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MAARTEN NOORDTZIJ, THE PRESIDENT
OF THE
HOLLAND-AMERICAN LAND-AND IMMIGRATION COMPANY

There is a scarcity of historical research concerning the Dutch immigration to Colorado during the years, 1892-1893.¹ Manuscript sources, such as letters, official documents, ship passenger lists, court house records, and especially newspaper accounts (to be used, of course, with extraordinary caution), have supplemented the limited immigration data that has formed the basis of the current research. These manuscript materials have been the primary sources in studying the weal and woe of the Dutch immigrants to Colorado. Even though a good number of Dutch immigrants stayed in Colorado for only one year, while others were already resettled in Iowa after having been there only a few months, this, in a sense, tragical and pathetic episode has some remarkably variegated happenings.²

This paper attempts to treat the involvement of Maarten Noordtzij, the President of the Holland-American Land-and Immigration Company, under whose auspices the immigrants had come to Colorado, with this Dutch immigration. As a respected professor at the Theological School of the Gereformeerde Kerken in Kampen, Noordtzij was a man of considerable influence not only in the Reformed denomination but also in Christian education and Christian politics.

Maarten, born on October 14, 1840, in Rotterdam, was the only child of Ary and Adriana Noordtzij. Since he was a child of much prayer (Adriana was thirty-four years old when her son was born), his parents often wondered whether they would be allowed to keep him. Thirteen times he had to be rescued out of the water.³ Being a fair child with sparkling brown eyes he caught the attention of a few traveling showmen, was kidnapped by them and later on returned to his parents. Then a severe brain disease brought him to the brink of death but he recovered fully from this ordeal.⁴ When he and his parents moved to Vlissingen, Province of Zeeland, in 1851, he there came under the influence of the preaching of Willem H. Gispén, who became his spiritual father. In September, 1862, at the age of twenty-two, he enrolled in the Theological School and Kampen. With a keen mind, and a strong body that only needed a few hours of sleep, he became a candidate of theology in 1867. He served three congregations; St. Anna Parochie, Province of Friesland (1867-1869); Heereveen, Province of Drenthe (1869-1873); and Schiedam, Province of Zuid-Holland (1873-1875). At that time the 1875 Synod of 's-Hertogenbosch, Province of Noord-Brabant, appointed him to the chair of the

Old and New Testament at the Theological School in Kampen. His real interest was hermeneutics [the science of interpretation and explanation to that branch of theology which defines the laws applied to exegesis], isagogics [introduction to that part of theology directly preliminary to actual exegesis and concerned with the literary history of the Bible] and particularly archaeology,⁵ which led Abraham Kuenen, professor at the University of Leiden to remark when Noordtzij's son, Arie enrolled at the University of Leiden: "Thus you are the son of that gentleman in Kampen, who believes in pots and pans?"⁶

When Noordtzij died on February 9, 1915, the last link between the fathers of the Afscheiding and his generation at Kampen was severed. In him is embodied a rich amount of history of the Gereformeerde kerken. He was baptized in the "Nederlands Hervormde Kerk" [the State Reformed Church] in Rotterdam. As a youth there he attended the "Gemeente onder het Kruis" [the Congregation under the Cross]. In Vlissingen he saw the union of the "Christelijke-Afgescheiden Kerk" [the Christian Seceder Church] with the "Gemeente onder het Kruis" [the Congregation under the Cross], nine years before the actual union between these two churches took place in 1869. It is no wonder that he labored hard with full conviction for the union of the "Christelijk-Gereformeerde Kerken" [the Christian Reformed Churches] with the "nederduitsch-Gereformeerde Kerken" [the Netherlands Reformed Churches] at the 1892 Synod of Amsterdam to form the "gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland" [the Reformed Churches in the Netherlands].

In this paper we will look at Noordtzij's dealings with Theodore Henry, the President of the Empire Land and Canal Company, with Charles A. Merriman, District Attorney of the Twelfth District of the State of Colorado and with the Curatorium of the Theological School of the Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland in Kampen.

The Alamosa Independent Journal of May 5, 1892, carried the news that on May 3, 1892, Albertus Zoutman and William C. van Dusseldorp had purchased 15,000 acres of land from Theodore C. Henry, the President of the Empire Land and Canal Company. The contract also carried the obligation on the part of Mr. Henry to furnish 50,000 additional acres, which meant an option on these additional acres.⁸ (In reality there was an option on the 15,000 acres as well).⁸ Cornelius W. Vander Hoogt's name was not mentioned in the news item, but he also had a hand in the early negotiations.⁹ In February or March, 1892 Vander Hoogt had left for the Netherlands¹⁰ and by September or October, 1892 he was back in the United States of America.¹¹ The May 5, 1892, news item does not mention the purchase price for those 15,000 acres. Later on it became known that 11.25 dollar per acre was paid for the 15,000 acres.¹² thus the purchase price was 168,750 dollars. The contract also specified that the Immigration Company was going

to pay 15,000 dollars for buildings, water well, fences, smaller water canals, etc., which were part of the improved lands. The total purchase price was thus 183,750 dollars.¹³

The conditions of the option were, first, that Henry was going to receive the first payment, a down payment of a 1,000 dollars, and was not only to take the second payment of 15,000 dollars as part of the purchase price, but also shares valued at 75,000 dollars of the yet to be formed Holland-American Land-and Immigration Company,¹⁴ and, second, that the balance of the entire purchase price was to be represented by five and ten year notes of the proposed Immigration Company at 7 per cent increase.¹⁵ Henry, having learned that the Immigration Company was to be incorporated in August, 1892, made the option on the 15,000 acres more definite by accepting 1,000 dollars as the first payment on the first of August, 1892.¹⁶ The 1,000 dollars was paid to Stuart O. Henry, Theodore's brother, who was living in Paris at that time.¹⁷ The second payment of 15,000 dollars was to be paid to Theodore Henry on the arrival of the immigrants in the San Luis Valley.¹⁸

A few days after the contract was signed, Zoutman, one of the land purchasers, on May 5, 1892, left for the Netherlands carrying with him samples of wheat, oats, barley, peas and sugar beets to be placed on display in the headquarters of the Immigration Company in the city of Utrecht.¹⁹ By August 18, 1892, the Holland-American Land-and Immigration Company was incorporated in the Netherlands with a capital stock of 200,000 dollars. (I have converted every guilder amount into dollars taking 2.50 guilders for one dollar.)²⁰ Zoutman is listed as having purchased 1,500 of the 1,526 shares for the amount of 150,000 dollars. The other shareholders listed chipped in 2,600 dollars for a total amount of 152,600 dollars.²¹ It must be noted that Zoutman had never been known to be a rich man.²² He was often penniless, and frequently had to borrow money.

Zoutman who launched this scheme of emigration to Colorado²³ must have had something in mind, when he took out the 1,500 shares. Article Four of the Incorporation Papers of the Immigration Company reads in part:

Mr. Albertus Zoutman engaging himself to perform every thing, which, for whatever motive, will appear to be necessary, in order to put the company, to be established by this present deed, in the full possession of the rights transferred to the Company...and to sign to that purpose all required deeds.²⁴

It also states:

Mr. Albertus Zoutman transfers to this Society, in payment of his subscription for the capital stock of the Company, as also of subscription for sixty thousand dollars in the debenture-loan...all and every rights, obtained from Mr. T.C. Henry, acting in behalf of the Empire Land and Canal Company, to the purchase of about fifteen thousand acres of land with the water-right connected therewith, situated in the Conejos County, Colorado, United States of North-America..."²⁵

Whether Vander Hoogt acted on his own or in concert with Zoutman, I do not know, for Zoutman was still in the Netherlands at that time, but when Vander Hoogt returned to Colorado in October, 1892, he was able to persuade Henry to accept only a 5,000 instead of the 15,000 dollar second payment by the first of December and to make certain changes in the location of some of the tracts of land.²⁶ Zoutman and Vander Hoogt, who arrived with about 200 immigrants in Alamosa by the end of November, both as representatives of the Immigration Company, did not show up at Henry's office to pay their 5,000 dollars by the first of December. By telegraph Henry summoned Zoutman and Vander Hoogt to see him in Denver.²⁷

