From Dream to Reality: A study of British migration to Western Australia in the 1960s, with special emphasis on those who travelled on the SS Castel Felice

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CHAPTER FIVE

'It was even better than they advertised'

Settling in to life in Western Australia

In such promotional material distributed in Britain as ‘Australia invites you’, prospective migrants were promised a ‘British way of life’ in Australia, social security, a healthy lifestyle, and, indeed a better standard of living ‘among the highest in the world’. Immigration propaganda was certainly persuasive; so much so that Knightley suggests the Australian government offered bribes to the British immigrants. But the promise of a better life looked for many, on arrival, to be unattainable. Participants in this study were asked to consider the degree to which their experience in Australia matched the promises they had received before leaving Britain. My respondents told of statements made by immigration officials who, they said, gave misleading information and some then told of their despair at the conditions they found when they first arrived in Australia. But for how many migrants did conditions improve over time?

Lack says new migrants suffered from loneliness and that this was often made worse by unfriendliness, aggression and even open hostility that was shown by some Australians. He thinks there might be historical reasons for this, and that in any case the British migrants were thought to be the ‘pampered products of a welfare state’. Hammerton agrees, saying the sources of antagonism could be partially due to the criticism and complaints by the British who said that the standard of living in their home country was better than they found in Australia. He writes that there were many unjust comparisons between the ‘whingeing Pom’

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2 Jupp, Arrivals and Departures, Cheshire Lansdowne, Melbourne, 1966, pp. 100, 111.
3 Jupp, Arrivals and Departures, p. 110.
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and the ‘Aussie battler’. Zamoyska, too, speaks of ‘anti British feeling’ within Australia. Chetkovich found, equally, many Irish people who had migrated to escape sectarian violence, were met here with anti-Catholic feelings based on English attitudes, and that some Australians could be ‘loud, rude and insular’. Nonetheless, most of her Irish participants found friendly people in Western Australia.

Jenkins suggests that the British were not very good at making friends, and migration led to a confrontation between them and the Australians. My respondents on the whole were not greeted by the hostility that was spoken of by these authors, though perhaps memories might now have been altered by time. Lack and Templeton certainly suggest that ‘this anti-British feeling of the time is often forgotten today’.

Richardson, speaking in 1960 at a conference on immigration held in Canberra, reported that British migrants based in Medina, complained of a range of problems. The major one was the lack of public transport, but women complained of homesickness, the lack of good education standards in the schools, and a generally lower standard of living than they had enjoyed in Britain. Men had also expected a better standard of living, more job satisfaction; and now found reduced enjoyment in their leisure time. My respondents tell of similar experiences as they settled in Western Australia in the 1960s. They also found, as Peters did, some exploitation in accommodation within the rental market. But many also said that they found kind Australians who helped them in the settling-in process. Some

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5 Betka Zamoyska, The Ten Pound Fare: Experiences of British people who emigrated to Australia in the 1950s, Viking, London, 1988, p. 31.
6 Jean Chetkovich, Not for Economic Gain: The story of Elsie Butler in Western Australia’, The Irish in Western Australia: Studies in Western Australian history, 20, The University of Western Australia, Nedlands, 2000, pp. 54, 142.
7 Thomas Jenkins, We Came to Australia, Constable, London, 1969, pp. 48, 156.
8 John Lack and Jacqueline Templeton, Bold Experiment: A documentary history of Australian immigration since 1945, Oxford University Press, Melbourne, 1995, p. 79.
10 Nonja Peters, Milk and Honey but no Gold: Post-war migration to Western Australia 1945-1964, University of Western Australia Press, 2001, p. 220.
thought the school life was different and a few complained of a lowering standard of education. However, many reported with pride that their children went on to university. This, then, is the story of the reality of settlement in Western Australia as it was experienced by the British migrants of the 1960s who participated in this study.

