FRISIAN FARMER IN THE MISSOURI VALLEY

A SELECTED PORTION OF THE LIFE AND LETTERS OF ULBE ERINGA

Brian W. Beltman

Prior to the 1880s the dairy region of western Friesland, where the Eringa family had lived for at least five generations, was not a notable source of Dutch emigration. It accounted for only about one-third of all provincial emigrants.[1] Frisian dairy farmers generally operated small, family enterprises in traditional fashion, and they were part of small communities that were largely self-sustaining. They relied on the family workforce and a few hired hands who were, in effect, extensions of the family. The rhythms of the rural life were predictable and relatively secure; economic incentives to emigrate were minimal.

By the end of the third quarter of the 19th century, however, Frisian dairy farmers were experiencing the structural transitions affecting Dutch agriculture in general through increased specialization and development of large-scale production. Prosperous farmers survived, expanded, and modernized; other farmers were squeezed out to move to town or city, become part of the growing numbers of surplus hired hands, or emigrate. Rural day-laborers became merely seasonal workers available on a short term basis as needed, and farm workers devolved into a landless rural proletariet. Moreover, in 1878 the nation entered a period of prolonged agricultural depression which exacerbated difficulties for farmers and laborers. Cost-cutting measures were essential for farmers to survive. Accordingly, they employed fewer hired hands and concentrated on profitable specialties. More farmers shifted from grain and livestock raising to dairying, which, in turn, placed pressure on that form of agriculture. High unemployment occurred among farm workers, and working relations between farmer and hired help deteriorated and became more exploitive.[2] The end result was that after 1880 Friesland became a region of major emigration. Between 1878 and 1900, 16,000 Frisians chose to emigrate to the United States. About one out of four Dutch emigrants to America during the last two decades of the 19th century originated in Friesland.[3]

Ulbe Eringa was one of these emigrants. Like so many others he migrated to escape dismal economic conditions that were made all the more intolerable by other personal misfortunes.[4] Among the difficulties were wrenching blows that afflicted his family life. Ulbe's parents, Pier Jans Eringa and Grietje Piers Noordmans, were dairy farmers living on their own farm of about sixty acres in Hidaard in western Friesland from 1851 to 1872. The farm had been in the family's possession for at least four generations. Married in 1848, Pier Jans and Grietje had a family of twelve children, all born over the course of eighteen years. Three children did not survive infancy. Ulbe was the youngest child, born on April 21, 1866. By 1872 the father Pier Jans was seriously ill, and the next year he died, when he was only 45 and his youngest son only

six. The widow, with eight children under her care, tried to manage the dairy farm in Hidaard with the help of her oldest son Jan. But by 1877, when Jan began ministerial studies, the mother sold her personal property, rented out the dairy farm, and retired to Spannum. Four years later, at the age of 57, she died. Thus, Ulbe was bereft of parents; he was fifteen years old.

Even before the loss of his mother, Ulbe, at 14, began working as a farm day-laborer immediately after completing his elementary education. As a young hired farmhand trying to survive during the years of severe agricultural depression, his status as a common rural worker was tenuous and unrewarding. He saw little hope of getting ahead; his daily livelihood seemed doomed to relentless poverty and unending toil. He described his annual service as a farmhand from 1880 to 1890 as little more than a form of slavery, replete with back-breaking work for stingy, class-conscious bosses who provided inadequate compensation and deplorable living conditions. He experienced fully the life of the working poor, the misery of the rural proletariat in the agricultural districts of the Netherlands during the economically depressed decade of the 1880s. Ulbe's work day often lasted from 4:00 a.m. to 8:00 p.m. Sometimes he earned about one guilder (about $.40) per week, but at other places he barely received enough to eat and "went to bed hungry." Worse, his employment was devoid of security, despite working under yearly contracts. In ten years he worked for seven different employers. His tenure at one place never exceeded three years, and it frequently lasted for a year or less. As Ulbe wrote, "I found out for good what it is to be like to be without a home and parents...."

