

# NETHERLANDS PHILATELY



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1. The distinction between Dutch and Indo Dutch is not only absurd, it is not pertinent. No matter what the physical appearance of a particular Indo-Dutch person was, he/she was treated just like full-blooded Dutch by the Japanese.
2. The first internments in Java — at least in East Java — occurred at the end of April 1942. Kesilir can be considered to be the first CI camp in East Java. Prominent figures in Jakarta were jailed in the beginning of March 1942 in Struiswijk jail.
3. In September 1945 it was generally held that the Japanese had planned to remove all women and children from Java, and let them 'loose' in the jungles of Borneo, as a 'final solution.'
4. Mail privileges were a lot less generous than according to de Jong. However, this was remedied to some degree in the women's camps by using somebody else's name (who had nobody to write to) with that person's permission. This enabled women with a husband and more than one grown-up son to write several postcards. Of course, messages were worded such as to ensure that the recipient knew who the real sender was.

#### References

The verse at the beginning of this article is taken from *The Holy Bible*, New International Version. © 1973, 1978 by the International Bible Society used by permission of the Zondervan Bible Publishers.

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Most nonphilatelic information quoted from:

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#### BOOK REVIEWS

*Oude KPM Schepen van Tempo Doeloe/Old KPM Ships from the Past*. By L. Lindeboom. Language Dutch and English. Volume I (2nd edition), Vol II and Volume III. Maritieme Stichting Koopvaardij Historie van de Oost Indien (1990). Codes 90-15, 90-16 and 90-17, respectively. ASNP price \$27.00 per volume.

In *Netherlands Philately* Vol. 13, page 26 (Dec. '88 issue) we mentioned already the appearance of Volume I of the above series. Now that the entire set is completed we would like to bring this set of books to your attention again.

Of virtually all the KPM ships ever in existence, this book shows one or two photographs, along with such information as gross and net tonnage, deadweight, main dimensions, type of engine and a brief history of each ship, right down to its final disposal. The books also give a lot of information on the people associated with these ships and on the life in the Netherlands Indies in general, during the period that the KPM played such a major role in keeping this enormous country together.

The books are fully bilingual, with each page in Dutch faced by a corresponding page in English. Volume III has an introduction by HRH Prince Bernhard.

We should be very grateful for Captain Lucas Lindeboom's initiative and perseverance. The old guard of the KPM is quickly fading now; just in the nick of time, Capt. Lindeboom has been able to interview many of these old-timers. That is how he could build up this priceless store of photographs. There are also many drawings, all from the hand of the author. The books are published by the Foundation History of the Merchant Marine in the East Indies, which Foundation was created for the express purpose of publishing these books.

*Niederlaendisch Neu-Guinea* (Dutch New Guinea). By Roel H Houwink. 18 pp, illustrated. Published 1963 by the "Arge Neues Handbuch der Briefmarkenkunde e.v." as part 14 in this series. Language German. Code 63-1, ASNP price \$6.00.

This slim volume on the stamps and postal history of NNG has been out of print for a very long time now. Recently, we spotted it, however, in the price list of our supplier in the Netherlands. Apparently a stash has been found. The booklet is pretty outdated, of course, not the least through some major articles in *Netherlands Philately*. The German language may be another stumbling block. Even so, we recommend to all NNG collectors to purchase a copy of this booklet, if they don't have one already (and throw away that ugly Xerox copy). Since it is the only comprehensive study ever published on this topic, it is still a valid starting point for any and all discussions.

The booklet first discusses all the stamps, complete with date of issue and numbers issued, for each stamp. There is also a 4-page discussion of postmarks, including the old ones, going as far back as 1902. There is also a small map of NNG, with the philatelically-important place names. There is even a short but interesting literature list. The UNTEA overprints are discussed only very briefly.

F.R.

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March 1991

## From the Editor

Here is your March journal, totally dedicated to the Netherlands Indies. We hope that those of our members who don't collect the Indies will still enjoy the scope and diversity of these articles. Two are concerned with postal history and one with stamps that still raise many questions.

The first article is perhaps more "history" than postal history. It records the early beginnings of the "Great Post Road" of Daendels, and ends with another remarkable discovery (see also "Postal History of the Netherlands Indies: Discoveries by Common Sense," by the same author, in Volume 14, No. 4.)

Our next article is by our "Chronology fiend," who this time has studiously perused 50-year-old copies of *Netherlands & Colonial Philately (NCP)* to prepare an article on the stamps that were printed by Kolff in Batavia in 1940 and 1941. As you can see from the last page of this article, there are still questions to be posed and answered. One of these I'll ask here: If any of our members has proofs of the 1 ct and 3 1/2 ct dancer stamps that perhaps show the etching number, please contact your editor right away.

Our final article is also by an author who keeps on writing great articles, and who, I hope, will continue to do so. It is concerned with the mail of POWs and civilian internees in Japanese-occupied Netherlands Indies. This is pure postal history in the best sense of the phrase. And the author has been able to correct one particular description of a Japanese handstamp in P. Bulterman's book on the postal cancellations of the Indies.

Comments, criticism and, perhaps, plaudits are eagerly awaited by your editor, even though the rate of an airmail letter to France has gone up to 50 cents now.

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## The Great Post Road of Daendels

by Arie Bakker RDPSA

The brother of Emperor Napoleon, Louis Bonaparte, who was named king of the Batavian Republic — hence called the Kingdom of Holland — on June 5, 1806, when he was only 27 years old, appointed on January 18, 1807, Herman Willem Daendels (born October 21, 1762 at Hattem) Marshal of Holland and Governor General of the Indies.

After a voyage which lasted a year, via Lisbon, Morocco and New York, to evade the attentions of the British Navy — he even traveled under the maiden name of his wife! — Daendels arrived in Batavia where he took over from Governor-General Wiese on January 14, 1808.

Daendels was a "Patriot" who had fled to France and who had been in a number of campaigns with Napoleon, but who was now no longer a "revolutionary."

After the loss of the Cape Colony by Holland the emperor wanted to prevent a further loss of the Dutch colonies to the English and he had drawn the attention of his brother to general Daendels in order to charge this military man who was a born organizer with the paramount power in the Indies.

When he took his oath of office Daendels promised to defend to the last the "Colonies" and especially Java. His instructions furthermore mentioned that he had to investigate which changes in governing had to be launched to improve the status of the Javanese and which irregular and arbitrary taxes had to be abolished. Agriculture had to be expanded and commerce should be fostered and encouraged. He also had to improve the condition of the slaves and if possible do away with the slavery for debt. Today we would say: Prevent unrest and revolt by doing away with existing complaints and encourage productive employment.

Napoleon must have known his man well because even though Daendels was only in Java for three and a third years he is one of the few governors-general of the previous century which the common people to this day remember.

Daendels was an authority with an iron will. Although he was only the representative of king Louis "under orders of the Minister," it is easy to imagine that such a powerful personality as Daendels out of the school of Napoleon acted in practice as he was described in the "Instruction for the High Government," namely as "The Ruler," especially in view of the fact that letters to Holland took months to arrive — and vice versa — so that consultation was virtually impossible.

When Daendels arrived in the Indies he soon saw the lack of usable roads. This was not only an impediment for the increase in agriculture, especially plantations, but in the first place it constituted a danger in case of an English attack not to be able to move troops immediately to the area of the invasion.

All over Java there was unrest because local potentates and Chinese merchants were bleeding the population dry. In the area of Cheribon in 1806 there had already been an uprising which had been placated by the removal of grievances, but now appeared not to have disappeared. In 1809 Cheribon was divided into two "prefectures" by Daendels, namely the Northern one, virtually identical to the later Residency, and a Southern one which was later attached to

the Priangan Regencies (*Preanger Regenschappen*).

This was thus the same tactic which had been applied already in November 1808 in Bantam when this old sultanate was split in two to break the power of an unwilling and corrupt sultan.

All over Java a strong and centralized government was implemented and princes who did not want to listen had to feel the results. Corruption was fought against by decent salaries for government employees and regents. The administration of justice was improved, among other things by the establishment of special law-courts based on the "adat" (customary law) for natives.

In a short article such as this one cannot mention all the good and bad things which are attributed to Daendels, but he is finally mainly remembered because he was the founder of what is called *The Great Post Road of Daendels*, the road from Anjer to Panaroekan along the northern coast of Java from west to east.



Herman Willem Daendels, Governor-General of the Netherlands East Indies from 1808 to 1811. Among the Javanese he was known as the "Tuan Besar Guntur" (Thundering Lord). After his return to Paris he went to Russia with Napoleon. King William I of the Netherlands who obviously didn't trust this old "revolutionary" "exiled" him to the Dutch colony of the Gold Coast where he died in 1817.



*This old photo, taken in 1890, shows a post station on the Great Post Road where the horses for the post coach could be changed. VIDOC (Visuele Documentatie), Koninklijk Instituut voor de Tropen, Amsterdam.*

If we now talk about the Great Post Road we must realize that the mails certainly were not a priority for Daendels, although he did reorganize the transport of the mails. Coming out of the school of Napoleon he knew the importance of a good mail service.

The "Provisional Regulation of the Mail Service" appeared on June 18, 1808, in which a raise in the rates was introduced, and on December 12, 1809, the provisional arrangements were replaced by "The Regulation of the Posts and Inspection of the Roads and Inns of Java." The intention was to improve the lot of the Javanese and to abolish some taxes, but as soon as possible other sources of income had then to be found. Services which caused a loss had to apply higher tariffs to reach a point where they could be self-supporting. That roads and inns were included in this regulation is understandable when we look upon this instruction as the rules of the transport company which is called the Posts.

But the Post Road was not designed for the mails, but for strategic reasons. On the one hand the road was necessary

in the total military plan to defend the coast line in case of an attack from the outside, and on the other it had to serve as a means to transport troops to areas of unrest.

This means that it was not meant to build the road as the shortest distance between two far-off places, but rather to project the road through the country via scattered native villages (also to make it easier to get people for the necessary forced labor) and without having to build bridges and the like by avoiding large obstacles. It may be surmised that a roundabout way was looked for rather than evaded, because that would immeasurably improve the pacification of Java.

That doing this made the distance between two places to be connected much larger is understandable, but this was considered an advantage because it would thus be easier to reach the remote places in case of unrest or uprisings.

Just because of the Great Post Road one should deeply respect Daendels. At that time there was no topographic service (only established in 1874) or aerial survey, no telephone or telegraph, so all prospecting work had to be done in the place. As long as the terrain was low and even

it only needed to be ascertained that there were no swamps, but in the mountains one had to decide whether to turn left or right around a mountain top or cut a straight road through the jungle.

Daendels caused a remarkable increase in the geographical knowledge regarding Java through his expeditions and surveys. Still, the first topographical records between Batavia and Buitenzorg date from 1849, and only in 1853 it was decided to institute a detailed survey (called military explorations) of the Cheribon residency.

Don't forget that large tracts in Java were only nominally under his command. Still, in a short time Daendels managed to impose his will on everybody. No wonder that his authoritarian and sometimes violent manner made enemies and complaints reached Napoleon so that he was replaced by general Janssens on May 16, 1811.

But to return to the Great Post Road, Daendels ordered to build a road between Batavia and Cheribon, through unpaid forced labor. It was not possible to do this via the shortest distance by way of Krawang because a huge swampy area was in the way. Batavia-Buitenzorg already existed and so the road was extended over the Poentjak Pass (the watershed which caused the swamps near Krawang) to Krawang Samboeng, a place ca. 20 kilometers south-east of Cheribon. Areas of unrest were included in the road project, among others the *kampongs* (native villages) where Bandoeng is now located.

Native princes were told to build comparable roads in their territories, also through unpaid forced labor. And Daendels was able to have his orders executed! When Janssens took over three and a third years later the road from Anjer to Panaroekan was already called Daendels' road. No wonder that many historians designate his rule the period of unpaid forced labor. Daendels was in a hurry to have the road built and his orders were everywhere executed at a murderous pace. Many native villagers didn't survive.

These roads cannot have been too wide, and their condition must have been at times deplorable, even though the natives were not allowed to use them for their cattle or for transport by oxcart. For that there were unimproved carttracks. Not until 1857 were there no longer separate roads for natives and Europeans (all whites were called Europeans). It is clear that in the first half century the road could not be allowed to be blocked by native transport, for this would have endangered the military use. Perhaps because of that the road got the name Great Post Road – its greatest use. After all, Daendels had reorganized the postal service and had built the road by which the mails were moved. But it was a military road and the Great Post Road was a nice name to obscure its real purpose.

In the fifth volume of Stapel's *Geschiedenis van Nederlandsch-Indie* we read that once the road was finished twice a week a mail coach left Batavia and also twice a week Soerabaja. Before that it took mail between those two places two weeks in the dry season and

three weeks in the wet. After the road was there a letter took 6-7 days and a traveler 9-10 days. Apparently travelers had the opportunity to lay over and rest, and take the next mail coach.

That may have been necessary if 120-150 kilometers had to be traveled per day in a mail coach over country roads. Whoever nowadays in a comfortable car has to wait on a crowded highway should think about the time it cost to travel formerly in the tropics.

The letter shown here from Passaroeang (= Money market; now Pasuruan), mailed November 24, 1850, was received according to a note on the contents on November 30, 1850. Even though we may assume that in forty years shortcuts were accomplished, the time it took for a letter then was still six days (distance Batavia-Soerabaja plus 70 kilometers).

