

## THE BEGINNINGS OF DUTCH IMMIGRATION TO IOWA 1845-1847

The purpose of this article is to describe the circumstances which induced a considerable number of Hollanders to emigrate to America in the summer of 1847 and found the Dutch settlement at Pella in Marion County, Iowa. This part of the story has never been adequately treated in the accounts which deal with the subject as a whole. Fifty years after the Dutch colony began its existence one of the pioneers, K. Van Stigt, devoted several pages to this matter in a pamphlet on the history of Pella.<sup>1</sup> In the following year — 1898 — John Nollen, also desiring to commemorate the events of which he too had been a participant, published a small memorial pamphlet.<sup>2</sup>

In The Netherlands, J. A. Wormser next turned his attention to the ecclesiastical history of the group to which his father had belonged and in his *Een Schat in Aarden Vaten* gave a brief account of Henry Peter Scholte and his colony at Pella.<sup>3</sup> In this work we would naturally expect a fuller discussion of the actual conditions which led the greater part of Scholte's congregation at Utrecht, accompanied by sympathizers from other parts of Holland, to

<sup>1</sup> Van Stigt's *Geschiedenis van Pella, Iowa, en Omgeving*, Pt. I, pp. 73, 74. The account by Versteeg entitled *De Pelgrim Vaders van Het Westen: Eene Geschiedenis van de Worstelingen der Hollandesche Nederzettingen in Michigan, benevens eene Schets der Kolonie van Pella in Iowa*, pp. 11-16, is of a very general nature.

<sup>2</sup> Nollen's *De Afscheiding: Een Gedenkschrift*, pp. 40-45.

<sup>3</sup> Wormser's *Een Schat in Aarden Vaten*; "De Afscheiding" in *Levensbeschrijvingen Geschetst*, First Series, Pt. II; "Door Kwaad Gerucht en Goed Gerucht", *Het Leven van Hendrik Peter Scholte*, pp. 189-301.



sail in four chartered vessels to Baltimore in April, 1847. His treatment, however, is of a popular nature and there is very little attempt made to survey all the accessible data. More scientific is the work of Jacob Van der Zee which, as its title would indicate, begins only with the arrival of the Hollanders in this country.<sup>4</sup>

The *Souvenir History of Pella, Iowa*, recently published at Pella to celebrate the seventy-fifth anniversary of the founding of the town, adds nothing that was not already known.<sup>5</sup> Its most valuable feature, no doubt, is the series of pictures of the buildings constructed in the pioneer days, many of which were built under the influence of Dutch architectural ideas and have recently in large part been torn down. Since the earlier aspects of the story are of considerable importance for the pioneer history of Iowa, it seems desirable to trace these events in greater detail.

Such an account is made possible by the use of certain new sources, the most important of which perhaps are the four letters written by H. P. Scholte in 1846 to his friend, the noted statesman, Guillaume Groen Van Prinsterer. Wormser did not utilize them fully and they contain many valuable data.<sup>6</sup> A second source is the very rare pamphlet, *Nieuwjaarsgeschenk*,<sup>7</sup> published by Scholte at the close of 1846, in which he recounted at length the reasons for the projected scheme to transport Hollanders to the unimproved lands of the United States.<sup>8</sup> Still scarcer is the pamphlet containing the rules and regulations of the

<sup>4</sup> Van der Zee's *The Hollanders of Iowa*, pp. 38-46.

<sup>5</sup> *A Souvenir History of Pella, Iowa* (Pella, 1922).

<sup>6</sup> Preserved in the correspondence of Guillaume Groen Van Prinsterer in the Royal Archives in The Hague.

<sup>7</sup> *New Year's Gift*.

<sup>8</sup> Scholte's *Nieuwjaarsgeschenk aan Nederland, een Ernstig Woord aan Vorst en Volk*.



emigration society which had been formed in August of 1846. Adopted at Utrecht on Christmas day of the same year, these rules and regulations were immediately printed and distributed among the emigrants.<sup>9</sup> A translation of this rare pamphlet has already been printed in this magazine.<sup>10</sup> And, finally, a fuller use of the data preserved in Scholte's organ, *De Reformatie*,<sup>11</sup> for 1845 and 1846 has made it possible to see the whole movement in its proper relation with contemporary events of that day.<sup>12</sup>

By 1845 the unfavorable political, social, economic, educational, and religious situation in The Netherlands had come to such a pass as to cause considerable worry among the more influential leaders of the lower classes.<sup>13</sup> In that year occurred the disastrous potato failure which brought want to many a household.<sup>14</sup> It was a period of general restlessness arising from a variety of changing conceptions affecting profoundly the very foundations of human society. Henry Peter Scholte, pastor of the Utrecht congregation of Seceders, like Albertus C. Van Raalte and Anthony Brummelkamp at Arnhem, had an intimate knowl-

<sup>9</sup> *Nederlandsche Vereeniging ter Verhuizing naar de Vereenigde Staten van Noord-Amerika.*

<sup>10</sup> Lucas's *A Document Relating to Dutch Immigration to Iowa in 1846* in THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, Vol. XXI, pp. 457-465.

<sup>11</sup> *The Reformation.*

<sup>12</sup> *De Reformatie* (A periodical of the Christian Reformed Church), Third Series, Pts. I, II, III. The first series of eight volumes was published at Amsterdam in 1837 to 1840, and the second, also of eight volumes, from 1841 to 1845.

<sup>13</sup> A fuller treatment of these matters is being prepared and will be published shortly.

<sup>14</sup> For the failure of the potato crop during these years see *Aardappelmis-oogsten en hun Invloed op het Volksleven. I. De Aardappelziekte en het merkwaardige jaar 1847, door Prof. Dr. R. H. Saltet; II. Aardappeloogst en Aardappelziekten door Prof. Dr. Johanna Westerdijk* in *Vragen van den Dag*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 454-466.



edge of conditions among the people and a ready sympathy with the poor.<sup>15</sup> It was only natural that such a person should concern himself with the advisability of emigration to America when the sentiment in favor of this project became more and more pronounced.

The first reference to the subject of emigration that can be found in Scholte's works occurs in *De Reformatie* for October, 1845, and was in response to the many requests for his views upon the growing agitation in favor of leading the poor to the United States. Scholte, however, had not yet made up his mind, but promised to express his opinions in a future issue.<sup>16</sup> The November number contained an announcement concerning the matter. He was not at that moment certain that the movement was advisable and again postponed his decision which he promised to give in the next number. Nevertheless he gave a foretaste of his stand which was later to guide many Hollanders to Iowa.

Scholte stated that, under existing conditions, it was not at all surprising to find the attention of many people turning to America. Next came the sentiment which echoes again and again in his writings throughout the whole of the following year. He warned his readers that Christians might well test themselves thoroughly before deciding upon emigration. "If temporal advantage is the only or most important incentive then we can with certainty advise them against such a step." Before coming to a decision they should determine in their hearts whether they were acting at variance with the divine command "which is the same in

<sup>15</sup> Lucas's *The Beginnings of Dutch Immigration to Western Michigan, 1846*, in the *Michigan History Magazine*, Vol. VI, pp. 642-671.

<sup>16</sup> *De Reformatie*, Third Series, Pt. I, p. 240.

Wormser erroneously states that the first notice appeared either in January or February, 1846.—Wormser's *Een Schat in Aarden Vaten*, First Series, Pt. II, p. 189.



all lands and under all circumstances 'Humble yourselves therefore under the mighty hand of God, that He may exalt you in due time.' " It might indeed be possible that Christians would find a freer and more unhampered economic existence in America, but it was his opinion that, should they do this from motives of mere temporal gain and not in accordance with what he deemed was the proper sphere of Divine Providence in the lives of Christians, they might meet with misfortune rather than with advantage. Furthermore, it would be wholly contrary to Christian love if those who were possessed of some wealth should leave their destitute brothers and sisters in the mother country.<sup>17</sup>

This attitude so characteristic of the men who stood out as leaders of the emigration movement in The Netherlands in the fifth decade of the nineteenth century is an interesting blend of seventeenth and eighteenth century Calvinistic pietism with the revival of Reformed dogmatics. It is, in fact, a faint replica of the international Calvinism of the sixteenth century. In French speaking lands, where it was called the "Reveil", such figures as Merle d'Aubigné and Vinet were dominated by it. Even Sainte-Beuve fell under the spell of its ideas for a brief space. In Holland, where it was also called the "Reveil", important literary figures were seduced by the charm of reviving Calvinistic theological ideas. Among them were such personages as Bilderdijk, Da Costa, Cappodose, and Guillaume Groen Van Prinsterer. In the University at Leiden the ideas of Bilderdijk and Da Costa found flourishing growth among a number of students enrolled in the theological faculty. These were Albertus C. Van Raalte and Anthony Brummelkamp, who later directed the tide of Hollanders to Michigan, Van Velzen, Gezelle Van Meerburg, and H. P. Scholte, in whom we are at present primarily interested.

<sup>17</sup> *Aankondiging in De Reformatie*, Third Series, Pt. I, p. 300.



This coterie of zealous characters became staunch defenders of the traditional faith of a large section of the humble folk in The Netherlands. They advocated with zeal and fervor the time-honored doctrines taught in the Heidelberg Confession, and urged a return to the purer standards of the Synod of Dordrecht. This led them directly into conflict with the organization of the Reformed Church which was very much under the influence of the conservative government and generally dominated by a rationalistic type of piety, the legacy of the Enlightenment in the previous century. Some of these friends were suspended by the ecclesiastical establishment and others could not obtain the required permission to serve as pastors of congregations.<sup>18</sup> Accordingly, one by one, they definitely separated or were forcibly ejected from the church of their fathers and were henceforth generally known as the "Seceded" (afgescheidenen), a term often applied in an opprobrious sense.

The great social problems which were beginning to demand especial attention toward the middle of the nineteenth century also influenced these men profoundly. The new conceptions of economics, dominated by the principles of laissez faire, could not escape being challenged by the reviving vigor of Calvinistic dogmatics which envisaged a universe governed by a divine and moral law and hence sought to set limits to the unbridled individualism of the new order. To the men of the "Reveil" and of the "Secession", romantic and benevolent conceptions of duty toward fellow men compelled attention to the great problems of the lower classes. Hence the philanthropic endeavors of men like Heldring, Van Raalte, Brummelkamp,

<sup>18</sup> For the relations of church and state in The Netherlands during this period, see Heineken's *De Staat en het Kerkbestuur der Nederlandsch-Hervormden sedert het Herstel onzer Onafhankelijkheid*.



and Scholte in furthering all manner of schemes — particularly emigration.

