Dutch American Newspapers and the Network of Early Dutch Immigrant Communities

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In his book *Netherlanders in America*, Henry Lucas made the following observation about Dutch language newspapers in America:

> What interested their readers especially was the local news from the various settlements to which people whom they knew moved. In *De Grondwet* and *De Volksvriend* they read about the activities of relatives and friends living in widely separated places, all in one issue of the paper. Thus satisfying a real need of Holland-Americans, these papers served a practical purpose.[1]

This was only one purpose of these Dutch-American newspapers. Scholarly studies of the Dutch press in America have identified several other functions that these newspapers served. They perpetuated the use of the Dutch language, since the immigrants preferred a newspaper in their native tongue; and they maintained a link to the old country by providing news from the Netherlands, including local news from the places from which the immigrants had come. To a limited extent they also provided other foreign news and national American news, and they supplied local news. The newspapers maintained and promoted Dutch ethnic loyalty and contributed to the process of Americanization by introducing immigrants to American life, especially local, state, and national politics. They provided church news and served as a forum for theological and political issues. They carried local advertising in the language of the immigrants, and announced marriages, births, and deaths. Sometimes they provided farm advice; and, finally, they offered recreational reading by printing serialized stories of Dutch fiction.[2]

This article focuses on the one function of these newspapers highlighted by Lucas—the role of maintaining contacts between the many Dutch immigrant settlements that were scattered across North America. After the original Dutch settlements of the late 1840s (Holland, Pella, Alto, Sheboygan, South Holland, and Roseland) became well established, land prices rose and young families sought cheaper land and better opportunities elsewhere. Thus, in the 1850s Dutch communities arose in other parts of Michigan, such as Kalamazoo and Muskegon, and in places like Greenleafton, Minnesota. But the real proliferation of Dutch settlements occurred in the 1870s, 80s, and 90s, as frontier land became available throughout the midwestern and western states. Thus, the 1870s saw settlements in Sioux County, Iowa, and in Rotterdam (later Dispatch) and Luctor, Kansas. The 1880s saw settlements in the Dakotas and in Minnesota, for example, at Prinsburg. In the 1890s settlements appeared farther afield in places like Manhattan, Montana, Oak Harbor and Lynden, Washington, Maxwell City, New Mexico, Alamosa, Colorado, and Nederland, Texas. After the turn of the century the Dutch also started small settlements in western Canada when homesteading opened up in such places as Granum-Monarch and Carlstadt, Alberta, and Leeville and Cramersburg, Saskatchewan.

Some of these settlements arose with homesteaders; others were the result of land agents promoting newly available tracts of land that they sold to Dutch settlers. R. E. Werkman was especially active in Washington and Montana in the 1890s, promoting his new Dutch settlements in the Dutch-American newspapers and leading excursions so that prospective buyers could see the land for themselves.[3]

When Dutch families moved farther west, they usually left behind family and friends. Thus, networks of personal relationships arose across large distances. The challenge was: How could these Dutch immigrants in settlements scattered across the continent maintain contact with each other and keep up with developments in the lives of their distant family and friends? This challenge was most keenly felt in the small Dutch settlements that were often isolated.

Throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century and well into the twentieth century, these scattered settlements all saw themselves as "Dutch colonies." The term *kolonien* is found repeatedly in their letters. Although the process of Americanization was inevitable, it was very gradual. The Dutch immigrants in the first, second, and even third generations, did not closely identify with the local American community in which they lived. But first of all they saw themselves as part of a large Dutch immigrant community in America that linked a network of small settlements to each other and to the larger settlements, and ultimately to their native country.

Of course, sending personal letters was one way to maintain contact with fellow immigrants in other Dutch colonies. But this took a lot of effort. In this context some Dutch-American newspapers saw an opportunity and began to offer a convenient means to channel local information across the network of Dutch immigrant settlements. All the larger settlements had their own Dutch language newspapers, but most of these focused on serving their own community. That is true, for example, of *De Hollandsche Amerikaan* of Kalamazoo and *Onze Toekomst* of Chicago. However, two of the Dutch-American newspapers are noteworthy because they consciously broadened their scope in order to serve the large network of Dutch settlements—*De Grondwet* of Holland, Michigan, and *De Volksvriend* of Orange City, Iowa. These became the usual papers to which immigrants in the far-flung colonies subscribed. To a more limited extent *Pella's Weekblad* served the same function, especially for settlements in the midwestern states.[4]

