"In Isolation is Our Strength:"
The Dutch Reformed of Chicago

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By 1900 greater Chicago had more than 20,000 Dutch and was second only to Grand Rapids as a Dutch center.[1] The four major enclaves were Roseland and South Holland on the far south side, and the Old West Side and Englewood in the city proper. Roseland and South Holland were stable, homogeneous colonies that remained intact for more than one hundred years, the Englewood settlement lasted about eighty years, but the fluid West Siders relocated almost every generation and survived against all odds only because of their staunch Calvinism.[2]

The polyglot city Dutch came from all social strata and regions of the Netherlands. Religiously, they included Calvinists, Catholics, Lutherans, Unitarians, Socialists, Jews, and the nominally churched. Hollanders never totaled more than 1 percent of Chicago's population compared to 20 percent in Grand Rapids in 1890.[3] They were an invisible people to Chicago journalists and historians and are rarely mentioned in any publications. By all expectations, the Dutch should have rapidly Americanized, intermarried, and disappeared as an ethnic group. Indeed, this happened to Dutch Jews and Catholics who joined German congregations, excepting some 200 Catholic families who in the 1890s formed the St. Willebrord parish in Kensington (south of Roseland).[4]

The main reason a Dutch presence remains is because half of the newcomers were Calvinists who affiliated with Reformed (RCA) and Christian Reformed (CRC) congregations. Since the RCA denomination was more

Americanized, many second- and third-generation RCA members in Chicago preferred American denominations, particularly the Presbyterian, or they become unchurched. for a time a Holland Presbyterian and a Holland Unitarian church also served the West Siders.[5]

Ethnic neighborhoods are always in flux as they follow the natural cycle. After an initial growth phase, they bask in the golden age of maturity until finally succumbing to the inevitable process of deterioration and eventual abandonment. The Dutch West Siders fit this classic pattern of migration, settling first near the city center and then as part of the process of suburbanization moving toward the periphery.[6]

The West Siders experienced at least five community relocations due to the encroachment of noisesome factories and uncouth ethnic groups. Each time they built or bought new churches, homes, schools, stores, and shops. The west division of Chicago was always the most congested and ethnically mixed; it was the quintessential working-class district.[7]

The original Dutch settlement took shape in the 1840s and 1850s in the region immediately west of the Chicago River across from the city center. In 1848 these mostly Reformed families organized an independent congregation, which five years later joined the Reformed Church of America (RCA) after the Rev. Albertus Van Raalte came from Holland, Michigan, in 1853 at their request. First RCA of Chicago worshipped in rented quarters on Randolph Street just west of the Chicago River until 1856 when they erected their own church building a mile south on Foster Street (renamed Law Street in 1881) near Des Plaines and Harrison Streets (the Dan Ryan Expressway runs near both sites today).[8]

The first relocation occurred in the 1860s when families moved a mile west along Harrison Street beyond Halsted Street into the area later made

famous by Jane Addam's Hull House (1889) and now the campus of the University of Illinois Chicago Circle. Fifteen of these families in 1867 seceded from First RCA to form the First CRC, a more conservative body, and they built a small frame church on Gurley Street at Miller. (This was one block south of Harrison and two blocks west of Halsted Street.)[9] Two years later First RCA, led by their new energetic pastor, the Rev. Barnardus De Beij of Middlestum, Groningen, built their new edifice three blocks west of First CRC at Harrison and May Streets. De Beij served First RCA for twenty-three years during its flowering period, while the upstart CRC went through a number of pastorates and vacancies.[10] The steady arrival of hundreds of Groninger farm families thrown out of work in the Dutch agricultural crisis boosted the memberships of both congregations, but particularly the CRC.