This Christian conception of the world received strong support among the common folk in the countryside.<sup>19</sup> It is not strange then that the aspirational life of the immigrants should be largely dominated by these thoughts. Even to this day much of the religious life of Protestant Hollanders in Iowa, as elsewhere in the United States, can only be understood when it is thought of in connection with these greater currents of human thought. Probably the old pietism was the strongest factor among these immigrants — many an individual, many a father and mother sought the answer to the question whether they should emigrate in long and earnest prayer.<sup>20</sup>

Scholte printed a fuller exposition of his views regarding the question of emigration in the January, 1846, number of *De Reformatie*.<sup>21</sup> The problem of satisfying the aspirations to religious and educational freedom coupled with the pressing difficulty of providing life's temporal necessities made Scholte keenly alive to the social problems of his people.<sup>22</sup> The fact that dissatisfaction with conditions in The Netherlands was constantly increasing and that many industrious Christians were beginning to leave the mother country made action imperative.<sup>23</sup> In this he doubtless saw the guidance of God's hand.

<sup>19</sup> For pietism in The Netherlands see Goeters' *Die Vorbereitung des Pietismus in der Reformierten Kirche der Niederlande bis zur Labadischen Krisis, 1670; Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte für Studierende herausgegeben von Gustav Krüger*, Pt. IV, pp. 27-57.

For the "Reveil" see Wagenaar's *Het "Reveil" en de "Afscheiding"*.

<sup>20</sup> Van Stigt's *Geschiedenis van Pella, Iowa, en Omgeving*, Pt. I, p. 73.

<sup>21</sup> *Een Woord over Landverhuizing* in *De Reformatie*, Third Series, Pt. II, pp. 88-97.

<sup>22</sup> *Aankondiging* in *De Reformatie*, Third Series, Pt. I, p. 300.

<sup>23</sup> *Aankondiging* and *Een Woord over Landverhuizing* in *De Reformatie*, Third Series, Pt. I, p. 97, and Pt. II, p. 300.



On the continent of Europe the desire to emigrate to America was rapidly growing. The question with Scholte was "when was emigration justifiable" for Christians with whom worldly gain was not the prime motive, but who recognized as a principle in their lives the words of Matthew 6: 33, "But seek ye first the kingdom of God, and his righteousness; and all these things shall be added unto you." He thought that in this connection it was not allowable to interpret the words of Matthew 10: 23, "But when they persecute you in this city, flee ye into another" too narrowly in the sense that a Christian must wait for a decision until material conditions had become so serious as to compel him to leave. He was also of the opinion that the "persecution" could be interpreted in a very wide sense, that is, when the legal obstructions were such as to make it impossible to worship God in accordance with His Word without violating the laws of the country. On the contrary, he thought that emigration in general was not contrary to the dictates of Scripture.<sup>24</sup>

Were conditions in The Netherlands such that Christians would have a right to emigrate? Scholte at first maintained that they were not. True, indeed, it was that the government still persisted in treating religious meetings of more than twenty persons without special permission of the proper authorities as illegal and hence to be dispersed if discovered and the guilty parties haled into court.<sup>25</sup> But Scholte thought that this condition resulted rather from difficulties in applying the law than from the law itself. New churches were at that very moment begun without governmental sanction yet they were never inter-

<sup>24</sup> *Een Woord over Landverhuizing in De Reformatie*, Third Series, Pt. II, pp. 88, 89.

<sup>25</sup> This was in accordance with articles 291, 292, and 293 of the Napoleonic Penal Code.—See Wagenaar's *Het "Reveil" en de "Afscheiding"*, p. 299, where the articles in question are printed.



ferred with. As the law had not changed Scholte thought that he detected a change in the attitude of the officials. In this matter, he thought, much could also be expected from the king's well-known liberality of opinion.

The Seceders could, like all other subjects of the king, secure an improvement in the laws through legally constituted channels. At that very moment the government was actually considering a revision of the penal code. If all Christians would unite in demanding certain necessary changes, much could be accomplished.<sup>26</sup> A recent example to this effect could, indeed, be cited. In spite of the legal penalties to which Scholte had been repeatedly subjected,<sup>27</sup> he was fully convinced that the law itself was not wrong but that it was applied contrary to the constitution and he was certain that most jurists would support this opinion.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>26</sup> *Een Woord over Landverhuizing in De Reformatie*, Third Series, Pt. II, pp. 90, 91.

<sup>27</sup> The history of Scholte's early career may be found in the following pamphlets: Scholte's *Merkwaardig Voorbeeld van hedendaagsche Verdraagzaamheid van het Nederlandsch Hervormd Kerkbestuur ten Opzichte der Gereformeerde Gemeente van Doveren, Genderen en Gansoijen aan derzelve Herder en Leeraar met eene Inleiding en Narede*, 's-Gravenhage 1834; *Stukken betrekkelijk de Afscheiding der Gereformeerde gemeente van Doveren, Genderen en Gansoijen van het Nederlandsch Hervormd Kerkbestuur*, 's-Gravenhage 1834; *Laatste Getuigenis tegen de Liefdelooze Handelingen van het zoogenaamd Hervormd Kerkbestuur, benevens eene Opwekking aan de Geloovigen tot Afzondering van eene Dank-, Vast-, en Bededag*. Te 's-Gravenhage 1835; *Vervolg der liefdelooze Handelingen van het zoogenaamd Hervormd Kerkbestuur ten Opzichte der Gereformeerde Gemeente van Doveren, Genderen en Gansoijen benevens derzelve Herder en Leeraar . . .*, Te 's-Gravenhage 1835; *Verdediging van Conscientie en Godsdienstvrijheid. Twee pleitredenen uitgesproken te Utrecht en Amsterdam. Met de daarbij behoorende vonnissen*, Te 's-Gravenhage 1836; *Pleitrede in de Zaak van Hendrik Petrus Scholte, . . . uitgesproken in de terechtzitting van het Hoog Geregthof te 's-Gravenhage, Kamer van correctionnele Appellen, van den 2 December, 1835, door Mr. Adriaan Willem van Appeltere*, In 's-Gravenhage en te Amsterdam, 1836. To these should be added numerous notices in the numbers of *De Reformatie*, First, Second, and Third Series, 19 vols., Utrecht, 1837-1846.

<sup>28</sup> *Een Woord over Landverhuizing in De Reformatie*, Third Series, Pt. II, p. 90.



Intimately bound up with the question of religious liberty was the matter of freedom in educational matters. "Christians have a divine calling to bring up their children in the encouragement to fear and worship God, and since this is the principle of education instruction must needs be in harmony with it."<sup>29</sup> Freedom to realize this, Scholte maintained, did exist, because the laws permitted the establishment of certain schools which the founders were allowed to control.<sup>30</sup> It was true, however, that the opening of free schools, that is, schools free from state control, was hindered and opposed in many ways, and that this oppression was constantly becoming more and more serious. Several ineffectual attempts on the part of some Christians to start such schools could be cited as proof.

The opponents of instruction free from state control had uniformly used as protest the fear of ultramontanism. Scholte held that this was in itself not a valid argument as all creeds were on an equal basis before the law. Catholics were demanding the same rights that were accorded to civil societies and the ultramontane press was demanding freedom of instruction, which, he thought, would ultimately have to be accorded to them. Protestants, he thought, should support the demand of the Catholics freely just as they would like to see the same liberties accorded to themselves. In this respect also important changes could be effected if Christians would only act in unison.

To establish such schools, however, demanded many sacrifices and even hardships. Many of those who supported the idea, Scholte claimed, did nothing more constructive than complain fruitlessly of the unfortunate religious con-

<sup>29</sup> See Scholte's *Vrijheid van Onderwijs* in *De Reformatie*, Third Series, Pt. II, pp. 113, 114.

<sup>30</sup> *Een Woord over Landverhuizing* in *De Reformatie*, Third Series, Pt. II, pp. 91, 92; *Vrijheid van Onderwijs* in *De Reformatie*, Third Series, Pt. II, p. 114.



ditions in the public schools. "The matter of Christian education in the schools is not yet a thing which weighs heavily upon the hearts of Christians." Indeed, their lukewarmness was chiefly responsible for this situation and as long as they persisted in their ineffective and factious criticism the government could scarcely be expected to grant freely what was theoretically accorded them by the constitution but never granted as a matter of fact. Means to secure full religious and educational freedom had, however, not yet been exhausted. And, furthermore, how could Christians ever hope to evade such difficulties as would naturally be incurred in founding Christian schools by emigrating to America? As long as this situation obtained, Scholte felt that they had no real justification for leaving the mother country.<sup>31</sup>

Material conditions, however, influenced the question of emigration. Scholte thought that every economic activity which was necessary to support human life and society came within the province of the Christian religion. Viewed in the abstract most occupations are permissible for a Christian and had been so ordained of God. To be employed in any one of them is of great advantage to the spiritual life: idleness on the contrary is harmful to spiritual growth of the children of God. The command "six days shalt thou labor and do all thy work" is exactly as valid as "remember the Sabbath".<sup>32</sup> When a Christian found that he could not follow his calling or practice his trade without violating the dictates of the Scriptures emigration would be allowable. And conditions in The Netherlands were indeed such that a Christian could not easily earn his daily bread without hurting his conscience. Ac-

<sup>31</sup> *Een Woord over Landverhuizing in De Reformatie*, Third Series, Pt. II, pp. 92, 93.

<sup>32</sup> *Christelijke Werkzaamheid in De Reformatie*, Third Series, Pt. II, p. 99.



ording to Scholte<sup>33</sup> the laws were responsible for this situation: they allowed the employer to underpay his help, a practice wholly contrary to James 5: 4. If a Christian found it impossible to provide the material necessities of life because of such conditions, if he appealed to the government, pointing out possible improvement but obtained no relief, he would then be justified in emigrating to a foreign land where he might satisfy his temporal needs even if the land of his nativity gave him full freedom in religion and Christian education. In such cases, however, the compelling reason for emigration must always be the seeking of God's kingdom and His righteousness.

Scholte maintained that the "condition of the mother country did not make such an emigration unavoidable, but he admitted at the same time that if no changes should take place existing conditions might become so serious that a Christian would find it impossible to make a living without wounding his conscience." To obviate this possibility coöperation of all classes would be needed; the Christian would have to study labor, agriculture, manufacturing, and economics. Well-to-do and capable Christians could provide opportunities for work and confer with the government concerning sections where Christian colonization might be tried, doubtless along the lines of philanthropic endeavor such as Willemsoord. If, however, this should be neglected no salvation could be expected in this matter and the desire to emigrate would induce more and more to leave the country.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>33</sup> *Een Woord over Landverhuizing in De Reformatie*, Third Series, Pt. II, p. 94.

Scholte thought that the Pilgrims furnished a remarkable case in point.— See *Christelijke Werkzaamheid in De Reformatie*, Third Series, Pt. II, pp. 104, 105.

<sup>34</sup> *Een Woord over Landverhuizing in De Reformatie*, Third Series, Pt. II, pp. 95, 96, 97.



Scholte thought that the vast stretches of heath in the country could very well be utilized for the benefit of the poor.<sup>35</sup> Brummelkamp and Van Raalte, however, saw too many practical objections to this project. "The heath does not in the first place belong to us, and even if we had the requisite capital to secure title to it, we would not have enough to start a costly colony on such land. Whoever is acquainted with the heath and its soil knows that a poor man cannot begin to think of such a proposition and that a family commanding as much as 500 guilders, in the country generally regarded of some means, cannot at all hope to bring heath into a state of cultivation (we estimate that each household will need on the average about 500 guilders in order to settle in North America and secure a considerable amount of good land). Furthermore, the fact that the ground will always be merely reclaimed heath and that the households which the colony (as *e. g.* at Willemsoord) settles upon such land must pay as much as 1700 guilders and cannot even then support themselves without help from other sources proves our contention that such a solution is impossible."<sup>36</sup> Under these circumstances it was only natural that emigration rather than reclamation projects would appeal to the destitute. In fact Scholte did not mention the matter again.