*Let’s find somewhere to live*

After finding work the next priority for the newly arrived migrant seems to have been to find somewhere to stay which was located conveniently close to shops, schools and transport. What was perhaps misunderstood by most Australians was the relatively high standard of living which had been enjoyed by most of the British migrants in their own country by the 1960s. Most of my participants say they came from well-equipped homes in built up areas offering easy access to amenities and where public transport was readily available.¹¹ Few of my migrants speak of owning cars in Britain, or needing to. Parts of the United Kingdom had become increasingly prosperous with full employment and rising living standards—many respondents speak of taking holidays before emigrating. It was said of the time that Britain had ‘never had it so good’.¹²

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Australia much of the housing available for rental to migrants was in the older suburbs where deep sewerage did not exist. Houses were often constructed of asbestos or wood, with a tin or asbestos roof, and not the double brick and tile home the British migrant was used to. In the 1960s Western Australian homes were often equipped with a wood stove for cooking and heating, and a ‘chip heater’, a contrivance near the bath into which chips of wood or paper were fed, to heat the water for bathing or for the laundry. These were an abomination to the housewife who had been used to modern bathrooms with copious hot water, electric or gas cooking and other household conveniences. In the newer suburbs, around Perth, the realty companies were building more modern homes with up to date fittings but they were often built on poor sandy soil. Even these new houses were connected to a septic tank system for sewerage. In the new suburbs there were no shops or other facilities and public transport was virtually non-existent. Many migrants moved from the inhospitable hostels to private rental accommodation or to state housing, but few bought their first home immediately.

Tom Rollo, who arrived in 1963, described the first rental accommodation they took which was about 1km from the facilities.

We walked a lot. The ‘flat’ in Scarborough was a sleep out added to the front of the house. It was no palace but accommodation to rent was very scarce at that time so we were happy to have it. We immediately had problems with mosquito bites mainly due to inadequate fly screens. Some days Mary looked like a boxer who had been beaten around the head as her eyes were so swollen. It took some time for us to build up immunity to them. The toilet was outside the house around the back and shared with other tenants. We were allocated use of the laundry (without washing machine) and a drying line on Mondays only which was not really convenient. One day I went to work and inadvertently locked Mary in because there was a latch on the outside of the door which I absentmindedly used. She had to wait for one of the other tenants to check the letterbox for mail later in the day to let her out to go to the ‘loo’. Needless to say I was not a popular migrant when I came home.  

Scarborough seemed to have been a popular location for rental properties. Another participant who came to Western Australia in 1967 reported a similar situation to that of the Rollos:

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This was our first experience of flat dwelling and we were unprepared for some unpleasant occurrences associated with this form of accommodation. E.g. Clothing, mainly jeans, disappearing from communal laundry line, or the refusal of the local newsagent/deli to deliver the morning paper because of the number of ‘Bloody Poms in flats who did a flit before they pay their bills’.14

Margaret Luck wrote that:

Within 4 days of arrival we rented a house in Subiaco with a toilet at the end of the garden. We had jumped in too quickly and I couldn’t get used to it. Within 2 weeks we had moved to a 7th floor in a block of flats overlooking the river.15

Arriving in 1965 Doreen Cook and her family said they found living in the hostel made finding rental accommodation difficult. The accommodation rented to them by an Italian workmate: was a ‘bit of a culture shock’.16 But Chris Moore, a young single migrant, was thrilled to share and flat in South Perth where the building was ‘full of young single people’.17

Jenkins says migrants of this time were unaware of the vagaries of buying a home in Western Australia. He found they were disadvantaged when applying for loans and often had to take out expensive second mortgages. They were faced with ‘mistakes in quotes and price variations’.18 My respondents often made comparisons with their home in England to their first house in Australia. Those moving to the rural areas found life very difficult and their houses there ‘the ultimate culture shock’.19 One participant was not too unhappy with the accommodation she was given but her relatives in England were not impressed. ‘Our first house was a wooden mill house made nice by being painted inside, my family in England were shocked they said it looked like my mother’s garden shed’.20 The conditions were even worse for another family who went to Albany to a house they had rented, by telephone, from an advertisement in a newspaper. After a nightmare journey from Perth, ‘thirteen and a half hours on the Albany Progress’, the family were horrified on arrival to find the house was

18 Jenkins, p. 151.
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Participants who had signed agreements in the United Kingdom to buy homes through realty companies such as Landalls or RDC Homes were generally pleased with their decision, but some seem to have found problems. Victor Humphries said he had difficulty getting a loan because he did not have a ‘credit rating in Australia’. The Baldwins had a similar problem but were fortunate to find a guarantor. Many remembered the procurement of housing, and the general settling in to life in Western Australia favourably. The Rollo family’s first home was a ‘cottage on a quarter acre of land, it looked like it sat on a sand strip, no gardens, no fences, or garage, but it was new’. One described their new home in Australia as being ‘like a palace’; while others were extremely pleased with a ‘single storey bungalow that was so much in demand at home’. Eunice Woods was impressed when she saw houses with blue roofs. They bought a house under construction in Tuart Hill so that she could get the roof of her dreams. Sheila Saville told in detail the process of building a home and starting her new life in Australia:

For some reason we chose land at Willetton and made contact with the local builder ‘Fini’ who lived in Rossmoyne. He was kind enough to let us view a home he had built—also for English migrants—and a primary school which was due to be built close by. When the 6 weeks at Noalimba was up we rented a duplex in Riverton. It was unfurnished and we did not want to unpack all our furniture which had then arrived. A lady in Mount Pleasant rented us her garage until our home was built. We extracted a couple of chairs and a coffee table and bought beds for us all and a refrigerator and managed with that. My husband teamed up with a man from the ship and did carpentry work on new homes to get the feel of the trade. ‘Fini’ could see my husband had plenty of work experience and immediately offered him a job as a building supervisor but my husband thought he would experience how things worked first. ‘Fini’ allowed my husband to do his own internal woodwork on our house to save money. The duplex we rented was very hot and the shops not very close, it was too hot to walk too far with the children so shopping once a week. The building of homes was very quick in those

25 Rollo, arr. Apr. 1962, Survey 44.
days and our home was ready to move into by 1 January. Willetton Primary School in Apsley Road was being built and opened the first day of school term February 1970 and so Julie started her school life there. Meanwhile Roger was in kindergarten 2 days a week and so we all made friends quite quickly. On reflection it is amazing how easily we slotted in to our new life.\(^{29}\)

Settling in country areas was perhaps more difficult than settling in Perth. One respondent complained that she found the accommodation she was given in regional Collie to be far beneath what she had been used to at home. There was a definite gap in what she had been promised and what she then encountered in Australia:

Our original housing definitely didn’t live up to the glossy brochure we had seen on Perth housing—I felt like a pioneer with my chip heater, copper, wood stove and the grease trap in the drain was putrid.\(^{30}\)

My family and I moved to a forestry settlement a few kilometres from Pemberton in the southwest of Western Australia. Douglas had to take work with the forestry department because he could not find anything else; the job he had been promised as a welder was not forthcoming. Our house was a wooden four-roomed hut with sleep-outs on the back veranda. The lavatory and laundry facilities were across the garden and a haven for frogs and spiders. There was a bath in one sleep-out but it had no running water, so we had to heat water in a wood-fired copper and then carry it from the laundry across the garden every evening. There was one tap in the kitchen. However, because the water came directly from the mill dam, when it was used tadpoles and other wildlife often fell into the sink. There was a large rainwater tank outside the back door which was used for drinking water and of course there was the wood stove, the cause of much anguish and many tears. The power supply was switched off every evening at 10pm. At first the house was alive with mice. They played in the lounge room where we sat in the evenings; they left their droppings in the children’s beds. When we put ‘Ratsack’ in the roof we succeeded in killing a rat which fell down between the wooden walls and was only discovered when large white maggots began to fall out of the wall.

on to the floor. I was also horrified when I tried to eliminate the ever-present blowflies and found that they laid not eggs, but maggots that crawled around the busily buzzing bodies of their dying parent. The settlement was miles from anywhere and groceries were delivered twice a week. In the winter the washing froze on the line. But our Australian neighbours were wonderful and made us feel very welcome. They also cared for my family when two of my children were born in the Pemberton Hospital. I remember the mopoke or tawny frogmouth sitting so silently on the tree outside the ward window and the carolling of magpies that greeted us every morning.

**Reality**

Many may have found the settling into new homes, work and schools to be challenging, but most also agree that for them their new life in Australia was as good, if not better, than they had hoped for. Chris Moore now believes that:

> It was even better than they advertised. A woman came up from Australia House in London to interview me. She actually painted a somewhat gloomy picture.  

The Gawthrops were pleased: ‘Our life here was a better living standard than we had in UK’. Another, said, ‘Life was much better here, everything I was told came true’. One respondent and wife were also very happy: ‘The way of life seemed to suit us straight away, distance was a bit daunting, realised we would soon need a vehicle for work and shopping, a bit limited on public transport’. Others agree, including Peggy Parkin who wrote, ‘Climate lovely—people friendly if you didn’t take offence at being called a ‘Pom’’. Jim Yeomans could not have been more satisfied: ‘Weather as promised—yes very much better, so free and easy, people made us welcome to their BBQs’. Another was happy but he had a few reservations:

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33 Name withheld, arr. June 1963, Survey 43.  
34 Name withheld, arr. May 1968, Survey 70.  
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We were enjoying the “freedoms” that England couldn’t provide, uncluttered roads, clean air, stacks of sunshine and above all a relaxed beautiful environment despite the arrogant misplaced attitude of many Australians towards us—calling us whingeing Poms!!!

