

A. E. Dudok Bousquet - Prairie Patrician

Cornelia B. Kennedy

Over the years many dissertations have been written attempting to resurrect out of obscurity or mediocrity persons who deserve a more honorable place in the historical sun. Is my attempt to bring the life and accomplishments of Abraham Everardus Dudok Bousquet to such a place similar? Does he deserve more than being a mere footnote in Dutch/American studies?¹ I think so. Already in his lifetime he was praised for his contributions to the settlement in Pella. The editor of the Ottumwa paper singled out Mr Bousquet among the ablest men that have ever come over from Europe.² K. Van Stigt, the Pella Thucydides, described him as a "goedhartig mens" (good-hearted man), who had come to Pella not only to improve his family's lot but also that of others.³

Thanks to his devoted brother Jan, who stayed in the Netherlands, we know a good deal about him. They corresponded regularly and at length, and Jan kept his letters and wrote the story of his brother's relatively short life, his ancestry and childhood, for the sake of his nephews in Pella. Dudok,⁴ as family and friends called him, also wrote to, and received letters from Reveil and Afscheiding leaders while in the Netherlands and Pella.

That he was connected with leaders of the Reveil, a revival in upper middle class society, speaks of his social standing. A forefather had emigrated from France to the Netherlands after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and had become a citizen of Amsterdam in 1687. His descendants were members of the Walloon (French-speaking Protestant church). The upper-class Huguenot community was close: intermarriage was frequent⁵ and in business favors were passed around. His grandfather was associated with the firm Braunsberg (which helped the Rothschilds in financial matters in the late 18th century) and upon his death his widow became a salaried associate until her remarriage. Two of her sons, Dudok's father, Pierre Henri and his brother Louis were also employees, but Louis rose in the ranks while Pierre Henri remained in a clerical position - something that still rankled Jan Bousquet when he wrote the story of the family.

Dudok, born in 1803 as the eldest of Pierre Henri's four boys, lost his mother when he was ten, so his father played a major role in his life. Dudok's brother Jan devoted several pages in the Bousquet family history to his father. Although having had classical schooling, at times even by a French governor, the father had been primarily "educated for trade." This theoretical and practical orientation he brought to bear on his children's education; they attended a variety of the "best" schools, and they also had a French tutor for a while. In the father's study the boys were acquainted with his physics instruments, microscopes and telescopes. They had dancing, music and shooting lessons, and were encouraged to engage in physical activities. The baskets and lamps which he taught his sons to make were sold by them upon completion - money went into piggybanks for the purchase of books.⁶

Sixty-six years later, when he wrote the "Notes Concerning My Brother," Jan's grief was still palpable when he remembered his father's death in 1817, when he was twelve and Dudok fourteen years old. His widow, his second wife, continued to receive a stipend from the firm although it was not enough to allow them to continue to live in their spacious home. Dudok was taken out of school and entered the Braunsberg firm in 1818 or 1819 - he remained there until

1828. Although he was initially under the guardianship of uncle Louis, who was "honest, precise", but not "warm," his prospects or rising in the firm were not good.⁷ He later lamented to his brother that he had not been trained well for business neither had he been affirmed.⁸

The importance of the social status in the nineteenth century should not be underestimated. Each class had clearly defined rights and responsibilities.⁹ His upper middle class upbringing with its emphasis on status, culture and wealth left an indelible stamp on Dudok's life in the Netherlands and in Pella. Owing it to his social position to make money so that he could live accordingly set the course of a life of almost continual pursuits of business opportunities, accompanied by incessant anxiety, and followed by failures. Already while clerking at the Braunsberg firm, he, in partnership, began to trade on the side in stocks and bonds but when one of his clients went bankrupt in 1828 he lost all his capital.¹⁰

After the financial loss in 1828, he traveled for a while and spent some time in France, and upon return served as a volunteer in the militia during the Belgian conflict. He did not, however, return to Braunsberg, but was from the middle thirties engaged in ceaseless efforts to accumulate capital. At one time or another he was the owner of a cigar factory, a brickyard and accompanying marshland, a potato gin distillery (with an uncle), a factory of tinned hardware, and a lumberyard. None of them do well, and he generally had to sell with a loss.¹¹

Although the 1830s and 1840s were financially difficult years, due to an expensive government initiated financial reorganization in order to restore the economy, the Netherlands had a "relatively well-developed and diverse economic structure," although the country industrialized late.¹² If anything, Dudok's greatest difficulties were in increased competition.¹³ Contributing to the sorry outcome of his economic endeavors was his gullibility and lack of insight. For example, the cigar business was set up to help someone whose patent turned out to be fraudulent.¹⁴