Meanwhile the zeal for emigration grew apace. Brummelkamp and Van Raalte were busy perfecting the organization of the society which they hoped would aid many needy persons over the sea to America. They were also seriously concerned with the problems of the poor whose condition had been particularly aggravated by the failure of the potato crop in 1845. Emigration had actually begun

<sup>35</sup> *Christelijke Werkzaamheid in De Reformatie*, Third Series, Pt. II, p. 102.

<sup>36</sup> Brummelkamp and Van Raalte's *Landverhuizing of waarom bevorderen wij de volksverhuizing en wel naar Noord-Amerika en niet naar Java?*, pp. 25, 26.



some time before this in that part of Gelderland bordering upon Germany. On April 15, 1846, those who were interested in North America met at the home of Reverend Brummelkamp in Arnhem and the constitution which had been prepared was unanimously accepted.<sup>37</sup> The agitation in favor of emigration had become quite general at this time, mainly, it appears, in the circles of the Seceders. The places where this movement was strong were Winterswijk, Varsevelde, Arnhem, Velp, Oosterleek, Zwolle, Hattem, Nieuw Leusden, Genemuiden, Zutphen,<sup>38</sup> Tubbergen,<sup>39</sup> Noordeloos, Leerdam, Utrecht, and the province of Friesland.<sup>40</sup>

The Seceders in the county of Bentheim in Hanover were laboring under the same difficulties and many of them finally decided to follow Van Raalte.<sup>41</sup> In fact the movement was quite common in The Netherlands as may be inferred from the fact that nearly all the provinces with a strong Protestant population were represented in Van Raalte's settlement in Michigan. Even the Catholics of Noord Brabant were planning to go to America,<sup>42</sup> though,

<sup>37</sup> See Lucas's *The Beginnings of Dutch Immigration to Western Michigan, 1846*, in the *Michigan History Magazine*, Vol. VI, pp. 648, 649, 656, 657.

The clauses of the constitution were translated and printed in Lucas's *The Beginnings of Dutch Immigration to Western Michigan, 1846*, in the *Michigan History Magazine*, Vol. VI, pp. 669-674. For the text see *Levensbeschrijving van wijlen Prof. A. Brummelkamp, Hoogleraar aan de Theologische School te Kampen door zijn jongsten zoon A. Brummelkamp*, pp. 205-209.

<sup>38</sup> Lucas's *The Beginnings of Dutch Immigration to Western Michigan, 1846*, in the *Michigan History Magazine*, Vol. VI, pp. 649-655.

<sup>39</sup> Scholte's *Nieuwjaarsgeschenk aan Nederland, een Ernstig Woord aan Vorst en Volk*, p. 10.

<sup>40</sup> Letter from Scholte to Van Prinsterer, dated October 29, 1846.

<sup>41</sup> Beuker's *Tubantiana. Iets over de Regeering in Staat en Kerk van het Graafschap Bentheim, van af de Hervorming tot op onzen Tijd*, pp. 61, 62.

<sup>42</sup> See articles on *Hollanders in the United States* in the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, Vol. VII, p. 394; *Theodore J. Van den Broek* in the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, Vol. XV, p. 269; Van den Broek's *Reizen naar Noord-Amerika*.



of course, for somewhat different reasons. Under these circumstances Scholte could not be expected to persist in an attitude of suspended judgment. In January and February, 1846, the actual cases of emigration were comparatively few<sup>43</sup> but during the next three months the agitation assumed such proportions that he was finally led to come out wholeheartedly in support of the movement, especially, it seems, when the more wealthy members of his flock began to interest themselves in the matter.<sup>44</sup>

Scholte at first pondered over the proposal of directing the emigrants to some Dutch possessions beyond the seas, as for example, Surinam or some of the islands in the East Indies.<sup>45</sup> This idea was first advanced by religious and philanthropic leaders of the type of Rev. O. G. Heldring.<sup>46</sup> A considerable number of these appear to have insisted upon this course from patriotic motives. The April number of *De Reformatie* contained an article from Scholte's pen entitled *Kerk en Staat* in which the matter was examined at some length.

That it would be possible to direct the migration to possessions of the Dutch government in the tropics was beyond question. In many respects Borneo was suitable enough for them. Moreover, Holland settlers in that island would tend to strengthen Dutch control now that the English were reported as beginning to secure a foothold there. If English missionaries could live in this corner of the earth, so also could the Dutch. But the fatal objection to the East Indies, in Scholte's estimation, lay in the fact that the

<sup>43</sup> Scholte's *Een Woord over Landverhuizing* in *De Reformatie*, Third Series, Pt. II, pp. 96, 97.

<sup>44</sup> Letter from Scholte to Van Prinsterer dated May 15, 1846.

<sup>45</sup> Scholte's *Beantwoordt dit Tijdschrift tegenwoordig nog aan deszelfs Opschrift?* in *De Reformatie*, Third Series, Pt. II, p. 328.

<sup>46</sup> Lucas's *The Beginnings of Dutch Immigration to Western Michigan, 1846*, in the *Michigan History Magazine*, Vol. VI, pp. 649, 650.



Dutch government ruled in the same fashion there as at home.

Recently the titular Roman Catholic bishop had expelled the priest of the parish at Samarang. This had caused considerable commotion and the governor general demanded an explanation which the bishop naturally enough refused. The recalcitrant churchman was thereupon promptly expelled. While a staunch opponent of Catholicism, Scholte nevertheless was logical enough when protesting against the control of ecclesiastical affairs by the state to champion freedom for all, whether the parties involved were of his own or of the Catholic fold.<sup>47</sup> A second instance of a similar nature occurred at about the same time and of course confirmed his views.<sup>48</sup> Plainly the emigrants who wanted to go to the Dutch possessions for religious freedom would fare no better in the colonies than in the mother country.

Scholte did not, however, hastily reject the East Indies. In the May issue of *De Reformatie* there appeared an article entitled *Opmerking in Betrekking tot de Landverhuizing naar Noord-Amerika*.<sup>49</sup> This dealt mainly with East Indian colonization and appears to have been the result of Heldring's influence. Scholte had already come to a definite decision to go to America,<sup>50</sup> but he nevertheless attended a meeting of many of the ministers and leaders of the Seceders and a number of scholars, business men, and statesmen at Amsterdam. On this occasion Van Raalte and Brummelkamp<sup>51</sup> were eager to have the opinion

<sup>47</sup> *Kerk en Staat in De Reformatie*, Third Series, Pt. II, pp. 199-213.

<sup>48</sup> Scholte's *Vervolging van de Drukkers in De Reformatie*, Third Series, Pt. II, p. 231.

<sup>49</sup> Wormser's *Een Schat in Aarden Vaten*, Pt. II, p. 190.

<sup>50</sup> *Otto G. Heldring, Leven en Arbeid*, p. 131.

<sup>51</sup> Brummelkamp and Van Raalte's *Landverhuizing of Waarom bevorderen wij de volksverhuizing en wel naar Noord-Amerika en niet naar Java?*, p. 25.



of these people concerning the question of emigration to America. Heldring now suggested as a possible choice either Ceram or Obi whose western sections formed high plateaus suitable for the settlement of Hollanders. This suggestion appealed to Scholte's love for The Netherlands and the House of Orange and he and Heldring were delegated to interview the minister of colonies to secure permission to settle somewhere in the Dutch colonial possessions.<sup>52</sup>

The conference was a failure: the government was not at all inclined to encourage colonization in its colonial possessions. And it had indeed excellent reasons for refusing. In the previous year three hundred and eighty-four peasants had gone with their families from the provinces of Holland and Gelderland to Surinam under the supervision and at the expense of the state. They had begun a colony on the banks of the Saramacca River where the remains of an earlier plantation were located. From its very inception, it seems, this colony was a failure. Eight years later not more than fifty-four of the colonists were left: a hundred and sixty-nine had departed in discontent, and the rest had succumbed to the rigors of a tropical climate.<sup>53</sup> This unfortunate episode for many years prejudiced Hollanders and kept them from migrating to the Indies.<sup>54</sup> Since it was uncertain whether this colony would prosper and become independent of state support, the government

<sup>52</sup> Otto G. Heldring, *Leven en Arbeid*, p. 131.

<sup>53</sup> Van Der Gon Netscher's *Emigratie uit Nederland: Kolonisatie met Nederlanders in Oost- en West-Indie* in *Bijdragen tot de Taal- Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indie*, Third Series, Pt. VIII, pp. 21-23; Amerinus Senior's *Emigratie van Nederlanders naar onze overzeesche Bezittingen meer bepaald naar Suriname*, p. 35, and especially Pijttersen's *Europeesche Kolonisatie in Suriname: Een Geschiedkundige Schets*, pp. 43-126.

<sup>54</sup> See *De Vestiging van Nederlanders te Suriname aanbevolen door den Generaal-Majoor R. F. Baron Van Roders*, p. 35.



was justified, it seems, in not meeting Scholte's and Heldring's schemes with alacrity. Until the Dutch government was convinced that Hollanders could make a living at manual labor in equatorial regions it determined to suspend all further action. Whenever there should be evidence that the experiment would succeed the government declared its willingness to consider the proposal of sending emigrants to the East Indies. As proof of its sincerity the minister stated that an investigation of the case in Surinam had already been ordered.<sup>55</sup> Under these circumstances the advances of Scholte and his friends were bound to meet with failure.

With Scholte the problem of relieving the poor was so pressing and the opposition of the government which he had experienced on so many occasions was so great that, rightly or wrongly, he placed little faith in the minister's assertions. The conferences which followed lasted several months. Java—especially favored by Heldring<sup>56</sup>—was at once ruled out of consideration because of its very large population which would be in danger of being displaced by the immigrants although the minister admitted that there was much unoccupied land in certain parts of the island. Scholte thought that this and similar objections were childish and that the government was afraid of the possible evil influence of the immigrants upon the natives. The minister advanced fewer objections to Borneo,<sup>57</sup> apparently because of the growing influence of the English on that

<sup>55</sup> See the letter from the Minister of Colonies to Scholte, dated The Hague, July 4, 1846, and printed in the latter's article, *Iets over Kolonisatie in de Nederlandsche Oost- of West-Indische Bezittingen* in *De Reformatie*, Third Series, Pt. III, pp. 175, 176; and also references to it in Scholte's *Beantwoordt dit Tijdschrift tegenwoordig nog aan deszelfs Opschrift?*, in *De Reformatie*, Third Series, Pt. II, pp. 328, 329, 330.

<sup>56</sup> Lucas's *The Beginnings of Dutch Immigration to Western Michigan, 1846*, in the *Michigan History Magazine*, Vol. VI, pp. 649, 650, 651.