By 1890 Ulbe concluded that his occupation as a farm worker was unsatisfactory, and he took a job as a nurse in a Christian "Insane Asylum" at Veldwijk Ermelo in Gelderland. Here he worked for twenty months and "had a good life" in a service function to the mentally ill that he found personally fulfilling. But in the spring of 1891 Ulbe heard a persuasive invitation to journey to the United States, and the Dutchman became an emigrant, a decision which sprang ultimately from the consequences of the land tenure system, the state of the agricultural economy of the Netherlands, and family circumstances.

Ulbe's years in the Netherlands prior to emigration underscore the importance of family relationships in his early life despite developments that conspired to weaken his family structure. He enjoyed the security and nurture of a two-parent environment for less than seven years, and only eight years later he lost the care of his mother. Yet his family life, however brief its duration, was personally meaningful, intense, and sustaining, and it left indelible impressions and values.

Many of the inherited beliefs and values that shaped his identity reflected his rural farm origins, his family standing and upbringing, and his Frisian cultural background. A significant foundation underpinning all these was the religious traditions of Calvinist Protestantism. For several generations the Eringa family was associated with the Hervormde Kerk. In 1834 the first of several major secessions from the state church

occurred when a group called the Seceders broke from the parent religious organization. They wanted a return to the orthodox theology of the Protestant Reformation.[5]

The precepts of Seceders guided the Eringa family's religious life. Jan Piers Eringa (1792-1872) was the grandfather of Ulbe, and although he did not participate in the Secession of 1834, he was by conviction clearly a non-seceding lay reformer. Jan Piers, a dairy farmer who was born and lived his entire life in Edens, was for many years the president of the consistory of the Hervormde church in Edens. By land ownership and ecclesiastical position, he was not a rural pauper attracted to socioreligious separatism. He was, however, a local leader in a movement among the lay elite known as the Réveil, which decried liberalism and worked to revive orthodoxy.[6] Jan Piers made a deathbed wish that one of his grandsons would become a preacher, for his only son Pier Jans had chosen to succeed his father in operating the dairy farm. The elder Eringa's desire was more than fulfilled, for four of his five grandsons -- Ulbe was the exception -- became clergymen.

In 1892 Ulbe Eringa was 26 years old. A combination of circumstances including his family history, his socioeconomic conditions, his religious perspective, his current employment, his age, his single marital status, and a host of other intangible aspects of his life and outlook made the Dutchman ripe for emigration. In short, a collection of push factors brought Ulbe to the brink of decision-making; a pull factor was the final catalyst. Quite appropriately, it came by way of a clergyman (someone like his brothers) from the United States who was giving illustrated lectures about America throughout parts of the Netherlands in an effort to encourage citizens to emigrate. Ulbe "let him talk me into going to America."

The cleric who lured Ulbe was the Reverend Andreas Wormser, a Reformed minister active in immigrant recruitment. Many of the religious and lay promoters of settlement in the United States were honest and helpful, but some merely exploited their ethnic comrades out of self-interest and greed. Although Wormser's efforts were apparently well-intentioned, his enthusiasm for colonization could produce exaggerated claims for future development of an area that led subsequent immigrants to label him a fraud full of deceit and hyperbole, little more than a self-serving booster. In 1890 he traveled through parts of the American West examining the countryside for potential colonization by Dutch immigrants. Montana appeared particularly attractive to Wormser, and he then journeyed to the Netherlands in 1891 and 1892 to recruit settlers.[7]

Information from Wormser specific to Montana did not impress Ulbe Eringa enough to persuade him to move there, but more general and basic advice about how to travel, where to go, and what to expect surely proved invaluable. That Ulbe's destination proved to be northwest Iowa is additionally revealing. It means that the emigrant learned about the location of this existing Dutch ethnic enclave in the United States, how that community related to his social and religious concerns, what it meant for his private ambitions in terms of physical resettlement and economic pursuits, and in what ways it might provide personal security and support. In short, Wormser showed Ulbe that

transoceanic migration would not make him a complete stranger in a strange land. Rather, he was going from the Netherlands to a Dutch-American colony where not only Netherlanders had settled but many Frisians lived, where Dutch customs and language persisted, where opportunities for agricultural work abounded, and where the Calvinist tradition in its more conservative expression was flourishing. Ulbe was moving from one Dutch residence to another and thereby maintaining ethnocultural continuity, but the second contrasted with the first by offering the promise of new beginnings and a better life.