There was more to it than only the second payment. If Henry was to accept 75,000 dollars in shares from the Immigration Company, he certainly wanted to see the books of that company. The City National Bank of Denver, a creditor of the Empire Land and Canal Company, had agreed to take some of the shares of the Immigration Company. Naturally, its president, John R. Hanna, was also interested in a complete examination of the books of the Immigration Company.²⁸ Zoutman and Vander Hoogt could not, and did not even dare. I believe, to show Henry their books. We are assuming that only 2,600 dollars worth of shares were actually paid for in cash. Zoutman, as you may recall, had supposedly bought 150,000 dollars worth of shares, but had put no money on the table for them.²⁹ To put it bluntly, there was no money behind the Immigration Company. The Immigration Company had to borrow 12,000 dollars from a bank in the Netherlands in order to assist the first immigrants in making the journey to Colorado.³⁰ and to pay for incidental expenses, when they arrived in North America, such as buying food for the immigrants and erecting the two Immigrant Houses in the San Luis Valley in which the colonists lived for the first two months.

When Zoutman and Vander Hoogt finally showed up in Henry's office on the eighth of December, they did not offer Henry any money³¹ nor did they have their books with them. By this time the terms of their contract had expired. The Immigration Company had not even filed the articles of incorporation with the Secretary of State of the State of Colorado by this date. They were filed and accepted on December 9, 1892.³² In other words, when the immigrants arrived in Alamosa in November, the Immigration Company was not legally allowed to do any business in Colorado under the statutes of that state, for it had not yet been incorporated in that state.³³

Zoutman and Vander Hoogt saw their fortunes come down like a house of cards, on account of Henry's refusal to hand over the land without payment and proof of solvency from the Immigration Company. To save their own skin they tried to turn the tables on Henry by declaring that his lands were heavily encumbered, and that was the reason that he could not deliver the lands, because he could not give a clear title. This was only a ploy to draw attention away from the real reason that the lands could not be obtained by the Immigration Company.³⁴ Zoutman and Vander Hoogt had for a long time known that Henry's lands were encumbered, for Henry himself had communicated this fact to Zoutman and Vander Hoogt before the contract was signed.³⁵ During the summer of 1892, Henry had gone to some trouble in anticipation of the necessity of removing these encumbrances. He had detailed plans for taking care of each particular tract of land, transferring the encumbrances to other tracts of lands, and paying of some parties in shares of the Immigration Company. He displayed in every respect good faith and fair dealing. But Zoutman and Vander Hoogt maintained that it was none of Henry's business to look into the private affairs of the Immigration Company and that the contract between Henry and the Immigration Company had not specified such an intrusion. If Zoutman and Vander Hoogt could have shown that their company was solvent, and acting in good faith, of course, a clear title to a large portion, if not all the lands, could have been given to the Immigration Company in a few days. Henry felt it unbusinesslike to put in any more money by paying off encumbrances until he knew that the Immigration Company was on a solid foundation.³⁶ Let me add a footnote here; anyone acquainted with buying and selling real estate knows that one or even two mortgages on a property are not at all a stumbling block for selling it. The buyer receives his proof of ownership, a clear title.³⁷ Henry's action of removing some of these encumbrances, probably meant just to appease Zoutman and Vander Hoogt, was a mere shifting around of money. But Maarten Noordtzij, as President of the Holland-American Land- and Immigration Company, should have observed the illogicalness of this ploy of Zoutman and Vander Hoogt.

In the meantime, the 200 immigrants housed in two poorly constructed buildings were being unwittingly deceived by Vander Hoogt and Zoutman. The colonists were receiving marvelous promises from them. Besides, this, they were pacified by being told that everything would be all right.³⁸ Vander Hoogt and Zoutman did not hesitate to show the colonists the land that supposedly belonged to the Immigration Company.³⁹ After all, had not his Immigration Company bought 15,000 acres of very fertile land in the prosperous State of Colorado?⁴⁰ On December 10, 1892, the bubble of deceit finally burst. Word was received in the Emigrant Houses that the Immigration Company did not have a square inch of land to its name in the San Luis Valley. Henry had not received the second payment of 5,000 dollars, and had found the financial standing of the Immigration Company very precarious, therefore he decided not to deliver the land. In any case, since the company was not legally incorporated, it was in no position to transact any business.⁴¹

This was a dramatic development for the colonists whose visions of the dazzling prospects described in the brochure published by the Immigration Company were not at all similar to the facts. Enough was enough, and they telegraphed to the President of the Immigration Company, Maarten Noordtzij, the following message: "Through the neglect of our interests and of those of the company it is necessary to discharge Direct [i.e. Zoutman] and Delegate [i.e. Vander Hoogt]. Liquidation and dispersal of the colony will follow."⁴² Zoutman and Vander Hoogt also telegraphed Noordtzij "to come out and investigate the accounts of the company here."⁴³ I hope that I am not too speculative when I say that Zoutman and Vander Hoogt's motive for requesting Noordtzij to come over to look into the situation in the San Luis Valley was a selfish and devious one. They had become afraid of their own shadows by having overplayed their hand in dealing with Henry. To save face they placed that monkey [i.e. their dealings with Henry] on Noordtzij's back and the monkey clung to him with an unyielding tenacity. Unaware of Zoutman and Vander Hoogt's motive, Noordtzij, as President of the Immigration Company, felt that he had to see things first hand in the interest of his company. By not immediately dismissing Zoutman and Vander Hoogt, Noordtzij demonstrated his confidence in them.

Was Noordtzij really in the position to dismiss the two? Zoutman and Vander Hoogt were slick operators. Their persuasiveness enabled them to recruit a man like Noordtzij for the position of president of the Immigration Company. It is true that Noordtzij had a keen interest in the social issues of his day.⁴⁴ He knew very well that economic conditions were not very good in the Netherlands in 1892. The idea of emigration of farmers and laborers to the New World put forth by Zoutman and Vander Hoogt naturally appealed to him. But did such interest qualify him to head an Immigration Company? After the distressing news about the situation in

the San Luis Valley had reached them, public opinion in the Netherlands was quite ready to say no. it claimed that he did not know enough about colonization or agriculture to be a reliable guide; and that as a result of lack of first hand information he had to rely too much upon what others told him.⁴⁵ Noordtzij, in order to know what had happened or what was happening in Colorado, relied only on the eyes of Zoutman and Vander Hoogt to view that situation for him.⁴⁶ Later on Noordtzij repeated much of what Zoutman and Vander Hoogt already had said in public--for example, that Henry was a deceiver,⁴⁷ and that he could not deliver the land because they were encumbered.⁴⁸ He desperately needed Zoutman and Vander Hoogt.