His letters in the 1840s to friends and relatives were woeful, and he feared bankruptcy. He apparently is forced to sell his house in Zaltbommel (the location of his brickyards), where he had resided since his marriage in 1833 to his cousin Henriette Maria Chabot, and returned to Amsterdam, where he worked for a "Mr. Rooseboom", an acquaintance, on the stock exchange. He commented bitterly during this time that he was little more than a clerk, lived on a side street (not on one of the "grachten"), and couldn't even afford "a glass of excellent wine."¹⁵

In 1844 he explored business opportunities in Java, where he had an uncle and cousins who had prospered there. Letters to his friends expressed the hope that they might be able to help him also.¹⁶ No avenues seemed to be open to him in the Dutch East Indies then, but he tried again in 1848 when Rooseboom filed for bankruptcy, when his brickyard, despite the firing of three kilns, gave him no profit, and when an effort to go to Surinam fails.¹⁷ Although North America had been explored by him as early as 1843,¹⁸ he postponed the final decision until 1849 when he was informed that his application for the directorship of the West India Company had been rejected.¹⁹

He often likened himself to Job in his letters²⁰ and wondered, in a letter to Reveil leader Isaac da Costa whether God had declared him an open target for Satan to torment and frustrate him.²¹ Sometimes his lament was directed inwardly, questioning whether his failures were the result of his having interpreted God's Word wrongly, and that his sinful actions were ultimately the cause. Furthermore, he wrote fearfully to his brother Jan, "in the future I might continue

to err like that, thinking that I am doing well and yet by so doing will come again into new difficulties.²² He genuinely struggled in reconciling business with Christian practice. In a letter to Isaac Da Costa in 1839 he laid before him his conflict: should he give the proceeds of twenty-four unused silver spoons to a future Afgescheidenen seminary or should he invest it in an attractive, albeit speculative and therefore risky, venture to make more money in order to give with greater generosity?²³

As the above already indicates, Dudok was devout. He had been raised in a seemingly nominal Christian home, and attended the French-speaking Reformed church.²⁴ According to his brother, Dudok "began to know Christ" in 1824²⁵ through his or his brother's acquaintance with Isaac Da Costa, A. Capadoce and M. I. Chevallier.²⁶ During his stay in the south of France, he met a Protestant family with three sons whose piety and good works influenced him enormously. That he wished to compare these brothers with his own can be seen in his constant exhortation to his brothers to be like them.²⁷ He gave legs to his principles by giving rather liberally to his struggling family and the needy. That he spoke regularly of his faith may have, he thought, closed some business doors to him.²⁸

Amsterdam was of course the center of the Reveil. Dudok met regularly in Da Costa's house in Amsterdam for meetings, continuing this frequently after his marriage.²⁹ The families paid visits to each other and a number of letters between these two men survive. Also important in his spiritual development was, strangely enough, the Belgian Conflict. In 1830, Da Costa wrote to H. P. Scholte that "our Bousquet" has marched out. He had volunteered for an Amsterdam civil militia, part of a mobilization force created in light of the impending military conflict with the Southern Netherlands.³⁰ While stationed in 's - Hertogenbosch the friendship with the patrician A. M. C. van Hall, a beloved member of the Reveil who was also in the militia there, was strengthened. With him, and others, Dudok regularly spent time in theological discussions.³¹ This friendship lasted until the untimely death of Hall in 1838, although the contact with his wife continued until her death in 1844. Ultimately Dudok became Captain of the Artillery, which he left in 1834, waiving, as many of his upper-class friends had done, his pay. Noblesse oblige!

He joined the Afgescheidenen church in 1836 in Gameren, near Zaltbommel - one of Scholte's congregations.³² Although the persecution was rather severe in this area, this small community seemed to have been spared. The fact that Dudok went from financial crisis to financial crisis was not due to his Secessionist convictions. He functioned as the scribe for the Afgescheidenen classis of Nether Gelderland between 1838 and 1840 (minutes beyond that are lost), and was the liaison between Scholte and the classis through correspondence and personal encounters.³³