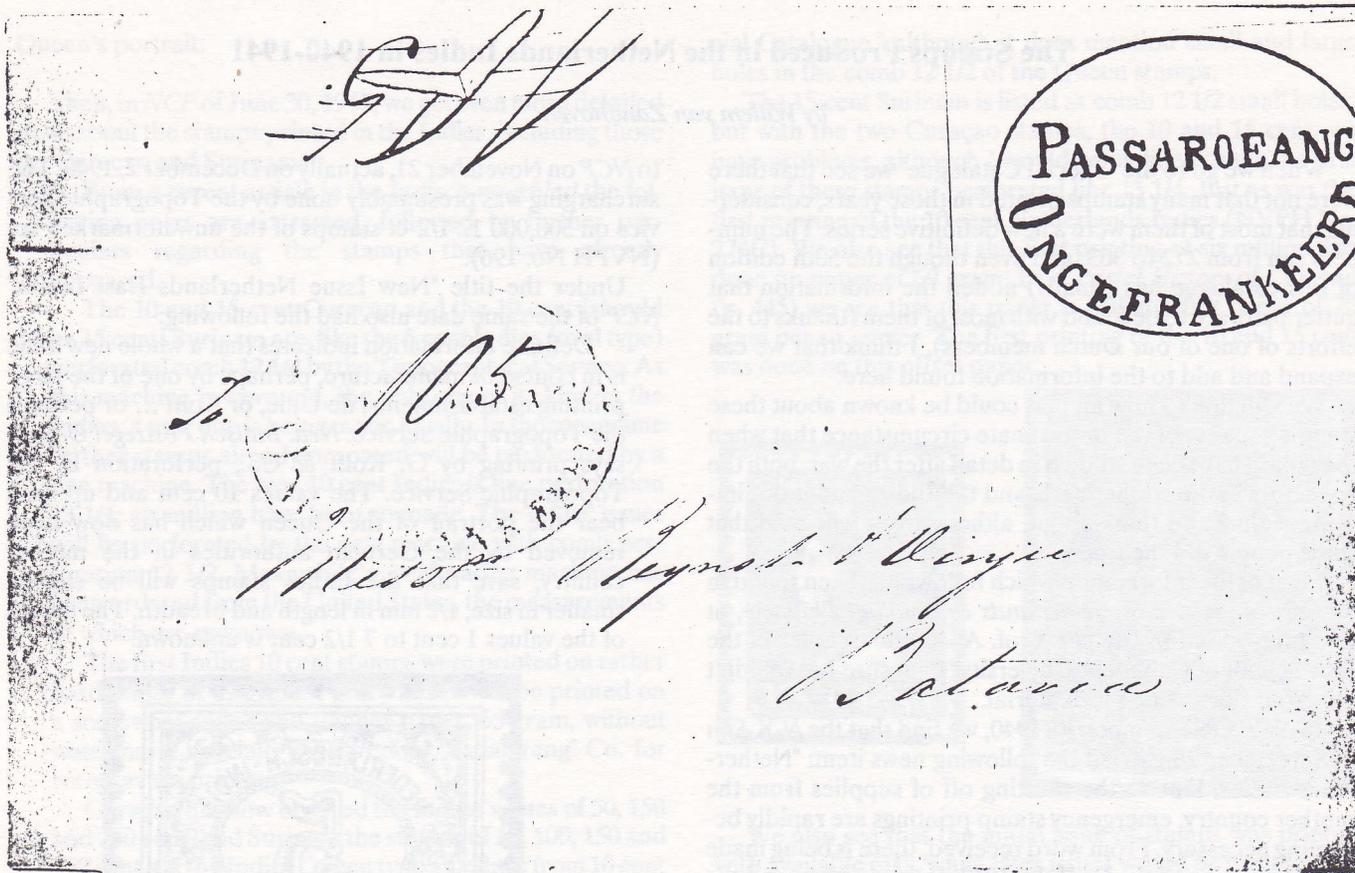
Mr. W.S. Wolff de Beer writes in his handbook *De Poststempels in Gebruik in Ned. Oost-Indie van 1789 tot 1864*, on page 47:

Daendels is known especially for the construction of the great post road from Anjer to Panaroekan over a distance of ca. 1,000 kilometers.

But was the Great Post Road of Daendels really ca. 1,000 kilometers long? Looking at a large number of eophilatelic covers from and to various places in Java from 1848 to 1859 a schedule was constructed. From my article "Postal History of the Netherlands Indies," in *Netherlands Philately*, Vol. 14, No. 4, it is already clear that a base of 5 "duiten" per 50 kilometer was used to construct a schedule of rates, with a minimum of 10 "duiten." By the use of the present distances between the various places it was possible to get a minimum distance because improvements in the road cannot have resulted in greater distances. For the rest it was a question of interpolation.

Finally I got to the following reconstruction where the top figure gives the distance between two places and the bottom one the rate in "duiten" that corresponded to this distance:

Batavia												
65	Buiten-											
10	zorg											
186		121	Bandong									
20	15											
336		271	150	Cheribon								
35	30	15										
416		351	230	80	Tagal							
45	40	25	10									
615		550	429	279	199	Samarang						
65	55	45	30	20								
686		621	500	350	270	71	Pattie					
70	65	50	35	30	10							
721		656	535	385	305	106	35	Rembang				
75	70	55	40	35	15	10						
946		881	760	610	530	331	260	225	Soerabaya			
95	90	80	65	55	35	30	25					
1016		951	830	680	600	401	330	295	70	Passaroeang		
105	100	85	70	60	45	35	30	10				
1119		1054	933	783	703	504	433	398	173	103	Besoeki	
115	110	95	80	75	55	45	40	20	15			
1154		1089	968	818	738	539	468	433	208	138	35	Panaroekan
120	110	100	85	75	55	50	45	25	15	10		



Letter dated Nov. 24. 1850; received Nov. 30, 1850. Postage paid by receiver -105 "duiten." Oval canceller 50 x 40 mm. Used in red: 1835-1861.

A manuscript amount on the back of a letter meant that the postage had been paid by the sender and a canceller with FRANCO appeared on the front of the cover. Here the post man corrected his mistake and mentioned in the ONGEFRANKEERD cancel that 105 "duiten" had to be collected from the receiver of the letter in Batavia. This letter is proof that the postage was calculated before dispatch and not after arrival.

The distances between the various places can thus be constructed as follows, from Batavia:

Anjer - Ceram/Serang	36 kilometers
Ceram/Serang - Batavia	97
Batavia - Buitenzorg	65
Buitenzorg - Bandung	121
Bandong - Cheribon	150
Cheribon - Tagal	80
Tagal - Samarang	199
Samarang - Pattie	71
Pattie - Rembang	35
Rembang - Sourabaya	225
Sourabaya - Passaroeang	70
Passaroeang - Bezoeki	103
Bezoeki - Panaroekan	35

Total distance 1,287 kilometers

It seems to me that there is sufficient evidence here to correct the history books on this point: The Great Post Road of Daendels was almost 1300 kilometers long.

The substance of this article originally appeared in *Brepost*, the journal of the Postzegelvereniging Breda. March-April and May-June 1989. We do thank Mr. Peter van Spellen, the Editor, for permission to translate and republish.

Translated by Paul E. van Reyen.

Correction



These pictures were inadvertently omitted from the Fakes and Other Junk article on page 38 of Volume 15, Nr. 2.

## The Stamps Produced in the Netherlands Indies in 1940-1941

by Willem van Zandhoven

When we go to the "Special Catalogue" we see that there were not that many stamps printed in those years, considering that most of them were a new definitive series. The numbers run from 272 to 303, and even though the 50th edition of this catalogue has (finally) added the information that gutter pairs are to be found with most of them (thanks to the efforts of one of our Dutch members), I think that we can expand and add to the information found here.

We still don't know all that could be known about these stamps because of the unfortunate circumstance that when they *could* have been studied in detail after the war, both the collectors in the Netherlands and the Indies had more important things to think about, although you will read that some people did their best.

Most of the information which follows has been found in 50-year old issues of *Netherlands & Colonial Philately*, at that time edited by the late Prof. A. Arthur Schiller of the Law School of Columbia University. I am sure he wouldn't mind our borrowing this material.

In *NCP* of September 30, 1940, we find that the *N.Y. Sun* of September 28 carried the following news item: "Netherlands Indies. Due to the shutting off of supplies from the mother country, emergency stamp printings are rapidly becoming necessary. From word received, there is being made a local printing of the 5c of the 1913 design in blue, and the expectation is that after a month or so values from the 10c upward will be prepared in the Wilhelmina type of Netherlands. There is also to be a surcharge of the 12 1/2c of the current set for the Red Cross, specifically '10c plus 5c'."

An Indies philatelic periodical of July 1940 stated it very legalistically, probably necessarily: "Only if Enschedé is unable to fulfill its contractual obligations shall stamps be manufactured in the Indies. The supply necessary for 1940 has been received; the supply needed for 1941 shall be made in the Indies."

In *NCP* of December 31, 1940, we find much more definite information which I will give below. Under the title "Provisional 5 Cent Numeral East Indies," we read:

Due to the fact that the conquest of Holland completely stopped the dispatch of stamps from Enschedé to the colonies, it was anticipated that provisional issues would have to be made, until a whole definitive series could be issued. The 5 cent Caribou ... and the 10 cent Queen ... were the first values nearing exhaustion. Consequently, the Reproduction Division of the Topographic Service in the Indies manufactured a 5 cent numeral in the old type of the 1913-32 issue .... But the stamp is distinctly different. It is printed in offset (instead of typography) on a somewhat thinner paper without watermark, and in the color of the 5 cent Caribou (or approximating it), thus dark blue instead of light blue. There may also be differences in design, and possibly in perforation (the Ed failed to measure this on the one stamp he saw). It is contemplated that a pair of the 5 cent will serve the needs for a 10 cent value....

This 5-ct stamp came out on October 15, 1940. The earlier announced Red Cross stamp also appeared, according

to *NCP* on November 21, actually on December 2, 1940. The surcharging was presumably done by the Topographic Service on 500,000 12 1/2-ct stamps of the unwatermarked set (NVPH No. 196).

Under the title "New Issue Netherlands East Indies" *NCP* of the same date also had the following:

Definite information indicates that a whole new issue is in course of manufacture, perhaps by one of the large printing establishments, de Unie, or Kolff ... or perhaps the Topographic Service. *Ned. Indisch Postzegel Orgaan* says printing by G. Kolff & Co., perforation by the Topographic Service. The values 10 cent and up shall bear the portrait of the Queen which has now been removed by the German authorities in the mother country, save that the Indies stamps will be slightly smaller in size, 1/2 mm in length and breadth. The design of the values 1 cent to 7 1/2 cent is unknown.



*NCP* of March 31, 1941, has some more detailed news on the 5-ct stamp printed by the Topographic Service:

The provisional 5 cent, printed from plates made in the Indies, to date, shows plate numbers 1L and 1R. Printed in complete sheets of 400, the left and right portions of the plate each composed of two blocks of 100 each. The position of dashes next to 1L does not indicate different plates, but merely the replacement of the dash during the printing process. The vertical perf is 12 1/2, the horizontal perf tends towards 12 1/4. A fault noted appears on the first stamp of the 14th row: one of the lines of the left star is extended. To January the issue amounted to 10,200,000. (*Orgaan*)

In that same issue of *NCP* we also read that the Editor had received a copy of the new 10 cent stamp with the

## Queen's portrait.

Then, in *NCP* of June 30, 1941, we get even more detailed news about the stamps printed in the Indies, including those for Curaçao and Surinam:

From a recent article in the *Indisch-weekblad* the following notes are extracted, followed by further particulars regarding the stamps that have already appeared.

The 10 and 15 cent Curaçao and the 10 cent [should be 15 cent] Surinam are, like the 5 cent Indies (oval type) perforated comb 12 1/4 by the Topographical Service. As this machine is worn out, the only one of its kind in the Indies, a new one is being made locally. In the mean time further stamps already prepared will be perforated by a line machine. The new 10 cent Indies is line perforation 13 1/4; six million have been so made. The future issues will be perforated by the new machine with comb perforation 12 1/2. Meanwhile a perforating machine has been ordered from the United States, the measurements of which are unknown.

The first Indies 10 cent stamps were printed on rather hard paper of 69 gram. Future issues will be printed on a somewhat softer and thinner paper, 65 gram, without watermark, specially prepared by 'Padalarang' Co. for rotogravure printing.

Curaçao has now ordered the higher values of 50, 150 and 250 cent, and Surinam the stamps of 50, 100, 150 and 250 cent. Of the Indies Queen type all values from 10 cent up will be made except the 12 1/2, 32 1/2, 42 1/2 and 175 cent, which are unnecessary in view of the existing tariffs. There will be added a 17 1/2 cent value for internal airmail and a 10 Gld. for heavier packets to foreign countries.

Stamps below the 10 cent measure 18 by 22.7 mm, the higher values 21 by 26.4. For the stamps of larger format line perforation will be continued in order to accord with the earlier issues received from Holland. The stamps are not printed in the so-called 'washable' colors. The colors for the first issues were made from the supply of inks at hand in the Indies. The definitive stamps will be printed with inks obtained from America and thus may differ somewhat from the first issue.