<sup>57</sup> Letter from Scholte to Van Prinsterer, dated May 15, 1846.



island. Ceram, inhabited by the fierce Alfurs who aimed to keep strangers out of their lands by beheading them, and Obi, which had but a scant population, were likewise discussed, but with no great favor.<sup>58</sup> The minister, however, promised that he would correspond with the governor general concerning the advisability of sending emigrants to these islands, but made it clear that while the government might possibly advance the initial expense of transportation and settlement, as well as protection and administration, the colonists would be expected to reimburse the state and support themselves thereafter without any further financial assistance.

It would seem, indeed, that the government could hardly do more than this when one bears in mind the unfortunate situation in Surinam. Convinced of the personal liberality and benevolence of the king Scholte addressed a letter directly to him on May 9, 1846, which was answered by the minister of colonies on July 4, 1846,<sup>59</sup> in a letter which repeated in substance the statement that the government had made in previous interviews. Scholte was disappointed. There appeared to be no relief from the pressing poverty which was quite general in the country and especially acute in Gelderland. Even the plainest necessities of life were hard to secure.<sup>60</sup>

When the attitude of the government had been fully ascertained Scholte said to Heldring "now it is decided, we shall leave our mother-country and migrate to America."<sup>61</sup> Van Raalte now also definitely rejected the East

<sup>58</sup> Letters from Scholte to Van Prinsterer; Brummelkamp and Van Raalte's *Landverhuizing*, p. 22.

<sup>59</sup> Scholte's *Iets over Kolonisatie in de Nederlandsche Oost- en West-Indische Bezittingen* in *De Reformatie*, Third Series, Pt. III, pp. 175, 176.

<sup>60</sup> Letter from Scholte to Van Prinsterer, dated May 15, 1846.

<sup>61</sup> *Otto G. Heldring, Leven en Arbeid*, p. 131. This conveys the impression that the minister gave an abrupt refusal.



Indies and soon published a pamphlet in justification of their views.<sup>62</sup> This idea more than ever became a popular topic of conversation among the Seceders; many determined to go and even those who were possessed of some wealth decided to tempt the fortune of the New World. Scholte now reverted to the views he had entertained prior to the meeting at Amsterdam. To Van Prinsterer he had written as early as May 15, 1846, "after an honest investigation of the condition of our Fatherland I can no longer oppose the desire to emigrate." The refusal of the government to grant toleration in religious matters and freedom in education and the unfortunate economic and social conditions made it impossible to resist the movement.

As compared with the situation in The Netherlands the United States afforded a striking contrast, with the sparsity of its population, the vast stretches of unoccupied lands, and complete toleration in both religious and educational matters.<sup>63</sup> Even if the government could cooperate in sending the poor to the East Indies what benefit would the change give them? They would still be exposed to the obnoxious interference of a government which controlled both ecclesiastical and educational activities.<sup>64</sup> Some had suggested emigrating to South Africa which was largely inhabited by the Dutch speaking Boers,<sup>65</sup> but Scholte pointed out that recent events at the Cape of Good Hope were such as to discourage the prospect of settlement in

<sup>62</sup> Brummelkamp and Van Raalte's *Landverhuizing of Waarom bevorderen wij de volksverhuizing en wel naar Noord-Amerika en niet naar Java?*

<sup>63</sup> Letter from Scholte to Van Prinsterer, dated May 15, 1846.

<sup>64</sup> Scholte's *Iets over Kolonisatie in de Nederlandsche Oost- en West-Indische Bezittingen* in *De Reformatie*, Third Series, Pt. III, pp. 177, 178; Scholte's *Beantwoordt dit Tijdschrift Tegen woordig nog aan deszelfs Opschrift?* in *De Reformatie*, Third Series, Pt. II, pp. 328, 329, 330.

<sup>65</sup> Lucas's *The Beginnings of Dutch Immigration to Western Michigan, 1846*, in the *Michigan History Magazine*, Vol. VI, p. 657.



that region by Hollanders who did not want to make warfare the chief concern of their lives. Under these circumstances nothing remained but to migrate to the United States.<sup>66</sup>

Plans to give the emigrating Hollanders intelligent direction were at once considered. As early as May 15, 1846, the rules which were officially adopted on December 25th were suggested. Scholte wrote to Van Prinsterer that "in North America land is lying idle, there is complete freedom of religion and education, indeed if the number of emigrants is at all considerable and if they stay together and buy some considerable stretch of land, even the control of the local government will remain in the hands of the colonists."<sup>67</sup> In the May issue of *De Reformatie* Scholte printed *Aanmerkingen in betrekking tot de Landverhuizing naar Noord-Amerika*. In this he stated that some Christians were busy collecting information about the United States which would enable settlers to select fertile lands. A small number of persons had left in April to make investigations and reports in the interest of those who might wish to follow.

Pending the definite formation of a larger association prospective emigrants were advised to write to the management of *De Reformatie*, to Scholte, or to the Arnhem pastors, Brummelkamp and Van Raalte. In this way they could secure advice and all would be able to coöperate in founding a "free Dutch colony" in one of the fertile sections of the United States. Scholte further requested that exact information be given concerning the size of the family, age and occupation of each member, whether they wanted to pay all their expenses, whether they would be

<sup>66</sup> Scholte's *Beantwoordt dit Tijdschrift Tegenwoordig nog aan deszelfs Opschrift?* in *De Reformatie*, Third Series, Pt. II, p. 300, Pt. III, p. 18.

<sup>67</sup> Letter from Scholte to Van Prinsterer, dated May 15, 1846.



willing to contribute funds to transport farmers and laborers to the new colony, the exact amount of capital which each party could place at the disposal of the association for the purchase of land, and, finally, how much each could donate.<sup>68</sup> The idea of assisting the emigrants, ignorant alike of the English language and American methods, was uppermost in the minds of leaders like Scholte. In fact he was following exactly the same procedure which the Arnhem pastors had adopted.<sup>69</sup>

The first published plan of the proposed association is found in the June, 1846, number of *De Reformatie*. Scholte had received a number of letters from people in various provinces who were anxious to emigrate. Some had sufficient wealth to pay their own transportation, buy lands and start farming; others had only enough to carry them beyond the seas, but all wished to move as soon as possible. A very large number had no means whatever and would have to be transported entirely at the expense of others. One gift of a hundred florins had already been made for advancement of the cause. Accordingly Scholte announced that a colonization movement of small proportions would be launched at once, but that only a few of the needy could expect to receive help. It is interesting to note that the majority of the totally destitute were not Seceders. Scholte announced that the members of the Seceding churches would be the first to receive aid, but should there be funds available, other Christians would not be abandoned.<sup>70</sup>

Scholte next made the following announcement in *De Reformatie*, which was intended to serve as a reply to the

<sup>68</sup> See Wormser's *Een Schat in Aarden Vaten*, First Series, Pt. II, p. 191.

<sup>69</sup> See Lucas's *The Beginnings of Dutch Immigration to Western Michigan, 1846*, in the *Michigan History Magazine*, Vol. VI, p. 671.

<sup>70</sup> Scholte's *Aanmerkingen betreffende de Landverhuizing naar Noord-Amerika* in *De Reformatie*, Third Series, Pt. II, pp. 355, 356.



numerous letters that he had received. (1) It was certain that an attempt would be made at colonization. (2) Emigrants were to make contracts with the families of their destitute friends and neighbors by which the latter would be bound to work for a period of years at such reasonable wages as generally obtained in the United States. For the duration of the contract they were to receive only enough for their support, the remainder to be paid at the expiration of the contract after the cost of transportation had been deducted. Such parties would then be in a position to buy suitable land. (3) Only such as were known to lead a Christian life were to be allowed to share in the enterprise. (4) The "Word of God" was to serve as sole rule, principle, foundation, and guide of life and all ecclesiastical forms which God had not commanded were to be shunned. (5) Scholte could announce that, judging from present indications, there would be enough talent among the emigrants to provide for the religious, educational, and medical needs of the colony. (6) Lands were to be chosen in a section where all the plants common in The Netherlands could be grown, such as the various grains, flax, and hemp. Cattle would also be raised, and a certain amount of manufacturing would be encouraged. The colony was to be founded at a location favorable for commerce, and on a navigable river. (7) Christians who had money with which they wished to purchase lands, but who found it impossible to leave at once, would nevertheless be allowed to make their claims with a view to later emigration. (8) Christians who possessed wealth but did not propose to emigrate at all, were to be allowed to make contributions to aid their destitute brethren in the effort to reach America. They could also provide capital which, Scholte maintained, was certain to draw interest and prove a valuable investment as the value of land in the United States was ever



steadily rising. (9) Parties were urged to provide themselves with all necessary clothing and implements in The Netherlands. One hundred florins were sufficient to cover each person's needs in this particular. (10) Land in the United States could be bought in sections of six hundred and forty acres. An eighth of such a block was amply sufficient to provide a living for a large family without much self-denial and at the same time furnish enough to help support religion, education, missions, and the spread of the Gospel. Scholte also stated that it was incredible how easily and in how short a space of time one could, with moderate application, become prosperous in the United States. Even writers like Charles Dickens who found much to provoke unfavorable comment, gave abundant evidence of this fact. And, finally, he urged all Christians to take an interest in the plight of the destitute and to be present at a meeting held at Utrecht in August for the purpose of formulating the rules of the proposed association.<sup>71</sup>

Scholte's announcement that America was the only possible choice was greeted with a hearty response. By July the number of people who had signified their intention to emigrate had greatly increased. Many of them were naive enough to think that charity alone would help them across the ocean. Already there were reports of the activities of a species of sharpers who sought to exploit the plight of the poor emigrants by providing shipping companies with passengers for some financial consideration. Scholte expressly disclaimed any connection with such practices on the part of himself or the movement he was sponsoring. His own responsibility and that of Van Raalte and Brummelkamp was limited to statements in *De Reformatie*.<sup>72</sup>

<sup>71</sup> Scholte's *Aanmerkingen betreffende de Landverhuizing naar Noord-Amerika* in *De Reformatie*, Third Series, Pt. II, pp. 356-359.

<sup>72</sup> Scholte's *Aanmerkingen betreffende de Landverhuizing naar Noord-Amerika* in *De Reformatie*, Third Series, Pt. III, p. 62.