Much time was spent in classis meetings on moral issues, affecting church members as well as the attending elders. Insurance, for example, was anathema and Bousquet was accused by the brethren of having his house insured. His rather mild reaction to the accusation was that it had been insured by the previous owner for several years, but that he would try his best to cancel it.³⁴ Classis also censured people who had inoculated against smallpox.³⁵ Dudok himself was ambivalent about vaccinations. Da Costa had informed him that he saw no objection, and with a cholera epidemic threatening, Dudok "wished he had not been made to resist it."³⁶ A bigger issue in classis is the question whether there should be two kinds of elders: one ruling and one teaching. Dudok agreed with Scholte that only one kind of elder was mentioned in the

bible: to rule, to preach and to administer the sacraments, but he was in the minority.³⁷ Little did he know that Scholte's position would create such grief in Pella later - attributable to the Bousquets' unhappiness in church there as well.

It is clear, however, that he was very much a Scholte man, and when he decided in October of 1849, primarily for financial reasons, to emigrate, Pella was the evitable choice. In 1853 he recalled: "It really was for Scholte that I went to Pella - no other choice. Henriette would only consent to go to Ds. Scholte."³⁸ Scholte himself seemed eager for his friend to come, expressed in a letter to J. A. Wormser in August of 1848: "[I] wished [Bousquet] were here."³⁹ Apparently he told him that personally for Dudok told brother Jan that Scholte was "looking forward to my coming with joy and is giving me all kinds of instructions - offering his home for as long as we don't have a house." He also promised to set him up in business, a broker's firm or his own trade.⁴⁰

Their friendship seemed to have been solid prior to emigration, although already then one can sense in Scholte's responses a certain impatience to Dudok's frequent plaintive tone. His first wife had been a close friend of Henriette, and her death in 1844 had devastated her. Once in Pella, Scholte did not welcome him as openheartedly as he had expected.⁴¹ In 1850 he complained that Scholte was "sealed up like wax," and seemed oriented only to self-interest and in 1852 lamented that "Scholte's concerns are instructive and forceful, but as a friend and as a support he has failed me."⁴² Scholte did not select him to be Justice of the Peace as Dudok had expected, but instead appointed a German immigrant - Dudok's chief competitor - to that post.⁴³

The proverbial "gouden Willempjes" [gold coins] that had come along with the second wave of immigrants to Pella provided a financial boom.⁴⁴ Bousquet had come with capital as well. The sizable amount represented money which had been borrowed on Henriette's inheritance in the disastrous 1840s, and what he had been able to salvage of his business enterprises in the Netherlands. After the death of papa Chabot the remainder - over 12,000 guilders - was transferred to Pella, although Dudok asked Jan to be an intermediary in further negotiations with Henriette's brother. He felt he was cheated out of a portion of the inheritance, and having capital would give him the necessary "poids" [literally weight, here esteem] in getting lucrative positions, such as nominations to bank directorships. This money was ultimately put in bonds from which they received annual interest. At this time his brickyard had not sold yet and he was still suing the co-owner of the lumberyard (60,000 guilders worth).⁴⁵

He bought into the fledgling Smeenk and Wolters General Store, by putting up 10,000 guilders. Smeenk and Wolters put up only \$500 each, which they had borrowed, but each was to receive one-third of the profits. He grumbled to Jan that "he would not have deigned to associate with them in Amsterdam" although he wrote earlier that "position and station in life [are] not defined [in America] as sharply."⁴⁶ Significantly, it was French that he used in describing their Zutphen accents which "m'ecorche les oreilles."⁴⁷ It is equally interesting that he called them "Wolters" and "Smeenk" and that they called him "mijnheer" [sir]. He called Wolters a good for nothing (prul), who did more harm than good, although conceding that he was openhearted, honest, and "shines in the store." Smeenk was a "Napoleon" who did not consult Dudok, but who was a good manager and "writes beautifully."⁴⁸ It pained Dudok when his son, who was either called Pierre Henri or Piet Hein and who worked in the store, ignored his father's direction and heeded Smeenk more.

