

# Dutch-American Arts and Letters

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In the summer of 1947 a group of six American students, winners of an essay contest on “The Influence of Dutch Settlement on American Civilization”, toured the Netherlands to celebrate the centennial of Dutch immigration to the United States. Their tour guide was dr. Clarence De Graaf, the English professor at Hope College of Holland, Michigan and chair of the contest committee. In his report on this trip and the value of the Dutch legacy for America, he listed three “Things Worth Preserving”: order, beauty, and physical exertion. The middle term is surprising. Usually arts and letters are the subjects of closing chapters in general overviews of the immigrant experience in America, but De Graaf praises the neat gardens, the useless, but charming canals, the good paintings in every home and wondered: “Do we have to give this up to lose our identity in the drab existence of apartment house life with Sears Roebuck furnishings?... This is part of our heritage. How flat life can be if we lose it.”<sup>1</sup> Art is an important part of identity.

After a series of successful conferences dealing with the religious heritage and economic activities of Dutch immigrants, their regional distribution and distinct experiences in cities and in borderland situations, the Association for the Advancement of Dutch American Studies devoted its sixteenth biennial conference to the exploration of the arts in the formation of a Dutch-American subculture. The results of this engaging event, which took place at the Hope College campus in Holland, Michigan from June 7-9, 2007, are presented in this volume. The purpose of this introduction is to answer the question what the study of arts and letters of an ethnic subculture can contribute to the field of immigration history, and to offer the contours of a framework for continuing research. I will argue that the contribution of this kind of research is not only a pleasant pastime deepening our knowledge of the immigrant experience, but also stimulates the reflection on the process of defining a group identity. The Dutch-American heritage is worth considering for America, but no less for the Netherlands, where the debate about the distinctives of its own national identity has become frontpage material.<sup>2</sup>

As many scholars have observed, there is no lack of sources documenting the words and feelings of immigrants in America. Immigration historian Maxine Seller talks about an “explosion of words” and explains this “torrent” of publications and artistic expressions from the dramatic changes in the lives of immigrants.<sup>3</sup> These unsettling experiences triggered two activities. The first impulse was to quench the thirst for necessary and reliable information for immigrants in printed publications to replace the slow and often irrelevant old modes of oral communication. Secondly, the radical change in their lives encouraged various modes of self-expression in order to come to terms with the new situation. This general explanation raises the question how this applies to immigrant groups such as the Dutch, who suffered less from being uprooted and oppression. Are their arrangements for dissemination of information and cultural expression less abundant? The sources suggest otherwise. Their high level of literacy and education and their specific religious practices stimulated reading, writing, and oratorical skills.

While these two activities were not strictly separated – many newspapers, for instance, published poetry and other forms of emotional expressions – they are useful to make further categorization.

In this introduction, I propose to approach this topic from three perspectives: motive, direction, and strategy. The motives of immigrants to write, publish or create art are either a (pressing) need to collect or distribute information or the spur of emotional expression. The direction can be either internal, to serve a specific subculture, or external to engage “others” in conversation or debate. The strategy can be defensive, to guard the valuable assets of the subculture, or offensive, to reach out to other groups, but also to discipline the members of one’s own group. During this analysis, we should acknowledge the various stages in the development of immigrant communities. The pioneer phase valued practical information over artistic expression. Prosperity and investment in educational institutions advanced the artistic expression. The Dutch communities in the Midwest reached this level in the 1880s. The quality of the written texts improved. In the next phase, the issue of competing languages determined production. After 1920, the Dutch shifted to English, though Dutch remained in use till 1950. This shift opened new opportunities for engagement with other groups in American society. This trend could stimulate external orientation. The latest phase shows a renewed interest in ethnic and cultural roots.

Before we look into the qualities of the artistic production, we should first explore the volume of the flow of information. The metaphor of a stream is appropriate to describe Dutch letter writing and newspaper publication. Between 1871 and 1919 Dutch immigrants sent 22 million letters to the Netherlands and received 23 million in return. An additional, countless letters must have circulated domestically among Dutch Americans. In the decade between 1910 and 1919, the Dutch language press reached its apex and counted twenty-two titles, ten of which had been recently released. About fifty periodicals had a longer or shorter existence in the century between 1850 and 1950. How these figures compare to other ethnic groups of similar size and development, needs to be seen, but there is no reason to assume that the Dutch were underrepresented.<sup>4</sup> Similar statistics about the artistic production do not yet exist, but quick searches find scores of novels about Dutch immigrants and by Dutch-American authors.