Iris Wilson was welcomed by the Baptist Congregation who had sponsored her family but she still felt homesick and ‘missed her neighbours popping in for a cuppa.’

In 1960 one participant discovered that:

It was not Britain down under which I had believed to be the case. I came to realise (as I lived with Aussies) that in many respects it was a foreign country where the language was similar but the outlooks were quite different. Aussies in the 1960s were defensive of their own culture, though local identities were world known.

The family that went to Yarloop did not find people ‘very friendly towards migrants. I was horrified at being called a Pommy Bastard’. There were some very unhappy migrants.

Loretta Thomas recalled:

Dad settled in quite quickly, meeting his mates for a drink. Mum was very lonely and yearned for her family back home. Mum found life very hard, but it did not seem to worry Dad.

John Talbot said that ‘things were not as had been promised, indeed life was ‘worse, UK agencies gave little advice at all, they were woeful’. One participant found ‘the summers were too hot and the place too vast, not much to do if you don’t like the beach’. Another, who was separated from her parents and sent to Fairbridge Farm, complained:

Being separated was really horrific, that was a terrible start to this new country. Very lonely, new school was lonely; everything was different, eating lunch outside whereas in England because of the weather we had a hot school meal every day. A huge difference, being a young lady, I really can’t remember anything good about Aussie.

Another recalled that there were ‘No jobs for my husband and rentals were almost

38 Anon, arr. July 1964, Survey 11.
44 Anon, arr. Sep/Oct. 196, Survey 52.
impossible’. Many were disappointed by the quality of the clothes, shoes and other products and said that the reality was that ‘we all worked very hard’. Geoffrey Shapland agreed but found things got better with time. Children seem to have had the idea of life in Australia was one of rural domesticity. ‘The films we saw of Australia showed kangaroos and people riding horses to school—that didn’t happen’.

Peters says the ideology of assimilation which was prevalent in the 1960s caused children to have more problems in adapting to the Australian school system than the authorities or their parents appreciated. While she was speaking mainly of the non-English speaking migrant child, nevertheless there seem to have been differences between the school life in Britain and Australia. Michael Geurds was caught between the two age requirements for school leavers. In England the school year ended in July, but in Australia it was in December. Arriving in Fremantle in April he says ‘I went to John Curtin for a day and I got kicked out, I lasted just one day’. His sister was about 5 years younger when she started school here: ‘she was in a group of nine and ten year olds, and she struggled for a while until she made, you know, got, her own circle of friends and then she was off and running’. Geoffrey Shapland was a bit lonely initially but found he ‘started making friends when I went to school and what was really impressive was how friendly the kids were—unlike England’. Lesley Ross who went to Victoria was pleased with her social adaptation:

Settled in very easily at school as the ‘Beatles’ had recently visited Melbourne, all the girls at school were asking me to say ‘love’ hoping to hear a Liverpool accent—they were disappointed when I said ‘luv’ and not ‘loov’.

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45 Anon, arr. Nov. 1962, Survey 41.
49 Peters, Milk, Honey but no Gold, p. 265.
51 Shapland, Survey 31.
52 Ross, Survey 10.
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But other children were not so fortunate; ‘children were teased at school’.\(^53\) ‘Loretta Thomas remarked, ‘kids could be cruel even way back, I went to school in a hat and coat and shoes too big, quite a few asked me if I’d sailed out in my shoes’.\(^54\) Some were made to feel unwelcome. Marilyn Fonte says, ‘The Australian children didn’t like me and made fun of my accent and lack of knowledge of the country, I felt very sad and lonely’.\(^55\) One of the major differences was the school meal system. In the United Kingdom cooked meals in a dining room were provided by the local authorities at lunchtime. In Australia children took sandwiches or used the canteen run by volunteers and ate in the playground.\(^56\)

When asked if anything met with their immediate approval many spoke of the friendliness and the help they had received. One happy couple wrote:

> We were very impressed by the gentleman who took us from Fremantle to the Wentworth Hotel. By the time we got out of customs all the taxis had disappeared. The said man was taking luggage in a horse and cart, I think, and gave us a guided tour of places of interest on the way and wouldn’t accept payment. We were made so welcome by all the education department staff in Perth and the teaching staff at the high school and the Collie community.\(^57\)

But another, who also went as a teacher to Collie, found ‘the manager of State housing in Collie who was less than helpful with things that were faulty in the home’.\(^58\)

‘Best Ten Pound I Ever Spent’

Most of my respondents overcame their early difficulties on settlement and declared in their surveys they were now happy with their lives in Western Australia. One respondent said ‘Best ten pound I ever spent’,\(^59\) while Penelope Lennon who has travelled and lived in most states of Australia thinks that ‘Western Australia is best of all’.\(^60\) Some say although it was not their decision to come to Western Australia they were pleased to be here, like Loretta

\(^{53}\) Name withheld, arr. Nov. 1957, Survey 38.
\(^{54}\) Thomas, Survey 37.
\(^{55}\) Fonte, Survey 59.
\(^{56}\) Platts, Interview, 11\(^{th}\) May 2006.
\(^{57}\) Anon, arr. Jan/Feb. 1969, Survey 83.
\(^{58}\) Name withheld, arr. Jan/Feb. 1969, Survey 83
\(^{59}\) Anon, arr. May, 1968, Survey 70.
Thomas, who wrote, ‘I can never thank my parents enough for making the decision’.

Jacqueline Rawling says neither she nor her family wanted to return to Britain and they had never regretted ‘leaving cold, grey UK behind’. However, her father always worried whether he had made the right decision. Others had reconciled themselves to living here: ‘it wasn’t my decision to come to; Australia but have two wonderful children who have excelled in most things and a wonderful husband’.

Some still have regrets: ‘it’s a good life style, but if the decision had been mine we would have stayed in England’. While others who didn’t have any choice in the migration have been very happy here, ‘but still feel the urge to return home’. The Huckins’ said they ‘still miss having no extended family; this has impacted on our children’. Lesley Ross regretted not ‘growing up with my grandparents, aunts and uncles’. This sentiment was echoed by another respondent. ‘The only regret I have is that our children have been denied close ties with the rest of my family’. Patricia Reed said she still misses living in England ‘but not the cold weather . . . I will always miss Christmas—and Pearl’. ‘To a degree I still miss England’s countryside and my family back there’, wrote Merle Franklin, and another agreed: ‘Still miss the streams, the hills and villages I knew’.

Participants were also asked whether their lives had been changed by coming to live in Western Australia. Some were ambivalent, ‘I will never know’, and ‘who knows what we would have been like if we had still been there?’. Some compared their life with those of friends back home. ‘We have not gained socially or financially but prefer the environment

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62 Name withheld, arr. Mar. 1968, Survey 68.
64 Anon, arr. May 1966, Survey 56.
73 Anon, arr. Nov. 1968, Survey 73.
and lifestyle’. Patricia Thyer confessed that it is not easy to compare today with 40 years ago:

We obviously have no idea how life would have been had we remained in Britain. However observing, listening and experiencing the British scene on the occasions we have visited the UK we have no doubt we made the correct decision by staying here.

And another expressed the same sentiment, but most thought they were better off in Australia. Of the 102 respondent who settled in Western Australia only four participants say they regretted spending their lives in Australia.

Many conclude that their lifestyles have improved and that their children have had better opportunities. ‘My wife and I often discuss this point (change of lifestyle) with our family and all are of the opinion we would never have achieved any of this if we had stayed in the UK’. The Thyers now ‘enjoy a good lifestyle involved in community activities and voluntary work and we feel we have contributed to Australia’. Many spoke of the successful lives now led by their children. One wrote, ‘Our daughters have done well and are married and own their own homes. Australia has given them a better life and opportunities they would not have had in Britain’. Geoffrey Shapland is particularly proud of the work he and his father had been involved in—constructing the Ord River Dam and other developments throughout the state. He also feels he has ‘been well rewarded for very hard work and enjoyed some great experiences’. The Baldwins said they ‘would never have had house ownership in UK, kids would have had less opportunities after school years to get jobs’.