Wolters and Smeenk did not seem very interested to have "mijnheer" around much in

the store. When the partners were planning to replace the log house store with a new one,⁴⁹ Dudok's incongruous request to include a private office where he could read and write was opposed by Smeenk. Instead he became the buyer for the store, making trips to St. Louis. In 1853 he recounted one such a trip during winter, when he traveled by steamboat (some of it canceled because of ice), open wagon, covered sled, sleigh, stage coach (walking seven miles to catch it in another town), and crossing rivers on foot (twice breaking thru the ice with his feet).⁵⁰

The "Old Pella Store," as this "most important trading place...for [that] part of Iowa" was called, also housed the first post office with Smeenk as postmaster.⁵¹ With increased competition from other general stores, the firm increasingly needed to look to other forms of revenue. A hog slaughter and packing branch was added; in 1852 alone they packed 500 hogs.⁵² On his own, frequently on his buying expeditions, Dudok continued the pattern already established in the Netherlands of looking for new enterprises - frequently with equally disappointing results.⁵³

Many of his enterprises were altruistic. For instance, in order for farmers to sell their products, he tried to create means of transportation. Accordingly, he built a warehouse in neighboring Amsterdam where he employed Dutch immigrants to construct flatboats to transport goods on the Des Moines River. In the spring of 1851, these boats were loaded with the large surplus of Pella corn, with St. Louis as final destination. The water level of the Des Moines River, however, was too low and they ran aground; others were wrecked on the Mississippi. Only two boats made it.⁵⁴

He then turned to more sophisticated means of river transportation. In his travels he had become acquainted with a gentleman who needed money to build a steamboat in Iowaville. Scholte invested a modest \$400 while Dudok ultimately put in \$2500 in 1852, because, as he wrote Jan, it was important for "Pella to have a controlling interest in the affair. It brought status as well; he became president of the company."⁵⁵ It took a while to construct the boat and when it was finally launched in the winter of 1852, it filled with three feet of water. When augur holes were discovered, sabotage was suspected but was not proven. Raised the next spring and put into operation on major American rivers, it navigated successfully, until it sank two years later (in 1854) in the Gulf of Mexico.⁵⁶

Dudok sought also to provide better land transportation, for example, to construct a bridge over the Skunk River as well as investing in a "flying bridge" across the Des Moines River at Amsterdam.⁵⁷ Scholte and he wrote letters to several newspapers to propose a plank road from the town of Keokuk to towns to the west. Keokuk responded and approximately 20 to 25 miles was constructed, but it never reached Pella.⁵⁸ Since it was going to be a toll road, the Dutch settlers were more interested in the free transportation on rivers.⁵⁹ Dudok often berated his compatriots whom "are either afraid to take on new risks, or are too inexperienced to see the necessity of taking on American ways."⁶⁰

He ran into the same wariness in getting a railroad through Pella. He, and Scholte, were prominent in state efforts to get land grants for various railroad through Iowa, attending railroad meetings frequently, and Dudok was in 1851 even vice-president at a railroad convention. In that same year he urged that people whose land was going to be adjacent to the proposed Muscatine and Oskaloosa line mortgage their property thus making it possible to buy shares. It was backed by Scholte but it was too risky and uncertain for Pella farmers; his

subsequent proposal to borrow money from "New York" was also turned down.⁶¹

At various times he invested in coalmining operations (Iowaville and west of Pella), and was, with Scholte owner of a sawmill.⁶²

In addition, he acquired significant land holdings. Soon after arrival, he selected a lot in town, south of the public square, and one 160 and one 90 acre farm, each with 40 and 18 acres of good timberland, as well as buildings. By the time he died he had bought about 1266 acres of land around Pella, which must have been profitable since land values increased after 1850.⁶³ Although this was a sizeable investment, he was true to his word that he "would be [as] great [a] curse to [the] community as the eastern speculators" if he were to invest everything in land.⁶⁴

An example of Dudok's sense of obligation to his community was his concern for education. Perhaps every elitist has a didactic streak. Already in 1851 he planned to buy farm machinery to rent to farmers in order to introduce them to the threshing machine, sower, reaper and mowing machine, for the use of these would be of great profit to the colony.⁶⁵ That he implemented this is proven in a letter to the Pella Gazette in February of 1855 where, "with satisfaction", he recalled that he brought "the first reaper, and the first two horse power thresher" and that these machines were actually in use in the area. The real intent of the letter was, however, to inform farmers that he had ordered from Wooster, Ohio, a subsoil plow which he offered gratuitously to every farmer who wished "to make a trial of it."⁶⁶

The one plum that Scholte gave him as an appointment to the school board which is not surprising given Dudok's erudition. Already in Zaltbommel he had been concerned about the inadequate French school for his boys, neither was he satisfied in Pella. The generally revered Isaac Overkamp, first teacher of Pella, was dismissed by Dudok as "that lifeless bore."⁶⁷ He was interest in retaining in Pella an American teacher, Mr. Dwight, who lived with the family and taught the Bousquet boys. Scholte, who perhaps had the same disdain for Overkamp, and Dudok planned in 1852 to give this teacher one of Dudok's loghouses to live in while Scholte would provide one for a schoolhouse.⁶⁸