The instructions in the July issue of this organ covered the following points. (1) All letters with postage not prepaid would be refused. (2) People living at a distance from Utrecht were advised to write rather than to come in person. Statement of plans and progress could as well be made in writing as in personal conference, and the possibility of a useless trip thereby obviated. (3) The departure would not be possible before the following spring, so that each could plan his affairs for the winter as usual. (4) The attention of those emigrants who were investigating locations in America was focused upon Iowa, Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, and Wisconsin. Texas also was deemed worthy of consideration but Scholte was of the opinion that the existence of slavery in that State was a serious objection.<sup>73</sup> In other respects the State was so favored with fertile land and accessibility to the sea through its numerous rivers that colonization in that region might be advantageous, he thought. (5) Toward the close of the year a committee would be dispatched to America to investigate the country and the claims of each section. Their report was to serve as the basis for a definite choice. (6) Such persons as were willing to cooperate were urged to declare their intention as early as possible so as to be informed of the place and date of the meeting which it was proposed should be held towards the close of August. (7) It was preferable to emigrate in a company rather than individ-

<sup>73</sup> The attention of German emigrants had been called to Texas. Glowing reports of that State had been circulated in Germany, and a colony had actually been founded on the Guadaloupe River which received the name of New Braunfels.— See Ottomar von Behr's *Goede Raad voor Landverhuizers naar de Vereenigde Staaten van Noord-Amerika ook met Betrekking tot Texas Hoofdzakelijk voor Landbouwers en Handwerklieden, naar eigen Ervaring geschreven*, pp. 87-107. This pamphlet, written apparently in 1847 and reprinted in 1849 with an introduction by O. G. Heldring, is perhaps typical of the representations made. For a full account of this colony see Faust's *The German Element in the United States with Special Reference to Its Political, Moral, Social, and Educational Influence*, Vol. I, pp. 490-501.



ually. Many Germans had learned this from bitter experience. Hollanders were enjoying a good reputation in America, and when a well-ordered colony of Netherlandish Christians was founded in America, they would be favored above the Germans and the Irish. Haste in departure would be fatal. (8) Scholte, finally, had a bit of "weighty counsel" to give: all those who proposed to emigrate were admonished to be "united in humble prayer to the Lord," and he again referred to Matthew 6: 33. Divine guidance was necessary, he said, and only by seeking God's will in this matter could they be successful in an undertaking in which not only their own welfare, but also that of their children and grandchildren was vitally bound up.<sup>74</sup>

In accordance with Scholte's suggestion a meeting was held at Utrecht during August. Representatives from various provinces were present in order to report the situation and to help their friends reach a decision as to whether or not they should emigrate.<sup>75</sup> Seventy families of some means, mainly from the province of South Holland, determined to go. A number of laborers also announced that they intended to go, but while they could pay their own expenses, they were not in a position to purchase land.

The Association was of the opinion that the newer States in the Mississippi Valley offered the best prospects for immigrants. Iowa now appeared to be the general choice, but inasmuch as there was little positive information concerning that region definite decision was reserved until further investigation could be made. The members were of the opinion that the section to be chosen for the settlement

<sup>74</sup> Scholte's *Aanmerkingen betrekkelijk de Landverhuizing naar Noord-Amerika* in *De Reformatie*, Third Series, Pt. III, pp. 62-64.

<sup>75</sup> According to Cyrenus Cole the "first meeting of the colonists" was held at Leerdam, in July, 1846, but he gives no indication of the source of this statement.—Cole's *A Bit of Holland in America* in *The Midland Monthly*, Vol. III, p. 117.



should offer security — apparently from attacks by Indians, although this is not definitely stated — healthful climate, opportunity for practicing the various branches of agriculture, and, finally, accessibility to markets. Texas, it appears, had lost favor. In spite of its several advantages, its backwardness, the untamed Indian population, the political situation, and the proximity to revolutionary Mexico led the Hollanders to abandon it. “As it was not a chief concern with them to gather up treasure, but rather to labor in quiet, to lead a peaceful life and serve God, the Lord, in peace, the general opinion was not in favor of Texas.”<sup>76</sup>

In selecting a location for the proposed colony the Association agreed to use the report of the Hollanders who intended to go to the United States in the immediate future. As only a limited number of matters could be decided at this preliminary meeting another was to be convened on September 4, 1846, at Utrecht. Scholte announced that “no one who was known to be a servant of the world” would be tolerated as a member. Furthermore the members were not to be bound so far as their religious life was concerned by any form of church organization instituted by man, but solely by the revealed Word of God. For this reason Scholte thought that they would agree more fully with the policy of the Congregationalists than with that of any other body.

To his sorrow few of the well-to-do came forward to aid the poor in their distress. Hence only those who shared the religious opinions of his followers could hope to receive any aid. He accordingly advised all the needy to make their plight known fully to the government whose duty it was to give aid in such circumstances and he announced

<sup>76</sup> Scholte's *Aanmerkingen betreffende de Landverhuizing naar Noord-Amerika* in *De Reformatie*, Third Series, Pt. III, pp. 119, 120.



his intention of sending a large number of the letters which he had received from those who were denied the privilege of receiving help from the Association to the government, with the request that some aid be given to these unfortunates. From the proceedings of this meeting it is apparent that Scholte easily dominated the movement. The membership of the Association was composed mainly of his followers who were quite generally designated as "Scholtianen" throughout the country. This fact also explains the remarkable uniformity of religious conviction among the Dutch settlers of Pella. In fact the religious life of the present generation of Hollanders in Iowa still owes many of its characteristic features to these events even though many of Scholte's peculiar tenets have been abandoned.<sup>77</sup>

During the summer and fall, conditions in The Netherlands did not improve and Scholte accordingly never questioned the wisdom of emigrating. The economic situation was as unfortunate as ever and he regarded the future with uneasiness.<sup>78</sup> Governmental interference with the religious services of the Seceders continued. A striking case was that of Rev. Peter Zonne and Mrs. Johanna Judith Zeelt, both of Baambrugge.<sup>79</sup> Because the former had held a meeting of more than twenty people, and the

<sup>77</sup> Scholte's *Aanmerkingen betreffende de Landverhuizing naar Noord-Amerika* in *De Reformatie*, Third Series, Pt. III, pp. 121, 122.

Scholte had adopted the principle of Independentism in church organization because of his conflict with the synodical organization of the Netherlands Reformed Church. The July number of *De Reformatie* contained an article dealing with the Evangelical churches in the United States in which the Congregationalists were discussed.—See Scholte's *Evangelische Kerken in Noord-Amerika* in *De Reformatie*, Third Series, Pt. III, pp. 34-54.

<sup>78</sup> Scholte's *Aanmerkingen betreffende de Landverhuizing naar Noord-Amerika* in *De Reformatie*, Third Series, Pt. III, pp. 122, 123.

Only about seventy florins had been given thus far.

<sup>79</sup> Letter from Scholte to Van Prinsterer dated May 15, 1846; Scholte's *Vervolging van Godsdiensttoefening* in *De Reformatie*, Third Series, Pt. II, p. 342.



latter had allowed her house to be used for that purpose, they had been called to account in May, 1846. They persisted, however, in their practices and in June were again summoned to court. Scholte wrote, "it was the anniversary of the victory at Waterloo. Meditating over the persecution, founded upon the law of the tyrant overthrown at Waterloo, we entered the chamber of justice. On the preceding day there had been a pageant in the streets of Utrecht representing the entry of Philip II who had in his following Alva of evil fame."<sup>80</sup> On July 8th Zonne was finally found guilty of organizing an "association" of more than twenty persons and the widow Zeelt was found guilty of the crime of lending her home to this purpose. Each was fined a hundred florins with costs amounting to eight florins and fifty-three cents. Failure to pay the fine meant imprisonment.<sup>81</sup> Religious meetings of this sort were still treated as misdemeanors in Zeeland.<sup>82</sup>

Toward the king as sovereign head of the state, Scholte entertained no bitterness. Of his personal benevolence he had already made mention early in the year.<sup>83</sup> This conviction was founded upon actual experience based upon the manner in which he had responded to Scholte's pleas when the latter had been named one of a committee named by the communes of the southern provinces to do homage to the king. On that occasion he broached the matter of freedom in religion and education, was granted an audience, and

<sup>80</sup> Scholte's *Vervolging van Godsdienstoefening in De Reformatie*, Third Series, Pt. II, p. 342.

<sup>81</sup> Scholte's *Vervolging van Godsdienstoefening in De Reformatie*, Third Series, Pt. III, pp. 55-61. For the further history of this case see *De Reformatie*, Third Series, Pt. III, pp. 111-118.

<sup>82</sup> Scholte's *Vervolging van Godsdienstoefening in De Reformatie*, Third Series, Pt. III, p. 55.

<sup>83</sup> Scholte's *Een Woord over de Landverhuizing in De Reformatie*, Third Series, Pt. II, p. 91.



left with a conviction that the king meant well.<sup>84</sup> On March 23, 1841, Scholte had again appealed to him concerning the trial which he had to face at Dordrecht on March 31st for holding unauthorized meetings of more than twenty persons. The response to this appeal was, in Scholte's estimation, favorable enough. The king replied that he had recently instigated an investigation of such cases in general, and, although the request for staying the trial could not at that moment be granted, nevertheless in case of conviction he would be willing to consider favorably his exculpation.<sup>85</sup> In 1845 Scholte had occasion to study the history of The Netherlands and desired a copy of G. Groen Van Prinsterer's *Archives ou Correspondance de la Maison d'Orange*. He appealed to the king, thinking that he would, of course, have copies for distribution. Although none of these books were available for general distribution, the king presented Scholte with a set.<sup>86</sup> These facts, in his opinion, were positive proof of his sovereign's good intentions.

During the summer of 1846, however, Scholte became convinced that there was a deliberate attempt to isolate the king from the public by removing those who dared to tell him the truth. He had, it appears, regularly sent a copy of every issue of *De Reformatie* to the king. The March number contained an article dealing with contemporary revolutionary tendencies.<sup>87</sup> In it Scholte discussed one of the chief causes of discontent — state control of religious activities — but in every way spoke respectfully of the government. A request for an audience with the king was

<sup>84</sup> Scholte's *Nieuwjaarsgeschenk aan Nederland*, pp. 53, 54.

<sup>85</sup> Scholte's *Nieuwjaarsgeschenk aan Nederland*, pp. 54, 55.

<sup>86</sup> Scholte's *Nieuwjaarsgeschenk aan Nederland*, pp. 55, 56.

The copy is still in the possession of the Scholte family at Pella, Iowa.

<sup>87</sup> *Een Woord over de toenemende revolutionaire Bewegingen in den tegenwoordigen Tijd* in *De Reformatie*, Third Series, Pt. II, pp. 148-156.



refused with the statement that a written communication was preferable. Scholte ascribed this refusal to the influence of the people who surrounded the king.<sup>88</sup>

The April number of *De Reformatie* contained Scholte's observations upon the banishment of Bishop Grooff from the East Indies and the government's attitude toward the press.<sup>89</sup> A copy of this was also sent to the king whose response of May 18, 1846, revealed dissatisfaction in the curt observation that *De Reformatie*, which had as sub-title *Tijdschrift ter Bevordering van God's Koningrijk in Nederland*, was beginning to occupy itself to such an extent with questions of a political nature that it was questionable whether this title was wholly justified. Furthermore a sharp reprimand was administered in the statement that the king could not "approve the tendency of the editor to enter a field in which it could not be said he was well at home and that he was consequently in great danger of being easily misled."<sup>90</sup>

In Scholte's estimation the matter of emigration was so important that on June 15th he again sent a request to the king for an audience, enclosing a copy of *De Reformatie* for May. The king's answer on the 20th requested a written statement of what was desired.<sup>91</sup> In the June number Scholte again discussed the necessity of emigration<sup>92</sup> and a copy of this issue was also sent to the king accompanied by a letter dated July 2, 1846, setting forth fully why a

<sup>88</sup> Scholte's *Nieuwjaarsgeschenk aan Nederland*, p. 56.