After the financial panic and depression of the 1870s ended, the Dutch began relocating to the renowned Ashland Avenue area about two miles to the southeast. In 1883 First CRC purchased from the Presbyterians a spacious building on 14th Street east of Ashland Avenue (between Troop and Loomis). In 1891 First RCA with its 500 families also relocated in the heart of its changing parochial territory. They sold their Harrison Street building and built a new church to seat 1,000 on Hastings Street (14th Place) near Ashland Avenue only a few blocks west of First CRC. Here they worshiped until 1944. That same year young families desiring English-language worship left First CRC and organized the Trinity congregation on the north fringe of the Ashland neighborhood. Meanwhile in 1923, First CRC with over 1,200 souls outgrew its "Old Fourteenth Street Church," as the edifice was affectionately called, and built a beautiful new church a stone's throw from First RCA on the very visible corner of Ashland Avenue and 14th Street. This served the congregation until 1946.[11] Thus, for two generations,

Ashland Avenue was the heart of the Groninger Hoek, anchored by the churches and the Ebenezer Christian School founded in 1893. Both churches used only the Dutch language in worship and teaching until the 1920s after which English gradually supplanted Dutch.[12]

The more affluent and upwardly mobile Hollanders continued the process of suburbanization and moved into newer neighborhoods. This forced the RCA and CRC congregations to give birth to several daughter churches--in Englewood 7 miles south in the 1880s, in Douglas Park (later called Lawndale) 3 miles west in the 1890s, and Summit 5 miles southwest after 1900. The "Far West Side" churches included Douglas Park CRC (1899), Third CRC (1912), and the English-speaking Fourth CRC (1923). A second Christian school, Timothy, was founded in 1910 for CRC youth in the area. This was the third Calvinist enclave.

Before World War I, the fourth Dutch hub took shape in Cicero, the first suburb west of the city and 2-3 miles west of Douglas Park-Lawndale. By 1935, one RCA and three CRC churches and the relocated Timothy Christian School served the Cicero-Berwyn-Oak Park nexus. Additional outlying churches were established in Des Plaines (1929) and Western Springs (1933).[13] By the 1940s the mother churches at Ashland Avenue were no longer viable, and so they sold their buildings to Black congregations and built new churches in Berwyn. Ebenezer School was closed. The remaining families moved to the near western suburbs in one of the biggest Dutch migrations in Chicago history.

But this was not the last uprooting. In the 1960s the West Siders began moving again more than ten miles further west into Elmhurst and environs, where in the 1970s three of the Cicero-Oak Park area churches

relocated, as did the Timothy Christian grade and high schools. This was the third uprooting for Timothy School.

"Westward Ho!" was the seeming motto of the Groningers until they had deserted the city for the upscale suburbs. The path of least resistance flowed westward along the commercial artery of 12th Street (renamed Roosevelt Road), because major trunk railroad lines and industrial districts hedged them to the south and north. Groningers who wished to truck farm, as several hundred did, headed for the outer fringes--the Chicago Sanitary District in the 1860s, Summit (Archer Avenue) in the 1870s, Bellwood and Maywood in the 1890s, Evergreen Park and Oak Lawn after 1900, Western Springs and Des Plaines in the 1920s, and Worth, Palos Heights, and Tinley Park in the 1950s. There was a similar movement south out of Englewood and Roseland. Whether within the city or beyond its borders, the Dutch Calvinists clustered around their churches and Christian schools. They could choose the way of life they desired--urban, suburban, or rural--without jeopardizing their ethno-religious solidarity.

The Chicago Dutch were freer to migrate within the city than other ethnic groups because they worked primarily for themselves in the building trades and as teamsters, rather than as factory employees. South Siders were concentrated in carpentry and masonry work, while West Siders found their niche hauling ash, garbage, and general freight. A minority of craftsmen worked in factories, notably Roselanders at the Pullman Car Works and West Siders at the Western Electric Hawthorne Plant in Cicero. The Dutch saw gold in cinders and later in garbage, after the city banned ash and cinders, which had to be hauled away. The West Siders lived near the major source area in the city center and they loved to work with horses. So they willingly exchanged Dutch dirt under the fingernails for Chicago soot, grime and ash. As a result, the Dutch virtually monopolized the Chicago

garbage collection business. There were more than 350 companies ranging from one-man operations to large outfits with dozens of drivers and helpers. The owners were often related to one another, they attended the same churches, and they relied on informal understandings and agreements to control contracts and keep out interlopers. Critics aptly called them the "Dutch Mafia." When they consolidated their businesses in to the garbage conglomerates, Waste Management and Browning Ferris, in the 1970s and 1980s, many became instant millionaires.[14] The "akke pieuws," as they were derisively called in Dutch, had the last laugh.

