

### The Third Generation and Dutch-American Studies

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#### Introduction

Immigration historians are often classed in terms of generations and each brings a particular perspective. First-generation historians wrote in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and they told the story of their nationality group in glowing and even heroic terms. They recounted the agonies of separation and sacrifice, the need to struggle and persevere, and the conviction that the children would prosper in the land of opportunities. First-generation scholars stressed the superiority of their ethnic group, the speedy acceptance by the host society, and their numerous contributions to American life.

Second-generation historians wrote at mid-twentieth century. They had university educations and, as one might expect, held a more balanced perspective based on archival research and interviews with the old-timers. Their forte was the detailed narrative history, buttressed with copious footnotes and quotes from original sources.

Third-generation historians came of age in the 1960s and 1970s, just as the "roots" phenomenon and ethno-religious and women's studies were taking hold. The "third-geners" were trained in first-rate graduate schools, mastered archival research techniques, and were introduced to the latest scholarship, especially in the rising behavioral sciences. Quantitative methods and social scientific theories opened entirely new ways of studying change over time in large populations. These developments shaped my work, as they did for many.

First-generation writings tended to be a type of ethnic boosterism, which J. Franklin Jameson, the first president of the American Historical Association in 1884, aptly labeled as *filio pietism* (ancestor worship). Dutch-American historians had their filio pietists, too. Examples are Dingman Versteeg, the first historian of the Midwestern colonization, in his book *De Pilgrim Vaders van het Westen* (1886); Jacob Vander Zee in *Hollanders of Iowa* (1912); Amry Vanden Bosch in his masters thesis, "The Dutch Communities of Chicago" (1927); and, above all, the Netherlander, Jacob Van Hinte, with his two-volume tome, *Nederlanders in America*.<sup>1</sup>

Van Hinte repeatedly uses the pronoun "our," as

in "our Hollanders" and "our people," as he proudly tells of the heroic Albertus C. Van Raalte and other leaders. Van Hinte visited the United States for several months in 1921 to complete his research, but he never lived here. Vander Zee and Vanden Bosch came to America with their parents as young children and Versteeg was born in America.

First-generation church historians had their own variant of filio pietism, which took the form of religious polemics. Critics of the 1857 secession in the Dutch Reformed Church, which gave birth to the True Dutch Reformed Church (later the Christian Reformed Church), derided the seceders as schismatics. The latter, of course, defended their actions as right and true. Leading defenders of the Reformed Church position were Bernardus De bey and Adriaan Zwemer, who wrote first in 1871. They were followed by the Doskers, father Nicholas and son Henry; and then William Van Eyck. Apologists of the True church were Roelof T. Kuiper, Gerrit Hemkes, Henry Vander Werp, and Henry Beets.<sup>2</sup>

Second-generation students of the immigration experience began writing in the 1940s and 1950s. Their more sophisticated scholarship is exemplified by Henry Lucas, *Netherlanders in America* (1955); Albert Hyma, *Albertus C. Van Raalte and His Dutch Settlements in the United States* (1950), and Gerald De Jong, *The Dutch in America, 1607-1974* (1975). De Jong's history of the Reformed Church and John Kromminga's of the Christian Reformed Church also fit into the genre.<sup>3</sup>

We third-generation scholars have the luxury of standing on the shoulders of giants like Van Hinte and Lucas. From the solid base they built, we have been able to expand our reach and explore new areas, e.g., immigrant letters; the perspectives of immigrant women; the social factors behind the religious struggles; the unique experiences of Dutch Catholic and Jewish immigrants; the role of entrepreneurs and businessmen like Edward Bok, Theodore Koch, and J.D. Workman; the voluminous immigrant name lists that yielded their secrets with the aid of computers; and the detailed community studies.

In truth, the field of Dutch-American studies barely existed as a scholarly enterprise in 1960. The number of active historians could be counted on the fingers of two hands—Hyma, Lucas, De Jong, Kromminga, John Yzenbaard, Gerrit ten Zythoff, and a few others. But interest was growing. Herbert Brinks got the Heritage Hall archives at Calvin College underway in the 1960s. In 1977 the first

Dutch-American Workshop at Calvin attracted more than 80 scholars from the United States, Canada, and the Netherlands. The enthusiasm was so great that the conferees decided to launch the Association for the Advancement of Dutch American Studies (AADAS), which will be 25 years old in 2002.