The earlier chronology helps us to assess the findings of earlier generations of historians to write the history of the Dutch immigration in the Midwest. Jacob van Hinte and Henry S. Lucas concentrated on the pioneer phase and efficiently used printed sources, in which they found the articulations of the pioneers, including religious poetry and poems written for special occasions. Van Hinte, writing in the 1920s, did not expect the Dutch to make an imprint on their host society as long as they used the Dutch language. Lucas, writing thirty years later, only confirmed this characterization.<sup>5</sup> Their purpose was to show that these immigrants were not completely devoid of artistic aspirations.

After World War II linguist Walter Lagerwey began to collect Dutch-American poetry and prose. Most of these poems served didactical and pious ends, commemorated important dates in the community, and responded to moving moments in private lives.<sup>6</sup> He explains the abundance of these products out of the respect for the written word and for orators among the Protestant Dutch. His selection confirms the internal direction. Poetry offered consolation and was an outlet for emotions to those whose survival had been at stake. It was intended for an internal audience. A few recent examples show that Dutch immigrant poetry has not completely disappeared after the language shift.<sup>7</sup>

So far, the literary legacy of the Dutch language in the United States has received most attention from scholars, whereas a definitive overview of the Dutch American literary production

in English has yet to be written.<sup>8</sup> This prospective overview of Dutch American fiction should cover at least three phases. The first one consists of a considerable production of religious novels in the Dutch language, which dominated the output till World War I. The next phase with serious secular books began during this war. Historian James D. Bratt assigned a specific role to a selected group of “four renegade novelists,” Midwestern Dutch-American authors who assumed positions as relative outsiders who described the darker side of a traditional and often authoritarian subculture. These authors, covering three generations between 1910 and 1975, rebelled against the strict boundaries of their religious subculture. Ironically, they could not cut loose from the very issues that they resented: loyalty to religious and family ties and adherence to moral codes.<sup>9</sup> They wrote “offensive” books confronting their subculture with its weaknesses and only slowly reached a wider audience. Since the publication of Bratt’s book in 1984 a new generation of authors has marked a third phase. The recent publications by James C. Schaap and others bring an opposite message. They defend the positive aspects of a rapidly disappearing Dutch-American subculture and remind readers of the nurturing and sustaining aspects of the safe and caring communities.<sup>10</sup> It appears that the Seller’s suggestion that the defensive strategy is attached to poetry and theater, which reveal sadness and nostalgia about lost worlds, and that the offensive strategy belongs to fiction, which shows the “Anglo’s” the value of other traditions, does not hold true for the Dutch, at least not in the long run. The function of arts among the Dutch immigrants seems to be more internal than external. The most common strategies were defensive; offensive ones were meant to stimulate assimilation.

Compared to attention for information carriers and, to a lesser degree, fiction, the visual and performing arts are virtually absent in the historiography. Part of this lack of visual arts can be explained by the focus on survival during the first phase of immigration, which prized profitable trades over artistic pastimes. In addition, the subculture of Calvinist immigrants took a long time to abandon its traditional suspicion of the visual and performing arts. This attitude slowed down the shaping of a varied tradition of artistic education until the turn of the century. The two oldest Dutch-American colleges in the Midwest put music and drama on their curriculums around 1900. Hope College in Holland, Michigan, nurtured its oratorical tradition, hired a professor of music in 1893, and presented its first play in 1904. Calvin College in Grand Rapids, Michigan, followed fifteen years later with the appointment of a music instructor in 1908 and its first rehearsal of a classical drama in 1922. It took till 1966 before the synod of the Christian Reformed Church recognized film as a legitimate cultural medium, which connected the Dutch ethnics to other potential modes of artistic expression. In the late 1970s NeoCalvinist thinkers, such as Calvin Seerveld and the Dutch art historian Hans Rookmaker, encouraged active participation in all the arts, which in combination with more diversity within the college, boosted artistic participation outside the ethnic community. The results of this shift should not be overlooked.<sup>11</sup>