<sup>89</sup> Scholte's *Kerk en Staat, Utdrijving van den Roomschen Bisschop en vier Pristers uit Nederlandsch Indie in De Reformatie*, Third Series, Pt. II, pp. 199-213.

<sup>90</sup> Scholte's *Nieuwjaarsgeschenk aan Nederland*, p. 57.

<sup>91</sup> Scholte's *Nieuwjaarsgeschenk aan Nederland*, p. 58; Wormser's *Een Schat in Aarden Vaten*, First Series, Pt. II, pp. 190, 191.

<sup>92</sup> *Beantwoordt dit Tijdschrift Tegenwoordig nog aan deszelfs Opschrift?* in *De Reformatie*, Third Series, Pt. II, pp. 319-331.



personal interview had been preferred. Scholte stated that he had requested an audience merely in the interests of the country's welfare and that he had wished to speak personally and intimately concerning such measures as could still be undertaken. He lamented the fact — as he felt it to be — that the king could not be reached effectually in such matters except through the regular diplomatic channels which tended to remove him from contact with the public. The impossibility of providing for the common necessities of life in The Netherlands, the lack of freedom in education, and oppressive measures in the matter of religion had led him to seek an audience with the king. Scholte stated that he was planning to go to the United States later in the year to investigate the situation for the poor, and, if the king were inclined to grant him audience, he would be prepared to state his case fully. The reply to this letter was friendly enough and granted the request provided Scholte would apply for the interview when he was on his way to America.<sup>93</sup>

Scholte, however, did not ask for this privilege, although he had intended to do so before his departure. The August number of his *De Reformatie* contained an article which discussed the future of the country under three heads — religious, social, and political.<sup>94</sup> All difficulties arising from the peculiar conditions described under each heading could, in Scholte's estimation, be settled by granting absolute freedom in religious and educational matters not only in the mother country, but also in the colonies. He advocated freedom of settlement in the colonies, the abolition of various offices, freedom of commerce, and the removal of a variety of burdensome taxes.

<sup>93</sup> Scholte's *Nieuwjaarsgeschenk aan Nederland*, pp. 61, 62.

<sup>94</sup> *Wat moet er van Nederland worden?* in *De Reformatie*, Third Series, Pt. III, pp. 81-110.



Although Scholte expressed the hope that the House of Orange would remain an "ornament in the garden of The Netherlands,"<sup>95</sup> and in general was thoroughly loyal, he felt that these opinions were not entirely acceptable to the government inasmuch as the king did not acknowledge receipt of his presentation copy.<sup>96</sup> Nor was the September number, containing an article dealing with colonization in the East Indies, acknowledged.<sup>97</sup> The October issue contained a discussion of the speech from the throne and criticized its statements concerning the internal conditions and foreign relations of the country. This speech had indicated no change in attitude toward such problems as the poor, education, emigration, opening the Indies to emigrants, and religious freedom.<sup>98</sup> No acknowledgment of the receipt of this number was made.<sup>99</sup> The next issue criticized the disinclination of the government to open the East Indies to Christian settlers from Holland. This, Scholte thought, was the only way to strengthen Netherlandish control over a Mohammedan country. In Scholte's opinion the colonial and home governments sought to restrict the free expression of religion and allowed themselves to be influenced by the fanaticism of the Mohammedans when the question of erecting Christian missions arose.<sup>100</sup> He advised Hollanders to direct their future missionary activities toward the United States, where the government never interfered with

<sup>95</sup> *Wat moet er van Nederland worden?* in *De Reformatie*, Third Series, Pt. III, p. 109.

<sup>96</sup> Scholte's *Nieuwjaarsgeschenk aan Nederland*, p. 62.

<sup>97</sup> *Iets over de Kolonisatie in de Nederlandsche Oost- en West-Indische Bezittingen* in *De Reformatie*, Third Series, Pt. III, pp. 172-179.

<sup>98</sup> *De Troonrede* in *De Reformatie*, Third Series, Pt. III, pp. 238-242.

<sup>99</sup> Scholte's *Nieuwjaarsgeschenk aan Nederland*, p. 62.

<sup>100</sup> *De Regeering en het Mohammedanisme* in *De Reformatie*, Third Series, Pt. III, pp. 286-295.



such matters. To Scholte's surprise the king acknowledged the receipt of this number.<sup>101</sup>

Meanwhile, at the meeting of the committee which had been announced for September 4, 1846, important progress was made. Twelve sections of land, each containing 640 acres, were deemed necessary to satisfy the needs of the members. The tract of land could be divided into four units each so that those who had lived in the same neighborhood might obtain lands in the same community. This was no doubt a concession to the wishes of the peasants, who had never travelled far from home and disliked to settle in a strange environment. The maximum cost was estimated at two dollars per acre and this was to be paid out of the treasury of the Association. For choice of location they were to rely upon the report of a party comprising two experienced farmers, a master carpenter, a smith, and other workmen who were to leave Rotterdam on the third of October, bound for New Orleans whence they were to proceed up the Mississippi River to St. Louis. Here, it was hoped, they would meet Rev. A. C. Van Raalte with his band.<sup>102</sup>

The names of the purchasers were to be given to the United States government, but the actual assignment of land was to take place only after the parties had arrived on the spot. The Association deemed this measure necessary in order to remove from the minds of the United States officials any possible suspicion of speculation. A quarter of a section — 160 acres — was to be set apart, to be paid for

<sup>101</sup> *Nieuwjaarsgeschenk aan Nederland, Naschrift*, p. 71.

<sup>102</sup> Scholte's *Aanmerkingen betreffende de Landverhuizing naar Noord-Amerika in De Reformatie*, Third Series, Pt. III, pp. 182-184.

Scholte had intended to leave in October, but was prevented by the death of his child.— *De Reformatie*, Third Series, Pt. III, p. 184. For the departure of Van Raalte see Lucas's *The Beginnings of Dutch Immigration to Western Michigan, 1846*, in the *Michigan History Magazine*, Vol. VI, pp. 660, 661.



by all on a pro rata basis and upon this land a village was to be constructed at the expense of the Association. This village community was to have a house for the physician whose services would be necessary from the beginning, a schoolhouse, so that the children of the emigrants could be kept busy from the moment of arrival, and necessary cabins where shelter might be found until the land had been divided and permanent homes constructed. The proposed town was expected to become the center of the life of the Hollanders in America.<sup>103</sup> That this conception was drawn from the village communities in The Netherlands is at once patent, and it is interesting to note that the Van Raalte colony in western Michigan also sought to carry out the same idea. The question of ecclesiastical affiliation was postponed until the time of settlement, although it was announced at this time as a statement of principle that the Word of God should serve as the sole rule in the religious life of the colonists.<sup>104</sup> This is undoubtedly the reason why no provision was made for either the community church or the parsonage.

Until the actual purchase of land had been made, participation by non-members in the privileges of the Association was to be granted to such as wished to settle in the proposed colony and such as had some money to loan for the purpose of helping needy Christians to the United States. Scholte apparently acted as treasurer of this informal Association which as yet had not accepted any definite rules, and declared that he would at all times before his departure

<sup>103</sup> Scholte's *Aanmerkingen betrekkelijk de Landverhuizing naar Noord-Amerika* in *De Reformatie*, Third Series, Pt. III, p. 183.

For the plan of Pella, Iowa, as drawn in 1847 see the map in Scholte's *Eene Stem uit Pella*, and Scholte's *Tweede Stem uit Pella, met twee Platen*. The maps in these brochures are copied from the original surveys.

<sup>104</sup> Scholte's *Aanmerkingen betrekkelijk de Landverhuizing naar Noord-Amerika* in *De Reformatie*, Third Series, Pt. III, p. 185.



be willing to receive money for this purpose, and hold himself accountable at any moment for its use.<sup>105</sup> Scholte warned his friends and followers against undue haste; he again pointed to the experiences of many Germans who complained of the unfortunate treatment which they had received from sharpers upon their arrival in America; and he urged unanimity of purpose and concerted action so that the emigrants might know exactly where they were intending to go and what they expected to do.<sup>106</sup>

The zeal for emigration now developed with great rapidity.<sup>107</sup> On October 29, 1846, Scholte wrote to Groen Van Prinsterer that a very large part of the Seceders would leave the country: in fact most of the people with whom Scholte had been working were preparing to emigrate. He felt that he would have no field of activity in temporal or religious matters if he stayed in Holland and it was his manifest duty to accompany them.<sup>108</sup> Scholte's peculiar Biblical and eschatological ideas which were to lead to so much discussion later among the Hollanders of Iowa and still have some influence led him to see the events of the day

<sup>105</sup> Scholte's *Aanmerkingen betrekkelijk de Landverhuizing naar Noord-Amerika* in *De Reformatie*, Third Series, Pt. III, p. 185.

<sup>106</sup> Scholte's *Aanmerkingen betrekkelijk de Landverhuizing naar Noord-Amerika* in *De Reformatie*, Third Series, Pt. III, pp. 186, 187.

Catholics were planning to settle in Missouri.—Scholte's *Aanmerkingen betrekkelijk de Landverhuizing naar Noord-Amerika* in *De Reformatie*, Third Series, Pt. III, p. 243. So great was the general interest manifested in emigration that a paper especially devoted to this subject was contemplated.—Scholte's *Aanmerkingen betrekkelijk de Landverhuizing naar Noord-Amerika* in *De Reformatie*, Third Series, Pt. III, p. 244. Its title was to be *De Landverhuizing*.—See Lucas's *The Beginnings of Dutch Immigration to Western Michigan, 1846*, in the *Michigan History Magazine*, Vol. VI, p. 648.

<sup>107</sup> Letter from Scholte to Van Prinsterer, dated September, 1846.

On October 28th, a committee from Friesland where Scholte's influence was certainly not so strong as in Utrecht interviewed him.—Letter from Scholte to Van Prinsterer, dated October 29, 1846.

<sup>108</sup> Letter from Scholte to Van Prinsterer, dated October 29, 1846.



as the fulfilment of divine prophecy. Worldliness in The Netherlands was so great that God would most certainly visit the country with positive manifestations of disapproval. It was not merely "a fever" as was popularly assumed that led a part of the population which still adhered to the Christian view of life — as he held it to be<sup>109</sup> — to forsake the mother country.

This movement was growing on the continent, and the situation in Sweden and in Germany especially attracted Scholte's attention.<sup>110</sup> The fact that well-to-do Christians did not contribute to help their poor brethren in any way touched him deeply.<sup>111</sup> Indeed, the agitation in favor of the East Indies still continued.<sup>112</sup> Heldring, however, had come to the conclusion that nothing remained for the poor but to emigrate.<sup>113</sup> Another meeting of various Christian leaders was held at Amsterdam, but nothing was accomplished as most of them were reluctant to coöperate with the leaders of the Seceders. Heldring was uncertain; he approved the emigration but refused to participate actively.<sup>114</sup> All efforts to aid the poor would have to come from the poor themselves but once settled in the United States<sup>115</sup> the emigrants would from time to time seek to bring over some of their needy brethren who had been left

<sup>109</sup> Scholte's *Volksoordeelen* in *De Reformatie*, Third Series, Pt. III, pp. 222-232.