The colonists tried to change Noordtzij's mind concerning his assessment of Zoutman and Vander Hoogt. It was not difficult to show him that these two men were the real cause of their difficulties. They had solid proof that Zoutman and Vander Hoogt were unsuitable and incompetent for their assigned task. Noordtzij, however, turned a deaf ear to the pleas of the colonists to give Zoutman and Vander Hoogt the pink slip. [The Incorporation Papers left room for the managers to be dismissed.]⁴⁹ Because of such an attitude, which Samuel Hartog, one of the colonists, called "haughty," Noordtzij lost much of the respect of the colonists.⁵⁰

The article entitled "Boldest of swindles" that appeared on the front page of the December 18, 1892, issue of The Denver Republican appraising the situation in which the Dutch immigrants found themselves, bore out much of the truth of what had happened in the San Luis Valley.⁵¹ Inevitably, clippings of this article were sent to the Netherlands. The Dutch Consul General in New York, John R. Planten, forwarded a copy of it to Bijsbert van Tienhoven, the Foreign Minister of the Netherlands.⁵² Van Tienhoven had already been made aware of the distressing situation through the newspapers in the Netherlands. He, in turn, instructed his ambassador in Washington, G. de Weckherlin, to launch an investigation into the matter.⁵³ De Weckherlin went to the State Department personally to hand over his "Memorandum" with the request that it be forwarded to the Governor of Colorado.⁵⁴ The crucial sentence in this "Memorandum" was "A judicial inquiry is desirable in order to make legal proceedings possible against the directors in the Netherlands and their agents in America." In his letter to van Tienhoven, de Weckherlin adds the comment that he requested "a judicial inquiry," for otherwise he feared that a request for an administrative inquiry would elicit the reply: "Take care of it yourself."⁵⁵

As a consequence, the Governor of Colorado, Davis H. Waite, appointed Charles A. Merriman, District Attorney of the Twelfth District, to investigate the matter of the reported swindle that had taken place in the San Luis Valley. It took Merriman about three weeks to make his inquiry. He forwarded

his report to the Governor of Colorado by February 11, 1893.⁵⁶ De Weckherlin, the Netherlands Ambassador, received Merriman's report from the Acting Secretary of State, William F. Wharton, by February 24, 1893.⁵⁷ In the meantime The Denver Republican, in its February 17, 1893, issue, had already published the text of the report. It prefaced the report by stating that "it. . . is an accurate statement of the big swindle perpetrated by Netherlands-American Land- and Immigration Company. It will in all probability, form the basis of a prosecution by the Holland government against the officers of the Company."⁵⁸ The Alamosa paper, San Luis Valley Courier, crowed that "the report . . . shows that plenty of evidence can be procured against some of the men who were engaged in organizing the Holland Colony near Alamosa . . . It is [of] no little satisfaction to be able to say that the guilty men are not Americans."⁵⁹ In a few carefully stated words de Weckherlin began his letter dated February 25, 1893, to his Foreign Minister, van Tienhoven: "I carry out one unpleasant duty" in forwarding to you Merriman's report. He continued that the report "is so damaging for the Board of Directors and those managers of the Immigration Company who planned the colonization near Alamosa that I am compelled to draw Her Majesty's Government's serious attention to its content."⁶⁰

The 1,000-word report of Merriman that he compiled from a personal investigation is divided into seven points. They are as follows:

First: "The articles of incorporation" are "very defective in many particulars, and not in conformity to the law of the land . . . it never had in the past, or at the present time legal authority to do business in this state, so that parties dealing with said Company, do so at their peril."

Second: "All the lands . . . are not the property of said company, its agents or representatives . . . The only interest being an option on the same to one of the incorporators, for a limited time, and upon certain terms and conditions; And that said party failing to comply with his part of the agreement, the option was declared forfeited."

Third: "The Colonists were induced to come to this country by the agents and representatives . . . making false statements to them, and holding out false inducements . . . and did not fulfill the same as per agreement."

Fourth: "Upon arrival of said Colonists . . . the Company fail[ed] and neglect[ed] to provide work or land for them as agreed upon before leaving Holland."

Fifth: "It is claimed by the Colonists in almost every instance that they have been deceived by the company, its officers and agents, and which they stand ready to swear to when called upon by the proper authorities at any time."

Sixth: "Certain officers and agents of the Company" approached those colonists who "had money and induced them to turn it over to them for safe keeping." The officers placed the funds "in the bank in their own names and to their

individual credit." When the colonists demanded back their money, it was refused. "They were compelled to bring suit in our courts" and "after due course of law they succeeded in recovering."

Seventh: "I [i.e. Merriman] am the opinion that the Colonists have defrauded by false representations and otherwise by and through said Company."⁶¹

Without a doubt Merriman's report was quite an accurate account of what the colonists had experienced in the San Luis Valley. The first two points of his report we already noted, that the Immigration Company was not incorporated to do any business in Colorado, and that it failed to come up with the second payment by the first of December, so that it forfeited the option on the lands. The third point, that the colonists were induced to come to this country, is undoubtedly a reference to the brochure of the Immigration Company which enticed the people to emigrate to Colorado. The inaccuracies or falsehoods stated in the brochure had already come to light on the colonists' first day in the valley.⁶² Jan van Boven called the brochure a "mockery of the truth."⁶³ The fourth and fifth point, about the Immigration Company not providing work and the immigrants being willing to testify in court if necessary, were a consequence of what had happened in the valley.

That the officers and agents [i.e. Zoutman and Vander Hoogt] of the Immigration Company, as stated in the sixth point, induced the colonists to turn their money over to them for safe keeping, is quite true. Shortly after their arrival in the valley at the request of Zoutman and Vander Hoogt some of the colonists handed their money over to them; others refused to do so. First, the money was placed in the name of Vander Hoogt in the local bank. When the colonists heard this, it was changed then to the name of the Immigration Company.⁶⁴ A few days later, when it became known that the Immigration Company did not have a square inch of land to its name in the valley, four of the colonists who had given their money to Vander Hoogt went immediately to Alamosa, a distance of about four to five miles, to see an attorney. It was already quite late in the afternoon, when the four made the trip to Alamosa. This being Saturday, December the tenth, they found the attorneys, A. W. McIntire and T. B. McDonald, willing to file suit against Vander Hoogt. The following day, Sunday, the clerk of the 12th Judicial District Court, Charles H. Brickenstein heard their cases in Conejos and ordered that their money should be returned. On the next Tuesday, Vander Hoogt handed over the money to the four colonists. Jan De Kruyter received his 520 dollars, Gerrit Van Dalen his 1,050, Adolph Heersink his 1,296 and Jan Zwier his 4,520 dollars.⁶⁵ for a total amount of 7,386 dollars.

Upon receipt of Merriman's report, van Tienhoven sent it on to his colleague, H.J. Smidt, Minister of Justice, asking him what should be done with it.⁶⁶ In the same communication to Smidt, van Tienhoven mentioned that Noordtzij was acquainted with the content of Merriman's report, for he had received the February 17, 1892, issue of The Denver Republican, in which the report was printed.⁶⁷ Noordtzij did not take Merriman's report very kindly. He wrote his disapproval of the report to van Tienhoven.⁶⁸ Van Tienhoven replied: "Permit me therefore to request you to explain your raised objections against the report in questions as much as you deem necessary or desirable."⁶⁹ A handwritten reply, eight legal size pages in length, followed.⁷⁰ This official document of the Holland-American Land-and Immigration Company was also published in pamphlet form entitled, "Hear also the other side!" and was reprinted in many newspapers in the Netherlands. It is very obvious that Noordtzij was the author. Noordtzij was not very faithful to the truth in his report, however. "Hear also the other side!" revealed very clearly the influence which Zoutman and Vander Hoogt had on Noordtzij's perception of what had been going on in the valley and with their dealings with Henry. He tried to counter all the accusations in Merriman's report which had been lodged against its officers and agents and to lay the blame on the dissident colonists, and naturally, on Theodore Henry, the deceiver. He obviously defended Zoutman and Vander Hoogt.

Let me limit my remarks only to Noordtzij's references to Merriman's report as discussed in the document, "Hear also the other side!"

First, Merriman's report stated that "the articles of incorporation are defective," Noordtzij wrote. Yes, we can not cover this deficiency, but the "defectiveness" would seem to imply now that Henry could not or did not want to deliver the 15,000 acres of land which were bought and partly paid for [i.e. a reference to the 1,000 dollars which was paid to Henry's brother in Paris by the first of August, 1892].