While most of the essays in this volume deal with the artistic aspects of the Midwestern Dutch, the timeframe for a more comprehensive approach should include the artistic traditions in the much older Dutch communities at the East Coast. Both regions had connections with each other and with the motherland. The value of the Dutch heritage was elevated to the status of serious and important art during the revival of the popularity of Dutch and Flemish masters in the 1880s-1920s. The interpretations of virtuous living boosted the artistic reputation of Holland.<sup>12</sup> Also in geography, the horizon of this research field should be broadened. An almost unexplored, but influential body of literature about the immigrant experience circulated in the

Netherlands, especially among children. This genre enabled those who were (still) in the old country to share in the immigrant experience.<sup>13</sup>

In addition, the scope of this research field could be broadened by including a greater variety of artistic expressions, including music, dance, and theatre. Other Dutch immigrant groups than the Protestants offer better chances for success. For instances, dances were common among Dutch Catholics, as reports about the most cohesive communities in northeast Wisconsin and Detroit reveal. One of the more theatrical examples with a long tradition was the festival of the *Schut*. This authentic Dutch festival, originally organized on October 4<sup>th</sup>, the patron day of St. Francis, served mainly internal goals of maintaining a distinct Dutch tradition. The last gunner to shoot to pieces a wooden bird on the top of a pole is made King of the *Schut* and receives a high status in the community.<sup>14</sup> More recently established festivals, such as the ubiquitous tulip festivals also serve external ends. These subjects eagerly await further exploration. Given the relative negligence of the visual arts, it is proper to open this volume with two artists.

### *Artists*

The first two essays follow two visual artists on their career paths from the Netherlands to Michigan. They contributed to the preservation of Dutch icons in the United States, which remain important symbols of a Dutch-American cultural identity. Painter Cornelis Zwaan was trained in the tradition of the Hague School in the early twentieth century, which was highly appreciated by American collectors. Nella Kennedy describes how Zwaan found his way from the artistic colony in Laren, the Netherlands, to the Chicago area. He fully lived up to the term of “Dutch-American artist” since he continuously commuted between the two countries. Resourceful artists such as Zwaan knew how to produce for an American market, which until the 1930s highly valued the Dutch style of portrait painting. His claim to fame was the honorable commission to paint Queen Juliana’s portrait. This portrait was treasured by the Holland Museum as a precious link with the Netherlands. His story shows that Dutch artists could make a decent living if they tapped into a marketable tradition.

A parallel story is told by Jack Nyenhuis about the Dutch-born stained-glass artist John Vander Burgh. Vander Burgh’s transition from the old world to the new also worked because he perfectly fit into an accepted and respected tradition of glass-making. He found a clientele for his craftsmanship mostly among the members of the Dutch-American subculture in West Michigan. Institutions, such as churches and libraries, mostly appreciated his Christian symbols and historic scenes, while individuals also commissioned modern designs for their homes, inspired by Dutch artists, such as Piet Mondrian and Gerrit Rietveld.

These two examples of the continuities of old world skills in the new world, transplanting both secular and religious symbols, could be expanded by Dutch American artists, both relatively obscure and internationally famous such as Piet Mondrian and Willem de Kooning who worked and lived in New York.

### *Writers*

Meindert De Jong, author of twenty-seven children’s’ books, did not write for the Dutch-American constituency of which he was part. Nevertheless, his connection to his subculture was a strong one. He captured the experiences of his childhood spent in the Netherlands and in Grand Rapids into his most successful books. These reveal that from a children’s’ perspective life in the rural Netherlands had been more carefree and pleasant than in urban Michigan. His early career shows that he benefitted much from the Dutch American educational institutions which

encouraged his efforts. Neither he, nor his famous brother David Cornell De Jong, made fortunes by writing, but they proved that professional writers could make a decent living. Richard Harms' biographical analysis reveals that his move out of his subculture did not so much liberate as isolate him. He could not live in the diaspora and returned to the geographical center of the Dutch immigrants.