We now have a full fledged enterprise, including a scholarly magazine, *Origins* (1983), thanks to Herbert Brinks; a number of well-managed archives that collect and catalog vital materials and translate primary sources; and a research center, the Van Raalte Institute, that is devoted to the study of the Dutch in America.

A complementary body is the Dutch American Historical Commission, representing Hope and Calvin colleges and Western and Calvin seminaries, whose main purpose is to translate and publish important books. Lucas's history and his two-volume memoirs have already been republished, and the English translation of Jan Stellingwerff's book, *Amsterdam Emigrants: Unknown Letters from the Prairies of Iowa, 1846-1873* (1976), is nearly completed. This correspondence from frontier Iowa shows the importance of Amsterdam in the Seceder movement and in the emigration. The book includes letters of Hendrik Scholte, Albertus Van Raalte, and Jan Hospers, among others.

Thus, we are close to the goal of having all the essential primary sources and early writings available in English translation. The Calvin Archives for the past thirty-plus years has focused on this task, under the aegis of Brinks and now Richard Harms. The Joint Archives of Holland holds translations of many key documents, thanks to Bill Wichers' efforts early on at the Holland Museum. And the Van Raalte Institute is translating important church and classis minutes, as well as Van Raalte's correspondence. Finally, there is Linda Pegman Doezema's bibliographic guide, *Dutch Americans* (1979), and encyclopedia entries on Dutch Americans by myself, Herbert Brinks, and Suzanne Sinke.<sup>4</sup>

Students of the Dutch in America now have access to a basic library--the Lucas and Van Hinte histories; Lucas' *Dutch Immigrant Memoirs and Related Writings* (1955, reprinted 1997), Brinks' *Dutch American Voices* (1995), a collection of immigrant letters; and my book, *Faith and Family* (2000),<sup>5</sup> which provides immigration statistics and explains the behavioral complexities of the resettlement process from beginning to end. These five books comprise an essential library and put at

one's fingertips the key information--letters, memoirs, historical narrative, and statistics. Let no one question the fact that Dutch-American scholarship has arrived!

#### Third-generation Scholarship

Let me say a bit more about changes since the 1960s in Dutch-American historiography. Most obviously, the research and writing has broadened into new areas of inquiry and familiar topics have been explored more deeply. First, computer-aided data files have answered key behavioral questions--who emigrated, when, where, how, why? This research has characterized my work and that of several of my students: the late Richard Doyle on Pella, David Vanderstel on Grand Rapids, Yda Schreuder on Catholic Wisconsin, and Annemieke Galema on the Frisians.

A second example is the various "America letters" projects. Brinks (with the help of Netherlands historians Hans Krabbendam and Galema) collected more than 100,000 immigrant letters by scouring the Netherlands and North America. Brinks' book, *Dutch-American Voices*, highlights some of the collections. Brian Beltman published a rich letter collection, that of his grandfather Ulbe Eringa, in *Dutch Farmer in the Missouri Valley* (1996). Walter Lagerwey gave us his translated edition of the letters of the Dutch Norbertines in Wisconsin, in *Letters Written in Good Faith* (1996). Everett Vande Beek's *To Lie in Green Pastures* contains the letters of his uncle Kees Duyst of Chile and California. Ulbe Bakker of the Frisian Academy in Leeuwarden published the letters of the De Jong family, in *Zuster, kom toch over* (Sister, Please Come Over). This book includes both the original Dutch and the English translation, a remarkable feature. For the Canadian scene, Herman Ganzevoort's *The Last Illusion* contains the letters of Dutch immigrants in the 1920s.<sup>6</sup>

Thirdly, new subject areas have opened up. James Bratt and Henry Zwaanstra expanded the study of Dutch Reformed church history to include the social determinants of religious change and conflict. Sinke's dissertation (1993) and forthcoming book on Dutch immigrant women, *Home Is Where You Build It*, is fresh in its perspective and methodology. Yda Schreuder has given Dutch Catholics their due for the first time in *Dutch Catholic Immigrant Settlement in Wisconsin*, which must be supplemented by the Dutch-language trilogy of Henry van Stekelenburg concerning Noord Brabant emigration. Dutch Jewish

immigrants were featured for the first time in my book, *The Forerunners: Dutch Jewry in the North American Diaspora* (1994).<sup>7</sup>