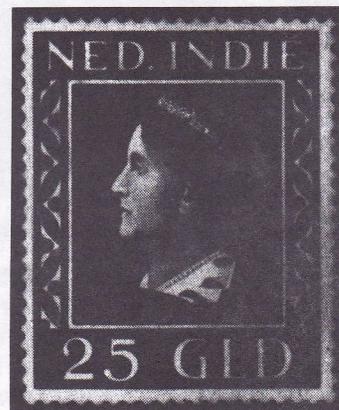
In offset have been printed the 2 1/2 and 7 1/2 cent ship type of Surinam, and the lower numeral values of Curaçao. To satisfy the desires of the Indies trading societies there will be issued shortly as a temporary issue, an Indies stamp of 25 Gld.; it will have the same design but a different format from the rest.

Note further that both single and double postal cards and letter sheets have been made in the Indies. These are in offset, in contrast to those made in Holland and thus present a flatter picture.

Before we continue with *NCP* let's see if what we now know fits with all this information. According to the foregoing we would have two Curaçao stamps, one Surinam and one Indies stamp perforated with the comb 12 1/4 of the Topographic Service. From the accompanying figures you can see for yourself that the 5 cent numeral type shows two kinds of perforation, namely small holes and regular perforation holes. This is, of course, not mentioned in the "Spe-

cial Catalogue," although it does mention small and large holes in the comb 12 1/2 of the Queen stamps.

The 15 cent Surinam is listed as comb 12 1/2 small holes, but with the two Curaçao stamps, the 10 and 15 cent, we have problems, although I would be inclined to see the first issue of these stamps perforated line 13 1/4. Just as was the first printing of the 10 cent Netherlands Indies (NVPH No. 274C). We also see that this first printing of six million was done on paper of 69 gram. In *A Postal History of Curaçao* (p. 445) we see that this paper is called offset paper of 70 gram per sq. meter. The first printing of the 10 and 15 cent was done on this offset paper.



We also see that the initial issue of stamps was printed with available inks, while later issues would be printed with inks ordered in the U.S. Keep this in mind because later on we will have occasion to mention this again.

*NCP* went on to give a preliminary listing of stamps issued and to appear:

- 3 cent light green (Balinese dancer), to appear
- 4 cent sepia (Javanese dancer), to appear
- 5 cent (not noted, but undoubtedly to be included)
- 7 1/2 cent violet (Dajak dancer), to appear
- 10 cent red (profile of the Queen, small format), issued
- 15 cent blue (profile of the Queen, small format), to appear
- 17 1/2 cent ? (profile of the Queen, small format), to appear
- 20 cent magenta (profile of the Queen, small format), to appear
- 30 cent yellow sepia (profile of the Queen, small format), to appear
- 40 cent light green (profile of the Queen, small format), to appear
- 50 cent terra cotta (profile of the Queen, large format), issued, plate 12
- 60 cent blue (profile of the Queen, large format), issued, plate 2
- 80 cent red (profile of the Queen, large format), issued, plate 3
- 1 Gld. purple (profile of the Queen, large format), issued, plate 5
- 2 Gld. blue green (profile of the Queen, large format), issued, plate 4
- 5 Gld. ? (profile of the Queen, large format), to appear
- 10 Gld. ? (profile of the Queen, large format), to appear
- 25 Gld. ? (profile of the Queen, very large format), to appear

The 10 cent is in comb perforation 12 1/2; the 50 cent-2 Gld. in line perf 13 1/4.

Apparently the last line is in contradiction with the previously announced 10 cent, perforated line 13 1/4, but I see it as an indication that either the comb machine had been fixed, or a new comb perforating machine had been received. Perhaps you have also noted that the colors of the previous definitive set were faithfully followed with some exceptions. The 30 and 50 cent stamps were both dark gray, and in view of the war situation (I'm sure) this color was not used; rather, the 30 cent received the color of the former 32 1/2 cent, yellow sepia, and the 50 cent got a totally new color, terra-cotta. Two new values received the orange color, the

17 1/2 cent and the 25 Gld., while the new value of 10 Gld. got light green.

### Proofs



But before these stamps could be issued it was necessary to prepare proofs and color proofs. Of course the design was clear; the portrait of the Queen which the Germans in the Netherlands had withdrawn had to grace the new stamps of 10 cent and higher. Sets of these Dutch stamps which had been issued April 1, 1940, had reached the Indies before the war engulfed the Netherlands. So Kolff (or some other printer) prepared some proofs which were very closely based on the Dutch model, with NEDERL. INDIË as the name of the country (see figures). Here I have to digress a bit but it might explain something too. Before the war the Dutch in the Indies did NOT like stamps with an abbreviated name on them like Ned. Indië or Nederl. Indië. If you look at the catalogue you will see every once in a while stamps with the full name, Nederlandsch Indië. The low values, the dancers, and the Moehammadijah set, all designed by J.F. Dickhoff, as you can see do carry the full name. But obviously, the kind of design of the Van Konijnenburg stamps did not lend itself to this, and even the first effort, Nederl. Indië, had to be abandoned for Ned. Indië which occupied about the same space as NEDERLAND in the Dutch stamps.

These proofs in many colors are known perforated 12 1/2 and imperforated. It is strange that the Proof Catalogue of



1966 did not list the imperforated ones, only the perforated proofs. Were they not known by 1966? Here we still have a question. There is also a question in my mind whether these proofs were indeed prepared by G. Kolff & Co. Perhaps simplest put, they were not included in some small albums with various proofs which Kolff just before the war offered to some of its staff as a token of appreciation. One of these albums, by the way, is now in the PTT Museum in The Hague.

Further proofs were made, imperf and without gum, of the accepted design with NED. INDIË. There are a number of colors for the 10 cent and two colors for the 25 cent. All others appear in the chosen color only, which is unfortunate because before the Japanese took over many unfinished, i.e. ungummed and unperforated, sheets were stolen (of course, "to keep them out of the hands of the Japs") and these are indistinguishable from the proofs.

There is one more set of perforated proofs which I will treat later.

On September 30, 1941, *NCP* had a much more detailed picture for its readers. Here we see a complete list of the first set of low values:

- 1 cent gray, Papuan dancer of New Guinea
- 2 cent dark magenta, Padjoge dancer of South Celebes
- 2 1/2 cent yellow sepia, Menari dancer of Amboina
- 3 cent light green, Legong dancer of Bali
- 3 1/2 cent mouse gray, Nias dancer of Sumatra
- 4 cent dark sepia, Wayang wong dancer of Java
- 5 cent blue, Bedoyo dancer of Solo
- 7 1/2 cent violet, Dayak dancer of Borneo

Before issue some of these designs were shifted around: the 2 ct red had the Menari dancer; the 2 1/2 ct got the dancer from Nias (an island west of Sumatra); and the 5 ct showed the Padjoge dancer. To my mind these dancer stamps belong to the most beautiful ever issued by any country in the world!

*NCP* then goes on to state that "all but the 25 cent, 35 cent and 5 Gulden seem to have appeared, and these three values are to be issued before the close of 1941. There are known, rotogravure printing on paper without watermark, all issue letter A with various printers' marks, as follows:

#### Line perforation 13 1/4 small holes:

- 10 cent orange red (etching Nos. L1, R1)
- 50 cent terra-cotta (No. 12)
- 60 cent blue (No. 2)
- 1 Gld. violet (No. 5)
- 2 Gld. blue green (No. 4)

#### Comb perforation 12 1/2:

- 10 cent orange red (Nos. L1, R1, L19, R19) (Note; It is said that a 10 cent carmine red, with smaller perforation holes, has been discovered)
- 15 cent blue (Nos. L8, R8)
- 17 1/2 cent orange (L21, R21)
- 20 cent magenta (Nos. L9, R9)
- 30 cent yellow sepia (L7, R7)
- 40 cent light green (L13, R13)

#### Line perforation 13 1/4 large holes

- 10 Gld light green (No. 22)
- 25 Gld orange (No. 23)

In the previous issue of *NCP* there had already been mention of the "Netherlands Shall Rise Again" set of three stamps, but now we find the details:

The special charity issue of the East Indies, for the purpose of raising money to purchase bombers for the Netherlands air force ... appeared as announced, and the three values are valid for postage to Dec. 31, 1942. On paper without watermark, comb perforation 12 1/2,

the etching numbers known are: 5 cent (L24, R24, perhaps also 25), 10 cent (L26, R26), 1 Gld (L27, R27). It has been stated that only 500 first-day covers were prepared and sent by the committee in charge ....

Surinam has received and issued its "Netherlands Shall Rise Again" series, designs the same as those for the East Indies, and likewise printed in Batavia, in the following values:

- 7 1/2 (plus 7 1/2) cent orange red and blue
- 15 (plus 15) cent scarlet and blue
- 1 (plus 1) Gld gray and blue

And this issue of *NCP* also has the first announcement of locally printed postage due stamps:

A new printing of postage due stamps of the Netherlands East Indies has made its appearance. So far the 1 cent (etching Nos. L14, R14) and 15 cent (Nos. L16, R16) in red, and the 1 Gld (Nos. L15, R15) in blue are known, but the 5, 10, 20, 30 and 40 cent, all in red, are scheduled before the end of 1941. This printing, locally made, is to be differentiated from the earlier ones of Enschedé, in that it is offset in place of typography, the perforation is not as clear cut, there are no printers' marks in the margins but only plate numbers, and the 1 Gld is somewhat lighter in color than that printed in Holland.

(*Orgaan N.I. Ver.*)

Before we again go to the following issue of *NCP* a comment should be made about the "Spitfire" stamps as they were then known. The slogan "Nederland Zal Herrijzen" was first uttered by the then Governor-General as the last sentence of his radio broadcast in which he announced the invasion of the Netherlands on May 10, 1940. Soon thereafter stickers, brooches, stick pins and the like appeared on the market, consisting of the arms of the Netherlands carried by two sturdy arms. The design of these items was by D. Ruhl, who finally should be honored in the catalogues, because the "Netherlands Shall Rise Again" stamps are almost totally based on his design. All the PTT did was add "Nederl. Indië" to the top and the values to the bottom.

The Moehammadijah stamps were also announced, but a description "as promised in the next issue which appeared in January 1942. In this issue we also find that the 25 cent blue green, the 35 cent purple and the 5 Gld. yellow sepia had finally appeared. It is also stated that the 7 1/2 cent dancer had etching number 25, so that the 5 + 5 cent "Spitfire" stamp did *not* carry that particular number.

It was also mentioned that so far the 10 cent had appeared with three different etching numbers, 1, 19 and 20.

Under the heading "Moehammadijah Issue" we find:



Printed by Kolff & Co. of Batavia-Centrum in rotogravure, comb perforation 12 1/2, stamps measuring 18 by 22.7 mm.

- 2 ct plus 1 ct green (doctor giving chest injection) plate Nos L & R28
- 3 1/2 ct plus 1 1/2 ct brown (native eating from bowl of rice) L & R29
- 7 1/2 ct plus 2 1/2 ct violet {nurse bandaging head of native} L & R30
- 10 ct plus 2 1/2 ct red (nurse with hands on children's heads) L & R31
- 15 ct plus 5 ct blue (native weaving) L & R32

The initials P.K.O. stand for Penolong Kesengsara'an Oemoem, in Malay, "Help the Suffering People." These stamps are printed in sheets of 200; are valid for use to July 31, 1942.

The number issued were:- 2 cent (450,000); 3 1/2 cent (300,000); 7 1/2 cent (300,000); 10 cent (400,000); 15 cent (200,000).

Also in this issue of January 1942 is found that the five airmail stamps of Surinam, printed by Kolff, all carrying the issue letter A, have etching numbers as follows: 20 cent (4), 40 cent (5), 2 1/2 Gld (6), 5 Gld (7) and 10 Gld (8). The 15 cent of Surinam, earlier printed, in perforation 12 1/2 small holes, had etching number 3. We can thus be sure that the two values with the ship, the 2 1/2 and 7 1/2 cent carried etching number 1 and 2. And finally we get etching numbers of some postage dues that had meanwhile come out: 20 cent (17) and 30 cent (18).

On March 31, 1942, after the curtain had already fallen over the Netherlands Indies, *NCP* carried this:

Early in March there arrived in this country what apparently are the last stamps to have been issued in the Netherlands East Indies. All are values in the new series of dancers and Queen designs, and are as follows:

- 2 1/2 cent magenta (Nias dancer of Sumatra), etching Nos. L & R 39
- 3 cent light green (Legong dancer of Bali), etching Nos. L & R 11
- 5 cent blue (Padjoge dancer of South Celebes) etching Nos. L & R 6
- ...
- 25 cent blue green (Queen Wilhelmina, small format)
- 35 cent purple (Queen Wilhelmina, small format)
- 5 Gld. yellow sepia (Queen Wilhelmina, large format)

Under "Netherlands Indies Postage Dues" we find:

The expected values of the new printing of the dues ... have arrived in this country, and the series is now complete. To be noted are the 1, 5, 10, 15, 20, 30, 40 cent in red, and 1 Gld. in blue, apparently offset printing on heavy porous paper, both of which factors distinguish the new printing from the original printing by Enschedé in Holland.

The 20 cent has offset plate Nos. L & R 27, and the 30 cent L & R 28; apparently a mistake on the part of Kolff & Co., which should have used 17 and 18, respectively, since No. 27 had already been used for the 1 Gld. Netherlands Shall Rise Again, and No. 28 for the 2 cent Moehammadijah charity.