The career of Arnold Mulder is a one of the best examples of an immigrant author who reached inside for materials to write for the outside community. He stayed close to his profession as the editor of the *Holland Sentinel*, which put him in the perfect position to mark the tension between the conservative attitude of the Midwestern Dutch immigrants and the modernizing forces of the Progressive Era. Michael Douma shows how his novels testify to this attitude, but that it was not the terminal station of his development. This was his acclaimed book *Americans from Holland*, which bore witness to the contribution that the Dutch immigrants made to the United States and their being accepted as true Americans. His position comes closest to the role of the editor as mediator between the inside and outside world, and an offensive attempt to ascertain a respectable place for the Dutch in America.

Yankee Dutch was a mixed language variety which showed the quick process of acculturation among poorly educated urban immigrants, who lacked the ability to speak correct English, but liked to pass as fluent speakers of English. Jaap van Marle concludes that Yankee Dutch was a typical and temporary urban phenomenon since it was a result of daily interaction between Dutch and English speakers. An unintended, but inevitable consequence of this linguistic creation was the humoristic portrayal of a socio-economic lower class, which captures the internal variation among Dutch immigrants as nicely as Arnold Mulder's comic novels. But in the brief period of its existence, its role was less positive. Herman De Vries' research reveals that opinion leaders considered Yankee Dutch a pollution of the language, which needed to be corrected by a proper teaching of Dutch at college level. The instruction books written by Calvin College professor Henry Van Andel prepared pre-seminary students especially to preach in proper Dutch to advance the old language.

The history of the Dutch language instruction at Calvin College reveals the change in status of the old language and the limits of internal cultural offensives. At the beginning of the twentieth century Henry Van Andel was the most able instructor of Dutch grammar, and, more to his liking, Dutch history and culture. He was the first to produce instruction books for the Dutch language in the United States. They aimed at strengthening the correct use of Dutch rather than helping starters. The 1916 edition assumed knowledge of pronunciation and of Dutch culture. Thirty years later these assumptions were not valid anymore and the text began at a more basic level. The needs had changed and only thanks to a brief spell of popular interest in the Netherlands under Nazi occupation did this interest lead to a new grammar method, De Vries explains. This analysis of language instruction reveals the limited effect of the college program. The purposeful training of the elite could not stop the trend among Dutch immigrants to abandon their native language. Despite Van Andel's efforts to elevate the level of written and spoken Dutch, its validity hardly improved. That he tried, nevertheless, proves he was a romantic, who believed that language was the core of a people.

Geerhardus Vos embraced the same romantic idea. This brilliant, but reclusive, Dutch theological scholar brought prestige and learning to the United States; first to his immigrant kin in Michigan, and later to the American Presbyterian community at Princeton Theological Seminary. George Harinck contrasts the first part of his life, spent on Biblical scholarship, with the second part when he expressed his inner feelings in poetry. Originally, his poems were not

meant for a wider public. He published them only at an advanced age and after outside pressure. That he wrote for himself is evident from the publication of his poems in Dutch before English translations were printed. His verses were artfully crafted in the lofty style of his Dutch student years. In fact, they were too traditionally Dutch to make an impact on American society, and too scholarly to reach his kin. These literary products could only be appreciated by a limited number of insiders.

On the other side of the spectrum of the popularity of literary products is the immensely popular contemporary genre of the mysteries. Dutch authors also contributed to this field, as Jeanne Jacobson shows in her survey of mysteries with a Dutch ring. In her sample of Dutch mystery authors, she found that most of the Dutchmen by birth spent most of their upbringing outside the Netherlands. The only mystery writer who really is an ethnic author is Alfred Bell, the creator of the “Dutch Shoe Mystery” series. Bell is a resident of West Michigan, who plays nice tricks in his books with Dutch American protagonists and their ethnic feelings. Jacobson’s essay offers what could be a good beginning of a larger project comparing “Dutchness” in a variety in Dutch-related popular novels. Her selection could be matched with *The Dutchman Chronicles*, mysteries playing in colonial New Amsterdam, written by Maan Meyers and others. Such a project captures the connotations of atmosphere and setting and can indirectly confirm the variety in the Dutch American heritage.