One cannot overlook the community studies of Grand Rapids (by David Vanderstel), of Pella (by Richard Doyle), and of Lethbridge, Canada (by Tymen Hofman); the story of the failed colonies in Colorado and Texas (by Peter De Klerk); the land promoters Theodore Koch (by Robert Schoone-Jongen) and J.D. Workman (by Don Van Reken); the magazine publisher-philanthropist Edward Bok (by Hans Krabbendam); the politician Gerrit Diekema (by Warren Vander Hill); and the farming behavior and land use studies (by Janel Curry-Roper).<sup>8</sup>

Fourthly, we have the stimulating ethnographic studies, including Rob Kroes' on-site study of *Amsterdam, Montana*; Lawrence J. Taylor's *Dutchmen on the Bay*, a similar study of Sayville, Long Island; and Hendrik J. Prakke's sociological study of immigration from the province of Drenthe to Drenthe, Michigan. These books reveal the ways in which "contractual communities" used theological controversies as a means of self definition and to wall themselves off from outsiders who cannot understand the "tempests in a teapot."<sup>9</sup>

Fifth, Dutch American literature has flourished. Sietze Buning's [Stanley Wiersma] poems and James Schaap's short stories have become legendary, as has Ronald Jager's *Eighty Acres* (1990), and Arthur Versluis' *Island Farm* (2000), both elegies to their family farms; Walter Lagerwey's *Neen Nederland, 'k vergeet u niet* (1996); and Henry Stob's *Summoning Up Remembrance* (1995). Two other delightful "reads" are the autobiographies of Peter P. De Boer, *Coming of Age in Prospect Park* [New Jersey] (1996), and Peter Bulthuis' *Footprints*, about growing up in Englewood, Illinois.

A sixth example is the fact that Netherlands scholars are taking an ever greater interest in migration, and the number of theses and dissertations in Dutch universities keeps growing. In 1976 when I went to the University of Leiden on a Fulbright Fellowship, my sponsoring professor, Willem Schulte Nordholt, introduced me to his student Pieter Stokvis, who was about to defend his dissertation, "De Nederlandse Trek Naar Amerika, 1846-1847" (1977). Stokvis wrote the first thesis or dissertation on the subject of American immigration at a Dutch university for many decades.

I recall the skepticism of the history professors at the University of Leiden when I told them about my

plans to study Dutch immigration to America in the nineteenth century. One asked, somewhat incredulously, "Why study the nineteenth century? Nothing interesting happened then. It's much better to study the seventeenth century." He meant the Netherlandic Golden Age, of course. The only kindred spirits I found were at the Agricultural University of Wageningen--E.W. Hofstee in the sociology department and Ad Van de Woude in agricultural economics. I spent far more days at Wageningen than at Leiden that semester.

Fortunately, attitudes began to change in the late 1960s and 1970s and many Netherlands scholars have followed in the steps of Stokvis and completed masters theses, dissertations, and monographs on immigration topics. A few came to American universities; for example, Yda Schreuder at the University of Wisconsin and Annemieke Galema and Hans Krabbendam at Kent State University. But most studied at home.

The research has covered a rich variety of topics. Krabbendam's dissertation dealt with the complex life of the "Model Man," Edward Bok, editor of the *Ladies' Home Journal*. Galema's dissertation, entitled *Frisians to America*, offered the first detailed history of the mass emigration from the Frisian sea clay region sparked by the agricultural depression of the 1880s. We need a companion study of the Groninger emigration in these years.<sup>10</sup>

Several studies focused on the "cockpit of Dutch emigration," the Achterhoek of Gelderland, and one traced the Limburg emigration to Wisconsin and Minnesota. One investigated the first Dutch-language newspaper in the Midwest, *De Sheboygan Nieuwsbode*, another analyzed the overall statistics on immigration to the United States in the neglected years 1900-20, and a third was Cees Zevenbergen's important book, *Toen zij uit Rotterdam vertrokken* (1990).<sup>11</sup>

Dutch cultural anthropologists have also taken an interest. Emma Timmerman-de Ruiter and Judith Scholte interviewed post-World War II immigrants in the Holland-Zeeland, Michigan area in 1999 and 2000. Timmerman explored the roots of the entrepreneurial drive that has characterized Zeeland, and Scholte studied the process of acculturation in Holland.<sup>12</sup> Besides these university scholars, many regional "work groups" comprised of local historians and genealogists are also busily studying overseas emigration.