By his own account Ulbe traveled in the company of eleven Frisians. Although not part of a family as so many other emigrants were, he at least left his native land with fellow-countrymen. Ulbe and his traveling companions were among the almost 6,000 Dutch folk who chose to emigrate in 1892. From his departure on June 4 from Harlingen until his arrival in Philadelphia on June 19, Ulbe's journey across the ocean lasted fifteen days. His itinerary took him through England, and at Liverpool he boarded the steamship Ohio for the sea voyage. Once in America Ulbe proceeded to the Midwest by train from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh, then to Chicago, and on to Hull, Iowa.[8] That destination lay within the confines of an ethnically defined territory in Sioux County, Iowa. By the 1890s a mature Dutch-American colony spread across all or parts of sixteen townships in Sioux County and claimed eight towns and a half dozen cross-roads hamlets. Almost 20 percent of the county's population was Netherlands-born. This figure did not include all those of Dutch descent, however, for numerous Dutch-Americans had moved into the region from eastern points of origin. They came largely from Wisconsin, Illinois, and Michigan, and especially, Marion County, Iowa. Moreover, Dutch farmers owned and operated almost every acre of agricultural land in the townships of Holland, West Branch, Welcome, and Capel; and the Dutch controlled a majority of the farm land in at least four other townships.[9]

One of those Dutch-American farmers was Herman Abma, who lived with his spouse Joukje Bijslma on a farm in Welcome Township south of Hull. They, like Ulbe, were from the province of Friesland and knew the immigrant. Ulbe had written to the Abmas before emigrating, and they were eagerly awaiting his arrival. With them Ulbe found a friendly haven, and through them he secured employment as a farm laborer within one week of his arrival in America. During the summer of 1892 he worked as a hired farm hand for an American named Charlie Hunt and his German wife, one of the non-Dutch farm couples located two miles north of Hull in Lincoln Township. Ulbe's earnings amounted to about sixty-five cents a day, not a grand income but neither a pittance for his day and certainly a respectable amount of money from his perspective. Significantly, he praised the food he received from his employers, obviously in great contrast to the inadequate gruel he had endured on some of the farms in Friesland.[10]

Most important, the Hunts provided Ulbe with the opportunity for quick and essential acculturation through use of English and apprenticeship in "American" farming methods. Even as Ulbe adjusted to new economic circumstances, the social and religious environment in Sioux County offered familiarity and solace. He enjoyed contact with

Dutch-Americans of the community who were well-known to him, including Johannes van der Schaaf, a former hired man of his uncle Dirk Noordmans, and Hedser Rypstra, an old friend from Friesland. On his first Sunday in Iowa Ulbe attended the Reformed Church in Sioux Center -- "a nice little building, and a good orthodox minister." The church's pastor was Dominee James de Pree. Ulbe noted favorably that the church encouraged the use of English by singing some hymns in that language, although all sermons and other religious instruction were in Dutch, thus reenforcing the ethnic identity of the Hollanders. As he wrote, "I almost forgot that I was in America."[11] This telling observation signified that despite two decades of settlement and maturation, material progress and acculturation, and common weekday activities reflecting the effects of Americanization, on Sunday the Dutch community reverted to its traditional ethnoreligious character.

Another comment of Ulbe deserves attention. Like other rural immigrants with an agricultural background, the Dutchman expressed amazement at the extent of mechanization practiced by American farmers. In his first summer in northwest Iowa on the Hunt farm, he assisted in the harvest of 150 acres of oats and wheat by means of a self-binding mechanical reaper drawn by four horses. In Ulbe's words, "You should see this -- it is an invention that is almost unbelievable." Then followed the threshing operation by machine utilizing the collective labor of ten or more men. The efficiency of this harvesting operation, so in contrast to the manual processes still common in much of the Netherlands, greatly impressed the Dutchman.[12] And, like many other immigrants, he quickly learned as much as possible about technological innovations foreign to his customary way of farming in the Netherlands.

Settlers on the prairie lands of the Midwest aspired toward ownership of a farm as a means of achieving economic security and occupational stability. Immigrants arriving from Europe shared these dreams as well as the mixed record of fulfilling them. Some became the victims of the folklore of hope; others were more fortunate.