Second, Merriman wrote that "all the lands are not the property but only having option on the same" is contrary to our contract with Henry and with the receipt which Zoutman received as first payment for the described lands, Noordtzij stated. Besides, according to the receipt "the balance [was] to be paid and arranged" on the arrival of the immigrants in Colorado, on the first of December, 1892. Well, Noordtzij continued, this last payment was then offered to Mr. Henry wholly in compliance with the contract. The second point of Merriman's report is therefore at variance with the truth. For on the eighth or ninth of December [Throughout the entire episode Noordtzij very seldom had the exact dates or figures at his finger tips.] our officers offered to deposit the last payment in the bank, on the condition that Henry would deposit the last payment in the bank, on the condition that Henry would deposit at the same time the "clear titles" or "abstract of title" of the contracted land. Everyone knew, Noordtzij

wrote, that Henry could not meet this offer, for most of the 15,000 acres did not belong to Henry, but to a Mr. Cyrus Strong of Binghamton, New York. Noordtzij concluded that it was not the Immigration Company but Henry that failed to fulfill his part of the contract.¹ Let me add another footnote here. You recall that on the tenth of December Zoutman and Vander Hoogt's true intentions became known to the colonists. Their bubble of deceit had finally burst. After their meeting with Henry on the eighth of December Vander Hoogt had gone back to Alamosa while Zoutman traveled to Conejos (about 25 miles south of Alamosa). In the Conejos Courthouse Zoutman wrote down all the mortgages which Henry had on his lands. Here Zoutman discovered that 3,840 acres of the contracted lands belonged to a Cyrus Strong and not to Henry. This discovery² added more fuel to the notion that Henry was a deceiver. What Zoutman and Vander Hoogt probably were not aware of is that Mr. Cyrus Strong was one of the Directors of the Empire Land and Canal Company,³ and Henry had an agreement with Strong for selling his land.⁴

Third, that Henry could not or did not want to sell the contracted lands is also a motive for what Merriman says under the third point, viz., "the agents and representatives of said Company, making false statements to them, and holding out false inducements in many ways." This point is not only a reference to the land but also to a false representation of what a farmer in the valley could expect to harvest and to earn. In connection with this point Noordtzij countered that if Merriman is blaming the agents of the Immigration Company for making such predictions, then he also should have mentioned the notaries who notarized six statements giving false representations of the same which were printed in the back of the brochure.

Fourth, that "the Company failing and neglecting to provide work or land for them as agreed upon before leaving Holland" is the result, Noordtzij stated, of our being unable to obtain the land. Mr. Henry is to be blamed for this, for he could not or did not want to deliver the land.

Noordtzij did not make any comments on the fifth point which dealt with the fact that the colonists "have been deceived" and would "stand ready to swear to when called upon by the proper authorities at any time." But his comments on the sixth point are atrociously false. Noordtzij gave as the reason for the managers' placing the colonists' money in the bank for them that the colonist thought they and to be American citizen sin order to do so.⁵ Zoutman and Vander Hoogt had undoubtedly told Noordtzij that that had been the reason why they had put the money in the bank for the colonists. They probably used the same argument with the he colonists in order to get their hands on that money. Jan Zwier, who gave his 4,520 dollars to Vander Hoogt--all the money he had in the world--told the reporter of The Denver Republican, "that he laid awake nights worrying over the matter."⁶ It is my firm belief that Zwier with the three other colonists had not kicked up their heels to see an

attorney on that Saturday night [December 10, 1892], they would never have seen that money again. For Vander Hoogt would have been able to lead them by the nose again.

Upon receipt of the eight page handwritten document of the Immigration Company countering Merriman's report, van Tienhoven sent it on to the Department of Justice,⁷⁷ as he had done with Merriman's report.⁷⁸ In January he had passed on to Mr. Smidt, Minister of Justice, a copy of the "Memorandum,"⁷⁹ that de Weckherlin had left with the State Department in Washington. Smidt instructed the Attorney General of the Amsterdam judicial Court to undertake a judicial investigation into the actions of the managers of the Holland-American Land- and Immigration Company at Utrecht.⁸⁰ That is exactly what de Weckherlin had suggested in his "Memorandum" namely "a judicial inquiry is desirable in order to make legal proceedings possible against the directors in the Netherlands and their agents in American."⁸¹

The Officer of justice in Utrecht was designated to investigate whether any wrongdoing on the part of the directors and managers of the Immigration Company could be established for a judicial prosecution. The investigation was delayed quite a bit, not only because the witnesses to be interviewed were scattered over a good part of the Netherlands, but especially because of the unwillingness to cooperate on the part of the Manager, Pieter T. Dekker, at the Headquarters of the Immigration Company in Utrecht. The result of the investigation was that the Officer of Justice came to the conclusion that none of the immigrants had made a contract with the Immigration Company to sell them land in Colorado.⁸² That is precisely what Merriman also pointed out: anyone "dealing with said Company does so at their peril."⁸³ Furthermore, if it could be established that Zoutman and Vander Hoogt tried to swindle the colonists out of their money by putting it into their own bank account, then both of them as Netherlands still in North American would not be prosecutable for swindle for something that has taken place outside of Europe. "If I," the Officer of Justice continued, "must answer the question of whether there are any terms to be found that could lead to persecution, then the answer is no."⁸⁴

On the first sign of trouble, as he himself stated, Noordtzij, as it were packed his bags to cross the ocean for Colorado.⁸⁵ By telegram the colonists had advised him that his coming was no longer needed, but the persuasiveness of Zoutman and Vander Hoogt influenced Noordtzij's decision to make the trip to North American.⁸⁶ A hastily-called commissioner's meeting of the Holland-American land- and Immigration Company in Utrecht on December 21, 1892, authorized Noordtzij to investigate the situation personally and gave him full power to act.⁸⁷ A few days later on the evening of December 23, he told the Rector of the Theological

School at Kampen, Lucas Lindeboom, that he planned to sail for the United States the next day. Lindeboom asked Noordtzij whether he was requesting his permission to go or whether he should take this as an item for information. Noordtzij replied, "for information."⁸⁸ Noordtzij indicated too that he was taking one of the theological students with him, as his interpreter and secretary,⁸⁹ that he would return in about two to three weeks after the Christmas vacation, that his classes, in all likelihood, would not be held during his absence, and that his son, Arie, would be willing to teach the Hebrew courses. Noordtzij's colleagues, professors Herman Bavinck, Lucas Lindeboom and Douwe K. Wielenga thought otherwise. Each on took a turn teaching Noordtzij's Hebrew classes.⁹⁰ Just before embarking on December 24, 1892, at three o'clock in the afternoon Noordtzij wrote a letter to the chairman of the Curatorium of the Theological School of Kampen, Jan van Aniel, that he was on his way to North America. "I trust that this will have your approval," Noordtzij wrote to him. He continued, "I am convinced that the Americans in Colorado are causing the difficulties that the lands cannot be transferred; and I am convinced that for the good name of our company and for the interest of 200 Holland-Christians there and of 300 still here who already have sold their goods, I have to act quickly. I owe it to God to go."⁹¹ Upon receipt of Noordtzij's letter van Aniel inquired of the Rector, what the conversation between him and Noordtzij had been about. The Rector confirmed the above in his December 29, 1892, letter to van Aniel. With a cover letter, Noordtzij's and Lindeboom's letters were then circulated among the members of the curatorium. Not a single member approved Noordtzij's action but each one was grateful that the remaining professors had made provisions to cover Noordtzij's Hebrew classes. The majority opinion of the curatorium was, however, that is should discuss Noordtzij's action at a later date.⁹² One member of the curatorium, Willem Doorn from Zuid-Holland (South Holland), added the following words to the circular letter: "Might it be clearly evident in the next examinations that this journey of Professor Noordtzij gave much insight to our students concerning certain questions of isagogics and hermeneutics."⁹³

Noordtzij's sudden departure for North America aroused awareness in the ecclesiastical circles that the theological professors had to fulfill an important task laid upon their shoulders by the church, one which required all their energy, if possible undivided.⁹⁴ It was these kinds of questions that were raised by the delegates at the classical meetings being held in the first part of the year of 1893. The delegates also asked whether Noordtzij had consulted with the curatorium before he left for North America. The outcome of this discussion at the Leeuwarden classical meeting led to the passing of a motion that "The Classis expresses its regrets over the action of Professor Noordtzij and requests the Curatorium to note this."⁹⁵ Besides Classis Leeuwarden,