De Grondwet and *De Volksvriend* became information centers for the larger Dutch community by developing a network of correspondents who were expected to send in regular letters reporting on the local news of that colony. Sometimes letters were submitted weekly, but in the case of most smaller settlements they were sent in several times a year. *De Grondwet* and *De Volksvriend* published weekly columns of this correspondence, which was often the most popular feature of these papers. *De Grondwet* (and probably *De Volksvriend*) also had a network of agents in the various communities to solicit new subscribers and collect subscription fees.

I will first examine the role that each of these two newspapers played in providing information that linked together the network of Dutch communities, and then focus on one small Dutch colony as a case study of the role that Dutch language newspapers played there.

De Grondwet

De Grondwet (The Constitution) was the Dutch language newspaper published weekly in Holland, Michigan, from 1860 to 1938, a seventy-eight year run. Its orientation was Republican. At the height of its popularity after the turn of the century, it was the largest Dutch newspaper in North America, with well over 7,000 subscribers in 1907.[5]

The first decade of *De Grondwet* has not been preserved, probably due to the Holland fire of 1871.[6] A glance at this paper from 1871 on reveals that in its first years until the late seventies *De Grondwet* focused on serving only local Holland readers. Besides columns of Netherlands and foreign news, it had a regular column of local news (*Plaatselijk Nieuws*). On occasion a letter from a Dutch community in another state would be published in this local news column or elsewhere in the paper. For example, letters appear from Rotterdam, Kansas, in March 1872, Sioux County, Iowa, in February 1875, and Baldwin, Wisconsin, in March 1876.[7]

In 1879 a new column called "Letters to the Editor" (*Ingezonden Stukken*) appeared in *De Grondwet*. Though it usually contained local letters, letters also from other Dutch communities now appeared somewhat more frequently; for example, from Holland, Nebraska, in February 1879,[8] and from Paterson, New Jersey, and Chicago in November 1879.[9] Also in 1879 a column called "Michigan Nieuws" became a regular feature, with letters from other Dutch centers in Michigan.

In 1885 the scope of *De Grondwet* began to broaden beyond Michigan. By early 1885 this paper was publishing each week an average of two to three letters from centers in other states, usually still under the column "Local News" (*Plaatselijk Nieuws*). To avoid the incongruity of having distant letters published under local news, a new column was introduced in September 1885, under the title "From the Dutch Settlements" (*Uit Hollandsche Nederzettingen*). The first issue with this column included five letters—from Grandville, Michigan, Paterson, New Jersey, Dakota, Chicago and Cook County, Illinois.[10] Two weeks later the title of this column was changed to "Our Correspondents" (*Onze Correspondenten*). Thereafter, this column remained a standard feature throughout the future of *De Grondwet*. The first issue with this title contained ten letters—five were from Michigan; the others were all reprints from newspapers in their local areas: a letter from Paterson, New Jersey, taken from *De Telegraaf*, two letters from Dakota from the *Nederlandsche Dakotiaan* and the *Harrison Globe,* a letter from Pella from *Pella's Weekblad*, and a letter from Cook County, Illinois, from the *Enterprise*.[11]

As a regular column "*Onze Correspondenten*" at first included two to five letters from Michigan and other states. By 1990 that number increased to three to seven letters per week. Though sometimes the name of a letter writer is given, letters from regular correspondents are simply signed "Corr." (Correspondent). While it would be historically interesting to know the names of the correspondents, it was the policy of *De Grondwet* not to reveal their names.[12] In 1891 this column moved to a more prominent location—it now regularly began in the top left corner of page 8 (out of twelve pages), and took up at least a half page of print. By 1895 the number of correspondent letters increased between five and eight per week. By 1905 they increased between five and ten per week.

