 |
| 173. | M | S | 1947 | 1948 | 25 |
| 174. | M | S | 1948 | 1948 | 22 |
| 175. | M | S | 1949 | 1949 | 38 |
| 176. | F | M | 1949 | 1949 | 29 |
| 177. | M | M | 1949 | 1949 | 29 |
| 178. | M | S | 1951 | 1951 | 4 |
| 179. | M | S | 1951 | 1951 | 13 |
| 180. | F | W | 1951 | 1951? | 34 |
| 181. | M | S | 1949 | 1949 | 32 |
| 182. | M | S | 1947 | 1948 | 19 |
| 183. | M | M | # | 1951? | # |
| 184. | M | S | 1947 | 1948 | 33 |
| 185. | M | S | 1949 | 1949? | 26 |
| 186. | F | S | 1949 | 1950? | 3 |
| 187. | F | M | 1949 | 1950? | 30 |
| 188. | M | S | 1947 | # | 26 |
| 189. | M | S | # | 1949? | # |
| 190. | M | M | 1950? | 1950? | # |
| 191. | M | S | 1948 | 1948 | 22 |
| 192. | M | S | 1947 | 1948 | 23 |
| 193. | M | S | 1949 | 1948? | 24 |
| 194. | M | S | # | 1953 | # |
| 195. | M | S | 1947 | 1948 | 23 |
| 196. | M | M? | # | # | 48 |
| 197. | M | S | 1947 | 1948 | 24 |
| 198. | M | # | # | 1951? | # |
| 199. | F | S | 1950? | | 4 |
| 200. | F | S | 1950 | # | 37 |
| 201. | M | S | 1947 | 1948 | 22 |
| 202. | F | S | 1949 | # | # |
| 203. | F | S | 1949 | # | # |
| 204. | M | M | 1949 | 1949 | 30 |
| 205. | F | S | 1949 | # | # |
| 206. | F | M | 1949 | # | # |
| 207. | M | # | # | # | 61 |
| 208. | F | S | # | 1990? | # |
| 209. | M | S | 1947 | 1948 | 29 |
| 210. | M | S | 1947 | 1948 | 22 |
| 211. | M | S | 1949 | 1949 | 7 |
| 212. | F | M | 1949 | 1949 | 31 |
| 213. | M | S | 1949 | 1949 | 2 |
| 214. | F | S | 1949 | 1949 | 5 |
| 215. | M | M | 1948 | 1948 | 28 |
| 216. | M | S | 1948 | 1948 | 43 |
| 217. | M | S | 1947 | 1948 | 24 |
| 218. | M | # | # | # | # |
| 219. | M | S | 1947 | 1948 | 26 |
| 220. | M | S | 1947 | 1948 | 33 |
| 221. | M | S | 1948 | 1948? | 33 |
| 222. | M | S | 1947 | 1948 | 23 |
| 223. | M | # | 1949 | 1949? | 40 |