Sioux County offered limited opportunities to immigrants, owing to the degree of economic maturation which already characterized the Dutch colony by the early 1890s. By this time the initial settlement stage of the community was over, and immigrants already found accessibility to landownership in Sioux County severely curtailed by occupancy saturation as well as by increasing land prices in the local market which effectively closed them out of the competitive bidding. In 1890 the average price of agricultural land in the county reached nearly thirty dollars per acre; by 1895 it approached forty. This was not unlike the situation in the Netherlands which emigrants had concluded offered them few chances for success. For newcomers wanting to start farming, therefore, the only recourses were to move on to areas where pioneering was still possible or to become a tenant.[13]

Ulbe Eringa wanted to farm; he wanted to be more than a hired hand. In March, 1893, in partnership with his Frisian friend Hedser Rypstra, he began farming 240 acres three miles south of Hull in Welcome Township. The two men had arranged a tenancy

contract the previous fall to pay $2.50 per acre to the land owner, William Rijkhof of Orange City. Rijkhof was an investor and real estate speculator in the colony. He was a man of capital and became quite wealthy by local standards. In 1891 Rijkhof was elected the mayor of Orange City. In 1893 Rijkhof sold his 240-acre property to A. Brummel, and the latter decided to farm the land himself. Thus, the tenants experienced the insecurity inherent in their economic position; their tenure lasted only one year before they had to search for another place. Ulbe hinted at frustration in not finding another farm to rent in Sioux County, a place he probably hoped would be a permanent home amid the Dutch settlement. He accepted the consequences philosophically and saw the working of "God's providence" in the results.[14] Further, he displayed a willingness to make the necessary adjustments in order to fulfill the larger ambition of ultimately becoming a landowner. Such realism was not uncommon among immigrants with clear-cut goals.

In addition to the disappointment of a short tenure as a farmer in Sioux County, Ulbe and Hedser Rypstra had to cope with the larger economic conditions of the times. Ulbe noted in his memoir that despite a good crop in 1893, the prices that they had received were low. That year marked the beginning of a severe financial depression that racked the United States for the next four years. In addition, weather conditions worsened the woes for agriculturalists, for the middle years of the decade comprised a period of drought for much of the prairie-plains region. Yet despite market and climatic conditions, Ulbe and Hedser did remarkably well their first year as tenant farmers, for they managed to acquire "six nice horses with 3 new sets of harnesses and mostly new machinery and always paid cash...."[15] The Dutchmen must have exercised thrift and sound farm management.

On a personal level, Ulbe's partnership with Hedser Rypstra was equally, if not more, fortunate: it introduced him to his future spouse Maaike, Hedser's sister. The similarity of Ulbe's and Maaike's backgrounds drew them together. Both were Frisian from small rural villages about 20 kilometers apart. Both came from very large families. Both lost their parents well before reaching adulthood and with that experienced the breakup or sale of family farms. Both worked as hired hands and knew the deprivations associated with that life, and both viewed emigration as an opportunity to escape unsatisfactory circumstances and seize upon something potentially better. Equally important, both shared an evangelical approach to their religious convictions. Pier Rypstra, the father of Maaike and Hedser, at one time worked for the program of Abraham Kuyper, the leader of the Doleantie reform who became Prime Minister in 1892, by helping to establish the first Christian schools in the Netherlands.[16]

Furthermore, Maaike may have known Ulbe in Friesland because she was a younger sister of Hedser, whom Ulbe referred to as an "old friend." Ulbe had also worked as a farm laborer for Dirk de Boer in 1886-87. Dirk's wife was Maaike's first cousin, and the women may have been close friends as well. After her mother's death, Maaike lived for several months in 1889 with the De Boers.[17] In the provincial world of their homeland, Maaike and Ulbe need not have been complete strangers.