Classes Amersfoort⁹⁶ and Zierikzee⁹⁷ also expressed their concern about Noordtzij's connection with the Immigration Company of the curatorium. Later on, the Provincial Synod of Gelderland forwarded its concern to the Synod of the Gereformeerde Kerken to be held in August, 1893.⁹⁸

It was not really the first time that Noordtzij was being rapped on the knuckles for his extra-curricular activities. He immensely enjoyed participating, with boundless energy, in the political arena in the Netherlands. Since the founding of the Antirevolutionary Party in 1878 he had been a very active member and for thirteen years served as secretary of the Central Committee.⁹⁹ For years he had been a member of the City Commission of Kampen and also of the Provinciale Staten van Overijssel.¹⁰⁰

Noordtzij had become a member of the City Commission of Kampen in 1883.¹⁰¹ The 1885 Synod of the Christelijke Gereformeerde Kerken received two overtures, one from the Provincial Synod of Overijssel and the other from the Provincial Synod of Noord-Brabant, asking synod whether an ordained man, either a minister or a professor, could serve on a City Commission. Provinciale Staten or the Tweede Kamer (Second Chamber). Having wrestled with the pros and cons, synod felt that it did not have any jurisdiction over the matter. Ministers desiring to serve should seek the counsel of the classis and professors of the curatorium, synod advised. It was thus up to classis and the curatorium to decide whether a minister or a professor could serve on any one of the three bodies.¹⁰²

In 1889, Professor Noordtzij, in a daring way, approached the curatorium and told them in a letter that he was nominated to the Provinciale Staten van Overijssel and that he had accepted this nomination. But he added that he was willing to submit himself to the decision adopted by the 1885 Synod. The curatorium discussed his request for many hours and decided that it was the wish of the curatorium that the theological professors refrain from any extra-curricular activities outside the Theological School, but in the case of Professor Noordtzij, since he had accepted this nomination, it was left to his wisdom whether he could serve without any detriment to the school.¹⁰³

But then again in 1891, when the member from the City of Kampen to the Tweede Kamer resigned his seat, Noordtzij sought the nomination for that seat and was elected by a wide majority.¹⁰⁴ In the meantime he had written to the curatorium requesting to be relieved of his teaching the Greek and Hebrew languages, and with some minor shifting, he still could take care of the other courses assigned to him.¹⁰⁵ The curatorium, convinced that the two positions did not coincide and that even a man like Noordtzij could only devote his energy to one cause, replied that they

very much wanted to keep him as a professor for the Theological School, but with the advice of the faculty¹⁰⁶ they could not do otherwise than to deny his request. his time the curatorium did not leave the door ajar as in 1889. The final decision was with the synod, however. The curatorium¹⁰⁷ advised synod to follow their decision. And it did.

Noordtzij was given an opportunity to respond to the synod. Taking the floor he said that he had appreciated the decision of the curatorium with a view to the welfare of the Theological School. He informed the synod that a great struggle had taken place in his heart, especially under the influence and wish of those in politics. He thought that he had found a moment of inner peace with the decision to resign his position at the Theological School, but then he feared that through his resignation the teaching at the school might be irreparably damaged. If the synod wanted and deemed it necessary for him to remain at the Theological School, and not to go to the Tweede Kamer, he wanted to fulfill the wish of the synod . . . here Noordtzij, choking, was unable to complete his sentence. The synod understood his decision and expressed its surprise and thankfulness by spontaneous singing of verse 11 of Psalm 72¹⁰⁸:

Blessed be the Lord, for he so glorious
Alone does wondrous things.
O God, in all the earth our chorus
With "Amen, Amen" rings.¹⁰⁹

Noordtzij was allowed to stay in the Tweede Kamer till a capable successor could be found. He served in the Tweede Kamer from June 8, 1891 till May 10, 1892.¹¹⁰ In his conversations and also in his correspondence he would often remind his listeners and readers that he had been a member of the Tweede Kamer.¹¹¹ The 1891 Synod was held from 18 through 29 August, 1891.¹¹²

Whether Noordtzij's confrontation with the curatorium in 1893 was as dramatic as in 1891 is difficult to judge. The drama was played out beyond the jurisdiction of the curatorium. It was the news media that were much more up in arms about Noordtzij's involvement in the Immigration Company. But when an anonymous letter addressed to the curatorium was circulated among its members accusing them of being accessories to the action of Noordtzij, many felt that some type of action on the part of the curatorium was necessary. This was just a reaffirmation of their unanimous opinion earlier in the year to do something about it. It was now felt that this letter expressed the feeling that was prevalent throughout the Netherlands with regard to Noordtzij's

connection with the Immigration Company. With one accord, however, they turned thumbs down on the request of the anonymous writer to publish an exoneration of the curatorium's involvement in De Bazuin (the weekly paper of the Theological School).¹¹³

To fit a special curatorium meeting into everyone's schedule was a difficult task. It was finally held on 20 and 21 April 1893, at Kampen. Since the meeting dealt primarily with personalities, the chairman declared that it would be necessary to go into executive session with only the curators and the fulltime faculty present. [A few more items of urgency were placed on the agenda besides the Noordtzij affair.] The contents of Noordtzij's letter of December 24, 1892, and the Rector's letter of December 29, 1892, to van Andel were summarized. The chairman reminded those present that they were here to discuss the action of Noordtzij and not of the Immigration Company.

The chairman then gave the floor to Noordtzij to explain his view of the situation. Noordtzij began his remarks by saying that he had taken the curatorium's decision of 1889 to be in reference to activities on the political terrain and not to those of a philanthropic organization such as the Holland-American Land and Immigration Company. His annual participation as officer in this Immigration Company would have been very minimal, maybe only two or three meetings a year, but through unfortunate circumstances it became necessary for him to journey to Colorado and to remain in North America longer than he had planned.¹¹⁴ (Noordtzij was back in the Netherlands by the 15th of February 1893. He had left, you may recall, on the 24th of December 1892, for North America.)

Whether the Immigration Company was a philanthropic or a financial company, was not the question for him, said one of the curators, but what surprised him was the Noordtzij had taken the 1889 decision, which was worded in general terms, to refer only to politics and not to the terrain of philanthropy. Since Noordtzij's return, other curators stated, his lectures were suffering on account of the many meetings he had to attend to in connection with the Immigration Company, whose affairs obviously preoccupied his mind and heart.

After a short recess the chairman declared that there were two questions for discussion for the rest of the afternoon. First, is the work of Noordtzij in the Immigration Company detrimental to the school? Second, is it detrimental to the prestige of Noordtzij putting in doubt his impartiality, proficiency, and dedication to the school? Many of the curators accepted these two questions and wished that Noordtzij stubbornly maintained, however, that the Immigration

Company had a philanthropic purpose. "What holds me back," continued Noordtzij, "from withdrawing from the company? If I do this now, while a reorganization of the management is under discussion, would I not put the immigrants in greater danger? And would I not put myself then also under greater suspicion?"

Before the adjournment of the afternoon session the chairman reported that the curatorium had received three overtures objecting to Noordtzij's participation in the Immigration Company, as we already noted, namely, from Classes Amersfoort, Leeuwarden, and Zierikzee.