The cultural life of the Dutch Reformed also centered around their churches which shaped their core beliefs and values. One could live from the cradle to the grave within the community and its many institutions, societies, and extended families.[15] Churches always came first, followed by mutual aid societies, and finally social clubs. The churches and their numerous societies and activity groups nurtured a Dutch Calvinism and filled up all free time. Men's and women's societies and their feeder groups for young people, ladies sewing circles, choirs and bands, mission clubs, holiday festers and picnics, men's baseball and bowling, and many similar activities kept the hollanders busy. The benevolent societies were dictated by economic necessity in a society with few government "safety nets" and by the religious obligation of "doing good to those within the household of faith." The secular social clubs appeared only after the Dutch had gained an economic foothold and wished to boast to the Americans of their Dutch heritage. Hence, this was actually a mark of their rapid assimilation.

The oldest and most successful mutual aid agency was the "Zulf Hulp" Burial Fund Society founded in 1879 by West Siders. By 1913 it had 14,000 members and had paid out about $150,000 in death benefits. It continued for

100 years until the 1970s, when the need ended for such an ethnic organization.[16] Similar groups were the Roseland Mutual Aid Society (1884), Eendracht Maakt Macht [Unity is Strength] (1884), the Excelsior Society (1897) Hulp en Nood (1913), Vriendschap en Trouw (1910) of Englewood, and the West Side Flemish Society (1905).[17] The Excelsior Society, which primarily served the Ashland Avenue Groninger Hoek, staged annual July 4th picnics featuring the Christian Reformed Church bands Harmonie (First CRC) and Excelsior (Douglas Park CRC). In 1911 it launched a city-wide campaign to establish the Holland Home for the Aged which opened in Roseland in 1914. This was a signal accomplishment.[18]

The sharp decline in Dutch immigration after 1914 lessened the need for aid societies, until the mid-1950s when a new wave of Dutch figures came to Chicago from Indonesia and from the Netherlands (the latter were victims of the 195 North Sea flood). Then CRC members led by Andrew Riderhof and George De Boer formed the Chicago Committee on Dutch Refugees (1956) to help resettle the displaced families, just as their predecessors had done ant the turn of the century.[19]

Ethnic pride, rather than acts of mercy, was the hallmark of the social clubs. They celebrated Dutch royal birthdays and national holidays, especially Sinterklaas (St. Nicholas Day on December 5). The William of Orange Society (1890) touted the tercentenary of their namesake's victorious Dutch revolt against Spain. The Holland Society of Chicago (1895) staged their annual dinner on William's birthday (April 16) and toasted the defeat of the Spanish Duke of Alva and victory to the South African Boers. The Chicago Section of the General Dutch League took on more practical projects--the establishment of a Dutch chair at the University of Chicago, a Queen Wilhelmina Library of Dutch language books, and the annual birthday

celebrations of the Queen and after 1909 Princess Juliana.[20] "The Queen's birthday is for our Dutch people, a day of national rejoicing," declared the editor of the Dutch-language Chicago newspaper Onze Toekomst in 1909. "It is a pity that we have been unable so far to make of this day a General Netherlands Day. It could be celebrated by all Netherlanders irrespective of political and religious affiliation. The time for it has come now." Until well into the 1920s, Chicagoland remembered the Queen's day of April 30th with speeches and music amidst unfurled Dutch and American flags.[21] The Chicago World's Fair of 1893 provided other opportunities to showcase Dutch ideals and culture and the societies took full advantage.

Paradoxically, the elitist secular clubs were the most Americanized of the Hollanders. They wanted to be "good Americans" and sneered at the kleine luyden (humble people) who resisted assimilation by ghettoizing themselves and founding Christian day schools. "There are too many Americanizing forces at work for us to remain Dutch," pontificated Peter Moerdyke, pastor of Chicago's first English-speaking Dutch church (Trinity RCA) in 1891. "One might easier hope to withstand the mighty current of the Niagara than to prevent the Americanization of the Dutch people." When the CRC folk attempted to do just that by establishing the Ebenezer Christian School in 1893, prominent attorney Henry Van der Ploeg of First RCA chided them for their parochialism and closed-mindedness. "They wish to continue to measure and to judge things by the standard of the home they have left, and not of the home they find. So extreme is this obstinate adherence to Dutch customs and usages," Van der Ploeg continued, "that our worthy Holland People establish Dutch parochial schools in many places and would, if they could, establish exclusive small Dutch villages of settlements, even in our large metropolitan cities."[22]

The Chicago press approvingly printed a full resume of the "old timer's" speech, but the resistant ethnics lashed out angrily at Van der Ploeg's "foul imputations," "crude attacks," and "invectives against everything Dutch, and everything precious."[23] The truth that Van der Ploeg missed was that Christian Reformed members did indeed dam the cultural forces for several generations.