Before emigrating Maaike had worked three years as a domestic servant, poorly paid and sometimes shabbily treated. Although this employ might serve as an apprenticeship in housekeeping, the occupation was one to abandon when an opportunity for some economic improvement beckoned. Thus, when her brother Hedser invited her to come to America, she seized on this avenue of escape, even if it meant serving as a housekeeper for Hedser and his partner Ulbe. Undoutedly Hedser commented on Ulbe, perhaps noting that he was single. Maaike may have perceived an additional opportunity through migration. She may have seen a chance for matrimony through the operation of what historian Suzanne Sinke has termed the international marriage market.[18] For Maaike, more time as a housemaid may have been acceptable because she could view it as merely a way-station toward marriage and establishment of her own household. At any rate, on May 20, 1893, Maaike, a single female immigrant 19 years old, arrived in the United States and joined her brother and his partner on the Sioux County farm to serve as their housekeeper. For the Rypstra family this reuniting of brother and sister forged the first link in a migration chain that would eventually include two more siblings and their families. On November 22, 1893, Maaike and Ulbe married; she was 20 and he 27.

Even before the couple married the immigrant threesome solved their immediate problem of finding a new farm to rent in the fall of 1893. They became tenants on the 320-acre farm of Tom Maxwell near Running Water, a village located on the banks of the Missouri River, in Bon Homme County, South Dakota, one hundred twenty miles west of Hull, Iowa. The farm lay in Running Water Township about two miles north of the village. Ulbe noted the influence of two fellow-Frisians, Ulbe Wynia and his spouse Teatske Bootsma, who helped him make the decision to move to South Dakota. The Wynias came from the same neighborhood as Ulbe back in the Netherlands, and together they had common relatives. They lived only three miles north of the Maxwell farm that Ulbe rented. Ulbe also mentioned a third Frisian, Jeltje Postma, who accompanied him on his journey to the new farm location to do fall plowing.[19] These references demonstrate, once again, the bonds of ethnicity which continued to provide a support system for the immigrant; he relied on familar people whom he could trust for advice and companionship. More importantly, the migration of the Eringas and Hedser Rypstra from Sioux County to Bon Homme County was from one Dutch ethnic enclave to another. Like many other immigrant households searching for a place to settle, they repeated migration within the framework of ethnic community expansion. It was part of a hiving process keyed to the desire to realize economic opportunity offered by access to land.

The Dutch tended to cluster in the southwestern portion of Bon Homme County, near the villages of Running Water and Springfield but in the open countryside of the townships of Hancock, Running Water, and Springfield. The initial settlers displayed strong ethnic affinity in choosing farm sites to the extent permitted by the availability and price of land, and these Hollanders quickly established a clear ethnic focal point. The first to arrive came to Bon Homme County in 1874. These were three couples -- the

Dykstras and two households of Hornstras -- all born in Friesland and relocating via Sioux County, Iowa. They homesteaded on government land and endured the classic hardships of pioneers on the plains -- sodhouses, grasshoppers, drought, and poor crops. In 1878 another Frisian family, that of Ulbe Wynia and his spouse with eight children, migrants from Pella and Orange City, settled in the county. By 1880 seventy-four Dutch immigrants were present. Of this total, forty-five, or 61%, were adults born in Friesland; seven other adults were "Holland-born." The twenty-two children, or 28% of the total, were native-born, in either Wisconsin, Iowa, or Dakota Territory. All of these early Dutch were located in Hancock Township; many of them began farming in the watershed of Coffee Creek, which flowed into the Missouri River.[20]

In 1884 Reformed church officials established the Emmanuel Mission at the Hornstra School in Hancock Township about six miles northwest of Running Water to minister to the spiritual needs of the Dutch families scattered throughout the immediate countryside. The Reverend Frederick James Zwemer, the pastor at Platte, South Dakota, functioned as missionary to the Dutch farmers in Bon Homme County, and under his guidance they maintained their allegiance to the Reformed faith. After four years, on May 20, 1888, the families requested organization as a church, and Zwemer carried the petition to the Classis of Dakota, which promptly approved this request. On July 19 eighteen charter members enrolled in the congregation. All but five were Frisians; all but one were Dutch, the exception an American spouse. In the summer of 1890 the parishioners completed construction of a rural church, a small building measuring thirty feet by twenty-four feet located on an acre of land about six miles north of Running Water.[21] It is significant that the Dutch chose to establish a parish in the open countryside for the farmers living nearby. They did not erect a church in Running Water; for although it was the closest service center for the Dutch, it was on the rim, not at the hub, of their ethnic neighborhood.