### New Research Opportunities

What subject areas remain to be explored? Promising research topics are the fabled Dutch entrepreneurial spirit (are H. Wayne Huizenga, Richard De Vos, Jay Van Andel, and Frederick Meijer atypical?); political thought and behavior (are all Dutch Calvinists Republicans?); internal mobility among Dutch settlements (in this region the Dutch were constantly moving between and within Grand Rapids, Holland, Kalamazoo, Muskegon, and Chicago); the immigration of the early twentieth century and post-World War II eras (these are the "dark ages" of immigration scholarship); Dutch soldiers in America's wars from the Civil War to Vietnam; regional and local studies such as the Dutch in Kalamazoo, Muskegon, and Detroit in Michigan; and the many Dutch Catholic communities in the Midwest. There were 25 Dutch Catholic parishes in 1920, some only a stone's throw from Calvinist settlements. The major ones, for which congregational records are available, are St. Joseph's Parish in Grand Rapids and St. Willibrord's Parish in Kensington (part of the Roseland section of Chicago, Illinois). Other Dutch Catholic congregations are in Bay City, Michigan; Cincinnati; in the Wisconsin towns of Little Chute, Hollandtown, and De Pere; and in Benton Carver, Minnesota. Cornelis Van Nuis' article in this book on St. Joseph's Parish of Grand Rapids, Michigan, is a first. We need comparative studies of Reformed and Catholic settlements to learn the impact of religion on assimilation.

In the Netherlands, there is a need for regional studies of the major emigration centers after 1880 (modeled after Galema's work on Friesland), especially Groningen, the Achterhoek of Gelderland, Zeeland, and the rural areas of Noord and Zuid Holland. Genealogists are essential for this research since they know the language and the sources, and have the patience to dig out the names. With the Ellis Island ship passenger manifests now available on-line from 1892 through 1924, 22 million records in all, it is desirable to link the Dutch arrivals with the municipal population registers in the Netherlands to determine their villages of origin.

Scholars await the time when other major record series, such as census and land records and the numerous Dutch-American newspapers, are scanned and made available electronically for ready access anywhere in the world. Key early papers, which are gold mines of information, include the *Sheboygan*

*Newsbode, De Hollander* of Holland, Michigan, and the *Pella Gazette*, must be indexed.<sup>13</sup>

An ongoing program of oral interviews, following the example of the Joint Archives of Holland, is desperately needed. Post-1945 immigrants, military veterans, businessmen and politicians, and many ordinary folks need to recount their experiences on videotape. Soon the last immigrants of the 1950s wave will be gone.

In land history Henk Aay compiled from federal land records a listing of all original entries by the Dutch in Kent and Ottawa counties, and I have identified all of Van Raalte's land dealings in Ottawa and Allegan counties. But neither of us has taken full advantage of the material to tell the story of how the Dutch took the land in Michigan. Similar studies in the land records are needed for all the major colonies.

A related aspect of land history is the workings of the "agricultural ladder." How rapidly did the Dutch move up from being renters to farm owners. Around Chicago, most Dutch truck farmers rented their lands and thus did not benefit from rising land prices. Dutch farming behavior is also largely unexplored. The fabled Dutch skill of turning swamplands into celery fields in dozens of places needs to be told.

Finally, we need scholarly biographies of Scholte, Van Raalte, and other key leaders. Lubbertus Oostendorp's 1964 dissertation on Scholte covered his Netherlandic years but is thin on his long and varied career in Pella. Ronald Rietveld, a native of Pella, has done all the preliminary research on a Scholte biography; hopefully, he will complete the task. Jeanne Jacobson's 1997 study of Van Raalte and his colony is the first significant book since Hyma's biography of 1950. Elton Bruins has written extensively on Van Raalte as well.

### Conclusion

As this brief survey shows, the third generation has left its mark. We have uncovered new sources on both sides of the Atlantic, applied new methodologies, launched a periodical, translated key documents, and gathered a dozen times to share our findings under the auspices of AADAS. It has been an exciting adventure. And I have said nothing about the genealogists among us, who have done as much, if not more, to dig up new sources and spark an abiding interest in family and local history. May their tribe increase.

Now we need the fourth generation to take hold.

Younger scholars must catch the vision and, by standing on our shoulders, move far beyond what we have even dreamed. With the increasing accessibility of primary sources "on line," who knows what can be accomplished? I hope the field of Dutch-American studies flourishes as never before in the years to come.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Jacob Van Hinte, *Netherlanders in America: A Study of Emigration and Settlement in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries in the United States of America*, Robert P. Swierenga, ed., Adriaan de Wit, chief translator (1985).