Dudok subscribed \$400 toward a state university in March of 1852. Later that year he informed Jan that he planned to give 160 acres of land to the new university in Pella. In 1853 he and Scholte headed a delegation from Pella to convince the Baptist State Convention to locate in Pella, which was successful. Although he labored probably as much as Scholte in getting Central University to Pella, it is surprising that he never became a member of the Board of Trustees. Of course Scholte was, and so was ironically, Dudok's partner, "Napoleon" Smeenk.⁶⁹

In winter, he occasionally gave lectures to the Dutch colonists on a variety of subjects: tariffs, banks, the advisability to plant trees, on physics, history and farm machinery. Attendance among the Dutch decreased and he vowed in 1852 that he would try it for the Americans the following year.⁷⁰

Both Bousquets were discouraged by fellow Dutch believers in Pella, but it does not appear that he played an active role in the many church quarrels and schisms. Letters to brother Jan and the Wormsers in Amsterdam spoke of the Bousquets' discontent, however, with the elders Betten and Grafe (his competitor, the Justice of the Peace), specifically, and with the people who follow them in general. Brother Jan, in a margin on one of the later letters wrote: "Dudok is in discord with the existing church in Pella and has Dissenters (Smeenk and Wolters)

as partners - this is not favorable for his business.⁷¹ Both Bousquets were also disillusioned with Scholte. Henriette wrote Mrs. Wormser that "there is no binding together at all - everyone agrees it is not good, but feel that it is not within their power to change such a situation..."⁷² But they did ultimately side with Scholte against the elders, and remained (perhaps) reluctant members of his various churches. Henriette conceded in 1852 that Scholte was "without doubt a child of God" and "his sermons are powerful and lively and would captivate even an unbeliever" but she had problems with his Christian egalitarianism, and felt, as Dudok was to express in 1855, as if they were "without a shepherd."⁷³

Dudok, nevertheless, was involved in Christian leadership. He substituted for Scholte now and then after the latter abolished consistory in 1854, doing so until his death in 1856, and he was the founder and teacher of the first regular Sunday school in Pella, held in a log cabin on Garden Square.⁷⁴

Living in Pella in the early years meant a big adjustment. Apparently the boys walked in wooden shoes or were barefeet, and Dudok remarked with chagrin that his boys would grow up like plebeians in the U.S.⁷⁵ He admitted that that was not a noble sentiment, going even so far in another letter to voice that respectability was not the most important thing: for example, he had even given his boys a ride in a wheelbarrow.⁷⁶ Henriette, who, as Dudok had written to Scholte in the early 1840s, could not economize any more than she already had in her big house in Zaltbommel,⁷⁷ had to live initially in a rented 2-room log cabin. Their Dutch maid Antje had come along with them, but Henriette had additional, and apparently ineffectual, help of the owner's daughter, and had someone do the laundry and ironing.⁷⁸ She was one of only three women, by the way, who was addressed as mevrouw (the others were wives of Scholte and Dr. Roelofs). By 1850, she had a horse and buggy, and they lived in a better house, on the soon-to-be controversial church square", surrounded by trees, and with an orchard of 80 fruit trees.⁷⁹

Even so, Dudok continued to feel oppressed by the repeated failures in his life, and concluded that he might have been better off staying in a New England state, where they had landed, and where there was more "enlightenment, industry, and capital."⁸⁰ He continually spoke of his back-sliding and worried also about his sons' spiritual state. He had hoped for better things in America, he stated, but it was "continual misery", because the "devil, with God's sanction, plagues him," but did not go far enough by taking his life. At rare times he spoke of having a certain contentment, and not to "seek great things" in life, although he still longed for heaven.⁸¹ This came perhaps sooner than he thought, at the age of only fifty-three.

In Pella Gazette's September 1856 obituary,⁸² his wife reiterated his own analysis of his life, writing that her "kind husband" had had "a life of struggle, trial and afflictions."⁸³ Jan, in a letter to his nephew in 1887, also confirmed that Dudok was tested from his youth, and dealt with adversity all his life and was persecuted by these more and more in his last years. He believed that Dudok's death was caused by his experience with Botsford.⁸⁴ Since the Dudok's letters to Jan, in Central's Archives, only go until 1853, it has been difficult to reconstruct this matter. Some sources merely mention that he was in partnership with Botsford.⁸⁵ Many non-Dutch came to the community after the middle 1850s, partially due to the location of Central University in Pella. After March 1855, T. E. Botsford & Co began to buy ads in the Pella Gazette.⁸⁶ The ads continued, even announcing the addition of a saddle and harness depot upstairs, until the late fall of 1855 and then they stopped. There are numerous

possible explanations, but it is likely that Dudok, once again, was duped.