Ulbe and Maaike Eringa and Hedser Rypstra arrived in the largely Frisian rural settlement "in the mild winter of 1894." The Eringas were a part of a Dutch community where ethnic persistence remained strong even as acculturation occurred because new immigrants continued to augment the neighborhood and help it retain its "Dutchness." As transplanted Frisians corresponding regularly to kin in the Old Country, the Eringas were a direct link in a familial migration chain. Not only were they an obvious source of information and a logical destination for relatives; they also "used Maaike's inheritance money" to provide financial assistance for the emigrants. In March 1894 the sister and brother-in-law of Maaike emigrated from Franeker, Friesland and enlarged the extended family already living on the Maxwell farm. For one year Gerlof de Roos and his spouse Teatske Rypstra and three children shared the small two-bedroom house with the Eringas and Hedser Rypstra. Doubtless the inconvenience of the crowdedness and the untold extra work imposed burdens on everyone. But Ulbe remained unrestrained in his optimism about their life in America. He continued to compare their promising circumstances to the "pitiful poverty-stricken and sorrowful existence" of "the poor day laborer...in Holland...." By 1895, through arrangements negotiated by Ulbe, the De Roos family secured rental property of their own not far from the Maxwell farm.[22]

The first social commitment made by the Eringa and De Roos families was to join the Emmanuel Reformed Church, and in early April 1894, the congregation elected Ulbe an elder, a position he would hold for twenty-seven years. By then adult membership in the church had grown to twenty-nine persons: twenty-two were Frisian, five were non-Frisian Dutch, two were Germans and one an American. Ulbe also played the organ to accompany the parishioners in the singing of Dutch Psalms. Not until June 1897 did the congregation have their own pastor. When no missionary or visiting preacher was available, laymen read sermons, and Ulbe often performed this duty known as "preek lezen."[23] In short, Ulbe, like his grandfather before him, became a man of standing in his church and community.

In 1899 the Eringas made the transition from tenancy to landownership. This enabled them to attain the socioeconomic status asociated with property holding. It gave them a feeling of "place" and a sense of security following the years of transience and readjustment endemic to migration and new environments. Nevertheless, this change required yet another relocation, this time about three miles, for the family that now included three children under the age of five. They also had to move considerable household furnishings, farm equipment, and livestock. The Eringas paid 25 dollars an acre for a farm of 160 acres and rented an additional 160 acres of pasture land. The cost of the purchase totaled $4000, for which Ulbe assumed an equal responsibility with his brother-in-law Hedser Rypstra. Ulbe paid for his share in cash. In 1902 Hedser decided to investigate opportunities in the state of Washington and consequently sold his share of the land to Ulbe. Land records indicate that on June 20, 1902, Ulbe became sole owner of the southeast quarter of section 13 in Running Water Township. Two years later, on July 13, 1904, Ulbe purchased another 160 acres, a parcel adjacent to his farm, for $6000, or $37.50 per acre. By 1904 Ulbe Eringa owned a half section or 320 acres of land. He was 38 years old, and Maaike was 31. They had been in America twelve and eleven years, respectively. By year's end they had a family of five children, four daughters and one son.[24]

Stopping this partial account of one family's story here may appear abrupt and untidy, but it reminds us that all history is unfinished business even as its incompleteness begs closure. The full narrative, currently a book in press, does indeed bring this family history to a more appropriate ending with the death in 1950 of Ulbe Eringa.[25] The Eringas resided for over three decades on the Bon Homme County farm until 1926, and then returned in their retirement to Orange City, Iowa. Between 1892 and 1924 Ulbe sent over forty letters to relatives in Friesland, and during his retirement in 1942-43 he wrote a memoir. Together these records (all translated from Dutch to English by Ulbe and Maaike's youngest daughter Alys Eringa Beltman), along with considerable commentary, comprise a narrative that provides a wealth of information about farming, the family, the household economy, church activities, school endeavors, and rural life in the Frisian subculture along the Missouri in South Dakota. In its entirety, this ethnographic portrait focuses on the members of one family and how they adapted and persisted culturally, how they fit holistically into an ethnic enclave, how they functioned

as part of a rural community, how they centered their lives around the family farm and the rural church, and how they labored and lived as transplants from one continent and culture to another.