It is clear that *De Grondwet* had solicited regular correspondents in most Dutch communities, large and small, especially throughout the midwestern and western states. These

correspondents were expected to send in letters with news from their communities on a somewhat regular basis. J. B. Mulder, the publisher of *De Grondwet,* realized how important these correspondent letters were for his paper, and when correspondents would slack off in sending their reports, he would print an appeal for more regular correspondence. For example, in October 1905 he began the column with this appeal:

> To our Correspondents,
>
> We hereby kindly urge you not to forget the weekly correspondence. We would like it here on Friday. Our readers are anxious to know (*nieuwsgierig*) about what is happening in the other settlements.[13]

Again, in January 1910 he published a similar appeal:

> Attention Correspondents,
>
> It is winter, and in winter people read more than in the summer. People also love to read (*leest met lust*) the news of the correspondents from different places. Of late not much correspondence has come to *De Grondwet,* and we would like to see that change. Thus, correspondents, wake up![14]

It is interesting to observe that correspondents from one Dutch community would sometimes criticize correspondents from another community. This elicited the following admonition from the editor in 1905:

> We kindly urge our correspondents, when they are at odds, to take care not to be personal. Wit and jest may readily be attacks on someone's character, and this we do not want to allow in the columns of *De Grondwet.*[15]

At the height of its popularity some of the correspondence was even placed on the front page of *De Grondwet.* That began in 1908 and continued for several years.

By 1920 the paper and the number of correspondent letters began to show a decline. In that year there are five to seven letters per week in a paper that had been reduced from 16 to 8 pages. In 1931 the number of letters dropped between three and five per week. A year later the paper was again reduced in size—now to 4 pages. From 1934 to the closure of *De Grondwet* in 1938 only one to two weekly correspondent letters were printed.

Another way to gage the geographical breadth of readership of *De Grondwet* is to examine its lists of agents. By the 1880s *De Grondwet* had established a network of agents in the various Dutch communities, again mostly in the midwestern and western states. The task of such agents was to solicit new subscribers in their communities and to collect the annual subscription fees. *De Grondwet* occasionally published a list of all its agents in the various communities, so that the local agent could be readily identified. I have compiled data from a sampling of these agent lists from 1882 to 1925 (see appendix).

Already in 1882 *De Grondwet* had 34 agents in Michigan (outside of the city of Holland) and 23 agents in Dutch communities in eight other states—Wisconsin, Illinois, Iowa, South Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas, New Jersey, and New York. At the zenith of its outreach after the turn of the century the paper had agents in fifteen states outside of Michigan. Thus in

1906, besides the states already mentioned, there were agents also in Indiana, North Dakota, Minnesota, Washington, Montana, Ohio, and Maryland; in all a total of 53 agents outside of Michigan. Thereafter, there was a steady decline in the number of agents, so that by 1925 there were only 37 agents in 12 states outside of Michigan.

These numbers show a wide range of Dutch communities who read *De Grondwet*, but they do not indicate the full breadth of its readership in these years. In communities with an agent there were certainly enough subscribers to make it worthwhile to have an agent. However, many smaller Dutch settlements never had an agent, even though they had a number of subscribers and often even a regular correspondent. Thus, places like Granum, Alberta, Leeville, Saskatchewan, and Big Timber, Montana, had regular correspondents but no agents.

De Volksvriend

De Volksvriend (the People's Friend) was published in Orange City, Iowa, from 1874 to 1951, a total of seventy-seven years.[16] When it started as a four-page weekly, *De Volksvriend* was largely a local paper with sections of foreign news and local news. In 1877 a column of Pella news was added. In 1881 a new column called "Correspondence" (*Correspondentie*) was introduced, but it disappeared in 1883. This column included mostly local letters, but occasionally letters from elsewhere, for example, from New York, and Oostburg, Wisconsin.[17] From the beginning of the new Dutch settlement in Dakota Territory in 1882, letters from there regularly appeared in *De Volksvriend.* Also by mid 1882 there was a Michigan news column.

De Volksvriend expanded to eight pages in 1886, and two years later a new column of "Letters to the Editor" (*Ingezonden Stukken*) was added. It included regular letters from Pella and Dakota, with occasional letters from other places, such as Prinsburg, Minnesota, Alto, Wisconsin, and Luctor, Kansas. In May 1891 the name of this column was changed to "Correspondence." The first issue with this title included seven letters,[18] but the average was four. Some were signed Corr., indicating that by then *De Volksvriend* had begun to establish a regular network of correspondents.