The CRC did it by channeling the social life of its children into an exclusively ethnoreligious track. CRC youth attended Christian schools from first through twelfth grades, while RCA youth attended public schools. Outside of school, CRC high schoolers had their Young Calvinist League and junior high youth had the Calvinist Cadet Corp for boys and Calvinette Club for girls. RCA youth organized church Boy Scout and Girl Scout troops and high schoolers had Christian Endeavor on Sunday evenings. These names speak volumes. The CRC stresses Dutch Calvinist roots while the RCA "endeavored" to be simply Christian, whether in scouting or CE.

Multitudinous church and school activities kept the adults involved as well. Each denomination held all-city mission fests, Reformation Day assemblies, Bible conferences, youth rallies, Sunday school conventions, in addition to the weekly church society meetings. Even summer vacations were separate. CRC folk went to the Cedar Lake (IN) Bible Conference and campground, whereas RCA folk preferred Billy Sunday's Winona Lake (IN) Bible Conference and campground. The only denominational cooperation was in men's softball and basketball, in the Holland Home that mainly housed widows, in regional choral societies, and occasionally in politics.

For entertainment, RCA youth might patronize movie houses and dance halls with their public school friends. But CRC youth were taught to be "in the world but not of it." They were warned to keep away from "worldly

amusements" lest they be rejected for church membership when interviewed by the elders upon professing their faith.

So distinct was the interdenominational cultural gulf that CRC parents considered their children's infrequent marriages to RCA families as "mixed" or interfaith marriages. If pressed, non-Dutch, with non-believers, or worst of all, with Catholics.

Even in death the Dutch remained separate. Mt. Auburn, Forest Home, Mt. Greenwood, and other cemeteries set aside exclusive "Holland sections," sometimes replete with windmills, and they donated plots within these sections to the various church diaconates for indigent Dutch. The Reformed folk preferred funeral directors who belonged to their own denomination. This is understandable because funeral services took place in church and morticians and pastors worked closely to coordinate the services. The non-churched used funeral chapels for their services, joined by members of their Dutch social clubs.[24] In death, as in life, it was important to be near one's own.

Politically, the Chicago Dutch Protestants were passive Republican voters who supported the party ticket and seldom ran for office themselves. The few candidates for public office, who were always RCA members, could not count on the support of their fellow ethnics especially CRC members, unless they ran as party-backed Republicans. The editor of Onze Toekomst tried repeatedly to generate bloc voting for "our" Holland candidates, but he found a spirit of cooperation "non-existent among our people." Reformed, Christian Reformed, Presbyterians, Catholics, Jews, and the unchurched would not cross religious fault lines to vote for fellow Dutch candidates.[25]

Political interest groups faced the same problems. RCA leaders in 1910 founded the Christian Anti-Saloon League, which in 1911 evolved into the

Dutch-American Civil League of Chicago, to promote other Progressive causes. Non-churched Hollanders on the left in 1912 organized the Dutch Socialist Propaganda Club and Dr. W. De Boer ran for Seventeenth Ward alderman on the Socialist ticket in 1910.[26] In the desperate 1930s RCA professionals formed the United Dutch-American Voters' League to back the Democratic mayoral reformer Anton J. Cermak.[27] In the face of these clearly assimilated Hollanders, CRC folk sat on their hands. They could not even be enticed when Kuyperians among them in the 1920s formed the Christian Political Society, modeled after the Dutch Christian Anti-Revolutionary Party. Clover Monsma's American Daily Standard which was deliberately named after Abraham Kuyper's De Standaard, lasted only three months.[28] The Calvinists tried again in 1951, by creating the Christian Citizens Committee, spearheaded by Ralph Dekker and thirty other South Siders, to promote Christian political theory and practice. After a decade of faithful effort, the CCC died a quiet death.[29] Dutch idealism had no realistic chance in Chicago's rough and tumble politics, and the isolation-minded Calvinists were unwilling to taint themselves.