Although there is no doubt that he encountered vicissitudes in his lifetime, nevertheless his pessimism seems a bit excessive considering that he was vastly better off than the majority of the population, in the Netherlands and in Pella. In the 1860 census, his widow is listed as having real estate worth \$ 18,000, and was able to employ two domestic servants; in other words, he left her well provided for.⁸⁷ His continued sense of inadequacy and the cycles of fresh starts and failures, were related, in part, to his own awareness of his upper-class status and the consequent necessity to maintain this status financially. Furthermore, he was also self-absorbed, gullible, uncertain, and apparently without great gifts of leadership. He had plenty of enterprise but perhaps not enough savvy; he was well-informed but could not inspire others. Henriette wrote to the Netherlands that her husband was "easily discouraged, but just as quickly interested in another venture."⁸⁸ His legacy in Pella was remembered for a long time, and it should have been. He helped the colony financially, culturally and spiritually; he was esteemed, even beloved.⁸⁹ Perhaps the best epitaph are his own words, written to Jan in 1851: "My desire is: to be useful, and to be a blessing to the people of my community who have neither the understanding nor the courage to start something new."⁹⁰

Endnotes

1. A certain amount of fame came through the publishing in Ripley's *Believe It or Not*. Apparently the limestone tombstones of A. E. Dudok Bousquet and his wife Henriette Chabot in Pella's cemetery are bent. *Cemeteries of Marion County, Iowa* (Marion County Genealogical Society, 1874), p. 343.
2. John C. Bennett, in the *Pella Gazette*, June 7, 1855.
3. K. van Stigt, *Geschiedenis van Pella, Iowa en Omgeving*, II, (Pella, Weekblad Drukkerij, 1897), pp. 68-70.
4. His great grandmother was Margaretha Dudok de Wit, and apparently an annuity was created for offspring who were given the name Dudok.
5. Dudok's father and brother had married sisters and Dudok himself married a cousin on his mother's side.
6. J. Bousquet, "Notes Concerning my Brother A. E. Dudok Bousquet," Nijmegen, 1883, unpublished manuscript, Central College Archives, Pella, Iowa [translation by Cornelia B. Kennedy], pp. 5-7.
7. Notes, p. 9.
8. Notes, p. 27.

9. Manuscript version of J. C. H. Blom, "The Netherlands since 1830" in J. C. H. Blom and E. Lamberts, eds., *History of the Low Countries*, trans. James C. Kennedy (Providence: Berghahn Books, forthcoming), p. 673.
10. Notes, p. 11.
11. Notes, pp. 18, 19, 25, 32.
12. Blom, pp. 670, 672.
13. C. Smits, *De Afscheiding van 1834*, I (Dordrecht, J. P. van den Tol, 1982), p. 283.
14. Smits, II, 236.
15. Notes, p. 29.
16. Smits, I, p. 283.
17. Notes, p. 35.
18. In a letter to da Costa in 1843 he wrote that "a storm, a typhoon is coming", and that signs were present for a revolution. The future of the country and people was so bleak that emigration was desirable. "North America has many advantages." Smits, I, 281.
19. Notes, p. 37.
20. In Pella he was even covered with sores over his entire body, no doubt reinforcing the analogy.
21. Smits, I, 282.
22. Notes, p. 28.
23. Letter to I. DaCosta, Feb. 11, 1839. He also requested that Da Costa preach on Malechi 3: 8-11, about tithing and God's wrath to those who don't.
24. His father apparently was not critical of the state of church affairs as they developed under the reign of William I. Rejecting "vulgar rationalism" he embraced a "somewhat superficial supra naturalism." He declared, however, that the work of Philip Doddridge, an English pietist, spoke most to his heart, and on his death the family found a small piece of paper on which he had written: "Ne crains pas, crois seulement" (Mark 5:36). Notes, introduction, p. 4.
25. Notes, p. 1.
26. Notes, p. 11; J. Stellingwerf, *Amsterdamse Emigranten: Onbekende brieven uit de prairie van Iowa, 1846-1873* (Amsterdam: Buyten and Schipperheyn, 1975), p. 237.