<sup>110</sup> Scholte's *Zweedsche Landverhuizing naar Amerika* in *De Reformatie*, Third Series, Pt. III, pp. 233-235.

<sup>111</sup> Letter from Scholte to Van Prinsterer, dated October 29, 1846.

<sup>112</sup> Scholte's *Aanmerkingen betreffende de Landverhuizing naar Noord-Amerika* in *De Reformatie*, Third Series, Pt. III, p. 187.

<sup>113</sup> Heldring's *Binnen- en Buitenlandsche Kolonisatie in betrekking tot de Armoede*, p. 71.

<sup>114</sup> Heldring's *Binnen- en Buitenlandsche Kolonisatie in betrekking tot de Armoede*, p. 71; letter from Scholte to Van Prinsterer, dated October 29, 1846.

<sup>115</sup> Letter from Scholte to Van Prinsterer, dated October 29, 1846.



behind. Scholte now sought to sell his rights to his monthly magazine, *De Reformatie*, and use the proceeds in helping the destitute.<sup>116</sup>

The months of October and November, 1846, brought no change in the situation. The brochure of the first secretary of the Belgian Legation at Washington, D. C., A. Vander Straten Ponthos, appeared and a translation was at once prepared.<sup>117</sup> The number of people requesting the right to join the Association was constantly growing, but as Scholte felt that the band to which he belonged was almost large enough, he began to advise parties to form other societies. Those who held the same religious principles as the members of the Association were for the present, however, allowed to join.<sup>118</sup> On the second of October the advance group of emigrants who were to investigate the situation finally sailed from Rotterdam to St. Louis by way of New Orleans. Hendrik Barendregt, who appears to have been the chief figure in this group, wrote a very full account to Scholte on December 14, 1846.<sup>119</sup> A number of Roman

<sup>116</sup> Letter from Scholte to Van Prinsterer, dated September, 1846; Scholte's *Aankondiging betrekkelijk dit Tijdschrift* in *De Reformatie*, Third Series, Pt. III, p. 188.

In this, however, Scholte appears to have failed. The December number was printed probably as late as February, and no further issues seem to have been printed.—See Wormser's *Een Schat in Aarden Vaten*, First Series, Pt. II, pp. 183, 184.

<sup>117</sup> *Recherches sur la situation des émigrants aux Etats-Unis de L'Amérique du Nord*.

It dealt with the material advantages offered by the western States of the United States. The Dutch edition appeared at Utrecht in 1847.

<sup>118</sup> Scholte's *Aanmerkingen betrekkelijk de Landverhuizing naar Noord-Amerika* in *De Reformatie*, Third Series, Pt. III, p. 244.

<sup>119</sup> See Barendregt's letter, dated St. Louis, December 14, 1846, in *De Reformatie*, Third Series, Pt. III, pp. 323-367.

This has been translated in part by Jacob Van der Zee in *The Hollanders of Iowa*, pp. 339-348. For the names of the people in the party see Van Stigt's *Geschiedenis van Pella en Omgeving*, Pt. I, pp. 76, 77.



Catholics were also actively planning to settle in Missouri.<sup>120</sup>

About this time there appeared an interesting pamphlet from the pen of Rev. O. G. Heldring in which his statements in regard to the growing poverty in The Netherlands are wholly in accord with what has already been noted above. The writer was of the opinion that he himself was not free to emigrate, and he could not give up his pet desire of seeing the stream of migrating Hollanders directed to the Dutch East Indies, but he now thought that the United States offered the best opportunities for them in view of the obstacles which made the Indies almost impossible.<sup>121</sup> Scholte discussed this pamphlet in the October number of his magazine. Both were agreed upon the desirability of migration of Netherlanders to the East Indies and the United States, and thought that the indecision and apparent incapability to initiate something on the part of the government or the people, so fatal in the present crisis, was due to neglect in preaching the Gospel.<sup>122</sup> The address of the king, which Scholte discussed in the same issue of his organ, showed that nothing could be expected from the government.<sup>123</sup> In the previous month Van Raalte had sailed from Rotterdam with his band<sup>124</sup> and many prepared to follow him as soon as possible. Practically the entire con-

<sup>120</sup> Scholte's *Aanmerkingen betreffende de Landverhuizing naar Noord-Amerika* in *De Reformatie*, Third Series, Pt. III, p. 243; Scholte's *Berigten Aangaande de Landverhuizing naar Noord-Amerika* in *De Reformatie*, Third Series, Pt. III, p. 339.

<sup>121</sup> Heldring's *Binnen- en Buitenlandsche Kolonisatie in betrekking tot de Armoede*.

<sup>122</sup> Scholte's *Boekaankondiging* in *De Reformatie*, Third Series, Pt. III, pp. 246-248.

<sup>123</sup> Scholte's *De Troonrede* in *De Reformatie*, Third Series, Pt. III, pp. 238-242.

<sup>124</sup> Lucas's *The Beginnings of Dutch Immigration to Western Michigan, 1846*, in the *Michigan History Magazine*, Vol. VI, pp. 660-662.



gregation at Utrecht and also those at Leerdam and Noordeloos were anxious to go.<sup>125</sup>

Opposition in various circles did not deter Scholte and his followers. Advocates of the East Indies passed sharp judgments and made hostile reflections upon the actions of the Seceders. The *Handelsblad* of Amsterdam published some articles dealing with emigration, designed to frighten Hollanders out of their resolution to migrate to the United States and to direct them to the East Indies. According to these articles the emigrant would meet only with "all kinds of misery, poverty and a comfortless death in America." Scholte printed an extensive reply to these articles in his magazine.<sup>126</sup> He declared that laws in America in regard to citizenship were mild. There were no such taxes in the United States as the *mouture* or *abbatage*, nor were there any taxes upon doors, windows, or chimneys. The immigrant would not have to give up the habits of a life time to earn a comfortable livelihood in America. Moreover, the Association would form a community where Dutch would be spoken. "If one pays his annual taxes, lives honestly and without arousing dissension, then he will feel that there are practically no laws for one does not have to ask whenever he makes a move whether he is acting in harmony with the laws."

Scholte also stated that some of the members of the Association were acquainted with the language, customs, and laws of America; in fact many who proposed to leave were making some efforts to learn the new language. Furthermore, the editor was profoundly ignorant of conditions in the western parts of the United States. "If he but knew", said Scholte, "the conditions and development of

<sup>125</sup> Letter from Scholte to Van Prinsterer, dated October 29, 1846.

<sup>126</sup> Scholte's *Landverhuizing* in *De Reformatie*, Third Series, Pt. III, pp. 301-308.



the west, if he only knew that the State of Iowa already has several small towns, that one can there find mills propelled by steam, wind and water for sawing wood and grinding grain, that there are stores in the small towns in which the necessaries of daily life needed in converting the wilderness into flourishing farms can be readily procured, that there is an abundance of grassland, if he but knew all these facts he would certainly not paint such an unfavorable picture of the great unoccupied expanses of the West."<sup>127</sup>

The writer of the articles in the *Handelsblad* stated that once settled in the west, the emigrant would hear practically nothing of the fatherland and of his connections there. This Scholte stigmatized as a lie for many letters had come from that region written by very humble folk to their connections in The Netherlands.<sup>128</sup> In answer to the assertion that the immigrant settler would be exposed to the plundering raids of the Indians, Scholte stated that such conditions had existed in the previous century, but if the writer had any correct information of the situation he should know that no one could settle lands which had not yet been surveyed and that far beyond the limits of such surveyed lands there were stationed the military posts to guard against Indian raids. Fugitive slaves were less noticeable than the numerous beggars in Holland. By exercising a little care, it was possible to locate within a few miles of some town which had grown up on one of the numerous rivers and which was accordingly favorably located for commerce.<sup>129</sup>

In the critic's estimate the East Indies or West Indies were much to be preferred but so unfavorable was the com-

<sup>127</sup> Scholte's *Landverhuizing* in *De Reformatie*, Third Series, Pt. III, p. 303.

<sup>128</sup> Scholte's *Landverhuizing* in *De Reformatie*, Third Series, Pt. III, pp. 304, 305.

Scholte was no doubt thinking of the letters printed in Van Raalte and Brummelkamp's *Landverhuizing*.

<sup>129</sup> Scholte's *Landverhuizing* in *De Reformatie*, Third Series, Pt. III, p. 305.



parison of the two, so grotesque the misrepresentation of conditions in the west of the United States that, according to Scholte, the most naive reader would have to assume that the writer did not intend his objections to America to be believed. Themes had of old been treated in a similar manner by Erasmus in his *Praise of Folly* and in Marnix de St. Aldegonde's *Beehive*.<sup>130</sup> In reply to the cheerless view that essential conveniences of civilization were absent in these regions, Scholte asserted that the Association was composed of positive Christians and the comforts of religion would assuredly not be absent during sickness or on the deathbed. Medical care was being provided by the Association; complete toleration for religion was the natural order of things in the West; and all groups were allowed to organize their own churches.

Many other organs, it seems, took up the cudgels against emigration. The *Staatscourant* which represented the government gave information about a band of emigrants from Tubbergen in Overijssel who had gone to America where they had lost everything, and finally, in utter destitution, had been forced to return to The Netherlands. Another article in the *Handelsblad* was directed against the pamphlet of Brummelkamp and Van Raalte, and against a certain Stephan, who, it appears, had been guilty of crooked practices with emigrants. Scholte advised writers of such articles in all papers to present positive proof of their assertions.<sup>131</sup> Earnest Christian leaders of the type of Heldring who were determined to stay at home in spite of the economic and especially the religious and educational questions were issuing an organ of their own. This

<sup>130</sup> Scholte's *Landverhuizing* in *De Reformatie*, Third Series, Pt. III, p. 306.

The *Kamper Courant* also contained articles against emigration.—Scholte's *Landverhuizing* in *De Reformatie*, Third Series, Pt. III, p. 301.

<sup>131</sup> Scholte's *Landverhuizing* in *De Reformatie*, Third Series, Pt. III, pp. 307, 308.



paper<sup>132</sup> made use of the arguments employed by other opponents of emigration to America, and advocated the Indies as a better field. To these Scholte made another reply in the December number of his magazine.<sup>133</sup>

Emigration on a large scale in fact was still a novelty in Holland, and many people naturally were opposed to it. Even among Scholte's connections there was opposition. His father-in-law, Krantz, who was a member of the Utrecht congregation, sought to induce his daughter to refuse to accompany Scholte to America. The quarrel between the two became so serious that Scholte refused to receive him in his home and on November 30th the matter was brought before the consistory of the congregation. J. Overkamp, J. Maasdam, and Linderman were appointed a committee to interview Krantz, but to no avail.<sup>134</sup>

Final plans for emigration were perfected in December, 1846. The Association held a meeting at Utrecht on Christmas day and drew up a constitution which contained thirty-four articles.<sup>135</sup> According to this constitution there was to be a board of control composed of four members, a president, a vice president, and a secretary (Article 2). Membership was restricted to non-Catholics of good character (Article 4). The board was to control all business connected with the journey, such as chartering ships for the passage, control of the emigrants while on the way, collection of dues from the members, and payment of expenses

<sup>132</sup> The title of this magazine was "*De Vereeniging 'Christelijke Stemmen'*".—See also Wormser's *Een Schat in Aarden Vaten*, First Series, Pt. II, p. 183.