Business was another matter. In this sphere they could control their own destiny. They willingly took their savings to Dutch banks, bought homes through Dutch realtors, drew up their wills with Dutch attorneys, went to Dutch doctors and dentists with their hurts, and patronized fellow merchants and craftsmen. Employers preferred to hire relatives and fellow church members.

Since most Hollanders were blue-collar workers, the one issue they could not avoid was the growing power of unions in the 1940s and 1950s. But they dealt with unions in the same way as politics, passively. They joined and paid dues but would not participate. One had to eat, they rationalized.

But it was no easy decision. The CRC had long condemned "worldly" labor unions for their "socialistic," ungodly principles and violent tactics. Yet many Reformed teamsters, garbage collectors, and building tradesmen succumbed to threats and acts of violence and joined the Teamsters Union and the AFL-CIO. The capitulation, however, could cost them a seat on the church consistory.[30] The solution was to found locals of the Grand Rapids-based Christian Labor Association, as did Calumet area CRC building tradesmen and grocery clerks (Locals 12 and 32, respectively). But the CLA never gained more than lukewarm support from Chicago's Calvinist workmen.[31]

Conclusion

Despite being invisible among the city's nationality groups, the Dutch Calvinists continue to maintain an ethnocultural identity seventy-five years after mass emigration to the city ceased. This defies many assumptions of assimilation theory.

The Dutch naturalized quickly and became legal citizens. They learned English and were absorbed into the economic life of Chicago. The second and third generation, and sometimes even the immigrants themselves, rose into the ranks of the middle class. To the non-Dutch they appeared, at least by the 1940s, to be completely indistinguishable from other Americans. This was true in dress and speech, in the workplace, the voting booth, and the rows of neat brick bungalows (only the occasional miniature windmill marked a residence as Dutch).

But secondary associations and even language are not the markers of ethnicity. One must look to primary associations--the worshiping community, separate schools, home life, marriage, and recreation. Although the

ethnoreligious glue has loosened since the 1960s, a Dutch Calvinist community remains because of the nurturing of church and school.

Living in America's second city with its cultural and physical challenges also pressed the Dutch to protect themselves by building institutional and social walls. In Holland and Grand Rapids, the Hollanders Dutchified the institutions and culture of the community. This was impossible in Chicago, even in so-called Dutch neighborhoods, where the Dutch were in the minority. The alternatives were separation or amalgamation. Only the Christian Reformed folk chose separation and they succeeded because of their schools.

ENDNOTES

1. The total number of persons of Dutch birth or parentage (either father, mother, or both) and their children, plus approximately 3,000 non-Dutch spouses or parents, is 23,085. See Robert P. Swierenga, compiler, "Dutch in Chicago and Cook County 1900 Federal Census," (1992).

2. A brief history is Amy Vanden Bosch, The Dutch Communities of Chicago (Chicago: Knickerbocker Society of Chicago, 1927). The two standard histories of the Dutch in America describe in detail the Roseland and South Holland colonies but only provide a brief sketch of the West Side and Englewood settlements. See Jacob Van Hinte, Netherlanders in America, Robert P. Swierenga, general editor, Adriaan de Wit, chief translator (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1985), 153-56, 308-09, 346-49, 352, 792-94, 829-30, passim; and Henry Lucas, Netherlanders in America (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1955, reprinted Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1987), 227-32, 325-26, passim.

   Many articles in Origins feature the Chicago area. For the West Side see Herbert J. Brinks, "The Americanization of Bernardus De Beij, 1815-1894," VI, No. 1, (1988): 26-31; Hans Krabbendam, "The West Side Dutch in Chicago;" IX, No. 2 (1991): 4-8; Henry Stob's Recollections, ibid., 5-17; and William Dryfhout, "Chicago's 'Far West Siders' in the 1920s," ibid., 18-22; "Chicago" (summary of travel account of Netherlanders (?) Van Dyke and A. Gelders) I, No. 2 (1983): 10-15; "And Now, About Chicago" (letter of Eisse H. Woldring, June 2, 1912) VI, No. 2 (1988): 16-18. For the South Side see Richard R. Tiemersma, "Growing Up in Roseland in the 20s and 30s,"
   V, No. 1 (1987): 2-19; "Teunis Bos Vanden Hoek: Life in the Calumet Region," II, No. 1 (1984): 9-16; Gerrit Bieze, "The 'Vander Aa' Church of South Holland, Illinois, c. 1869-1876," VII, No. 1 (1988): 34-38; David Zandstra, "The Calumet Region" (Part 1), IV, No. 1 (1986): 16-21, (Part 2), IV, No. 2 (1986): 48-54.