27. Notes, p. 1, 11, 13, 14. Dudok "preached Christ at home and elsewhere - wherever there was opportunity," including his step siblings.
28. Notes, p. 31.
29. Stellingwerff, p. 237.
30. Smits, VI, pp. 58-60. Bousquet went as first lieutenant, with the battalion, first division mobile North Holland militia, and was garrisoned in 's Hertogenbosch.
31. Smits, VI, 97.
32. Since there was no Afgescheiden church in Zaltbommel, Didpl amd his family worshipped in nearby, but much smaller, Gameren.
33. I could not verify whether Dudok represented his church as elder or whether he was appointed to this office by Scholte. His name does not appear on the Minutes' lists of church delegates. All the churches in Classis Nether-Gelderland were without ministers. Scholte, although called to be the minister of an Afgescheiden church in Utrecht, "considered himself minister of Afgescheiden churches not just in [Nether Gelderland], but also North and South Holland, and the province of Utrecht. It is not surprising that he only very occasionally was able to preach in these churches.
34. Manuscript, Classis of the Afgescheidenen of Lower Gelderland, November 1839 [translation by Cornelia B. Kennedy], p. 8. The insurance had been taken out with an Antwerp firm.
35. Classis, December 1838, p. 3.
36. Letter to Da Costa, November 3, 1843. Somewhat indignant, he wrote, "Henriette is neutral about it; he thought she was firmly against it." Da Costa asked Bousquet's opinion on the prohibition societies, which the latter was "too much shattered" to give, but once in Pella, Dudok objected to the absolutism manifested in the many articles written about prohibition in the *Pella Gazette*. However, he did not like his brother to go to the theater or to a kind of Chatauqua institute, since they seemed to condone books against Christianity. Notes, p. 21.
37. Classis, October 1840; Stellingwerf, p. 48. Scholte, in his last article in *De Reformatie* before going to America, excoriated the "so-called clergy, which forces a privileged order on to the congregation...."
38. "A.E. Dudok Bousquet letters to Jan Bousquet, 1849-1853," manuscript, translated by Elisabeth Kempkes, Central College Archives, Pella, Iowa, p. 111.
39. Stellingwerff, p. 111.

40. Notes, p. 37. Henriette commented in a letter about the six weeks that they spent in the Scholte house; the disorderly household had a bad effect on her children.
41. He had expected Scholte to be warmer, especially since Dudok had been so loyal to Scholte during the Afscheiding.
42. Letters, p. 9, 86.
43. The relationship further soured after Smeenk was appointed postmaster, in the Bousquet, Smeenk and Wolters store. Scholte had schemed to get his brother-in-law appointed, and suspected Dudok of having schemed on his own.
44. Richard L. Doyle, "Frontier Influences in the Early Development of Pella, 1847-1857" (Drake University Master's Thesis, 1967), pp. 59, 60.
45. Letters, p. 40, 48.
46. Notes, p. 37.
47. Letters, pp. 6. Actually his French was not accurate. He wrote, unless the transcription and translation were copied correctly: "Ceque me corche les oreilles."
48. Ibid.
49. The first two story building in Pella, one block west of the n.w. corner of the public square.
50. Letters, January 1853.
51. *Souvenir History of Pella*, (Pella, The Booster Press, G. A. Stout, Publisher, 1922) pp. 98, 99. Van Stigt 2:68,69; Letters, p. 24.
52. Ibid.
53. Sometimes he thought better of investing. Although tempted, he decided not to buy 600 old and young sheep in 1851. Letters, p. 62.
54. Doyle, p. 70; Letters, p. 45.
55. Doyle, p 72; Letters, p. 103. 105.
56. Letters, pp. 102-105.
57. Letters, p. 47.
58. Leonore Scholte, "A Stranger in a Strange Land: Romanc in Pella History," *The Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, XXXVI, (1939:157. Van Stigt 1:68, 69. Jacob Van Der Zee, *The Hollanders of Iowa* (Iowa City: The State Historical Society, 1912), p. 390. Apparently

Scholte's son H.P. did not think that his father had anything to do with the plank road.

59. Richard L. Doyle, *The Socio-Economic Mobility of the Dutch Immigrants to Pella, Iowa, 1847-1925* (Ph.D. Dissertation, Kent State University, 1982), p. 58.