It is to be gained from the above that only one series of plate numbers has been used for the printings in the Indies, regardless of the fact that some stamps were printed by rotogravure, others by offset.

In *NCP* of November 15, 1942, the Editor excuses himself for the great delay in the appearance of the number on account of his participation in war efforts. Of course, in 1942 people had other things to think about than stamps. There

is a last item on Netherlands Indies issues which may interest us:

Perhaps the most interesting item of the very few new issue notes, comes from Mr. Rietdijk, sent on by him to the N.Y. N.C.P. This consists of copies of the 60 and 80 cent and 1 Gld of the last Queen issue of the Indies, perforated 13 1/4:13 1/4 small holes, but with *clear cut* perforations instead of the pin perforations of the early printings of these values. The 10 cent and the 2 Gld with clear cut perforations have long been known, but now all of the values with the 13 1/4 perforation save the 50 cent are seen to have the two types of perforation. Perhaps one of our members can add the 50 cent to this list.

In this issue we also find some corrections to what had been given earlier. The 5 cent, printed by the Topographic Service, had sheets of 200 (not 400), 2 blocks of 100, 10 rows of 10, with perforated blank strip between.

At that time it was not known whether the sheets of 50 cent and up were printed in sheets of 100 only and the 25 Gld perhaps in sheets of 50. Perhaps somebody knows now. From the latest addition to the "Special Catalogue" it seems that, indeed the 50 cent-10 Gld was not printed in sheets of 200.

Remarkably enough, *NCP* also has a slightly different perforation "schedule," which, to my mind, better fits the situation than the various perforations given by the *NVPH* catalogue. *NCP* lists first the comb perf 13 1/4, small holes, pin perf, and gives in effect the same stamps as occur under Nos. 274C-285C. Then we get comb



perf 13 1/4, small holes, clear cut, the same as are listed under Nos. 282D-286D, with the addition of a 10 cent in this identical perforation. To top it off, we then get comb perf 13 1/4 large holes for the 10 and 25 Gld stamps. *NCP* merely lists the comb perf 12 1/2 without separating this perf into small holes and large holes. It is possible that only stamps with large holes got to the U.S. before the Japanese arrived.

The following years saw little activity in the philatelic field, but when 1945 was nearly at an end news from the occupied territories began to trickle in, and *NCP* started publishing again at the old frequency. An odd item in the October 15, 1945, issue: "It appears that the Japanese transported back to Japan a goodly number of Netherlands Indies stamps, for the Dancers issue of 1941 is available in quantity, and at approximately 30 cents (U.S.) a set. Whether the 50 cent watermarked circles and the 5 Gld of the last series can also be had is not known."

Almost a year later, September 30, 1946, *NCP* noted the existence of the two types of the 10 cent Queen Wilhelmina, apparently first published in the Netherlands by Mr. Korteweg. An editorial note states: "It appears, however, that Type I is constant on the stamps with pin perforation, while Type II is constant on the stamps with regular perforation."

In the issue of March 31, 1947, we find a description of one of the albums with Kolff proofs that had been presented to six of its staff (see under Proofs) and which seems not to be the one in the PTT Museum.

These proofs begin with those made of only the center part of the Kreisler stamps in the small and larger format, all denominated 10 ct, but only imperf. We then get various imperf and perforated proofs of the Van Konijnenburg type, the dancers, the Spitfire stamps, the Moehammadijah issue, and the postage dues. Also all the proofs for Curaçao and Surinam.

Finally, and also finally for this article, the issue of *NCP* of June 30, 1947, there is a "complete listing of Indies stamps printed locally," and since there seems to be a good deal of interest lately in etching numbers and the like (the *NVPH* printed all of these in their 1991 catalogue! But only of the Netherlands), I will reproduce this listing, even though you might think this is too much of a good thing, perhaps. The original source was the *Maandblad*.

#### Did You Know ...

That there was a Government (Indies) Printing Plant in Melbourne, Australia? But did you also know that the overprint of 1947, *NVPH* Nos. 322-325, was done in Melbourne? And not only those overprints, but others as well, such as the "1947" overprint on the 25 ct and the 50 ct Kreisler model (*NVPH* Nos. 327 and 329). To round out the "1947" overprints, the 12 1/2, 80 ct and 2 Gld were overprinted by Kolff (Nos. 326, 330 and 331), while the 40 ct and 5 Gld were overprinted by N.V. Drukkerij G.C.T. van Dorp & Co. at Bandoeng (Nos. 328 and 332).

It seems clear that the stamp magazine in the Netherlands was "cleaned out," because among the overprints "1947" we find even the 25 and 80 cent *without* watermark.

Value	Date of 1st printing	Etching number	Perforation	Color	Description
0.01	Did not appear				
0.02	Jan. 15, 1942	L/R 38	Comb 12 1/2	Red	Menari dancer
0.025	Oct. 24, 1941	L/R 39	"	Magenta	Nias dancer
0.03	Nov. 13, 1941	L/R 11	"	Green	Legong dancer
0.035	Not printed				
0.04	July 9, 1941	L/R 10	"	Dark sepia	Wayangwong dancer
0.05	Oct. 1, 1941	L/R 6	"	Blue	Padjoge dancer
0.075	Oct. 1, 1941	L/R 25	"	Purple	Dayak dancer
0.10	Nov. 15, 1940	L/R 1	Line 13	Red	Konijnenburg
0.15	Jan. 27, 1941	L/R 8	Comb 12 1/2	Blue	"
0.175	May 14, 1941	L/R 21	"	Orange	"
0.20	Jan. 27, 1941	L/R 9	"	Magenta	"
0.25	Nov. 14, 1941	L/R 33	"	Blue green	"
0.30	March 6, 1941	L/R 7	"	Yellow sepia	"
0.35	Nov. 4, 1941	L/R 34	"	Purple	"
0.40	March 28, 1941	L/R 13	"	Light green	"
0.50	Jan. 29, 1941	L/R 12	Line 13	Terra-cotta	"
0.60	Jan. 14, 1941	L/R 2	"	Blue	"
0.80	Dec. 18, 1940	L/R 3	"	Red	"
1.-	Jan. 16, 1941	L/R 5	"	Purple	"
2.-	Jan. 16, 1941	L/R 4	"	Blue green	"
5.-	Nov. 12, 1941	L/R 35	"	Yellow sepia	"
10.-	May 24, 1941	L/R 22	"	Light green	"
25.-	May 24, 1941	L/R 23	"	Orange	"
Nederland Zal Herrijzen					
0.05	March 6, 1941	L/R 24	Comb 12 1/2	Orange & Blue	Offset
0.10	Apr. 15, 1941	L/R 26	"	Red & Blue	"
1.-	Apr. 15, 1941	L/R 27	"	Gray & Blue	"
Moehammadijah stamps					
0.02	July 28, 1941	L/R 28	"	Green	Designed
0.035	May 12, 1941	L/R 29	"	Brown	by
0.075	July 10, 1941	L/R 30	"	Purple	Dickhoff
0.10	July 29, 1941	L/R 31	"	Red	
0.15	July 29, 1941	L/R 32	"	Blue	
Postage Due stamps					
0.01	Apr. 22, 1941	L/R 14	"	Red	Design of
0.05	July 25, 1941	L/R 40	"	Red	the issue
0.10	July 25, 1941	L/R 41	"	Red	of 1913
0.15	Apr. 22, 1941	L/R 16	"	Red	
0.20	July 25, 1941	L/R 27	"	Red	
0.30	July 25, 1941	L/R 18	"	Red	
0.40	July 25, 1941	L/R 42	"	Red	
1.-	Apr. 22, 1941	L/R 15	"	Blue	Design of 1939

And that is the end of the news in *NCP* about those locally produced stamps by G. Kolff & Co. in Batavia in 1940 and 1941. However, there is an additional "problem" which one of our members perhaps could solve. The *NVPH* catalogue also lists under "Da line perforation 13 1/4 small holes" a number of stamps which are described as a printing only known ungummed and in dark colors. Only unused. Probably to be regarded as unfinished stamps. (Proofs)

In the Proof Catalogue there is found a listing under "Colour proofs, perforated 13 1/4, without gum (are also found partly perforated)" The listing which follows has five

colors of the 10 cent, among which the chosen color, orange red, two colors of the 50 cent, brown-red and dark lilac, and one color each of the 60 and 80 cent and 1 and 2 Gld, all but the first two indicated by "dark." Obviously this set of proofs is the same as the "Da" variety listed by the *NVPH*, even though the latter is very much incomplete and somewhat misleading in its description. These stamps cannot be both proofs and unfinished stamps. And why list only one of the two 50 cent stamps, and that one listed as "dark red," which could be used for the 80 cent.

I don't think for a moment that these are unfinished stamps. Please turn to *NVPH* No. 331, which is the "1947" overprint on a 2 Gld blue green (No. 286), BUT perforated 12 1/2:12, which is *one* perforation that does not occur on any of the 1940-1941 stamps. Apparently 262,500 unfinished 2 Gld stamps were found after the Japanese defeat, and these were then perforated with a newly arrived comb perforation machine, 12 1/2:12, and overprinted. These unfinished stamps were blue green and indeed didn't differ in color from the regularly perforated 2 Gld stamps at all.

These darker-colored stamps were obviously color proofs, made with the inks which had arrived from the U.S. If they had been unfinished stamps, in the case of the 2 Gld stamp, we then would have to consider more than a quarter of a million unfinished stamps in the old blue green color *plus* some more in the new dark green color. As the

PTT did not distribute more than 180,000 of the 2 Gld stamps to begin with, this is one thing I cannot accept.

And for the real "speurhonden" ("bloodhounds") among you, readers, here is a final challenge: In my collection lies a block of four of the 10 cent, from the left pane of 100, with counting numbers 7 and 8, without gum, and with perforation 13 1/4, but not line, the *only* perforation listed, but comb. Since it is a block of four it is easy to see that the perforations do not make jagged corners. They fit perfectly. Anybody who has an answer, please let the editor know who will, I'm sure, tell the rest of us.

# Prisoners of War and Civilian Internees in Japanese-Occupied Netherlands Indies

by M. Hardjasudarma

*Why, you do not even know what will happen tomorrow. What is your life? You are a mist that appears for a little while and then vanishes.*

James 4:14

When the Japanese conquered the Netherlands Indies early in 1942, they caused large numbers of people to lose their freedom by becoming prisoners of war and civilian internees. They were granted limited mail privileges and this article will attempt to elucidate certain philatelic, borderline philatelic and nonphilatelic aspects of these privileges.

Postal history is incredible in that even seemingly non-philatelic information can greatly enhance one's understanding and appreciation of the items under discussion. Where to draw the line is entirely subjective and it is up to the reader's discretion as to what extent he or she wishes to investigate. With this in mind, the remainder of the article has been divided into several portions. The first two will discuss the period of existence, size and location of various camps, and if their inmates were moved, where to, when,

how many and for what purposes they were transferred. Some mortality figures and short anecdotes will be found interspersed here and there, followed by a chapter providing an image of the conditions in some camps. After all these background facts and figures the final part of the article will be devoted to linking the data to core postal history information derived from Bulterman<sup>1,2</sup> and others.

This article cannot be construed as being 'complete' since it is based on sources that are themselves lacking in many respects. These great gaps in our knowledge are mainly due to the destruction of many camp and other records by the Japanese around the time of their surrender in August 1945.

Before continuing, some ethnosocial information is in order. The main population groups in the Netherlands In-



Fig. 1 Letter to a police inspector with Surabaya CDS of 2. 6. 02 (2 June 1942), less than four months after the Netherlands Indies government capitulated. Redirected several times, lastly to the Bubutan camp where the man was interned (top left), but never delivered to him by order of the Japanese army, according to note written on back. Square red Japanese 'permission' chop (top center) likely used as censor marking.

dies were the Dutch (Fig. 2) and Indo Dutch (or Eurasians; people of mixed Indonesian-Dutch ancestry) (Fig. 6), alien Orientals, and native Indonesians. This stratification predated the arrival of the Japanese, but was accentuated by them. Generally, in order to woo the native population, most of them that were initially imprisoned as members of the armed forces were soon set free. The alien Oriental group consisted primarily of Chinese, Arabs and (British) Indians. This was an economically important group, but of no political significance. Except for those who had worked too closely with the Dutch, they were left alone by the Japanese. Various attempts were made to convince the Indo Dutch that they were more Indonesian than Dutch, but by far the harshest treatment was reserved for the 'Blanda totok,' which is Indonesian for pure Dutch. While the Dutch defense forces existed they were formed primarily by the KNIL (Royal Netherlands Indies Army) and the much smaller Navy. All three population groups were represented in these forces, with large numbers of Indonesians (almost exclusively recruited from Java, North Celebes, Ambon and Timor) forming a major part of the KNIL.

At the time of the collapse of the Netherlands Indies government, significant numbers of Allied military personnel were present locally, mostly British, Australians and Americans.

### The Prisoners of War

Forty-two thousand two hundred and thirty-three Dutch and Indo Dutch were made POW; 8200 died (19.4%). Many POWs perished when their Japanese convoys were sunk, mostly by torpedoes fired by American warships ignorant of their presence on the transports. The mortality figures for others are higher, almost 25% for the British, 33% for Americans, and 34% for Australians. The relatively low death rate for the Dutch group is contributed to the resilience of the Indo Dutch among them, who were completely acclimatized and able to scrounge for edible plants, roots and animals in the jungle.