A dramatic broadening of the scope of *De Volksvriend* occurred with the coming of a new publisher, H. P. Oggel, in July 1892. At that point the paper had more than 1,000 subscribers.[19] In the issue before Oggel took over the paper, the previous publisher, Antonie Betten, issued a call for correspondents in the masthead: "In all places in the United States correspondents are sought."[20] In his first issue Oggel repeated the call, and the "Correspondence" section in this issue contained ten items—from Pella, Sioux Center, Hull, and Alton, Iowa; Holland, Grand Haven, Grand Rapids, and Kalamazoo, Michigan; Edgerton, Minnesota, and Dakota.[21] In Oggel's first years the average issue included six to eight letters in this section, with some coming from as far as Glenada, Oregon,[22] Almyra, Arkansas,[23] New Mexico,[24] Riverside County, California,[25] Alvin, Texas,[26] and Whidby Island, Washington.[27]

The average number of letters per issue steadily increased over the years. By 1900 there were ten to fifteen per issue, by 1902 fifteen to twenty, and by 1909 twenty to twenty-five. In that year the paper had about 4,000 subscribers.[28] So important was this correspondence for *De Volksvriend* that in 1911 it moved to the front page and continued in later pages. By 1912 the average was twenty-five to thirty letters per issue, by 1914 thirty to thirty-five per issue. By 1920 many issues contained over forty letters and took up the better

part of four pages; one issue in 1923 had as many as fifty-eight letters.[29] Throughout the twenties, thirties, and forties the usual number remained between forty and fifty letters. Even in its last year, 1951, some issues of *De Volksvriend* printed over forty correspondent letters, but after the paper was reduced to four pages in November, the number of letters dropped to eighteen in the final issue.[30]

A letter from the correspondent from Vesper, Wisconsin, in 1911 well illustrates the importance of letters of correspondence for readers of *De Volksvriend*:

> We have family in Alto [Wisconsin], Zeeland [Michigan], Litchville [North Dakota], Marion [North Dakota], Rock Valley, Hull, and Sioux Center [Iowa], and therefore we take special interest in correspondence from these places. Also, we have friends in some other places; thus we eagerly read the correspondence.[31]

Case Study: Dutch Newspapers and the Granum-Monarch Settlement in Alberta

As a case study of the role these and other Dutch newspapers played in the early life of one small Dutch community, I will examine the earliest Dutch settlement in Alberta, at Granum and Monarch, in the pioneer decade of its existence, from 1903 when the first Dutch family arrived until 1914.[32]

The Dutch colony there began as part of a huge land rush between 1902 and 1905 when Alberta opened its doors to homesteading. The free land drew thousands from Europe and the United States, including some Dutch folk.[33] When George Dykema arrived from Montana in late February 1904, only two Dutch families and a bachelor had already settled there. Within a month of his arrival Dykema received a copy of *De Grondwet* and wrote his first letter as a regular correspondent.[34] Apparently he was already familiar with *De Grondwet* because he had been living for three years in the United States. Dykema was also one of the most educated members of this Dutch colony since he had studied for the ministry at the Kampen Theological School; however, in 1901 he was expelled for drinking and partying and now he sought a new life as a farmer in a new land. Thus began a long series of correspondence from the Granum-Monarch colony to at least four different newspapers, *De Grondwet, De Volksvriend,* and two newspapers in the Netherlands.[35]

In the first decade from 1904 to 1914 fifty-five correspondent letters were sent from this colony to *De Grondwet,* forty of them in the first five years alone. Dykema was the regular correspondent from the Granum side of the community; by the end of 1905 there was another regular correspondent from the Monarch side. At least two other people also sent in letters, one from a new branch of the colony near Macleod.

From early 1905 to 1914 twenty-five letters were also sent to *De Volksvriend,* by at least three different correspondents. One was Dykema, and another was Evert Aldus, who had been a Christian school teacher in Nijverdal but immigrated to Alberta with a group of 41 persons, mostly Nijverdalers, in early 1904 to begin homesteading.

It is worth noting that in this decade forty-two letters from this colony were also published in the *Twentsch Volksblad*, a newspaper from Almelo near Nijverdal from where many of the settlers had emigrated. Aldus wrote most of these letters, which were usually long and detailed accounts, covering the trip to Canada and most every aspect of pioneer life in the colony.[36] Five other letters of Dykema appeared from 1904 to 1906 in the *Nieuwsblad van*

Friesland, a paper published in Leeuwarden. These 127 published letters offer a wonderful insight into the origin and development of the pioneer Dutch colony at Granum-Monarch from the first building of homestead shacks on the open prairie to the establishment of a developed farming community with new nearby towns and railroads.