60. Letters in the Pella, IA Archives.

61. Doyle, p. 75, 80; Letters, p. 63, 76. In an article he wrote in *Hunt's Merchants Magazine* he suggested the use of mortgaged land as currency; it was irredeemable. Letters, p. 71.

62. Letters, pp. 105-107.

63. Doyle, pp. 77, 37; Letters, p. 9, 68. His son P. H. , a successful businessman in Pella, was to buy even more land, ending up with considerable holdings in the area. Atlas of Marion County of 1875 and 1901.

64. Scholte, p. 157; Letters, p. 46.

65. Letters, p. 45.

66. Letter to the *Pella Gazette*, February 22, 1855. He was an inveterate letter writer. In a letter to the *Oskaloosa Herald* he wrote about the various uses of wolf's skin. He was in the process of making a skin for his wife's bed, and promised to make "a wolfskin muff for [his] wife", encouraging women to do likewise. Letters, p. 35.

67. Smits, 1:283; Letters, p. 31.

68. Letters, p. 110.

69. Doyle, p. 107; Letters, p. 73; *Souvenir History*, p. 66. Dudok's son Herman was one of the first three graduates of Central University, but that was five years after his father's death.

70. Letters, p. 76; Van Stigt 2:122.

71. Letters, p. 5.

72. Stellingwerff, p. 280.

73. Stellingwerf, pp. 260, 280.

74. Van Stigt 2:122; Stellingwerff, p. 270.

75. Stellingwerff, 253; Letters, p. 15.

76. Letters, p. 15.

77. Scholte advised him in 1843 to downsize - to sell his large house which needed the keeping of several servants. Dudok had written earlier that they had economized as much as possible. Smits, p. 236.

78. Stellingwerff, p. 237; Smits, I, p. 282.

79. Letters, pp. 17, 101.

80. Letters, p. 13.

81. Letters, pp. 23, 95.

82. It is exceedingly rare to find an obituary in the Pella Gazette; that it is there is an indication of his stature in the community.

83. *Pella Gazette*, September 1856.

84. Accompanying the Notes.

85. *Souvenir History*, p. 93.

86. The store was located on the east side of the public square.

87. Robert P. Swierenga, compiler, *Dutch Households in U.S. Population Censuses: 1850, 1860, 1870. An Alphabetical Listing by Family Heads* (Wilmington: Scholarly Resources Inc., 1987).

88. Stellingwerff, p. 262.

89. Stellingwerff, p. 282. See also van Stigt.

90. Letters, p. 58.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Atlas of Marion County, 1875, 1901.

"Classis of the Afscheidenen of Lower Gelderland, 1839-1840," [translation by Cornelia B. Kennedy], in Dutch Heritage Collection, Northwestern College, Orange City, Iowa. Unpublished manuscript.

Blom, J. C. H. "The Netherlands since 1830," *History of the Low Countries* [translation by James C. Kennedy]. Providence: Berghahn Books, forthcoming.

Bousquet, Jan. "Notes Concerning My Brother A. E. Dudok Bousquet [translation by Cornelia B. Kennedy], Central College Archives, Pella, Iowa. Unpublished manuscript.

Doyle, Richard L. "Frontier Influences in the Early Development of Pella, 1847-1857." Drake University Master's Thesis, 1967. Unpublished manuscript.

Doyle, Richard L. "The Socio-Economic Mobility of the Dutch Immigrants to Pella, Iowa, 1847-1925.

- Kent State University Doctoral Dissertation, 1982. Unpublished manuscript.
- Scholte, Leonore. "A Stranger in a Strange Land: Romance in Pella History," *The Iowa Journal of History and Politics*. XXXVI, 2, 1939.
- Smith, C. *De Afscheiding van 1834*. I-IX. Oudkarspel: De Nijverheid, 1971.
- Souvenir History of Pella*. Pella: The Booster Press, 1922.
- Stellingwerff, J. *Amsterdamse Emigranten: Onbekende Brieven uit de Prairie van Iowa*. Amsterdam: Buyten & Schipperheyn, 1975.
- Van Hinte, Jacob. *Netherlanders in America: A Study of Emigration and Settlement in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries in the United States of America*. I & II. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Book House, 1985.
- Van Der Zee, Jacob. *Hollanders of Iowa*. Iowa City: The State Historical Society, 1912.
- Van Stigt, K. *Geschiedenis van Pella, Iowa en Omgeving*. II. Pella: Weekblad Drukkerij, 1897.