### Borneo

In all of the Netherlands Indies the situation was simplest in Borneo (now Kalimantan), since few POW transfers occurred here. There were initially ca. 4500 POWs. After most of the Indonesians among them were released, 2067 men (KNIL, British, British Indians) were later in 1942 transported to British Borneo which was under the command of the Japanese army, as opposed to 'Dutch' Borneo which, together with the Great East (the Dutch name for all the islands east of Borneo and Java), was under Kaigun (Navy) rule. This left 1100 KNIL in 'Dutch' Borneo of which

400 in Pontianak were subsequently also moved to the 'British' part of the island. Ca. 500 were in Balikpapan and there were smaller groups in Tarakan, Samarinda and Banjarmasin.

### Celebes (now Sulawesi)

In the northern part (Minahasa) most Indonesians were released. In April 1942 500 POWs were transported to Japan. Three months later there were in Celebes, excluding Indonesians, 2700 POWs, i.e. ca. 800 KNIL, 885 British, 185 Americans (survivors of the Battle of the Java Sea) and 830 Dutch navy personnel. In 1943-45 many were moved to Java. Southwest Celebes at one time had more than 2700 POWs, mostly in and around Makassar.

In April 1945 only 1411 POWs were left on Celebes.

**SERVICE DES PRISONNIERS DE GUERRE**

Name \_\_\_\_\_ III 21607 2

Nationality DUTCH

Rank CAPTAIN

Camp 2 No. P. O. W. Camp, Thailand. ~~III~~

To: \_\_\_\_\_

Djawa Tjokorai 4  
PERLINDONGAN  
MALANG  
JAVA.

(2)

俘虜郵便 泰俘虜收容所

(Vertical chop)

(Horizontal chop)

**IMPERIAL JAPANESE ARMY**

Date 23 MEI 1944

AND RED + GIFTS

Your mails (and \_\_\_\_\_) are received with thanks.

My health is (good, usual, poor).

~~I am ill in hospital.~~

~~I am working for pay (I am paid monthly salary).~~

I am not working.

My best regards to \_\_\_\_\_

Yours ever, \_\_\_\_\_

Fig. 1A Postcard from a Dutch captain held POW in Thailand. Address side: one of the censor chops (vertical; on right) appears to be Bulterman type JC13b, supposedly known used only in Sumatra. The routing chop (horizontal rectangle; below the crossed-out III) reads: Java internee, district III (= Semarang), number 21607. Message side: preprinted, with a few alterations and additions.

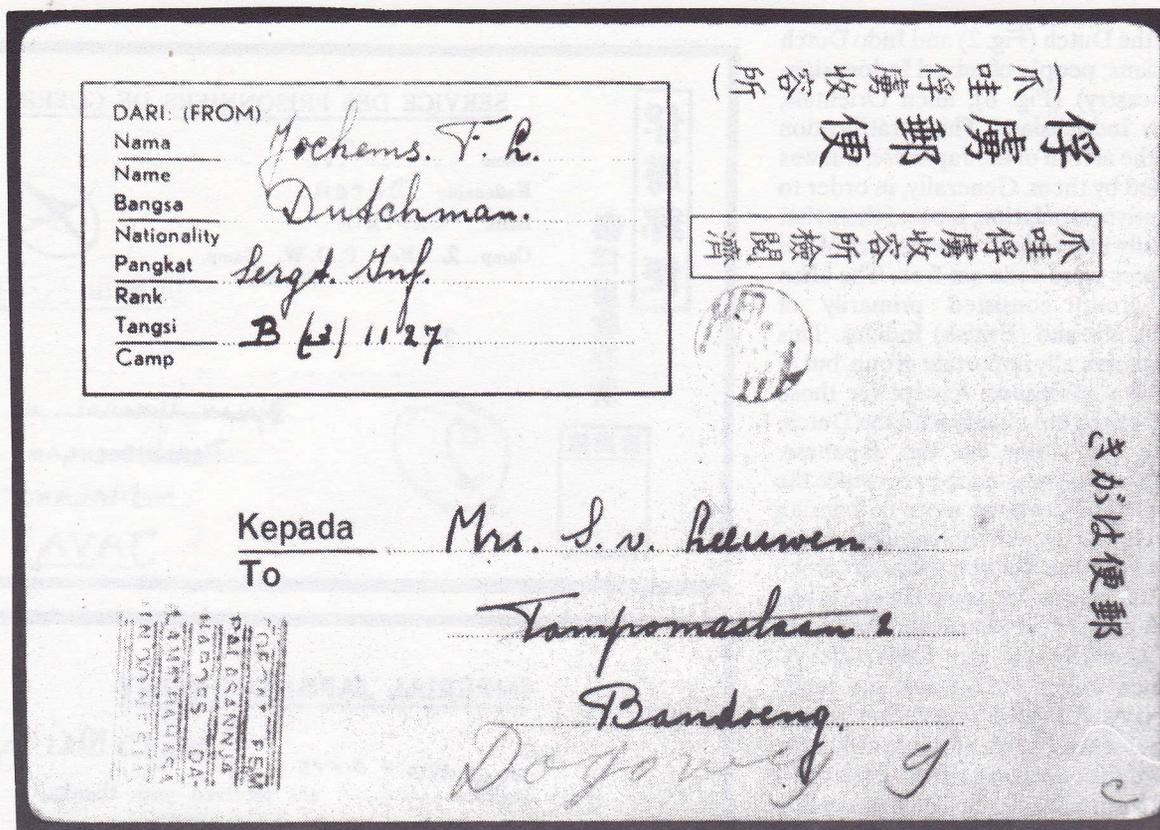


Fig. 2 Postcard from Dutch POW in camp B (Cilacap). A, B, C and D were codes used for Java camps between mid-1942 and early 1943. Red stamp (bottom left) in Indonesian, reminding addressee that her response will have to be written in that language.

### Sumatra

Most British were initially in Padang, and later moved to the Medan area. Small numbers of British and Australian POWs in two camps in Palembang were combined in one camp in March 1944. All in all there were ca. 4500 Dutch and Indo Dutch, and ca. 1200 British and Australian POWs at the outset. In May 1942 ca. 1500 of the Dutch and Indo Dutch plus ca. 500 British were transported to Burma via Belawan, initially to build air strips, and later the infamous Burma railroad. The bridge used to span the river Kwai came from Java where it was dismantled to be subsequently put together again on concrete pillars in the jungle of Burma.<sup>6</sup>

In March 1944 the 'Aceh party' was formed consisting of more than 300 Dutch and Indo Dutch and some 200 British and Australians under one Japanese lieutenant and 22 Korean guards. They were forced to build a road through the mountains between Blangkejeren and Takengon, thus facilitating connections between Aceh's east and west coasts. From July to August 1944 the remaining POWs at Belawan were again transported, this time to build the eastern part of the Pekanbaru railroad. In October 1944 men from the Aceh party were moved to Padang to start work on the western portion of the same railroad which was finished the day Japan capitulated, August 15, 1945. Meanwhile, some Indo Dutch and Indonesian POWs were in a complex in the Alas valley, previously used by German POWs.<sup>10</sup> This complex included two civilian internees' camps, one for men and one for women and children.

### Java

POWs were initially put up in camps not far from points where they were captured. They were later concentrated in four areas, i.e. Jakarta, Bandung-Cimahi, Surabaya and Malang. The largest number of POWs were present on Java, totaling 70,800 and consisting of 900 Americans, 2800 Australians, 10,600 British, 56,500 Dutch navy and KNIL, including Indonesians. The Indonesians were released shortly. In October 1942 700 men, almost all Indo Dutch and later in September 1943 3400 more POWs were transported to Japan for work in mines, factories and harbors.

Starting in October 1942 most of the Americans, British and Australians (in the Xth Battalion camp in Jakarta) and ca. 16,500 Dutch were transported to Burma and Thailand for work on the Burma railroad which finished in October 1943. In April 1943 3540 Dutch and 2760 British (Fig. 4) sailed for Flores and the Moluccas to build airfields; most of the survivors were back in Java in 1944.

In November 1943 ca. 1000 Dutch and 1000 British POWs moved to South Sumatra for airport construction in the Palembang area. Starting in May 1944 a total of three transports moved 5500 men (mostly Dutch, some British, Australians, Indonesians and a few Americans) to Central Sumatra to help to build the Pekanbaru railroad. In September 1944 ca. 750 men left for Singapore for construction work on dry-docks, etc. Of those who remained in Java, the Dutch were put up in numerous camps formerly used as KNIL barracks (four in Jakarta, 10 in Bandung-Cimahi alone), military and temporary hospitals, laborers' camps,

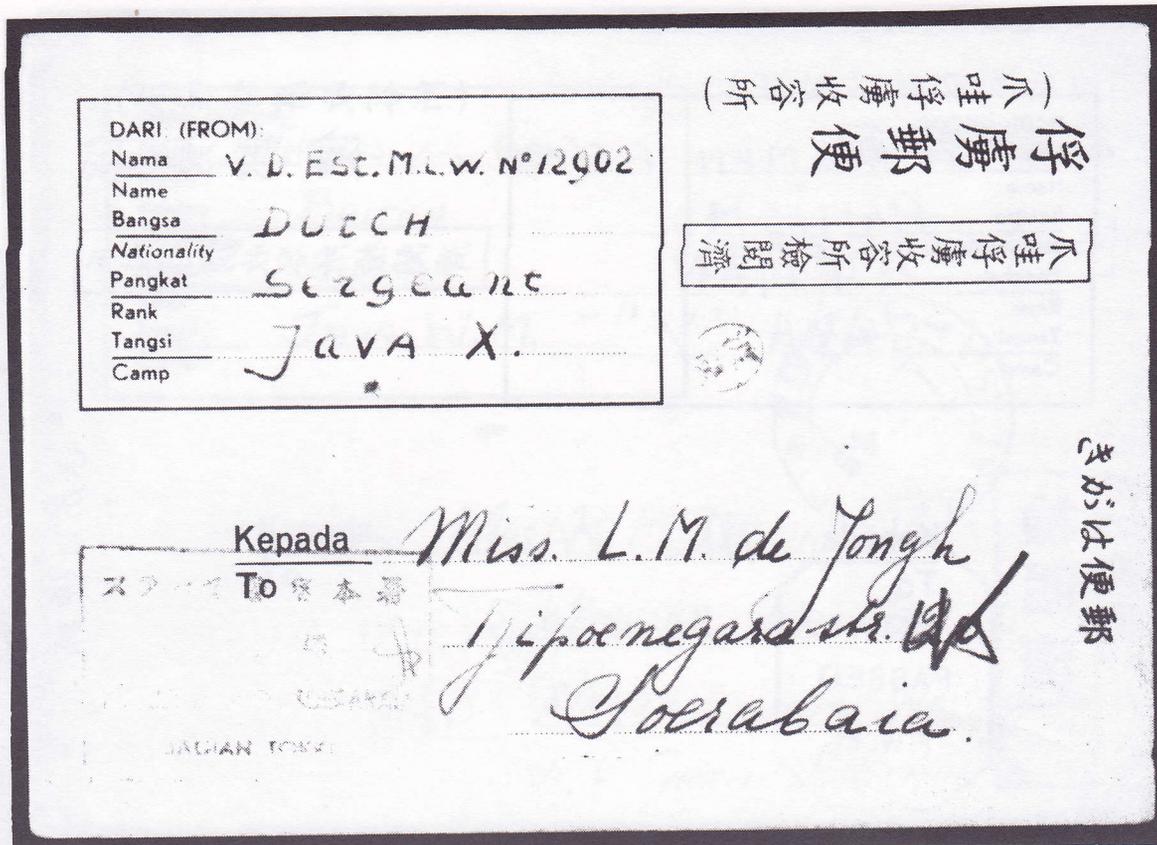


Fig. 3 A Dutch sergeant wrote this postcard in camp X (Jakarta). X, Y and Z were used for Java camps between early 1943 and April 1944. Censored by the Special Police upon arrival in Surabaya (rectangular violet stamp in lower left corner).

port warehouses (Jakarta and Surabaya), schools, prisons (two in Jakarta), one disciplinary institution (Bandung), a country fairground ('Jaarmarkt' in Surabaya), etc. Small groups of technicians and all Indo Dutch POWs totaling ca. 5000 were moved to Cimahi. Later on almost all POWs from the smaller Bandung camps were also moved to Cimahi.

In June 1942 ca. 4800 Dutch were transported to Cilacap. There they were divided in two camps, 1200 men near the sea shore, 3600 in a small barracks previously used by army engineers. Early in February 1943 they moved from Cilacap back to Bandung-Cimahi.

Survivors from Flores and the Moluccas were brought back to Java where they were combined with others and sent on again to the Pekanbaru railroad (September 1944) or Singapore (January 1945).

In July 1944 572 Dutch members of the merchant marine interned near Bandung suddenly found themselves being 'awarded' POW status, and were put to work in Jakarta. Two months later one half of them, mostly senior officers, were taken to Singapore, added to the 750 POWs mentioned earlier. The other half, mostly younger officers, went to labor on the Pekanbaru railroad.

Because of all these transfers only 4000 POWs remained in Java when the Japanese capitulated, mostly in the Bandung highlands which had been designated as the locale for the last stand of the Imperial Japanese Army, which is exactly what the Netherlands Indies government had intended to do for itself in 1942. A splendid example of history repeating itself, and in less than three and a half years!