In the evening session the curators took care of some other business first, but then they expeditiously returned to the Noordtzij affair. Noordtzij summarized in a few words what he had said in the afternoon session, and explained, first, that he regretted very much that matters had taken such a turn; second, that he was willing to withdraw himself in the way the course of the events had gone and on the basis of the earlier decision of the curatorium; third, that he did not dare to do this, however, with an eye on the responsibility over against the immigrants whom he could not leave in the lurch. He would be able to do this as soon as the reorganization of the management was complete; if the reorganization was not complete in a few months, the Immigration Company would then be finished. After some more discussion, several motions were made; the one that finally carried the day was worded as follows: "The Curators' meeting, having heard everything, judges that the relation of Professor Noordtzij with the Holland-American Land- and Immigration Company located in Utrecht is suspect, especially with an eye to the welfare of the Theological School, and expresses its desire that the Reverend withdraw from that Company, trusting that he shall have complied with that desire by the first regular meeting of the Curators." The next morning the motion was read and heard again, and without further discussion adopted.¹¹⁵ The regular meeting of the curatorium was normally scheduled in the month of July. The annual report to the 1893 Synod gave a brief description of the deliberations of their April 20 and 21, 1893, meeting, with the added notation that Professor Noordtzij had resigned from the Holland-American Land- and Immigration Company by the end of May. He immediately had apprised the Chairman and Secretary of the Curatorium of that decision.¹¹⁶ The monkey was finally lifted off from Noordtzij's back.

With Noordtzij no longer at the helm, the Immigration Company functionally ceased to exist. It was liquidated by July. But Noordtzij was not out of the woods yet concerning his involvement with the Immigration Company. At the occasion of the birthday of Queen Wilhelmina it pleased her to knight Noordtzij into the order of the Nederlandse Leeuw on August 31, 1893.¹¹⁷ This knighthood caused a storm of protest in the Netherlands, for the public had not forgotten Noordtzij's

imprudent behavior embarking on a terrain about which he knew absolutely nothing. This storm of protest was natural, for the newspapers were still reporting very unfavourable tidings from the two settlements there, so that the Colorado disaster was still on the mind of many people. And obviously Noordtzij's name was connected with it.¹¹⁸

By the time of Noordtzij's death in 1915 the whole Colorado affair seemed to have been forgotten. At his funeral no reference to the Immigration Company was made at all by any of the speakers who were eulogizing him for his work in education, in politics, at the Theological School and on the ecclesiastical terrain. In a memorial his son-in-law, Gerrit Keizer, made an interesting comment about the character of Noordtzij. Keizer wrote:

"The man who at times could fly off the handle (which betrayed his sailor's blood) was really a very kind person. He was always ready to help. His eagerness to accommodate was a concern to his family, because his support would go to persons who were not worthy of it and who should never have enjoyed it."¹¹⁹

Was his son-in-law thinking here about Zoutman and Vander Hoogt? Keizer made no reference to the Immigration Company in his memorial of Noordtzij. The Colorado affair must undoubtedly have been a black page in the life of Maarten Noordtzij.

1. Dorothy Roberts, "A Dutch Colony in Colorado," Colorado Magazine, 18 (1940): 229-236. Jacob van Hinte, Netherlanders in America, A Study of Emigration and Settlement in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries in the United States of America, ed. by Robert P. Swierenga, 2 vols. in 1 (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1985), pp. 667-678. Henry S. Lucas, Netherlanders in America, Dutch Immigration to the United States and Canada, 1789-1950, University of Michigan Publications, History and Political Science, 21 (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1955), pp. 431-435. Van Hinte covers the Colorado story in twelve and Lucas in five pages. Both van Hinte and Lucas draw much of their material from Jan van Boven's publication entitled De eerste Hollandsche Nederzetting in Colorado, en het Optreden der Nederlandsche-Amerikaansche Land- en Emigratie-Maatschappij van nabij beschouwd (Utrecht: H. Honig, 1893). Van Boven who had accompanied the immigrants from Amsterdam to Alamosa, Colorado, as an observer for the Immigration Company, was compelled to publish his experiences, on account of the severe criticisms that he had received for choosing the side of the farmers and not of the Immigration Company. In January 1893 from the City of Denver Noordtzij wrote a letter to Abraham kuyper, in which he harshly passed judgment on Van Boven who had been Kuyper's personal secretary, for, what Noordtzij called, his opposition to the Immigration Company. Noordtzij's letter to Abraham Kuyper is to be found in the Kuyper Collection in the Archives of the Vrije Universiteit of Amsterdam.

2. See my article entitled "The Ecclesiastical Struggles of the Rilland and Crook Christian Reformed Churches in Colorado in 1893: A History" in Perspectives on the Christian Reformed Church, Studies in its History, Theology, and Ecumenicity, Presented in Honor of John Henry Kromminga at his Retirement as President of Calvin Theological Seminary, ed. by Peter De Klerk and Richard R. De Ridder (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1983), pp. 73-98.

3. Harm Bouwman. "Prof. M. Noordtzij," in Almanak van het Studentencorps "Fides Quaerit Intellectum" voor het Jaar 1911 (Kampen: Ph. Zalsman, 1910), pp. 176-177.

4. Gerrit Keizer. "Maarten Noordtzij," in Handboek ten Dienste van de Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland voor het Jaar 1916, 28ste Jaargang (Goes: Oosterbaan & le Cointre, 1916), p.331.

5. Ibid., p.338.

6. Jan Veenhof. "Maarten Noordtzij," in Christelijke Encyclopedie, 6 vols., Red. van Frederik Willem Grosheide en Gerrit Pieter van Itterzon (Kampen: J.H. Kok, 1960), 5: 229.

7. Keizer, "Maarten Noordtzij," p.330.

8. "A big Land Deal!" The Alamosa Independent-Journal 7 (May 5, 1892): 3.

9. "Boldest of Swindles," The Denver Republican, December 18, 1892, pp. 1-2.

10. John R. Hanna, president of the City National Bank of Denver, interviewed by the reporter of The Denver Republican in December 1892 stated that Mr. Henry gave option of 15,000 acres of land to Vander Hoogt in February 1892 . . . and nothing further was heard from Vander Hoogt until his arrival in Alamosa in the latter part of October 1892. See "Boldest of Swindles," pp. 1-2. In June 1892 Vander Hoogt and his wife were living in an apartment in Hilversum, the Netherlands. See document of the divorce proceedings of Neeltje Vander Hoogt-Roest against Cornelius, her husband, presented in the District Court of Denver dated December 1, 1893.

11. In the divorce proceedings against her husband, Cornelius, Neeltje Vander Hoogt-Roest testified under oath that "he was required to leave Holland on account of business troubles in September 1892." She understood that "he had to leave the country." This document presented in the District Court of Denver is dated December 1, 1893. See also "Boldest of Swindles," pp. 1-2.

12. Van Boven, Eerste Hollandsche Nederzetting in Colorado, pp. 24-26; "Mededeeling," De Wachter 25 (1 Februari 1893): 2; "Boldest of Swindles," pp. 1-2.

13. Robert F. Manders, general agent for the Empire Land and Canal Company, wrote in a letter which was published in several Dutch newspapers that the Immigration Company also had agreed to pay 15,000 dollars for buildings, water wells, fences, smaller water canals, etc., which were part of the improved lands. Thus the total purchase price that the Immigration Company had to pay for the lands was 183,750 dollars. It is not clear from this letter whether the second payment of 15,000 dollars represented the full purchase price for buildings, etc., or just a part of the purchase price for the lands. See Arnhemsche Courant, 9 Maart 1893, pp. 1-2.

14. "Boldest of Swindles," pp. 1-2.

15. Ibid.

16. Ibid.; "Verslag van de buitengewone Vergadering van Aandeelhouders en Commissarissen der Ned[erlandsch-]Amer[ikaansche] Land-en Emigratie-Maatschappij te Utrecht den 23 Feb[ruari] 18[93], met Verkort Rapport van Prof[essor] Noordzij [sic] over zijn Verrichtingen in Noordi-Amerika," Hope 27 919 April 1893): 6.

17. Ibid.; "Verslag van de buitengewone Vergadering van Aandeelhouders en Commissarissen," p. 6.

18. Van Boven, Eerste Hollandsche Nederzetting in Colorado, pp. 37-38.

19. "Big Land Deal," p.3.

20. The monetary system of that day was published in the brochure of the Immigration Company in 1892. It listed the one dollar was worth 2.50 guilder. See De Emigratie van Landbouwers naar Noord-Amerika, San Luis, Staat Colorado [Utrecht: De Nederlandschp-Amerikaansche Land- en Emigratie-Maatschappij, 1892], p.2.