3. Cornelius Brett, "Our Churches in Grand Rapids," The Christian Intelligencer, July 9, 1890, p. 11 states that 16,000 of Grand Rapids' 80,000 population in 1890 was Dutch-born and their children. Cook County's total population in 1900 was 1.8 million, or 1.1 percent Dutch stock.

4. Van Hinte, Netherlanders, p. 857.

5. Peter Moordyke, "Chicago Letter," The Christian Intelligencer, Nov. 11, 1891, p. 11.

6. Otis Dudley Duncan and Stanley Lieberson, "Ethnic Segregation and Assimilation," American Journal of Sociology 64 (Jan. 1959), pp. 364-74.

7. Harold M. Mayer and Richard C. Nade, Chicago: Growth of a Metropolis (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969), pp. 63-64.

8. First Reformed Church of Chicago, "A Century for Christ, 1853-1953," 100th Anniversary Booklet (Chicago, 1953), 3, Chicago City Directory,

1856. The congregation worshiped for a year in an empty store on Randolph and Des Plaines Streets and then for a year or two in the Seeley Building on Randolph and Clinton Streets two blocks to the east.

10. A detailed account of De Beij's career is Hans Krabbendam, "Serving the Dutch Community: A Comparison of the Patterns of Americanization in the Lives of Two Immigrant Pastors," (M.A. Thesis, Kent State University, 1989), pp. 48-93. See also H.J. Brinks, "The Americanization of Bernardus De Beij," Origins VI, No. 1 (1988), pp. 266-31.

    De Beij's invaluable letters about Chicago were published in the Provinciale Groninger Courant, No. 148, Dec. 10, 1888; No. 19, Feb. 13, 1869; No. 69, May 20, 1869; No. 138, June 8, 1830; No. 283, Dec. 7, 1871 (Chicago Fire letter). The December 7, 1871 Fire letter is published in English translation in Origins, I, No. 1 (1983), pp. 10-13. An English-language typescript of all the De Beij letters, translated by Dirk Hoogenveen of Regina, Saskatchewan, is in the writer's possession.

11. First RCA, "Century for Christ," p. 5; First CRC, Seventy-Fifth Anniversary Booklet, 11; John Vander Velde, "Our History," Ebenezer Christian Reformed Church, Centennial Booklet (Berwyn, IL, 1967), p. 5.

12. Vander Velde, "Our History," p. 607. When First CRC moved from Ashland Avenue to Berwyn in 1945, the congregation changed its name to Ebenezer CRC. The last regular Dutch worship service ended in 1955.

13. Ibid., p. 11. First CRC of Cicero was organized in 1912, West Side RCA in 1923, and Second CRC (formerly Douglas Park CRC) in 1927.

14. Timothy Jacobson, Waste Management: An American Corporate Success Story (Washington, DC: Gateway Business Books, 1993); Robert P. Swierenga, compiler, "Chicago Dutch Garbage Companies: A Complete Listing, 1890-1991;" Swierenga, "Chicago Dutch Cartage Companies: A Complete Listing, 1890-1991;" Mark Fineman, "How Growth Profits Garbage Grants," Chicago Daily News/Chicago Sun Times, Suburban Week (West Suburban Supplement), May 12-13, 1976, pp. 1, 9. See also follow-up articles by Fineman in ibid., May 19-20, 1976; May 26-27, 1976; Citizen's Clearinghouse for Hazardous Wastes, Browning Ferris Industries: A Corporate Profile (Arlington, VA: 1987); Chicago and Suburban Refuse Disposal Association (Elmhurst, IL: 1987).