<sup>2</sup> Bernardus De Bey and Adriaan Zwemer, *Stemmen uit de Hollandsche Gereformeerde Kerk* (1871); N.H. Dosker, *De Hollandsche Gereformeerde Kerk in Amerika* (1893); Henry E. Dosker, *Levensschets van Dr. A.C. Van Raalte* (1893); William O. Van Eyck, *Landmarks of the Reformed Fathers* (1922); R.T. Kuiper, *Een tijdwoord betreffende de kerkelijke toestanden in Noord-Amerika* (1882); G.K. Hemkes, *Rechtsbestaan der Christelijk Gereformeerde Kerk in Noord-Amerika* (1893); and Henry Vander Werp, *Outline of the History of the Christian Reformed Church* (1898); Henry Beets, *De Chr. Geref. Kerk: Zestig Jaren van Stijf en Zagen* (1918).

<sup>3</sup> Henry Lucas, *Netherlanders in America: Dutch Immigration to the United States and Canada, 1789-1950* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1955; reprinted Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1989); Albert Hyma, *Albertus C. Van Raalte and His Dutch Settlements in the United States* (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1947); Gerald F. De Jong, *The Dutch in America, 1607-1974* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1975); Gerald F. De Jong, *The Dutch Reformed Church in the American Colonies* (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1978); John Kromminga, *The Christian Reformed Church: A Study in Orthodoxy* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1949).

<sup>4</sup> Linda Pegman Doezema, *Dutch Americans: A Guide to Information Sources* (Detroit: Gale, 1979). Now more than fifteen years old, this reference work needs to be updated. Encyclopedic overviews are: Robert P. Swierenga, "The Dutch," in *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups*, ed. Stephen Thernstrom (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1980); Herbert J. Brinks, "The Dutch," in *Encyclopedia of American Social History*, 3 vols., eds., Mary K. Cayton, Elliott J. Gorn, and Peter W. Williams (New York: Schribner, 1993); and Suzanne Sinke, "Dutch Americans," in *A Nation of Peoples: A Sourcebook on America's Multicultural Heritage*, ed. Elliott R. Barkan (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2000).

<sup>5</sup> Robert P. Swierenga, *Faith and Family: Immigration and Settlement in the United States, 1820-1920* (New York: Holmes & Meier, 2000).

<sup>6</sup> Brian Beltman, *Dutch Farmer in the Missouri Valley: The Life and Letters of Ulbe Eringa, 1866-1950* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1996); Walter Lagerwey, *Letters Written in Good Faith: The Early Years of the Dutch Norbertines in Wisconsin* (Green Bay, WI: Alt Publishing Co., 1996); Sieger Rodenhuis, *Friese Pioniers in Amerika* (Leeuwarden: Friese Pers Boekenij, 1998); Herman Ganzevoort, *The Last Illusion: Letters from Dutch*

*Immigrants in the 'Land of Opportunity,' 1924-1930* (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 1999); Ulbe B. Bakker, *Sister, Please Come Over: Experiences of an immigrant family from Friesland/The Netherlands. Letters from America in the period 1894-1933* (Winsum: Ulbe B. Bakker, 1999). Galema had a hand in bringing this family history into print and wrote an introduction. Vande Beek's undated book was privately published ca. 1998.

<sup>7</sup> Yda Schreuder, *Dutch Catholic Immigrant Settlement in Wisconsin, 1850-1905* (New York: Garland, 1989); Henry A.V.M. van Stekelenburg, *Landverhuizing als regionale verschijnsel van Noord-Brabant naar Noord-Amerika, 1820-1880* (Tilburg: Stichting Zuidelijk Historisch Contact, 1991), "Hier is alles vooruitgang." *Landverhuizing van Noord-Brabant naar Noord-Amerika, 1880-1940* (Tilburg: Stichting Zuidelijk Historisch Contact, 1996), and *De Grote Trek: Emigratie vanuit Noord-Brabant naar Noord-Amerika* (Tilburg: Stichting Zuidelijk Historisch Contact, 2000); Frans Doppen, *The Catholic Historian* 3 (Fall/Winter 1983): 202-25; Robert P. Swierenga, *The Forerunners: Dutch Jewry in the North American Diaspora* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1994).