<sup>133</sup> *Het Tijdschrift "De Vereeniging" en de Landverhuizing in De Reformatie*, Third Series, Pt. III, pp. 325-331.

<sup>134</sup> Minutes of the Consistory preserved in the church in Utrecht, under date of November 30, 1846.

<sup>135</sup> Lucas's *A Document Relating to Dutch Immigration to Iowa in 1846* in *THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, Vol. XXI, pp. 459-465.



(Articles 5 to 12). It also was to choose a favorable location in the United States, buy the lands desired, provide for the material organization of the community, arrange for education and medical care, prepare cabins for temporary shelter, and lay out the necessary roads, canals, and drains (Articles 13 to 19).

The Association was to have no connection with any ecclesiastical matters, which were left to those who wished to organize a church (Article 20). This indicates Scholte's repugnance of any external control of a religious institution. It must not, however, be inferred that Scholte did not expect that most of the membership would retain the same point of view in matters of church government in the United States as in Holland. Opponents of his independent views in such matters were allowed to be members if they were of good repute and were not Catholics (Article 4). The Association with its officials was so planned as to control the community even after settlement had been effected. The board was to have an option for a period of twenty-four hours upon any parcel of real estate which any member might wish to sell during the first ten years after settlement (Article 26). It was even thought that money might be borrowed at interest for improvements in the colony (Article 27). The board was also to keep account of marriages, births, and deaths (Article 28). These rules, it will be observed, were the outcome of a good deal of reflection since the previous spring when Scholte was won over to the idea of emigration to the United States. It is needless to state that the meeting acted chiefly in accordance with his wishes.

Active plans for the journey were now begun. The date for departure was set as the last of March<sup>136</sup> or the begin-

<sup>136</sup> Scholte's *Berigten aangaande de Landverhuizing naar Noord-Amerika* in *De Reformatie*, Third Series, Pt. III, p. 338.



ning of April, 1847. Another meeting of the Association was to be held at Utrecht on January 12, 1847, when the people, who in accordance with Article 3 of the constitution announced their desire to participate in the emigration and indicated the amount of land they desired, were to be investigated and possibly rejected in accordance with Article 4, which excluded Catholics and those whose moral conduct was not above suspicion. This meeting it appears was actually held, but unfortunately no report of it has been preserved. The sums needed for the purchase of land in the proposed colony were required according to the constitution to be deposited with the board before the fifteenth of March (Article 10) and the sums for travelling expenses in January.<sup>137</sup>

According to Article 34 all documents in which the Association was concerned were to be signed by the president and secretary. It is very unfortunate that the papers connected with this episode have been lost or perhaps destroyed after the death of Mr. Scholte.<sup>138</sup> The money was deposited in a handsome iron, box-like safe which was

<sup>137</sup> Scholte's *Berigten aangaande de Landverhuizing naar Noord-Amerika in De Reformatie*, Third Series, Pt. III, p. 339.

<sup>138</sup> His death occurred in 1868. Many letters and papers were destroyed by his widow shortly after his death. However, among the papers still preserved at Pella there was found a small note in the handwriting of H. P. Scholte with the following statement: "Ontvangen van den Heer Hendk. Christiaan Frankfurth voor aan te koopen land in de Vereenigde Staten van Noord-Amerika de somma van vijftig gulden. Utrecht, den 13 Maart, 1847." It is signed "J. Overkamp, secretaris, Namens den President, H. P. Scholte." Translated, it reads: "Received from Mr. Hendrik Christiaan Frankfurth the sum of fifty guilders for the purchase of land in the United States of North America", and the signature, "J. Overkamp, Secretary. For the President, H. P. Scholte." On the back of this document appears the following statement, "I, H. C. Frankfurth do hereby acknowledge to have received of the heirs of H. P. Scholte, deceased, the sum of twenty-four dollars in full of the amount herein named and in consideration of the return to them of this receipt, August 19, 1874." This is in the handwriting of the late H. P. Scholte and bears the autograph "Henry Christian Frankfurth".



carried to this country.<sup>139</sup> In the week between the tenth and seventeenth of December, 1846, Scholte sold his house and the church building "for such a high price that not only could the debt be paid, but the needy members of the congregation for the greater part helped over to the United States." The small number remaining were already negotiating for another place of worship.<sup>140</sup> Question at once arose as to who should be allowed to share in this money. One member, a woman, appeared before the consistory on December 14th and claimed this privilege. As her husband was not a member of the congregation "and according to certain reports is a lazy, worldly man, and in addition to this, that her oldest daughters do not conduct themselves in the best manner and hence cannot be regarded as bearing the name of members of the congregation," it was decided that they were not entitled to a share in the money for transportation. The consistory now decided to draw up a list of members in view of the fact that this action was applicable to others as well.<sup>141</sup>

In the next meeting, on the evening of December 21st, there was further discussion touching a number of persons who had likewise never shown any particular zeal as members of the congregation.<sup>142</sup> This action on the part of the consistory appears to have at once caused some misunderstanding and criticism. It was maintained that it had been stated from the beginning that the needy families of the congregation were to be helped over to America with the money derived from the sale of the church building and that it had not originally been stated that the members alone would be helped. These critics desired that the consistory

<sup>139</sup> Still preserved in the Pella National Bank.

<sup>140</sup> Letter from H. P. Scholte to Van Prinsterer, dated December 17, 1846.

<sup>141</sup> Minutes of the Consistory for December 14, 1846.

<sup>142</sup> Minutes of the Consistory for December 21, 1846.



should be guided by the prior statement because many a family in which there was no Christian mother would otherwise be left behind, and many a Christian parent would not want to leave his unbelieving children. Scholte was not at the meeting when this matter was discussed, and the decision was postponed until he could be present, but the matter does not appear to have been discussed in subsequent meetings. On January 11, 1847, another applicant for aid to emigrate was rejected on account of lack of evidence of Christian conduct. Both elders of the congregation with most of the members were planning to leave, and accordingly on the first of February it was decided that their successors should be chosen. This was done on February 8, 1847.<sup>143</sup>

The December, 1846, number of *De Reformatie* appeared late and contained a report of the proceedings of the meeting held in Utrecht on Christmas day, 1846. Scholte also announced on this occasion that the committee of the Association under the leadership of Barendregt had arrived at New Orleans on November 19, 1846.<sup>144</sup> Information had also been received of the arrival of a party of Gelderlanders who appear to have had no connection with the emigrants from Arnhem.<sup>145</sup> Rev. A. C. Van Raalte had also arrived at New York on November 18, 1846, according to a letter from "one of the brethren" at New York.<sup>146</sup> This person, undoubtedly none other than Rev. Isaac N. Wyckoff, helped Van Raalte exchange his Dutch for American money.

Van Raalte then hurried toward Wisconsin, for the

<sup>143</sup> Minutes of the Consistory for December 28, 1846.

<sup>144</sup> *Berigten aangaande de Landverhuizing naar Noord-Amerika*, pp. 338-340.

<sup>145</sup> *Berigten aangaande de Landverhuizing naar Noord-Amerika*, p. 339.

<sup>146</sup> *Berigten aangaande de Landverhuizing naar Noord-Amerika*, pp. 339, 340.

Dr. Henry Beets argues that the arrival occurred on the 17th.—See Beets's *Van Raalte's Arrival Seventy-five Years Ago* in *The Banner* (Grand Rapids, Michigan), November 10, 1921.



season was late and the Erie Canal and the Great Lakes would soon be frozen over. At Albany a society had been formed to care for the immigrants as they passed through that city westward.<sup>147</sup> This was really a committee of the Second Reformed Church of Albany of which the well known Rev. Isaac N. Wyckoff was then pastor.<sup>148</sup> He had published notices concerning the immigration from Holland in *The Christian Intelligencer* of New York. Among these was the letter carried by the families of Arnoud and Kronkelenberg who had left Arnhem on May 28, 1846.<sup>149</sup> The December number, which proved to be the final issue of *De Reformatie*, contained as its last item Barendregt's letter written at St. Louis on December 14, 1846.<sup>150</sup>

The project of emigration was well under way, and the problems connected with the immediate followers of Scholte seemed to be settled. The organization had been planned carefully; the Hollanders had learned from the experiences of many Germans before them. Thus the poor would be helped, and all would be able to stay together, and form a community where they could find religious freedom in a land where the government did not regard ecclesiastical matters as a branch of its ordinary duties.

On December 17, 1846, Scholte wrote what appears to have been his last letter in Holland to his friend Guillaume Groen Van Prinsterer. In this he again gives evidence of

<sup>147</sup> Scholte's *Berigten aangaande de Landverhuizing naar Noord-Amerika*, pp. 339, 340.— See also Dosker's *Levenschets van Rev. A. C. Van Raalte, D. D.*, p. 68.

<sup>148</sup> Corwin's *A Manual of the Reformed Church in America, 1682-1902* (Fourth Edition), pp. 922-924.

<sup>149</sup> See Lucas's *The Beginnings of Dutch Immigration to Western Michigan, 1846*, in the *Michigan History Magazine*, Vol. VI, pp. 657, 658.

<sup>150</sup> *Brief uit Noord-Amerika* in *De Reformatie*, Third Series, Pt. III, pp. 323 (wrongly paged as 355)-367.

Translated extracts of this letter were published by Jacob Van der Zee in *The Hollanders of Iowa*, Appendix A, pp. 339-348.



the pain he felt in leaving the land of his birth, but reiterated the reasons why such a move was necessary. He was looking forward to the settlement in the West of America where he could continue to minister to the religious needs of his followers. Gradually they could bring over more and more of the destitute people whom they could not now take with them. He even imagined that he might find opportunity to preach to German and French immigrants.<sup>151</sup> He also announced the speedy appearance of his pamphlet, *Nieuwjaarsgeschenk aan Nederland* in which he again explained all the reasons which impelled him to leave.<sup>152</sup>

At this point our account must close. The data necessary to recount fully the steps taken by the Association in preparation for their voyage and the chartering of vessels appear to have been lost. The journey to the United States, the choice of a location on the prairies of Iowa, and the founding of Pella have already been described in detail.<sup>153</sup>

HENRY S. LUCAS

SEATTLE WASHINGTON

<sup>151</sup> Letter from Scholte to Van Prinsterer, dated December 17, 1846.

<sup>152</sup> Letter from Scholte to Van Prinsterer, dated December 17, 1846.

The title of the pamphlet was *Nieuwjaarsgeschenk aan Nederland, een Ernstig Woord aan Vorst en Volk*. The proceeds of this pamphlet were to be used for spreading the Gospel in the new colony in America.

<sup>153</sup> Van der Zee's *The Hollanders of Iowa*.