#### The 'Great East' (except Celebes)

Major POW activities occurred on Ambon and a few surrounding islands, Flores and Timor. Most of the labor was spent to build airfields, near Maumere (Flores), Amahai (Seram), Harruku and Liang (North Ambon). On Timor two groups were made POW, ca. 1000 Dutch who were transported to Java or Celebes, and 1000 Australians who were taken to New Britain (off the East New Guinea coast). There were three camps on Ambon, one for male internees, one for women and children and the third for POWs. This third group consisted of 2000 Indonesians (released at the end of April 1942), ca. 800 Australians, 14 Americans and more than 250 Dutch. In October 1942 almost all Dutch and ca. 260 Australians were taken to Hainan, an island off the south coast of China. The remaining Australians received the harshest treatment of any group and four out of every five men died.

POWs were shuttled from one South Moluccas island to another; as soon as an airstrip was completed, another one needed more workers. Conditions were brutal, and did not improve on the convoys which brought the survivors to Java. There were many deaths, including casualties from torpedoes launched by an unsuspecting US submarine. Survivors floating in the sea were all machine-gunned by a Japanese corvette that came to rescue its countrymen. A few POWs finally did succeed in reaching Java in the second half of 1944.



Fig. 4 Postcard from British Airman to England. Japanese and British censor markings side by side in lower left corner. Camp 'Y' was a designation for 'parties' of POWs sent from Java to Ambon and Flores for airfield construction.

### The Civilian Internees

In all the areas occupied by Japan civilian internees (CIs) numbered approximately 125,000. Of these ca. 100,000 were in the Netherlands Indies, where about one in six died before the war ended. Only in the Netherlands Indies and the 'British' part of Borneo did the Japanese rigidly enforce family separation (Figs. 7 and 8), i.e. women were interned together with their small children, apart from older boys (over 10 years of age) and men who were kept in separate camps. Families were not separated in other Japanese-held territories such as the Philippines, Hong Kong, Nationalist China and Japan itself. The reason for this is unclear.

A total of 225 camps have so far been identified, the largest number was in Sumatra, i.e. 91; Java had 85. Many of these were used briefly, others up to almost three years.

In Celebes and Dutch Borneo the navy ran the camps directly, until early in 1943 when the naval government took over. In Java and Sumatra the reverse took place. Here, during the 'civil phase' which lasted till April 1944 male camps came under the army government; female camps were run by the native government. (Bulterman<sup>1</sup> calls this police supervision and mentions February rather than April 1944.) After that, in the 'military phase' both types of camp came directly under the army, the 16th Army in Java and the 25th Army in Sumatra.

### Celebes

In the southwestern part of the island camps at Malino were initially used to house Dutch women and children, women from Makassar (mid-March 1942), and a few months later Dutch women and children from the Lesser Sunda Islands, except for those from Lombok who were transported to Java. In May 1943 Malino was closed and the CIs were brought to Kampili, which had already received groups from West New Guinea and Ambon in February 1943. The total number of women and children at Kampili was almost 1700, including a few foreigners.

In Menado ca. 160 men and older boys were interned; the condition there was poor.

### Borneo

In February 1945 ca. 580 CIs were held in Tarakan.

### Sumatra

Camps in Muntok (the island of Bangka) received some 900 male CIs in September 1943 of whom 259 died, as well as ca. 720 women and children in November 1944 of whom 76 died. Both groups originated in South Sumatra. In April 1945 they were transported to Lubuk Linggau (South Sumatra) where 95 women and children and 96 men perished. Toward the end of 1943 CIs from the West Coast were brought to Bangkinang (West Coast residency; now: Riau province) where they numbered 4600. In 1942 and



Fig. 5 Another postcard from a British Airman written 13 days before Japan's capitulation. Postmarked RAFPOST/11 Oct 45/SOUTHEAST ASIA (only three days after the first Allied landing at Jakarta), and further transported by the Royal Air Force. WM was a code for POW camps at Bandung (Java) from April 1944 till the end of the war. Used in the same period as WN (Jakarta) and WL (Jakarta/Pekanbaru).

1943 CIs from north and east Sumatra arrived in camps in the Alas valley,<sup>10</sup> Medan, Belawan and Brastagi (East Coast residency; now: North Sumatra). (In 1944 ca. 1750 women and children were at Brastagi.) Later men and older boys totaling 2000 were placed at Siringoringo, women and children in Aek Pamingke.

#### Java

Dutch men were interned around the middle of 1942. The Indo Dutch were initially left alone. In July 1942 ca. 1400 Dutch and ca. 1000 Indo Dutch were sent to Kesilir in east Java. Between October 1942 and mid-1943 women and children were put in 'protective neighborhoods.' Until March 1943 they could leave these areas once or twice a week during the day. By February 1944 all CIs in East Java had been moved elsewhere, the women and children to Central and West Java camps, men to the Bandung highlands.

The Struiswijk (Jakarta) (Fig. 8) and Sukamiskin (Bandung) penitentiaries held former high-ranking civil servants and assorted dignitaries, among others. When these prisons were closed in the beginning of 1944, the CIs went to the XVth Battalion camp (Jakarta) where they numbered ca. 10,000 men. The VIPs went to IVth and IXth Battalion camp (Cimahi), then in October 1944 to Baros III camp (also in Cimahi). A few more census figures from Java camps: Kampung Makassar (south of Jakarta), January 1945 - ca. 3600

women and children; ex-POW camp (IVth and IXth Battalion, Cimahi), 1944 - 10,000 men; Baros (Cimahi), July 1945 - ca. 1700 men and boys.

Was there a system discernible behind this madness of transportations of CIs all over Java? It is generally believed that the Japanese intended for the women and children, the old and the infirm to be concentrated in selected northern coastal regions so as to effectively hinder Allied advances, should they land there. Able-bodied men and persons potentially able to aid the Allies were kept in the Bandung highlands which, as noted before, is where the Japanese had intended to fight to the last man.

#### West New Guinea

A portion of CIs were taken to Ambon. This left ca. 1000 Indo Dutch and Indonesians, and ca. 200 nuns from the Australian part of New Guinea. A very large proportion (two thirds) perished.

#### The Romushas

This Japanese term was assigned to large numbers of Indonesians, probably more than 4 million, who were employed as 'work soldiers' in numerous projects in the Netherlands Indies and other Japanese-held territories. Most were either pressed into service or lured by false promises. Strictly speaking, they were neither POWs nor CIs but their treatment was no better and often worse. They



Fig. 6 Sender's half of what used to be a 'postcard with reply' combo, now separated at top. 'Kirim' (Indonesian) means 'send.' The writer was a civilian internee in camp CQ (Bandung). CP, CQ and CR codes were used in the same period as WM (Fig. 5), but for civilian internees camps.

were as much captives of the Japanese as were people in those two other categories. Despite their large numbers I have not come across letters to or from romushas. A contributing factor is that most of them were illiterate. Very little is known about their mail privileges, or the lack thereof. A former romusha foreman interviewed after the war recounted that when serving in Muna (Celebes) in 1943, they were not allowed to send nor receive mail.

On the other hand, post offices were reportedly available for use by civilian workers (including romushas, presumably) along the Burma railroad. They sold postal stationery and stamps of the Japanese occupation of Malaya with distinctive Japanese cancels for use in Thailand.<sup>6</sup>

### Of Life and Death

Descriptions of two of the more extreme camp and ship transport conditions will now be presented.

#### 1. Haruku

Following are excerpts from a diary kept by a Dutch physician, himself a POW:

"10 May 1943 - ... with the help of kicks and punches forty of the POWs are forced with a bamboo stick to work. Several officers were beaten when they were unable to assemble 1200 men to work on the airstrip....

"12 May 1943 - Increasing numbers of dysentery and diarrhea cases. Conditions ... are abominable. Water is scarce.... The sick suffer terribly; nurses and doctors bear a heavy burden the more so since little can be done effec-

tively. ... The sick remain outside the barracks lying in the mud since there aren't enough tin cans for their feces.... The situation notwithstanding, the Japanese adamantly demand 1200 men to work on the airfield, and if necessary this quota is filled by activating the in-patients. Many are sent back daily because they simply can't cope any longer....

"17 May 1943 - ... The flies are a terrible torment. In the barracks one hears besides the groaning and hiccupping of the terminally ill men the buzzing of millions of flies, maggots crawl over the filthy cots and exhausted patients....

"18 May 1943 - The epidemic rages on. All medications are now finished....

"31 May 1943 - ... A number of men suffer from deteriorating vision.... Since they are unable to see anymore, they cannot participate in fly catching. Every patient, no matter how sick has to catch flies, otherwise they receive no food.... It is heart rending to see these living skeletons of young men ... sitting with an improvised fly swatter in one hand and a bag for the dead insects in the other....

"24 August 1943 - ... the conditions of the sick have become simply horrendous. Extreme wasting to the bone, innumerable infected wounds ... swollen bellies and legs due to fluid retention. Many cry out in agony and utter despair in this hopeless situation. That there was still a young English soldier who shortly before his death requested of me to tell his mother he died like a soldier, bears witness to the presence of a spiritual strength beyond comprehension. Here, humanity is no more."

## 2. The 'Yunio Maru'

This ship left Priok (Jakarta's harbor) on September 16, 1944, with ca. 4200 romushas, among them boys aged 12 and 13, as well as ca. 2300 POWs on board. All Japanese wore life vests, the romushas and POWs received none. Two days later, off the Bengkulu coast, the ship was torpedoed by a British submarine. It sank slowly and began to list. Panic broke out. Few romushas could swim, most clung to the listing ship. Shortly thereafter it went under, sucking them and all who had not succeeded to extricate themselves from their quarters into the deep. The Japanese had thrown rafts into the water and were now clambering onto them. They prevented anyone else from doing the same, if necessary by hacking off fingers or hands and cleaving skulls, using sword and axe. Two small Japanese ships that did come to the rescue gave preference to their countrymen, but also picked up many romushas and POWs. Because of overcrowding on the little boats, some of the rescued who were in poor condition were thrown overboard. At another point they were told that only those who would not succumb before arriving at Padang, the final destination, would be kept on board. It therefore seemed advisable to stay awake, but some men were so utterly exhausted they fell asleep anyway, and no amount of shaking could awaken them. They were declared 'expired' and heaved over the railing. Some 5600 lives were lost, making the sinking of the 'Yunio Maru' the biggest marine disaster in history.

Amidst this immense despair, suffering and death the stark realization of man's frailty, life's brevity and the need to put faith and trust in the Almighty, was driven home forcefully to many. Thus the verse at the beginning of this article became the subject of a sermon delivered one wartime January Sunday in a Singapore camp with Governor-General van Starckenborgh Stachouwer, now also an internee, in attendance. The 'G-G' was in transit to a 'Special Party' camp in Formosa (Taiwan), before arriving in Manchuria, his ultimate destination during the war.

What has just been described cannot begin to sketch a picture of the adverse conditions and poor treatment endured by the POWs, the CIs and the romushas. The interested reader is advised to consult appropriate texts and it is well to note that in previous wars (with China 1894-95, Russia 1904-05, Germany in WW I) Japan treated her POWs properly. The Russians among them, numbering almost

80,000, got more food and better clothing than did the Japanese soldiers themselves. And even in the Netherlands Indies some camp commanders were known for their humane leadership and compassion. Such a one was Sgt. Yamaji of Kampili. Sadly, people like him were few and far between.

### The Mail

Regulations regarding the mail were handed down from regional levels or even all the way from Tokyo, but since individual camp commanders held so much power, and since

DARI:  
 Nama: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Alamat: TRISIA STRAAT 16  
BANDOENG.

俘虜郵便  
 3カ: 復便郵便  
 (Balasan)

KEPADA:  
 Nama: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Bangsa: BELANDA  
 Pangkat: 21604  
 Tangsi: DJAWA C.P.

1. Banjanknja perkataan haroes diseboet dalam 25 perkataan.
2. Haroes dengan mesin toelis atau dengan tjara hoeroef besar tjetakan soepaja terang dan moedah dibatjakan.

27 JUNI

ELTJELIEF, KITA SEHAT, KOEMPOEL BIASA,  
 PENGHIDOEPAN TJOEKOEP. OTIE MENINGGAL.  
 NEL DAN ANAK<sup>2</sup> BAIK. BOB SAMA BEN.  
 KITA HARAP LEKAS KETEMOE.  
 BANJAK TJINTA SEMOEA,

Fig. 6A 'Balasan' (= reply) postcard. Address side: from a civilian to an internee held at camp CP (Semarang - Central Java). Despite the lack of any postal or censor markings, this piece really went through the mail. Message side: printed instructions in Indonesian: 1. Use no more than 25 words. 2. You must use a typewriter or capital block-letters for clarity and ease of reading.



Fig. 7 Postcard sent between civilian internees in Kediri (Java), likely from a wife to her husband. Rectangular police censor marking of that city in Japanese only (even the latin characters are just a transliteration) at top left. Absent postal cancellation suggests this card was probably carried outside the mail.

POW and CI mail had no priority whatsoever, this was in effect implemented at their whim. As a result a potpourri of regulations and actual results ensued. Data will now be presented, including some from other Japanese-held areas for the sake of comparison.