| | | | | | |
|------|---|----|-------|-------|-----|
| 224. | F | S | # | # | # |
| 225. | F | W | 1949 | 1949 | 49 |
| 226. | M | S | 1947 | 1948 | # |
| 227. | M | S | # | 1948 | # |
| 228. | M | S | 1947 | 1948 | # |
| 229. | M | S | 1950? | 1950 | 38 |
| 230. | F | M | | 1949? | # |
| 231. | M | M | 1949? | 1949 | 44? |
| 232. | M | S | 1947 | 1948 | 41 |
| 233. | M | S | 1949? | 1949? | 24 |
| 234. | F | W | # | 1950? | # |
| 235. | M | S | # | 1949 | 26 |
| 236. | M | S | 1949 | 1949 | # |
| 237. | F | S | 1961 | 1961 | 3 |
| 238. | M | S | 1961 | 1961 | 3 |
| 239. | F | S | 1961 | 1961 | 10 |
| 240. | F | M | 1961 | 1961 | # |
| 241. | M | M | 1961 | 1961 | 34 |
| 242. | F | S | 1949 | 1949 | 1 |
| 243. | F | M | 1949 | 1949 | 21 |
| 244. | M | M | 1948 | 1948 | 25 |
| 245. | M | S | 1947 | 1948 | 22 |
| 246. | M | S | 1947 | 1948 | 27 |
| 247. | M | S | 1947 | 1948 | 23 |
| 248. | F | S | 1949 | 1949 | 2 |
| 249. | F | S | 1949 | 1949 | 10 |
| 250. | M | S | 1949 | 1949 | 18 |
| 251. | M | # | # | # | # |
| 252. | M | M | 1948 | 1948 | 36 |
| 253. | F | S | 1949 | 1949 | 10 |
| 254. | F | M | 1949 | 1949 | 28 |
| 255. | F | # | # | # | # |
| 256. | M | S | 1949 | 1949? | 19 |
| 257. | M | # | # | 1956? | # |
| 258. | M | S | 1948? | 1948? | 18? |
| 259. | F | M | 1972 | | # |
| 260. | M | M | 1949 | 1949? | 38 |
| 261. | M | S | | | |
| 262. | M | S | 1948 | 1948 | 35 |
| 263. | M | S | 1947 | 1948 | 32 |
| 264. | M | M | 1950 | 1951? | 47 |
| 265. | F | M | 1950 | 1951? | 38 |
| 266. | F | S | 1950 | 1951? | 1 |
| 267. | F | S | 1950 | 1951? | 9 |
| 268. | M | S | 1950 | 1951? | 11 |
| 269. | M | S? | # | # | # |
| 270. | M | M | 1949 | 1949? | # |
| 271. | M | S | 1949 | 1949? | # |
| 272. | F | M | 1949 | 1949? | # |
| 273. | M | M | # | 1951? | # |
| 274. | F | M | # | 1951? | # |
| 275. | M | # | # | # | # |
| 276. | M | S | # | 1959? | # |
| 277. | F | S | 1948 | 1948 | 27 |
| 278. | M | S | 1950 | 1951? | 2 |
| 279. | F | M | 1950 | 1951? | 27 |
| 280. | M | M | 1950 | 1951? | 43 |
| 281. | M | S | 1950 | 1951? | 3 |