<sup>8</sup> David G. Vanderstel, "The Dutch of Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1848-1900: Immigrant Neighborhood and Community Development in a Nineteenth Century City" (Ph.D. diss., Kent State University, 1983); Richard Doyle, "The Socio-Economic Mobility of the Dutch Immigrants to Pella, Iowa, 1847-1925" (Ph.D. diss., Kent State University, 1982); Tymen Hofman, *The Strength of Their Years: The Story of a Pioneer Community* (privately printed, 1983); Johannes L. Krabbendam, *The Model Man: A Life of Edward William Bok, 1863-1930* (Amsterdam and Atlanta, GA: Radopi, 2001); Robert Schoone-Jongen, "Cheap Land and Community: Theodore F. Koch, Dutch Colonizer," *Minnesota History* 53 (Summer 1993): 214-24; Elton J. Bruins, *Isaac Cappon: "Holland Foremost Citizen"* (Holland, 1987); C. Warren Vander Hill, *Gerrit J. Diekema* (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1970); *Dutch Enterprise: Alive and Well in North America* (with Larry Wagenaar) (Holland, MI: Joint Archives of Holland, 2000); Janel Curry-Roper, "Trust and the Social Construction of Reality," unpublished paper, 1997; Curry-Roper, "Community-Level Worldviews and the Sustainability of Agriculture," in *Agricultural Restructuring and Sustainability: A Geographical Perspective*, eds. Tim Rickard, Brian Ilbery, and Quentin Chiotti (Wallingford, UK: CAB International, 1999).

<sup>9</sup> Rob Kroes, *The Persistence of Ethnicity: Dutch Calvinist Pioneers in Amsterdam, Montana* (1992); Lawrence J. Taylor, *Dutchmen on the Bay: The Ethnohistory of a Contractual Community* (1983), and Hendrik J. Prakke, *Drenthe in Michigan* (1948, English translation, 1983).

<sup>10</sup> Krabbendam, *Model Man*; "Serving the Dutch Community: A Comparison of the Patterns of Americanization in the lives of Two Immigrant Pastors" [Bernardus de Bey and R.T. Kuiper] (M.A. thesis, Kent State University, 1989); Annemieke Galema, *Frisians to America: 1880-1914: With the Baggage of the Fatherland* (Groningen: REGIO-Project Uitgevers, and Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1996).

<sup>11</sup> G.H. Ligterink, *De landverhuizers. Emigratie naar Noord-Amerika uit het Gelders-Westfaalse grensgebied tussen de jaren 1830-1850* (Zutphen, 1981); Verena de Bont, "Ik druk voor het laatst uw hand in het oude vaderland, Emigratie uit de Gelderse Achterhoek naar Noord-Amerika in de periode 1848-1877" (Ph.D.

diss., Tilburg University, 1983); Liesbeth Hoogkamp, "Wisch-Scenario 1830-1850: Verslag van een onderzoek naar sociaal-economische omstandigheden, de Afscheiding en de landverhuizing in de gemeente Wisch tussen 1830 en 1850" (Ph.D. diss., University of Utrecht, 1982); a more genealogical work by Willem Wilterdink, *Winterswijkse pioniers in Amerika* (Winterswijk, 1990); Anje F.M. Koewelden-Wijdeven, *Vergeeten emigranten. Landverhuizing van noord- en midden-Limburg naar Noord-Amerika in de jaren 1847-1877* (Venlo, 1982), summarized in "Vergeeten Emigranten," *Spiegel Historiae* 19 (March 1984): 120-24; Jeannie M.E. Worms, "Landverhuizing van uit Nederland naar de Verenigde Staten in het begin van de twintigste eeuw" (Ph.D. diss., Catholic University Nijmegen, 1984); J. Breur, "Het eerste Nederlandstalige nieuwsblad in de Verenigde Staten, 1849-1861" (Ph.D. diss., Catholic University Nijmegen, 1991); Cees Zevenbergen, "Toen zij uit Rotterdam vertrokken. Emigratie via Rotterdam door de eeuwen heen" (Zwolle, 1990).

<sup>12</sup> Emma de Ruiter Timmerman, "People Product Progress: Onderzoek naar de werkethiek in Zeeland, West Michigan, gesticht door een groep Calvinistische landverhuizers in 1847" (MA thesis, Anthropology, University of Amsterdam, 1999); Judith J. Scholte, "Ben ik van Duitschen Bloed: Dutch emigrants in West Michigan, 1945-1965" (MA thesis, Anthropology, University of Utrecht, 2000).

<sup>13</sup> Conrad Bult, "Dutch American Newspapers: Their History and Role," 273-93, in Robert P. Swierenga, ed. *The Dutch in America: Immigration, Settlement and Cultural Change* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1985).