#### *Mail to, from or Wholly Within the Netherlands Indies*

In 1942 people in the Netherlands were enabled to send letters via the International Red Cross to the Netherlands Indies. Mail was transported by ship (usually the Swedish S.S. *Gripsholm*)<sup>7</sup> to Lourenco Marques (Mozambique). Here it was taken aboard Japanese vessels and carried to Japan. Eighteen bags of mail were transported on one occasion. The letters reached the Indies in May 1943 but it took many more months before they were delivered to the POWs. Another route went via Siberia. In February 1944 members of a Palembang camp received mail from the Netherlands. Three months later letters from the same batch were still being handed out. Along the Pekanbaru railroad between May 1944 and August 1945 camp inmates got mail from the Netherlands that had been in transit for one year. After the war stacks of undelivered mail were found in the Japanese commander's office.

Dutch CIs were initially forbidden to write to POWs or to receive mail. Noninterned Indo Dutch could, but had to do so via auxiliary agencies and the Japanese Bureau for POWs. A postcard in Japanese, Indonesian or English of no more than 25 words could then be written and sent to the

addressee. Not surprisingly, few postcards were delivered in this convoluted fashion.

Some KNIL POWs in Japan received mail from Java in January-March 1945. The letters had been written from one to more than two years previously. According to Japanese sources the POW Bureau in Tokyo received a total of more than 400,000 letters for POWs, or an average of 28 per POW. They processed more than 850,000 letters from POWs of which only a fraction was ultimately delivered.

In 1943-45 the Japanese radio station in Java broadcast letters from US and Australian POWs. In 1944 Indo Dutch women were given the same opportunity. These radioletters were typed at destination. In Singapore in May 1945 102 radioletters were received but only 39 addressees were still present there; in June 1945 there were 554 radioletters of which 252 were delivered.

A bag consisting of 9000 postcards was sent from Java to Singapore between the end of 1943 and mid-1944. It arrived in March 1945 and more months elapsed before the POWs received them.

Around the middle of 1942 American and Australian POWs on Java were told to write home that they were frequently beaten by British POWs and that they were convinced of Japan's victory. Most refused. In November 1942 the British and the Americans (they for the second time) were given a similar task. This time many complied. They figured authorities in their home countries could easily conclude what went on after seeing so many letters with the



Fig. 8 Vertical rectangular Japanese censor marking 'Su to ra su i ku musho/ken etzu zumi' and Jakarta cancel of 3. 8. 03 (3 August 1943). This prison was one of two used to house VIPs.

same absurd message. Besides, each sign of life would be welcomed by their families.

A Dutch woman in Malang got a postcard early in 1944 from her son in Thailand. He had departed 14 months earlier; the letter took six months to arrive. Many women received letters from husbands, sons or brothers, only to learn afterwards that they had been dead for months.

CIs in the Werfstraat camp (Surabaya) prior to January 1944 were allowed to write once a month, later once in six months to noninterned friends and relatives, mostly Indo Dutch. The messages in Indonesian contained no more than 25 words. Later they had to select three out of 10 standard sentences.

During the 'civil phase' in Java female CIs could write each other one postcard a month. Between male CIs it was one in six months. Many were never delivered. In August 1945 husbands at Siringoringo (Sumatra) received Red Cross postcards written in 1943 by their wives in Medan.

During the 'military phase' in Java, postcard correspondence between CIs and POWs was permitted. The messages had to be in Japanese or Indonesian (or English if sent abroad) and contain three out of a total of 12 standard sentences, plus 20 words free text. Many took years to be delivered, or never were.

In July 1943 some women at Lampersari camp received news that their men had died in Singapore in November 1942; in November 1943 one postcard from Japan and many more from Thailand arrived and in March 1945 a postcard from Manchuria was delivered. Most CIs got no news from the Netherlands. For those who did it took one and a half to

more than two years.

In February 1945 22 women from the Banyubiru and Lampersari camps which together housed ca. 3000 were chosen to send telegrams to the Netherlands. As far as is known none were received.

In September 1943 a female CI at Pulu Brayan received a postcard written one year ago in Burma. Later she wrote: "I cried and laughed at the same time. Others embraced me and were very happy for me. The card came from Moulmein in Burma, and is written in English in block letters and the signature is what you value the most. My husband is in good health, he works and earns 10 cents a day. He writes for me to look well after myself. The card was written last year. But I'm so happy. He also wrote the names of our friends from Medan, so they're together. My feelings are indescribable. It is as if you're closer to me, darling - Many ladies have received nothing. That is so disappointing - What a happy day for us. I believe just about the happiest day of my life!"

Three months later she got a second postcard that had been in transit for seven months. The third card written in Thailand in January arrived in August 1944. She was considered one of the lucky few, three cards in three years being highly unusual.

On the Burma railroad some Dutch POWs received mail privileges three times, all preprinted message postcards to which they could add a few words (Fig. 1A). One postcard per person was allowed. Most of those destined for Java and Sumatra arrived, albeit after long delays. No dates or locations could be mentioned in the messages. Some POWs in

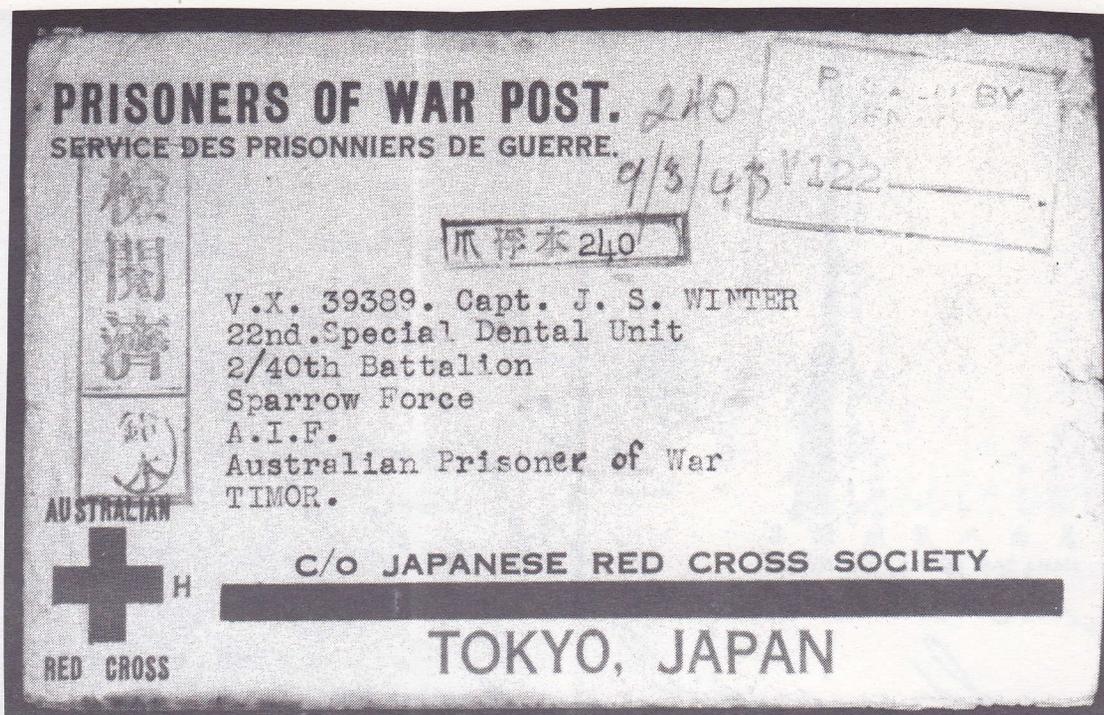


Fig. 9 Special envelope to an Australian captain taken prisoner on the island of Timor. Narrow rectangular routing stamp (center top, just above address) reads 'Java POWs - General.' 240 was the man's central POW file number. Japanese (left) and Australian (right; also on back) censor markings. The letter was mailed via the two countries' Red Cross Societies.

Kanchanabury (Thailand) received mail from the Netherlands Indies once, early in 1945.<sup>4</sup>

In British Borneo Dutch POWs received mail from Java with postage stamps inscribed "Great Japanese Empire - Java."<sup>7</sup> Very unusual since this type of mail is either unfranked or bears the 3 1/2 ct Kreisler/Dai Nippon stamp imprint, at least the ones I have seen.

In the Netherlands Indies clandestine mail was quite prevalent. General Saito, commander of all Java POW camps, once visited Nieuwe Kamp (Cilacap). Unbeknownst to him somebody had stowed mail from Jakarta for the POWs under the seat of his car. Return mail went back the same way.

A diphtheria outbreak in 1943 in the Darmo camp for women and children in Surabaya provided another opportunity. The small patients were taken to the hospital which happened to be next to a men's camp. One little girl took written messages from the men, memorized the contents, then chewed and swallowed the pieces of paper. When recovered and back at Darmo she delivered the messages verbally.

Another well-tried method was to bribe the Indonesian camp guards.

#### *Mail Wholly Outside the Netherlands Indies*

In January 1945 a POW in Japan received a letter from the Netherlands written in December 1943.

In British Borneo<sup>7</sup> at the end of 1944 interinsular transports and shipments from overseas had come to a virtual standstill because of Allied naval and air superiority.

Postcards were rarely written by the sender. Rather, an officer or chosen prisoner was appointed as scribe. The reason for this, at least in one camp, was the allotment of just one bottle of ink and one pen for all. Since different hands would soon ruin the nib, just one man did the job. Postcards were handed out at the whim of the Japanese commander. Not all men received them. Those that did had to return the cards punctually at the appointed date and time at the camp office. Sometimes a POW was forced by the Japanese to write letters for other POWs without their knowledge. Phrases and words would be added or changed, all for propaganda purposes.

Incoming mail was often withheld as 'penalty' for the POWs. Mail transit time averaged 4-6 months one way or 10 months return (to and from Great Britain). Malay or English could be used in contrast to the Netherlands Indies where the Dutch were forbidden to use their own language. POWs opting not to use their postcards could not transfer this privilege to others. Anecdotal information suggests POWs sent between four postcards total for the duration of their incarceration, up to three a year. However, many never arrived. Out of 300 pieces of mail sent to a POW he received 16, of which 12-13 after his release. Some of the sentences the POWs were forced to insert in their messages were downright ridiculous. Here are some real gems:

- Borneo is a land of perpetual summer, full of natural beauty, with plenty of bananas, papayas, mangoes and coconuts.
- How happy I am smoking a cigarette in the shade of the coconut leaves in the comfort of this dreamland which is full of flower gardens and delightful fruits.

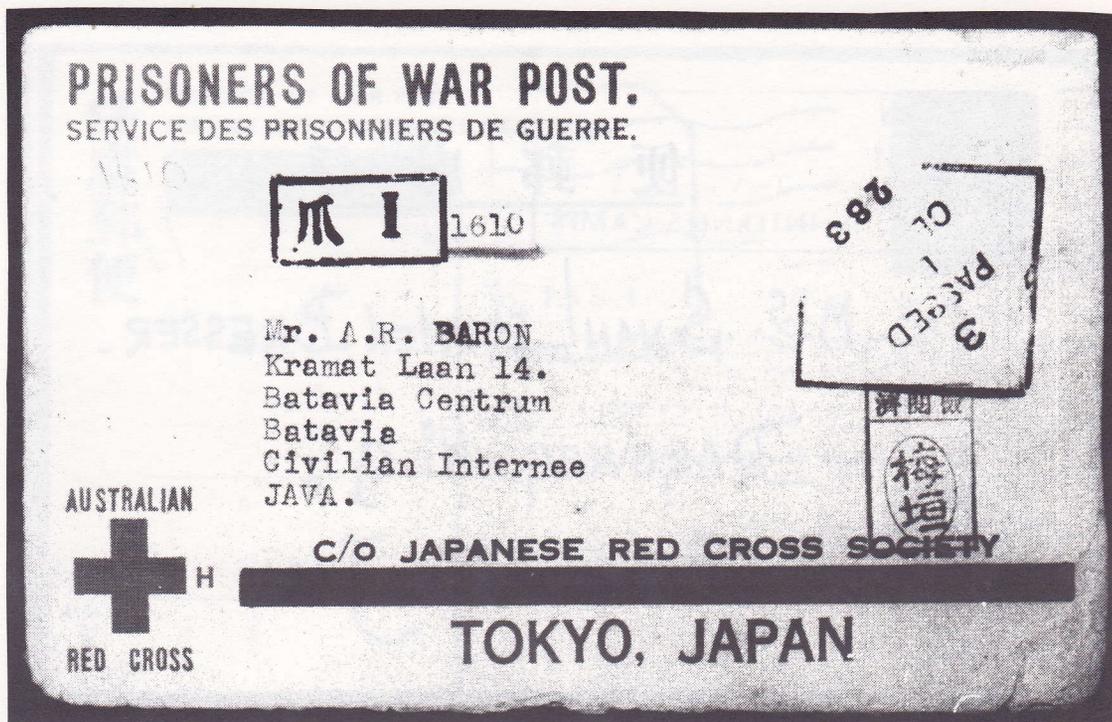


Fig. 10 Another Australian Red Cross cover, this time to a civilian internee. Two characters enclosed in rectangular stamp at top left indicate 'Java internees - district I' (Jakarta). Australian censor markings at top right and on back; Japanese in bottom right corner.

I imagine your smiling face.

If it weren't for the seriousness of the situation, they're almost hilarious, especially when one recalls that tours of duty in steamy, tropical, jungle-covered and almost uninhabited Borneo was disliked with a vengeance by many British.