21. "Statuten der Naamlooze Vennootschap: Nederlandsch-Amerikaansche Land- en Emigratie Maatschappij," Nederlandsche Staats-Courant, 8 September 1892, pp. [6-8]. The official English version of the Incorporation Papers of the Holland-American Land-and Immigration Company was filed with the Secretary of State of the State of Colorado dated December 9, 1892. The Incorporation Papers are to be found in the State Archives, Denver, Colorado.

22. This information is based on the annotations made by Gijssbert van Tienhoven, Foreign Minister of the Netherlands. The reporter in "Boldest of Swindles," pp. 1-2, wrote: "°Zoutman, says Van Dusseldorp, used to clerk in a Denver real estate office, and when he got up this scheme I loaned him money to pay his fare to Alamosa, money to buy a decent suit of clothes; yes, money to buy shoes.' °Zoutman, °says Mr. Manders, °was so hard up when I met him in Paris that I had to lend him \$20 with which to get to Rotterdam,' °Zoutman, ° says Banker Ross, °is a man I loaned \$250 with which to go to Europe.'"

23. [Jan den Boer] "Emigratie III," De Protestantsche Noordbrabanter 13 (17 September 1892): 1.

24. See Article Four of the Incorporation Papers of the Holland-American Land-and Immigration Company dated December 9, 1892.

25. Ibid.

26. "Boldest of Swindles," pp. 1-2.

27. Robert F. Manders. "Ingezonden Stuk," Kamper Courant 58 (23 Februari 1893): 2.

28. "Boldest of Swindles," pp. 1-2.

29. Incorporation Papers of the Holland-American Land- and Immigration Company dated December 9, 1892.

30. Van Boven, Eerste Hollandsche Nederzetting in Colorado, pp. iv-v.

31. Manders, "Ingezonden Stuk," p.2.

32. Incorporation Papers of the Holland-American Land- and Immigration Company dated December 9, 1892.

33. "Boldest of Swindles," pp. 1-2.

34. Van Boven, Eerste Hollandsche Nederzetting in Colorado, p.v.

35. Ibid.; Manders wrote in a letter which was published in several Dutch newspapers that he had in his possession a copy of a letter copied by Zoutman himself in which Zoutman explained to Vander Hoogt that the lands to be bought were heavily encumbered. Vander Hoogt had queried Zoutman about this problem. Zoutman's letter to Vander Hoogt was dated April 14, 1892. See Arnhemsche Courant, 9 Maart 1893, pp. 1-2.

36. "Boldest of Swindles," pp. 1-2.

37. [I. Verweij] "Landverhuizing op Gereformeerde Grondslag," De Grondwet 33 (14 Februari 1893): 1.

38. "A letter from a Colonist," Middelburgsche Courant 136 (16 Januari 1893): 5.

39. Cornelis Moerman. "Holland-Colonie San Luis-Vallei," Goesche Courant, 18 Februari 1893, p. 1.

40. Emigratie van Landbouwers naar Noord-Amerika, pp.5-6.

41. "Death and his Toll," The Denver Republican, December 20, 1892, p.3.

42. "Diphtheria and Scarlet Fever ravaging the Dutch Colony at Alamosa," The Denver Republican, December 19, 1892, pp. 1-2.

43. "Van der Hoogt in town," The Denver Republican, December 24, 1892, p.7.

44. Keizer, "Maarten Noordt zij," p. 339.

45. "Landverhuizing naar Colorado," Middelburgsche Courant 136 (1 Februari 1893): 1.

46. Ibid.

47. Van Boven, Eerste Hollandsche Nederzetting in Colorado, p. v; Maarten Noordtzij. "Emigratie naar Noord-Amerika," De Standaard 22 (20 Februari 1893): 2.

48. Van Boven, Eerste Hollandsche Nederzetting in Colorado, p.v; Manders, "Letter," Arnhemsche Courant, 9 Maart 1893, pp. 1-2.

49. See Article 12 of the Incorporation Papers of the Holland-American Land- and Immigration Company dated December 9, 1892.

50. Samuel Hartog, "Letter," Goesche Courant, 23 Februari 1893, p. 1.

51. "Boldest of Swindles," pp. 1-2.

52. John R. Planten's letter to Gijsbert van Tienhoven dated December 27, 1892. This letter is to be found among van Tienhoven's papers, Rijksarchief, °s-Gravenhage.

53. Gijsbert van Tienhoven's letter to G. de Weckherlin dated December 24, 1892. This letter is to be found among de Weckherlin's papers, Rijksarchief, °s-Gravenhage.

54. The original copy of this "Memorandum" (on microfilm) is to be found among the papers of the State Department, National Archives, Washington, D.C. The "Memorandum" does not carry a date, but since de Weckherlin wrote to van Tienhoven on the 12th of January 1893 explaining what he had done, de Weckherlin must have visited the State Department on the 11th of January 1893. He had received van Tienhoven's letter dated December 24, 1892 on 10th of January 1893 requesting an investigation concerning the welfare of the colonists in Colorado. De Weckherlin copied the text of this "Memorandum" in his letter dated January 12, 1893 to van Tienhoven. A copy of this letter is to be found among de Weckherlin's papers, Rijksarchief, °s-Gravenhage.

55. See de Weckherlin's letter to van Tienhoven dated January 12, 1893. A copy of this letter is to be found among de Weckherlin's papers, Rijksarchief, °s-Gravenhage.

56. Merriman's report is dated February 11, 1893. The governor's office in Denver received it on the 13th of February 1893. This office in turn forwarded it to the Secretary of State, Washington, D.C., on the 16th of February 1893. A copy of it (on microfilm) is to be found among the papers of the State Department, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

57. See Wharton's letter to de Weckerlin dated February 24, 1893 with a copy of Merriman's report attached. This letter and copy of Merriman's report are to be found among de Weckerlin's papers, Rijksarchief, 's-Gravenhage.

58. Published version of Merriman's report in The Denver Republican, February 17, 1893, p.2.

59. "Investigated! Van der Hoogt's Method is investigated by the Government," San Luis Valley Courier 5 (February 25, 1893): 4.

60. See de Weckerlin's letter to van Tienhoven dated Februari 25, 1893 with a copy of Merriman's report attached. This letter and copy of Merriman's report are to be found among van Tienhoven's papers, Rijksarchief, 's-Gravenhage.

61. Copy of Merriman's report (on microfilm) is to be found among the papers of the State Department, National Archives, Washington, D.C. Published version of The Denver Republican, February 17, 1893, p.2.

62. Emigratie van Lanbouwers naar Noord-Amerika, see especially pp. 7-12.

63. Van Boven, Eerste Hollandsche Nederzetting in Colorado, p. 16.

64. Ibid., pp. 35-36.

65. See Affidavits of Attachment of Johannes De Kruyter, Adolph Heersink, Gerrit Van Dalen and Jan Zwier filed in the District Court of the 12th Judicial District, Conejos, Conejos County of the State of Colorado on December 10, 1892; see also Van Boven, Eerste Hollandsche Nederzetting in Colorado, p. 38.

66. Gijsbert van Tienhoven's letter to H.J. Smidt dated March 18, 1893. Attached to this letter was a copy of Merriman's report dated February 11, 1893. Copies of this letter and of Merriman's report are to be found among van Tienhoven's papers, Rijksarchief, 's-Gravenhage.

67. Ibid.

68. Maarten Noordtzij's letter to Gijsbert van Tienhoven dated March 6, 1893. A copy of this letter is to be found among van Tienhoven's papers, Rijksarchief, 's-Gravenhage.

69. Gijsbert van Tienhoven's letter to Maarten Noordtzij dated March 18, 1893. A copy of this letter is to be found among van Tienhoven's papers, Rijksarchief, 's-Gravenhage.