### *Writings*

The second half of this volume penetrates deeper into the communication and information processes in the Dutch community. Correspondence by immigrants has proven to be a rich field for a great variety of scholarly investigation. Sociologist Peter Ester adds to this body of literature by applying the psychological dissonance theory to the genre of the immigrant letter. He selected the Andries Wormser collection as an example of how an immigrant solves the gap between expectation and reality by changing his behavior. Most immigrants found it easier to keeping up appearances, than acknowledging failure and act accordingly. They continued to write positive stories home to their relatives and prayed for the future to improve. Not so Andries Wormser, who responded to the setbacks of immigration, by taking the logical step: return. His critical disposition, and especially his lack of a support group which could have helped him to find encouragement and practical assistance, made his disappointments pile up and finally topple, and speed up his decision to return. This article offers a rare insight into the inner world of a reluctant immigrant. One wonders whether he could have made it with a more positive attitude. Without Andries’ urge to communicate and his developed sense of reflection, we would not have learned about this process of disillusionment.

Disappointed immigrants, such as Andries Wormser, often blamed the leading ministers for their failure, especially Pella pioneer and pastor Hendrik P. Scholte. While Scholte’s dynamic and sometimes whimsical behavior in the 1850s easily led to misunderstandings about conflicts of interest, he could also count on loyal supporters. Harvey Noordsy draws attention to such a staunch Scholte supporter: Laurens Van Bergeijk. This businessman drafted an apologia for his friend’s behavior in a lengthy manuscript, but never came to publish it. It nevertheless reveals how oral traditions continued to have a large impact. Rumors and counter stories circulated widely and could make and break reputations.

John Exalto examines how the faithful on both sides of the Atlantic stayed connected thanks to a Dutch-American Reformed Pietist reading culture. They shared stories of conversion and spiritual autobiographies and this tradition even survived in the second half of the twentieth

century, thanks to translations. These translations were legitimate due to the historical bonds between Dutch and Scottish pietism. The high status of these inspirational booklets sustained the pietist immigrants in their tradition, especially when they experienced a spiritual exile. It appears that these texts, even more than the Bible, defined their distinct religious identity.

Suzanne Sinke shows in her essay on immigrant letters, how this personal communication continued to shape identities of later generations. The writings of the Van den Bergh family first informed their relatives, then reached a newspaper audience in their native Bussum. Much latter they helped the next generation to rediscover its ethnic roots and finally they became part of immigrant letter collections explored by scholars. Thus these literary remains not only served multiple ends, they receive their meaning from the readers in different generations. Printing private letters in newspapers allowed the spread of examples for identification in a large region. In addition, this essay gives unique insights in the artistic activities of middle-class Dutch immigrants, playing in bands and organizing choirs at Holland clubs.

### *Journalism*

Personal motives to improve communities stimulated the Zeeland-born bacteriologist Paul De Kruif to engage in a national battle for public health. Jan Peter Verhave rescued one of the most prominent citizens of the Dutch colony from oblivion. De Kruif's offensive strategy succeeded to emancipate the patients from their doctors, even though not all of his campaigns were successful. His strategy also worked in his own community. His influence also reached the land of his ancestors, where translations of his work circulated widely.

Robert P. Swierenga proves the crucial importance of the first newspapers in Dutch-American communities as places for public debate. The founding years of *De Hollander*, the first newspaper in the Holland Michigan area in 1850, became the battleground for opposing ideals for the community and the lines of demarcation between church and society. The story also reveals the inevitability of community newspapers to link up with outside interests to remain solvent. This incident proved that the community, especially its religious leadership, had to learn how to divide labor and spread responsibilities to secure a genuine public communication with room for dissenting views.

Robert Schoone-Jongen continues the story of Dutch-American newspapers by reviving the glory years of *De Volksvriend*, published out of Orange City, Iowa. This local newspaper was one of the cornerstones of a regional Dutch-American community. Its 77-year history shows how a loyal and committed readership welded personal paper connections into an "imagined community." However, as soon as the commercial foundation faltered in the 1950s, the newspaper collapsed. The Dutch community proved too small to sustain regional newspapers.

### *Imagery*

The activities of the Dutch immigrants in the visual arts are presented in two complementary papers on historical Pageants in Holland, Michigan, and in Pella, Iowa. Lisa Zylstra found three clear shifts in commemorations. Up till 1897 the celebrations put the pioneers in the spotlight, but when personal memories subsided, the public display turned to historical Dutch dresses to emphasize the roots. Then the focal point moved to American patriotism. These displays of public patriotism went side by side with more internal meetings, such as picnics for smaller groups with common roots. The selection of attributes, activities, and themes for the Tulip Time festival, first held in 1935, presented Pella to the outside world as a virtuous town with a rich

tradition. The plight to fill a program annually, encouraged the exploration of more or less authentic costumes and customs in the Old World.