ENDNOTES

1. Annemieke Galema, "Transplanted Network: A Case Study of Frisian Migration to Whitinsville, Mass. 1880-1914," in The Dutch in North-America: Their Immigration and Cultural Continuity, eds. Rob Kroes and Henk-Otto Neuschafer (Amsterdam: VU University Press, 1991), 174-194.

2. Hille de Vries, "The Labor Market in Dutch Agriculture and Emigration to the United States," in The Dutch in America: Immigration, Settlemen, and Cultural Change, ed. Robert P. Swierenga (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press), 78-101; Peter R. Priester, "De Economische Outwikkeling van de Landbouw in Groningen 1800-1910," A.A.G. Bijdragen 31 (Wageninga, 1991): 493-96; Jan Bieleman, "Agrarian Change in the Dutch Province of Drenthe, 1600-1910," A.A.G. Bijdragen 29 (Wageningen, 1987): 681-85; Robert P. Swierenga, "Local Patterns of Dutch Migration to the United States in the Mid-Nineteenth Century," in A Century of European Migrations, 1830-1930, eds. Rudolph J. Vecoli and Suzanne M. Sinke (Urbana and Chicago: Univeristy of Illinois Press, 1991), 134-40; idem, "Dutch International Migration and Occupational Change: A Structural Analysis of Multicultural Linked Files," in Migration Across Time and Nations: Population Mobility in Historical Contexts, ed. Ira A. Glazier and Lugi de Rosa (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1986), 102-106.

3. Swierenga, "Local Patterns of Dutch Migration," 137, 151; de Vries, "The Labor Market," 79-84; Galema, "Transplanted Network," 174-75, 186, footnote no. 2. From 1901 to 1920, 10,500 more Frisians joined the emigration, making a total of 30,000 for the years 1835-1920. This was 17% of the total of 180,000 Dutch who emigrated to the United States.

4. The following several paragraphs derive from the Reminiscences of Ulbe Eringa. A transcript of this as well as of family letters are in the author's possession and in the Archives at Heritage Hall, Calvin College, Grand Rapids, MI.

5. James D. Bratt, Dutch Calvinism in Modern America, A History of a Conservative Subculture (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1984), 3-7; Robert P. Swierenga, ed., The Dutch in America: Immigration, Settlement, and Cultural Change, 3-4; 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. Robert P. Swierenga, chief trans. Adrian de Wit (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1985), 85-95; Henry S. Lucas, Netherlanders in America: Dutch Immigration to the Unied States and Canada, 1789-1950, (Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1955), 42-53.

6. Bratt, Modern Calvinism, 10-11; Van Hinte, Netherlanders in America, 85-95; Lucas, Netherlanders, 43-46; John T. McNeill, The History and Character of Calvinism (London: Oxford University Press, 1954), 354-357, 368-370; G.A. Wumkes, It Fryske Reveil, Yn Portretten (Snits: A. J. Osinga, 1911), 126-140. This latter source refers to a chapter devoted to Jan Piers Eringa. It is written in the Frisian language, a dialect distinct to the province of Friesland and separate from the Dutch which the majority of Netherlanders use. Wumkes' information is supplemented by a sketch written by Ulbe Eringa about his grandfather that is in the possession of the author. See also Eringa Reminiscences.

7. Lucas, Netherlanders, 403-7; Van Hinte, Netherlanders in America, 597. Lucas provides useful information on the mixed record of numerous colonization promoters. For more on Wormser, see also Rob Kroes, The Persistence of Ethnicity: Dutch Calvinist Pioneers in Amsterdam, Montana (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1992), 45-47.

8. Eringa Reminiscences; Letter of Ulbe Eringa to Jiskjen Eringa and Minne Sjaarda, July 4, 1892; Robert P. Swierenga, "Dutch Immigration Patterns in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries," in The Dutch in America, 15-42, especially table 1.6 on 29; idem, "Exodus Netherlands, Promised Land America: Dutch Immigration and Settlement in the United States," in A Bilateral Bicentennial: A History of Dutch-American Relations, 1782-1982, eds. J.W. Schulte Nordholt and Robert P. Swierenga (Amsterdam and New York: Octagon Books, 1982) 127-47, especially table 1 on 129.