Chris Davis said there was a radical change:

78 Anon, arr. May 1968, Survey 70.
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Negative situation to a positive. I have achieved all my ambitions and created new ones. I’ve had some incredible experiences and met up with some fantastic people. Have been successful in all my endeavours (except marriage) Have four beautiful children and 4 beautiful grandchildren. 83

Yet for Patricia Reed:

It will never be the same. I think you come here to make a new life and make good, but not everyone had the same idea. Dad would go back anytime but Mum didn’t want to. Gradually we nearly all married as time went on split up through arguments. Whether things would have been different if we had never come here we will never know. 84

Some migrants still get together and discuss their immigration experiences and rationalise what happened:

When I think about it and discuss it with friends who made the move to WA about the same time, we really had a limited notion of what we were coming to. I suppose we must have had youthful confidence in our own capabilities. On the whole we made a success of our life here—certainly more pluses than minuses. 85

We are Australian citizens now

During the 1960s the imperial relationship between Britain and Australia was ending. While there were still emotional attachments to the British Commonwealth there was no longer a vision of a shared way of life. Sir Robert Menzies and other members of his cabinet had been part of the British school system and still saw Britain as the great power it once was. They maintained a close relationship with Britain: for them Australia was linked inextricably with the British Empire and the British way of life. 86 But in 1966, when Menzies retired, Harold Holt became the Australian prime minister and welcomed the visit of the United States President L. B. Johnson who attracted more crowds than the British Queen Elizabeth had in 1954. In his support for the United States Holt assured Johnson that Australia would go ‘all the way with LBJ’. 87 As the ‘ethnic lobby’ became more vocal in 1964 the assimilation

83 Davies, arr. Feb/Mar. 1968, Survey 35.
section of the Department of Immigration was disbanded and moves were made to integrate the many nationalities that were living in Australia. The words ‘British Subject’ were removed from the Australian Passport and in the late 1960s Britain decided that Australians (and other Commonwealth citizens) would no longer have free right of entry into Britain except under special circumstances. When the Australian currency changed from sterling to dollars in 1966 it ended Australia’s relationship with the Sterling Bloc and by the late 1960s American investment in Australia exceeded that of the British. It is said that the British migrant influx in the 1950s and 1960s did little to change the Australian way of life, but by 1969 the influence of continental Europeans and of non-Europeans was broadening Australian eating and drinking customs and changing the Australian culture.

In the 1960s when most of my respondents came to Australia they did not have to worry about becoming Australian citizens. There was no restriction on British subjects entering or leaving Australia, except those assisted migrants under contract to stay for 2 years. They were entitled to many of the social security benefits and could vote in Australian elections. Those who arrived before 1984 now retain the right to vote but they need a visa to enter Australia unless they become Australian citizens. According to Hammerton and Thomson some migrants who thought they had residential status in Australia were unable to re-enter the country after 1984. Perhaps the interest in becoming naturalised is dependent on a British migrant’s need to travel. Chetkovich found that there were ‘strong links between mobility and ability to travel and the adoption of Australian citizenship’. She found some of her respondents had not taken out Australian citizenship because they felt they were not going

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92 Hammerton and Thomson, p. 312.
to leave the country.  

Of the 108 respondents to my survey only 18 had not taken Australian citizenship, and some have retained dual citizenship. One said that he could not see the point in being naturalised, although his wife had done so. However, Alan Huckins was proud to announce, ‘Yes and we support Oz in all sports even cricket—even when playing England. Which means we are now fair dinkum Aussies’. Even one of the migrants who returned to live permanently in England, was proud to tell me, ‘We are Australian citizens, as are our children’.

It is not easy to assess whether the reality of the way of life encountered in Australia lived up to the promise. One of the major difficulties is finding exactly what promises were made to individual migrants. Few of my respondents could now recall the specific promises they were made, but those with the most complaints have the clearest memories of a promise which was not fulfilled. Most found that initial discomfort has often been replaced by a satisfying lifestyle; they told of early struggles and difficulties which had been overcome. A few say they wish they could turn back the clock and others still have a longing for the sights and sounds of home. One said; ‘If I had known before I agreed to emigrate, the kind of life I would live in Australia, I would never have come’. But she has two children who are university graduates and she has worked tirelessly in a volunteer capacity for many agencies, various environmental and wild life activities, and the Red Cross. One wonders how her life would have been improved had she stayed in Britain? The reality for most of the respondents was that whatever promises they were made that encouraged them to come to Western Australia the reality of their lives in Australia is one of success, both for themselves and their children.

95 Huckins, arr. Apr/May 1967, Survey 61.