David Zwart follows this mode of commemoration in examining how since 1916 Holland, Michigan, staged its past through pageants. As in Pella, the pageants in the mid 1930s were intended for a national audience. They showed the process of progress, underscored how the Dutch immigrants made America into their new home, and confirmed their identity as true Americans and devout Christians. The repetition of scripts and storylines pressed the individual experiences into one community mold.

### *Conclusion*

The result of this colorful pallet of essays shows that while developing the arts were not a priority of the pioneers, they did develop thanks to a well-developed network of communication. Most artistic expressions were for internal use, but from the beginning of the Dutch settlements in the Midwest, public modes of communication opened up the Dutch-American presence to the outside world. The essays about the Dutch language, the Yankee Dutch variation and more contemporary language changes among immigrants, reveal that references to “Dutchness” can still be used in the selection process of what belongs to a Dutch-American subculture. This collection made a modest beginning of surveying contributions of Dutch-Americans to the arts and provided more than enough material for further research both in literary and artistic fields.

Pietist literature, personal poetry, and historic newspapers proved to be more for internal than for external use. This might have been the reason why so few literary products were noticed outside the ethnic Dutch enclaves. Of course, a few authors reached out beyond their subculture, such as Arnold Mulder and Meindert De Jong. It comes as no surprise that many of these authors were Frisian. Their awareness of the functions of language on different levels prepared them for their role as critics or spokesmen (very few – women) of their subculture. The place of art in the process of selecting and preserving elements of the past for future use in shaping cultural and ethnic identities on both sides of the Atlantic is indeed important. The subject is far from exhausted, on the contrary, it invites more research in long-term comparative frameworks.

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<sup>1</sup> Clarence De Graaf, “Things Worth Preserving,” *The Young Calvinist* 28.1 (November 1947): 46-47.

<sup>2</sup> Willem Frijhoff, *Dynamisch erfgoed* [dynamic heritage], (Nijmegen: SUN, 2007), 8 and his illuminating article analyzing Dutchness in various settings in “Dutchness in Fact and Fiction,” Joyce D. Goodfriend, Benjamin Schmidt, and Annette Stott, eds., *Going Dutch: The Dutch Presence in America 1609-2009* (Leiden: Brill, 2008).

<sup>3</sup> Maxine Seller, *To Seek America: A History of Ethnic Life in the United States* (Englewood, NJ: Jerome S. Ozer, Publisher, 1977), 172-197.

<sup>4</sup> Hans Krabbendam, *Vrijheid in het verschiet. Nederlandse emigratie naar Amerika 1840-1940* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2006), 230-252.

<sup>5</sup> Jacob Van Hinte, *Netherlanders in America: A Study of Emigration and Settlement in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries in the United States of America*. Robert P. Swierenga, ed., Adriaan de Wit, trans. (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1985 [orig. Dutch ed. 1928]), 942-956; Henry S. Lucas, *Netherlanders in America: Dutch Immigration to the United States and Canada, 1789-1950* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1955; repr. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1989), 606-614.

<sup>6</sup> Walter Lagerwey, *Neen, Nederland 'k vergeet u niet. Een beeld van het immigrantenleven in Amerika tussen 1846 en 1945 in verhalen, schetsen en gedichten* (Baarn: Bosch en Keuning, 1982) and “The Netherlandic Muse in the Forests, on the Plains, and in the Cities of America from 1850-1975,” in Wolodymyr T. Zyla and Wendell M. Aycock, eds., *Ethnic Literatures since 1776: The Many Voices of America*, 2 vols. (Lubbock, TX: Texas Tech Press, 1978) 2: 353-374. and “Dutch Literary Culture in America, 1850-1950,” in Robert P. Swierenga, ed., *The Dutch in America: Immigration, Settlement, and Cultural Change* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1985), 243-272; C.J. ter Maat, “Three Novelists and a Community: A Study of American Novelists with Dutch Calvinistic Origins” (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Michigan, 1962).