9. Census of the U.S., 1890, Population; Census of Iowa for 1885, 68, 174-75; Census of Iowa for 1895, 312-13, 322-29, 330-33; Jacob Van der Zee, The Hollanders of Iowa, (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1912), 201-03.

10. Standard Historical Atlas of Sioux County Iowa (Chicago, 1908); Letter of Eringa to Eringa and Sjaarda, August 22, 1892. The comparative daily wage in Friesland at this time would have been equivalent to about forty cents or less in American coin.

11. Letters of Eringa to Eringa and Sjaarda, July 4 and August 22, 1892.

12. Letter of Eringa to Eringa and Sjaarda, August 22, 1892.

13. Van der Zee, The Hollanders of Iowa, 189-91; Van Hinte, Netherlanders in America, 501-21; Lucas, Netherlanders, 348-51, 535-36; Gerald de Jong, "Four Generations of a Dutch American Community," in Dutch Immigration to North America, eds. Mark Boekelman and Herman Ganzevoort (Toronto: The Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1982), 221-37; G. Nelson Nieuwenhuis, Siouxland: A History of Sioux County (Orange City, IA: The Sioux County Historical Society, 1983), 120-21; Brian W. Beltman, "Ethnic Persistence and Change: The Experience of a Dutch-American Family in Rural Iowa," The Annals of Iowa 52 (Winter 1993): 18-24, 42, see also Table 1 on 29; Census of the U.S. 1890, Agriculture; Census of Iowa for 1895.

14. Eringa Reminiscences; Standard Historical Atlas of Sioux County Iowa.

15. Eringa Reminiscences.

16. Maaike was born near Engelum, Friesland, on December 25, 1872. Bratt, Dutch Calvinism in Modern America, 14-33; 100 Years of God With Us: Emmanuel Reformed Church, Springfield , South Dakota, 1888-1988 (Freeman, SD: Pine Hill Press, 1988), 24. A committee headed by the Reverend William B. Miller authored this centennial commemorative book.

17. Eringa Reminiscences.

18. Suzanne Marie Sinke, "Home is Where You Build It: Dutch Immigrant Women in the United States, 1880-1920" (Ph.D. diss.: University of Minnesota, 1993), 19-25, 207-11.

19. Eringa Reminiscences.

20. This discussion is based on analysis of the Federal Manuscript Population Census Reports for 1880, 1900, and 1910, the 1906 Atlas of Bon Homme County South Dakota (Chicago, 1908) for specific townships, and 100 Years of God With Us, 5-7. See also Mary Lou Livingston, "Running Water," Maxine Schuurmans, "Springfield," in Bon Homme County History by Residents of the County, eds., Herbert T. Hoover, Carol Goss Hoover, and Elizabeth A. Simmons (Tyndall, S.D.: Bon Homme County Historical Society, 1994), 61-75, 105-27.

21. 100 Years of God With Us, 8-13. Adding in children brought membership to fifty-three in 1894; twenty families were on the church roll. For more on the Reverend Frederick Zwemer, see accounts by G.W. Rensker and J. van Erve in Henry S. Lucas, ed. Dutch Immigrant Memoirs and Related Writings, 2 vols. (Assen, Netherlands: Van Gorcum, 1955), vol. II: 342-44, 358-59.

22. Eringa Reminiscences; Letter of Eringa to Eringa and Sjaarda, April 8, 1894.

23. Ibid.

24. Eringa Reminiscences; Letters of Eringa to Eringa and Sjaarda, November 30, 1899, January 12, 1902, December 20, 1903, November 10, 1904; Deed Book 6, p. 422, Deed Book 4, p. 637, Bon Homme County Register of Deeds, Tyndall, South Dakota.

25. The book citation is Brian W. Beltman, Dutch Farmer in the Missouri Valley: The Life and Letters of Ulbe Eringa, 1866-1950 (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1996), Vol. 12 in the Statute of Liberty-Ellis Island Centennial Series.

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