| | | | | | |
|------|---|---|-------|-------|-----|
| 282. | M | S | 1950 | 1951? | 1 |
| 283. | M | S | 1947 | 1948 | 34 |
| 284. | F | W | 1949 | 1949? | 65 |
| 285. | F | M | 1949 | 1954 | 34 |
| 286. | M | M | 1948 | 1954 | 42 |
| 287. | F | S | 1949 | 1954 | 8 |
| 288. | F | S | 1949 | 1954 | # |
| 289. | M | S | 1949 | 1954 | 7 |
| 290. | M | S | 1949 | 1949? | 32 |
| 291. | F | S | # | 1969 | 10 |
| 292. | M | S | # | 1961 | 9 |
| 293. | F | S | 1961 | 1961 | 41 |
| 294. | F | # | # | 1964 | 16 |
| 295. | M | S | # | 1953? | # |
| 296. | M | S | # | 1969 | 14 |
| 297. | M | S | # | 1956? | # |
| 298. | M | S | # | 1956? | # |
| 299. | F | M | 1950 | 1950 | 23 |
| 300. | M | S | 1950 | 1950 | 1 |
| 301. | M | M | 1950 | 1950 | 24 |
| 302. | M | S | 1950 | 1950 | 3 |
| 303. | M | S | 1947 | 1948 | 24 |
| 304. | M | S | 1947 | 1948 | 22 |
| 305. | M | S | 1947 | 1948 | 25 |
| 306. | M | S | 1949 | 1949? | 15 |
| 307. | F | M | 1949 | 1949? | 24 |
| 308. | F | M | 1949 | 1949? | 50 |
| 309. | M | S | 1947 | 1949? | 35 |
| 310. | M | S | 1949 | 1954? | 25? |
| 311. | M | S | | 1954? | # |
| 312. | M | S | 1948? | 1948? | 36 |
| 313. | M | S | 1948 | 1948 | 18 |
| 314. | M | S | 1938 | 1946 | 23 |
| 315. | M | M | 1930 | 1946 | 40? |
| 316. | M | S | 1949 | 1949 | 30 |
| 317. | M | S | 1947 | 1948 | 34 |
| 318. | M | M | 1949 | 1949? | 43 |
| 319. | M | S | 1950 | 1948 | 27 |
| 320. | F | S | 1961 | 1961 | 32 |
| 321. | M | S | 1949 | 1962? | 18 |
| 322. | F | S | 1949 | 1950 | 21 |
| 323. | M | S | 1949 | 1949? | 26? |
| 324. | M | S | 1947 | 1948 | 24 |
| 325. | M | S | # | # | # |
| 326. | M | M | 1949 | 1949 | 23 |
| 327. | F | M | 1949 | 1949 | # |
| 328. | M | S | 1949 | 1949 | <1 |
| 329. | M | # | # | 1949? | # |
| 330. | M | S | # | 1949? | # |
| 331. | F | S | # | 1949? | # |
| 332. | M | S | 1947 | 1948 | 30 |
| 333. | M | S | 1949 | 1950? | 4 |
| 334. | M | S | 1949 | 1950? | 13 |
| 335. | M | M | 1949 | 1950? | 36 |
| 336. | F | M | 1949 | 1950? | 35 |
| 337. | F | S | 1949 | 1950? | 7 |
| 338. | F | S | 1948 | 1948 | |
| 339. | F | S | # | # | # |

| | | | | | |
|------|---|----|-------|-------|----|
| 340. | F | M | # | # | # |
| 341. | M | M | # | # | # |
| 342. | M | M | | 1970? | # |
| 343. | M | # | # | # | # |
| 344. | M | S | # | # | # |
| 345. | M | S | 1948 | 1948 | 43 |
| 346. | M | S | 1948 | 1948 | 45 |
| 347. | M | S | 1947 | 1948 | 23 |
| 348. | M | S | # | 1950? | # |
| 349. | M | S | 1947 | 1948 | 22 |
| 350. | M | S | 1948 | 1948 | |
| 351. | M | S? | # | # | # |
| 352. | M | S | 1948? | 1948 | 22 |
| 353. | M | S | 1948 | 1948 | 31 |
| 354. | M | # | # | # | # |
| 355. | M | S | 1947 | 1948 | 27 |
| 356. | M | S | 1948 | 1948 | 34 |
| 357. | M | M | 1948 | 1948? | 40 |
| 358. | F | M | 1948 | 1948? | 36 |
| 359. | F | W | 1949 | 1949? | 65 |
| 360. | M | S | 1948 | 1948 | 33 |
| 361. | F | M | 1949 | 1950 | 25 |
| 362. | M | M | 1949 | 1950 | 27 |
| 363. | M | S | 1947 | 1948 | 31 |
| 364. | M | S | 1949 | 1949 | 31 |
| 365. | M | S | 1949 | 1949 | 26 |
| 366. | M | S | 1947 | 1948 | 38 |
| 367. | M | M | # | 1954? | # |
| 368. | M | S | 1947 | 1948 | 22 |
| 369. | M | S | 1947 | 1948 | 18 |
| 370. | M | S | 1947 | 1948 | 34 |
| 371. | M | S | 1949 | 1949 | 29 |
| 372. | M | S | 1947 | 1948 | 23 |
| 373. | F | M | 1948 | 1948? | 37 |
| 374. | M | M | 1948 | 1948? | 51 |
| 375. | M | S | 1947 | 1948 | 25 |
| 376. | M | S | # | 1949 | 23 |
| 377. | F | S | 1948 | 1948 | 27 |
| 378. | M | M | 1966 | 1970 | 27 |
| 379. | M | S | 1949 | 1972 | 19 |
| 380. | M | # | # | 1949? | # |
| 381. | F | # | # | 1949? | # |
| 382. | M | # | 1948 | # | # |
| 383. | F | M | # | # | # |
| 384. | M | # | # | # | 24 |
| 385. | M | M | 1949 | 1951 | 61 |
| 386. | M | S | 1949? | 1949 | 25 |
| 387. | F | M | 1949 | 1951 | 49 |
| 388. | M | S | | 1958? | |
| 389. | M | S | 1948 | 1948 | 26 |
| 390. | F | # | # | # | # |
| 391. | F | M | 1948 | 1948 | # |
| 392. | M | M | 1948 | 1948 | 28 |
| 393. | M | S | # | 1948 | # |
| 394. | M | S | 1947 | 1948 | 29 |
| 395. | M | S | 1948 | 1948 | 19 |
| 396. | M | S | 1947 | 1948 | 26 |
| 397. | M | # | 1948 | # | # |