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<sup>7</sup> Sietze Buning, *Purpaleanie and Other Permutations* (Orange City, IA: The Middleburg, Press, 1978) and *Style and Class: Poems* (Orange City, IA: The Middleburg, Press, 1982). See also Maria Mulder, "Coming to Terms with Being a Sioux County Son: The Identity Struggle of Stanley Wiersma and His Medicine of the Pen," in Paul Fessler, Hubert R. Krygsman, Robert P. Swierenga, eds., *Dutch Immigrants on the Plains* (Holland, MI: Joint Archives of Holland, 2006), 153-161.

<sup>8</sup> Edelman Hendrik, *The Dutch Language Press in America: Two Centuries of Printing, Publishing and Bookselling* (Nieuwkoop: De Graaf, 1986).

<sup>9</sup> James D. Bratt, *Dutch Calvinism in Modern America: A History of A Conservative Subculture* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1984), 159-183.

<sup>10</sup> James C. Schaap's numerous collections of stories, and in particular, *Romey's Place* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1999); Ronald Jager, *Eighty Acres: Elegy for a Family Farm* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1990), Jim Heynen, *The One-Room Schoolhouse: Stories About the Boys* (New York: Vintage 1994) and Arthur Versluis, *Island Farm* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2000).

<sup>11</sup> Wynand Wichers, *A Century of Hope 1866-1966* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1968), 161-167; Henry Ryskamp, (and Harry Boonstra, ed.,) *Offering Hearts, Shaping Lives: A History of Calvin College 1876-1966* (Grand Rapids, MI: Calvin Alumni Association, 2000), 89-92. John J. Timmerman, *Promises to Keep: A Centennial History of Calvin College* (Grand Rapids, MI: Calvin College, 1975), 80. James A. DeJong, *Henry J. Kuiper: Shaping the Christian Reformed Church, 1907-1962* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2007), 239-240.

<sup>12</sup> Roderic H. Blackburn and Ruth Piwonka, *Remembrance of Patria: Dutch Arts and Culture in Colonial America 1609-1776* (Albany, NY: Publishing Center for Cultural Resources for the Albany Institute of History and Arts, 1988); Annette Stott, *Holland Mania: The Unknown Dutch Period in American Art and Culture* (Woodstock, NY: Overlook Press, 1998).

<sup>13</sup> Early examples of these novels about immigration are H.E.R. Belani, *De landverhuizers naar Texas: historisch-romantisch verhaal uit den jongsten tijd* (Groningen: Schierbeek, 1842) (translated from German) and Thomas Mayne Reid, *De dochter van den squatter* (Gouda: G.B. van Goor Zonen, 1877) (translated from English). A more recent and highly influential book was Pieter J. Risseeuw's best-selling emigrant trilogy; see Hans Krabbendam, "De optelsom moet kloppen: P.J. Risseeuws trilogie *Landverhuizers*," *Transparant* 10.2 (April 1999): 9-15. Early publications of children's books about immigrants are Jenny IJsselstein, *Nora in Amerika* (Alkmaar: Kluitman, [1928]) and F.J. Hoffman, *De veerman aan de Arkansas* (Doetinchem: Misset, [1921]). The impact of this genre can be seen in the career choice of a Dutch professor of American history at Leiden University, which was inspired by Leonard de Vries, *De hobby club op avontuur in de USA* (Amsterdam: De Bezige Bij, 1952); see A. Lammers, *Adieu Amerika* (Amsterdam: Balans, 2001), 9-12.

<sup>14</sup> Walter Lagerwey, "The Netherlandic Muse," 367. H.A.V.M. van Stekelenburg, "*Hier is alles vooruitgang*". *Landverhuizing van Noord-Brabant naar Noord-Amerika, 1880-1940* (Tilburg: Stichting Zuidelijk Historisch Contact, 1996), 151; Lucas Ligtenberg, "In the Shadow of the 'Schut': Dutch Roman-Catholics in the Fox River Valley, Wisconsin," in George Harinck and Hans Krabbendam, eds., *Morsels in the Melting Pot: The Persistence of Dutch Immigrant Communities in North America* (Amsterdam: VU University Press, 2006), 147-160.