70. This report of the Nederlandsch-Amerikaansche Land- en Emigratie-Maatschappij was addressed to Gijsbert van Tienhoven, Foreign Minister, dated March 30, 1893. The published version of this report was entitled "Hoor ook de andere Partij!" Copy of the handwritten report and the published report are to be found among van Tienhoven's papers, Rijksarchief, 's-Gravenhage. The April 9, 1893, issue of Enkhuizer Courant reprinted the published version of "Hoor ook de andere Partij!", p. 5 of second section.

71. "Hoor ook de andere Partij!", pp. 4-6.

72. Ibid., p. 5; Van Boven, Eerste Hollandsche Naderaetting in Colorado, p. 42.

73. Incorporation papers of The Empire Land and Canal Company dated October 21, 1884. The Incorporation Papers are to be found in the State Archives, Denver, Colorado.

74. Manders, "Letter," Arnhemsche Courant, 9 Maart 1893, pp. 1-2.

75. "Hoor ook de andere Partij!", pp. 1-2.

76. "Boldest of Swindles," pp. 1-2.

77. Gijsbert van Tienhoven's letter to H.J. Smidt dated April 5, 1893. Attached to this letter was a copy of the handwritten report of the Nederlandsch-Amerikaansche Land- en Emigratie-Maatschappij dated March 30, 1893. Copies of this letter and of the handwrittten report are to be found among van Tienhoven's papers, Rijksarchief, 's-Gravenhage.

78. See endnote no. 66.

79. Gijsbert van Tienhoven's letter to H.J. Smidt dated January 26, 1893. Attached to this letter was a copy of de Weckherlin's "Memorandum" dated [January 11, 1893]. Copies of this letter and of the "Memorandum" are to be found among van Tienhoven's papers, Rijksarchief, 's-Gravenhage.

80. On the 15th of May 1893 the Attorney General of the District Court of Amsterdam, Mr. Kist forwarded to the Minister of Justice, H.J. Smidt, the findings of the Officer of Justice of Utrecht which are dated May 12, 1893. Smidt sent on these findings to van Tienhoven on May 17, 1893. This letter and the Officer of Justice's report are to be found among van Tienhoven's papers, Rijksarchief, 's-Gravenhage.

81. See endnote no. 55.

82. Officer of Justice's report, Utrecht, dated May 17, 1893.

83. See First point of Merriman's judicial report.
84. Officer of Justice's report, Utrecht, dated May 17, 1893.
85. Noordtzij's letter from Denver, Colorado, to Abraham Kuyper dated January 1893.
86. "Diphtheria and Scarlet Fever ravaging the Dutch Colony at Alamost," pp. 1-2; "Van der Hoogt in Town," p. 7.
87. Maarten Noordtzij's letter from New York to g. de Weckherlin, the Netherlands Ambassador, Washington, D.C., dated February 3, 1893. This letter is to be found in de Weckherlin's papers, Rijksarchief, 's-Gravenhage.
88. Lucas Lindeboom's letter to Jan van Andel dated December 29, 1892. This letter is to be found in the Gemeente Archief, Kampen.
89. Noordtzij had taken along an interpreter, Gerhard J.D. Aalders, one of his students, who had been a businessman in London before he enrolled in the Theological School at Kampen. See Gerhand Ch. Aalders, "Ds. Gerhard Jean Daniel Aalders (17 Juni 1855-8 September 1926)," in *Jaarboekje ten Dienste van de Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland 1927* (Goes: Oosterbaan & le Cointre, 1927), p.p. 353-355.
90. Lucas Lindeboom's letter to Jan van Andel dated December 29, 1892. This letter is to be found in the Gemeente Archief, Kampen.
91. Maarten Noordtzij's letter to Jan van Andel dated December 24, 1892. This letter is to found in the Gemeente Archief, Kampen.
92. Jan van Andel's letter to the members of the Curatorium of the Theological School at Kampen dated December 30, 1892. This letter with the responses of the members of the Curatorium are to be found in the Gemeente Archief, Kampen.
93. Willem Doorn's response to Jan van Andel's letter dated December 30, 1892. This response is to be found in the Gemeente Archief, Kampen.
94. A letter from Classes Amersfoort to the Curatorium of the Theological School at Kampen dated April 11, 1893. This letter is to be found in the Gemeente Archief, Kampen. See also *Acta der Generale Synode van de Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland, gehouden te Dordrecht in den Jare 1893* (Amsterdam: J.A. Wormser, 1893). p. 33.

95. The actuary of the classes, W.P. Nijenhuis in a letter to the Curatorium of the Theological School at Kampen dated February 1893. This letter is to be found in the Gemeente Archief, Kampen. See also minutes of the Classis Leeuwarden dated February 1, 1893. This minute book of Classis Leeuwarden is to be found in the Rijksarchief, Leeuwarden, and see also *Acta der Generale Synode van de Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland, gehouden te Dordrecht in den Jare 1893* (Amsterdam: J.A. Wormser, 1893), p. 33.

96. See endnote no. 94.

97. *Acta der Generale Synode van de Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland, gehouden te Dordrecht in den Jare 1893* (Amsterdam: J.A. Wormser, 1893), p. 33.

98. Article 13 of the Minutes of the Provinciale Synode van Gelderland, pp. 15-16. Minute book is to be found in the Rijkserchief, Zwolle. See also *Acta der Generale Synode van de Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland, gehouden te Dordrecht in den Jare 1893* (Amsterdam: J.A. Wormser, 1893), p. 33.

99. "Prof. M. Noordtzij," *De Standaard* 43 (10 Februari 1915): 2; Anthony Brummelkamp, Jr. "Ter Gedachtenis [van Maarten Noordtzij]" *De Basuin* 63 (19 Februari 1915): 1-2.

100. Bouwman, "Prof. M. Noordtzij," pp. 222-224.

101. *Ibid.*, p. 223.

102. *Handelingen van de Synode der Christelijke Gereformeerde Kerk in Nederland, gehouden van 18 Augustus tot 3 September 1885, in het Kerkgebouw der Christelijke Gereformeerde Gemeente te Rotterdam* (Lerden: D. Donner, 1885), pp. 126-134.

103. Minutes of the Curators' meeting of July 17, 1889, p. 24. Minute book of the Curatorium is to be found in the Gemeente Archief, Kampen.

104. Bouwman, "Prof. M. Noordtzij," p. 225.

105. *Handelingen van de Synode der Christelijke Gereformeerde Kerk in Nederland, in de 19 Zittingen door haar gehouden te Leeuwarden, van 18-29 Augustus 1891* (Leiden: D. Donner, 1891), p. 54.

106. *Ibid.*

107. *Ibid.*

108. *Ibid.*, pp. 54-55.

109. **Book of Praise, Anglo-Genevan Psalter** (Hamilton: Committee for the Publication of the Anglo-Genevan Psalter, 1972), p. 133.

110. Bouwman, "Prof. M. Noordtzij," p. 225.

111. Moerman, "Holland-Colonie San Luis-Vallei," p. 1; Maarten Noordtzij's letter to Gijsbert van Tienhoven dated February 18, 1893. This letter is to be found among van Tienhoven's papers, Rijksarchief, 's-Gravenhage.

112. See endnote no. 105.

113. Mazzaroth's letter to the Curators of the Theological School at Kampen dated January 31, 1893. This letter is to be found in the Gemeente Archief, Kampen.

114. Minutes of the Buitengew[one] Vergadering van Curatoren der Theol[ogische] School gehouden te Kampen den 20 en 21 April 1893 (handwritten). Minute book of Curatorium is to be found in the Gemeente Archief, Kampen.

115. Ibid.

116. **Acta der Generale Synode van de Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland**, gehouden te Dordrecht in den Jare 1893 (Amsterdam: J.A. Wormser, 1893), pp. 33, 38.

117. Maarten Noordtzij's obituary in *De Basuin* 63 (12 Februari 1915): 4.

118. "Middelburg, 31 Augustus" *Middelburgsche Courant*, 31 Augustus 1893, p. 1.

119. Keizer, "Maarten Noordtzij" pp. 339-340.