On the Burma railroad in 1943-44 postcards with printed messages were provided to which a few words could be added. At the end of 1944 postcards with a maximum of 25 words free text were allowed. Until 1944 POWs were forbidden mention of the date or the camp's location in their mail. Allied POWs sent no more than eight postcards during the four years of captivity. The first were received after liberation in August 1945. Officers received as many as eight postcards a year, a few received hundreds (!) Noncommissioned officers received 0-2 a year.<sup>5</sup> One Australian POW in Malaya/Burma railroad received 30 letters during captivity. Toward the end of the war, starting around Christmas 1944 when the Japanese realized they were going to lose, all mail held back was released.

In summary, not all POWs and CIs were allowed mail privileges. Those that were, received these rarely, at unpredictable intervals, and were limited in what they could write. Mail frequently experienced long delays or was not delivered at all. Similarly, incoming mail was either much delayed or not delivered mostly because of Japan's increasing isolation toward the end of the war, long delays in censoring and the penchant to withhold the letters as a penalty tool. Neither outgoing nor incoming mail rated a spot on the Japanese military's priority list. All outgoing mail was by postcard only, except for envelopes especially printed for

VIPs in the same design as the postcards shown in Figures 2-5. An envelope, reportedly the only one known, was recently sold at auction.<sup>11</sup>

#### Special Postcards for Camp Inmates

The most commonly used postcard in Java is depicted in Figures 2, 3, 4 and 5. It is bilingual (Indonesian and English), apart from some Japanese indicia in the upper right-hand corner which reads: Java POW camp (top sentence), POW mail (second), Java POW camp/Passed by censor (third; red, in frame). This card exists with one (red) or two (one red, one black) handstamps, both of which bear similar Japanese characters meaning 'Java army internment camp' replacing 'Java POW camp' through which a stripe has been placed. These hand overprinted postcards were for use in the 'military phase' which started in April 1944. The fourth is a double postcard consisting of sender's and reply portions on which the 'Java army internment camp/Passed by censor' indicia have been dropped, and only applied by hand chop on used specimens (Fig. 6). Actual, used 'Balasan' (= reply) cards are scarcer, but one is depicted in Figure 6A.

Three different Malaya cards were used in Sumatra. One such is depicted in Figure 11, although this particular example was mailed from Malaya to Java. The two vertical columns of Japanese characters on the left read: 'Passed by Censor' and 'Malaya POW camp.' Finally, one other type is known to have been used in Celebes (Kampili).

Besides these special postcards, regular ones with the 3 1/2 ct imprinted stamp were available to the public and sometimes to internees (Figs. 7 and 8).

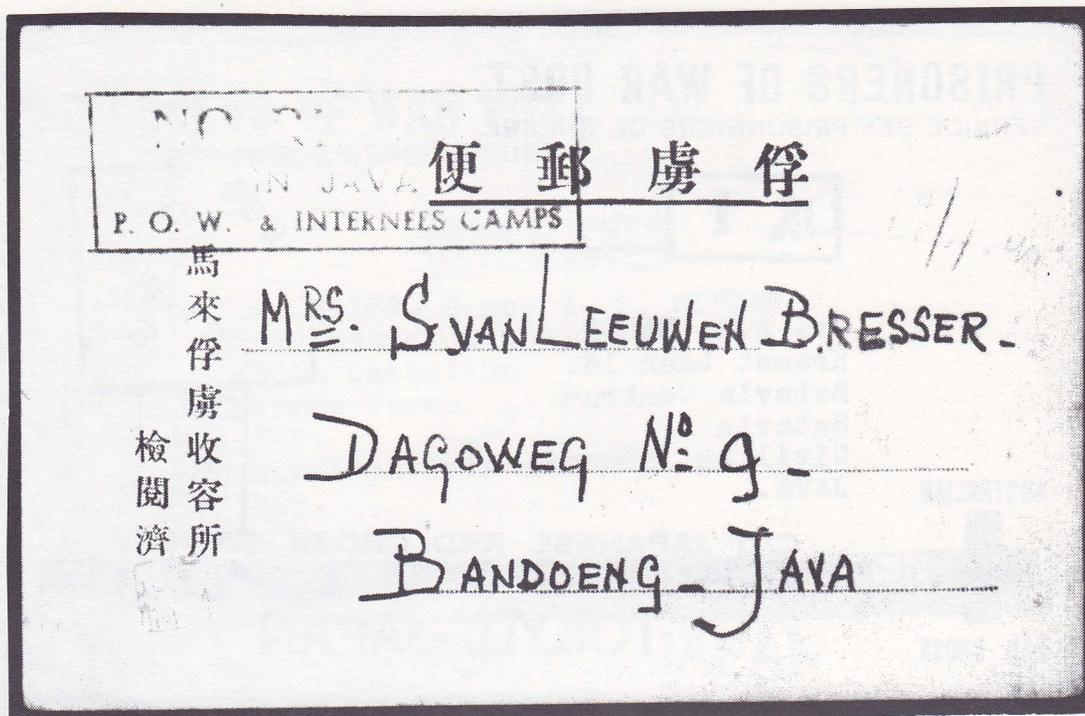


Fig. 11 Malayan postcard from Dutch POW in that former British colony to Java. The purple 'No Record' rubber stamp could be interpreted as an inability to locate the addressee, or the person was living outside the camp system.

### Censor Markings

These were usually applied by the personal 'chop' of the Japanese officer or official (just below and to the left of the long rectangle with Japanese characters on Figs. 2, 3 and 6). Sometimes these personal 'chops' were placed in hand-stamp imprints with 'Passed by censor' (Fig. 4 and 9 (left), Fig. 10 (right)).

Censor markings can be quite elaborate, such as: 'Surabaya Public Police/ Tokko (= Special Police) Section' (Fig. 3); 'Kediri Municipality Police Office/ Chief Writer' (Fig. 7); and 'Struiswijk Prison/Passed by Censor' (Fig. 8).

Mail to and from foreign countries usually bore censor markings of those countries as well (Figs. 4, 9, 10 and 12). The undelivered cover in Figure 1 bears a square rubber stamp (in red) reading: 'Japanese military authority stamp, year 2602 (= 1942)'. This is listed by Bulterman as a 'permission' stamp, commonly used by companies put under Japanese control. However, the sender of this letter ('Weeskamer') was not a company, and I have seen covers returned to this office bearing definite censor markings. This 'permission' stamp seems to have been used to censor, at least in this case. If the stamp was applied around the end of the cover's circuitous journey it could also have been called a 'permission not granted' stamp since delivery to addressee was ultimately forbidden. (Weeskamer: government office supervising inheritances and their dispositions when minors were involved (wees = Dutch for orphan). In wartime also in charge of properties confiscated from POWs and internees.)

### Routing Stamps

A central card file of POWs and CIs was kept in Jakarta. If a letter or postcard carried an incomplete or incorrect address, this would be looked up, probably by a CI put to work in this office, who then wrote addressee's file number on the front in pencil. A routing stamp was later applied and the same number typed inside or next to the rectangle (Figs. 9, 10 and 12), presumably by a Japanese. This is most often seen on letters arriving from abroad. Three Roman numerals were used for the following districts: I - Jakarta, II - Bandung, III - Semarang. The Australian cover in Figure 9 was sent to an officer taken prisoner in Timor, probably in the Portuguese portion since that is where they were moved from West Timor (the Dutch portion of the island) on 17 December 1941.<sup>8</sup> Too bad it was not sent there, since that would make it the only letter arriving in or sent from Timor during the Japanese occupation. This could not be so for several reasons: firstly, the post office in Portuguese Timor was closed for the duration of the war.<sup>9</sup> Secondly, we know there were no camps in Timor, and thirdly, all Australian POWs were taken to New Britain. Or were they? The routing stamp reads 'Java POWs/General' and comes complete with his file number. So he must have been in Java, if only temporarily.

### The Messages

In contrast to other Japanese-held territories, no preprinted messages were used in the Netherlands Indies, although, as mentioned earlier, the use of standard sentences was often mandatory. Dutch was forbidden but English allowed. Messages in Indonesian (encouraged, see Fig. 2) were often stilted and riddled with mistakes, since most

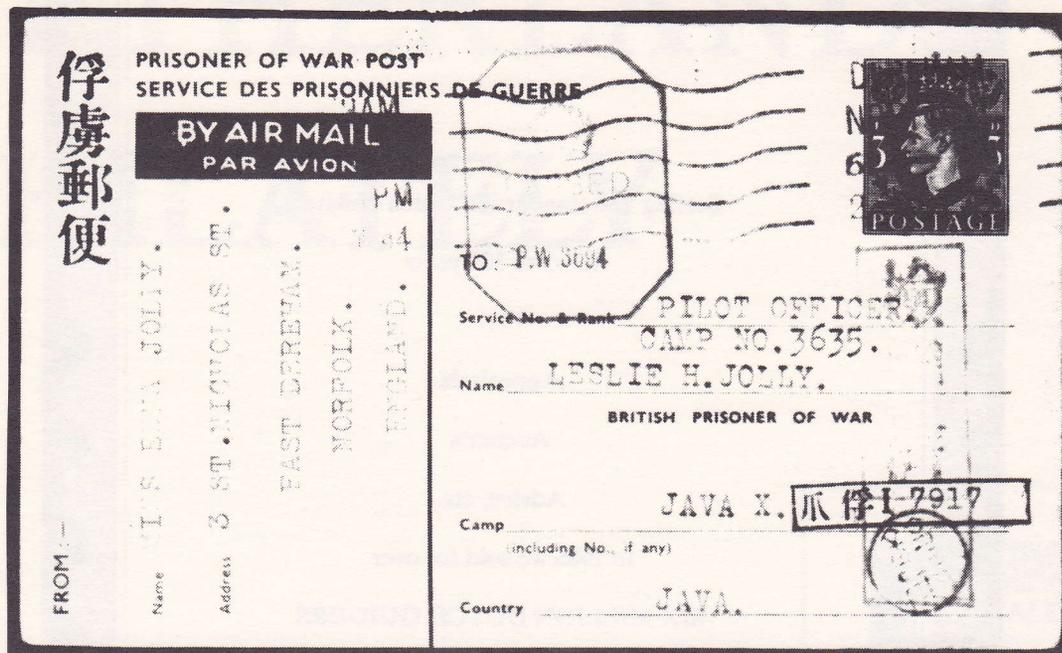


Fig. 12 British postcard especially printed for correspondence with POWs in Japanese-held territories. This one is canceled Norfolk, 2 Oct '44 and addressed to Java X camp. Next to this is a rubber stamp imprint indicating 'Java POWs - district I' (Jakarta). Red British (center top) and Japanese (bottom right) censor marks.

Dutch had only a rudimentary grasp of this language.

The postcard in Figure 5 is a bit peculiar since it is dated, addressed to Great Britain rather than just England<sup>5</sup> and one sentence mentions receipt of letters, cards and a photograph. Was this latter sentence enforced propaganda? Had other rules somehow been relaxed now that the end of the war was imminent? The first Allied troops which included British landed in Java on 28 September 1945. The RAF cancel's date is therefore a very early one, and was applied at Korangi Creek, Mauripar, India.<sup>5A</sup> Somebody must have found unprocessed mail languishing in a camp office, awaiting censoring by the Japanese official who as usual took his time doing so, and carried the British mail to an RAF member. It is doubtful the writer himself did this. He certainly would have changed most of the message. Or more likely, he would have tossed away the postcard, grabbed a piece of paper, and written an entirely new letter. (This happened to many newly liberated POWs when visited by Lady Mountbatten somewhere in Thailand (probably Nakon Pathom) who graciously offered to carry their messages home with her.<sup>6</sup>) One can only hope he himself also arrived home, safe and sound, the terrible camp years finally behind him. Indeed, the Rising Sun had set at long last, and a new dawn had arisen. But for many who were left behind those simple and unpretentious postcards became prized mementos since they were often the last bond with a tragically and prematurely departed loved one.

<sup>5</sup> England and Wales are obviously 2 different entities, but except for fig. 5 I have never seen a postcard addressed to Great Britain. In his book, Watterson<sup>7</sup> depicts several postcards addressed to Cardiff (South Wales). England instead of just Wales. Did the Japanese object to the glorious sounding name of Great Britain? What may also have been a factor is the fact that the Indonesian name for England (Inggeris) is used for Great Britain as well.

#### Acknowledgments

I am again indebted to Dr. F.H.A. Rummens for lending me the relevant volumes of Dr. de Jong's extensive series of books. My profound gratitude for the help of our editor, Paul E. van Reyen (see further under "Postscript"). And to the contributor of Figures 1A and 6A who wishes to remain anonymous; thank you, too.

#### Note

As much as possible current Indonesian spelling has been used for place names:

Current:	Old:	Pronounced:	Example:
u	oe	u as in put	Lubuklinggau/Loeboeklinggau
c	tj	ch as in check	Cimahi/Tjimahi
j	dj	j as in jam	Jakarta/Djakarta
y	j	y as in yes	Tasikmalaya/Tasikmalaja

#### Postscript

Our editor, Paul E. van Reyen, has been invaluable by giving advice, suggestions and corrections. Paul had the misfortune of having been a CI in the Netherlands Indies during the Japanese occupation, but precisely because of that he's also had first-hand experience of the situation at that time. Much of the nonphilatelic data in this article derives from the works of Dr. L. de Jong,<sup>3,8</sup> and some of that is not without controversy. Following are some points on which Paul fundamentally disagrees with de Jong:

(continued on inside of front cover)