15. The following section relies heavily on the Chicago Dutch-language weekly newspaper Onze Toekomst, 1897-1953; and its successors The Illinois Observer 9monthly) 1953-1959, and The Church Observer (monthly) 1960- . Files of Onze Toekomst are incomplete. Prior to 1920, all issues are now lost and only selected articles and items are available in English translation, in the Chicago Foreign Language Press Survey, Chicago Public Library Omnibus Project, Works Progress Administration (Chicago, 1942). This WPS translation file includes the years 1906-13, 1919-27 and is available on microfilm. John Meyer, assisted by M.J. Pinzke, did the translation in 1937-38, when the pre-1920 issues of the weekly were yet available. All issues of the weekly were yet available. All issues after 193 are also lost. The extant files of Onze Toekomst and complete runs of the Observers are available

at the Trinity Christian College Library, Palos Heights, IL, and at the Calvin College Library, Grand Rapids, MI.

16. Onze Toekomst, Feb. 9, Aug. 27, 1906; Feb. 1, 1907; Aug. 7, 1908; Feb. 5, Apr. 30, Sept. 10, 24, 1909; Feb. 4, 1910; Feb. 17, 1911; Jan. 23, 1920; Illinois Observer, Apr. 15, 1954.

17. The complete records (25 vols.) of the Roseland Mutual Aid Society (Roselandsche Onderlinge Hulp Vereeniging) are in the Trinity Christian College Library. Ross K. Ettema has prepared an introduction, a translation of the constitution, and a typed alphabetical synopsis of the records (1990).

18. Onze Toekomst, June 29, Sept. 21, 1906; Mar. 1, 1907; June 19, July 3, 1908; Feb. 2, July 3, 1909; July 15, Sept. 23, 1910; Apr. 14, 1911; Mar. 7, 1913; Jan. 20, 1920; Dec. 23, 1921; June 27, Oct. 17, 1923; May 24, 28, 1924; Mar. 4, Sept. 30, 1925; Oct. 26, 1926; Apr. 6, Dec. 7, 1927; Mar. 11, 1931.

19. Illinois Observer, Dec. 1956; Feb. 1957.

20. Christian Intelligencer, Dec. 3, 1890, p. 11; Mar. 25, 1891, p. 11; Onze Toekomst, Jan. 26, Apr. 6, 13, Sept. 14, 1906; Apr. 19, Nov. 15, Dec. 13, 1907; July 3, Nov. 20, Dec. 25, 1908; Jan. 8, Feb. 12, 17, July 23, Dec. 10, 1909; Apr. 22, Aug. 26, Sept. 9, Dec. 9, 1910; Mar. 24, Apr. 7, 1911; May 13, 1913; Mar. 18, 1921; Apr. 5, July 19, Aug. 30, 1922; July 30, 1924; Mar. 11, 1925; Oct. 13, 1926; June 15, 1927; Jan. 21, Feb. 18, May 31, Nov. 18, 1931.

21. Onze Toekomst, July 23, 1909; Aug. 26, 1910.

22. Christian Intelligencer, Nov. 4, 1891; Onze Toekomst, Dec. 25, 1908.

23. Onze Toekomst, Jan. 8, Dec. 10, 1909; Dec. 9, 1910.

24. Ibid., June 3, Apr. 29, 1925; Jan. 30, 1930.

25. Ibid., Sept. 7, 1906; Feb. 26 (quote in text), July 3, 1909; Mar. 18, Apr. 1, 1910.

26. Ibid., Mar. 18, 25, Apr. 1, June 24, Sept. 23, Oct. 28, 1910; Jan. 21, 27, Mar. 3, 1911; Jan. 10, Feb. 28, 1913; Lucas, Netherlanders, pp. 573-74.

27. Ibid., Jan. 7, Apr. 1, 1931.

28. Ibid., Oct. 1, 1920; Van Hinte, Netherlanders, pp. 938-42.

29. Illinois Observer, Feb. 15, 1954; Jan., Mar., Dec. 1955; Nov. 1956; Nov. 1958.

30. Ibid., Mar. 15, Oct. 15, 1954; Feb. 1956; Nov. 1957; July, Aug. 1958.

31. Ibid., Feb., Mar., June, July 1956; Jan., Apr., Oct., 1957; Sept. 1958.