| | | | | | |
|------|---|---|-------|-------|-----|
| 398. | F | # | # | # | # |
| 399. | M | # | # | # | 24 |
| 400. | M | M | 1949 | 1951 | 61 |
| 401. | M | S | 1949? | 1949 | 25 |
| 402. | F | M | 1949 | 1951 | 49 |
| 403. | M | S | | 1958? | |
| 404. | M | S | 1948 | 1948 | 26 |
| 405. | F | S | # | # | # |
| 406. | F | M | 1948 | 1948 | |
| 407. | M | M | 1948 | 1948 | 28 |
| 408. | M | S | # | 1948 | # |
| 409. | M | S | 1947 | 1948 | 29 |
| 410. | M | S | 1948 | 1948 | 19 |
| 411. | M | S | 1947 | 1948 | 26 |
| 412. | M | S | 1947 | 1948 | 18 |
| 413. | M | S | 1949 | 1949 | 5 |
| 414. | M | W | 1949 | 1949 | 43 |
| 415. | M | S | 1947 | # | 34 |
| 416. | M | S | # | # | 55? |
| 417. | M | M | 1948 | 1948 | 37 |
| 418. | M | S | 1947 | 1948 | 20 |
| 419. | M | S | 1947 | 1948 | 30 |
| 420. | M | S | 1947 | 1948 | 30 |
| 421. | M | M | 1948 | 1948 | 43 |
| 422. | M | S | 1949? | 1949? | # |
| 423. | M | S | 1947 | 1954? | 19 |
| 424. | M | M | | 1949? | |
| 425. | M | M | | 1950 | |
| 426. | M | S | 1947 | 1948 | 35 |
| 427. | M | S | | 1950? | |
| 428. | M | S | 1947 | 1948 | 18 |
| 429. | M | S | 1947 | 1948 | 19 |
| 430. | M | # | # | # | # |
| 431. | F | S | # | # | # |
| 432. | F | M | 1950 | 1950 | 25 |
| 433. | M | M | 1950 | 1950? | 28? |
| 434. | M | S | 1950 | 1950? | 2 |
| 435. | F | S | 1950 | 1950? | 1 |
| 436. | M | S | # | 1949? | # |
| 437. | M | M | 1949? | 1949? | 46? |
| 438. | F | M | 1949? | 1949? | 19? |
| 439. | M | S | 1949 | 1954 | 18 |
| 440. | M | S | 1947 | 1948 | 25 |

KEY TO TABLE

- NOT KNOWN

? - UNSURE

% - QUESTION AS TO WHETHER BEING LITHUANIAN

W- A WIDOWER

S- SINGLE

M - MARRIED

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