The content of the correspondent letters to *De Grondwet* and *De Volksvriend* from the southern Alberta colony can be summarized in ten categories. First, most took special note of any Dutch newcomers to the colony, often identifying the precise day that a particular family arrived. In March 1905 it is noted that the colony had grown from six to ninety in just over a year.[37] It is apparent that one of the main motivations that led the correspondents to write these letters was to show a growing and flourishing Dutch farming community that offered promise of success to newcomers, and thus to attract more Dutch people from the United States. This is explicit in some letters that contain an appeal for more Dutch folk to come. For example, Dykema wrote in 1904:

> We are working with all the power and strength that is in us to become a flourishing Dutch colony as quickly as possible, so that Alberta's good name may remain and many more Hollanders may yet come to share in the blessings and prosperity that befall us here.[38]

A second topic was the weather that so dictated the lives of the pioneer farmers. Most Americans assumed that Canada had cold severe winters, a factor that kept many from heading north. A letter from Vesper, Wisconsin, expressed that sentiment when it noted that Thys Dekker had left Vesper to go to Alberta and he had "already tasted the climate; his fingers at least have already been frozen."[39] In response to such sentiments Alberta correspondents usually emphasized the mildness of the southern Alberta weather. When it snows the snow "does not usually last long; for 2, 3, 4 days, sometimes 5, the snow lies on the ground and then a chinook comes—the warm west wind—and the snow melts in one day, sometimes even faster"[40] "Alberta is not as cold as some in the United States imagine. We are not yet frozen to death, as many people think happens here."[41] Before experiencing his first Alberta winter Dykema went even further:

> Ja, people say, it is so cold in Canada. Certainly, it is cold in Canada, but not in Alberta. Alberta borders on British Columbia; British Columbia has a tropical climate, and Alberta has taken over something of that. Alberta lies nearby or on the Rocky Mountains, and if they were not there, then Alberta would be much warmer still and perhaps even share an almost tropical climate.[42]

In the middle of this letter the editor of *De Grondwet* felt compelled to interject: "The writer means this figuratively; for me tropical is too strong." That did not keep Dykema from praising the southern Alberta climate. In December 1906 he wrote:

> Our Dutch people here are well satisfied. At present no one hears people complain. Everyone is well pleased with the country. And why not? The land is good and the climate is excellent. Here no houses blow over as in some places in the United States that I read about in *De Volksvriend*. Here there are no snowstorms that cost

> farmers thousands of sheep. Here nature is always calm and mild. Readers of *De Volksvriend*, come, see, and convince yourselves.[43]

Dykema probably wished he could take back those lines. That very winter of 1906 was the worst on record. There was a long and severe cold spell. Blizzards and ice encrusted snow prevented range cattle from foraging on the prairie as usual and they died by the thousands, marking the end of the free-range ranching era on the southern Alberta prairies.[44] Aldus was more realistic about the weather. For example, after the drought of 1910 he wrote:

> For us in this colony this year will probably be long remembered—a year without rain in the spring or summer, with no opportunity to get the land ready for 1911; a year without harvest, a year full of disappointment and failure.[45]

A third topic was land quality and availability. Correspondents emphasized the excellent quality of the southern Alberta soil, especially for growing wheat. "A great area of land still lies untouched by anyone, the best land, rich soil, that only waits for people to dwell on and cultivate."[46] Initially homestead quarters were readily available, but by the spring of 1905 it was reported that the homesteads were gone.[47] Yet, a year later Dutch newcomers from Wisconsin were fortunate enough to get homesteads in the Monarch district.[48] Railway land, however, could be bought, though its price was rising.[49]

Fourth, there were regular reports on the farm work done each season, and the state of the crops and the harvest. Market prices were also reported regularly. Although prairie that was broken in the spring of the first year (1904) produced only a mediocre crop, that was followed by five good years. Then came the drought of 1910, the heavy crops of 1911 wiped out by hail, and the poor crops of 1912 due to cutworms and frost.

A fifth topic was church life. There were reports of visiting pastors to celebrate the sacraments, the founding of a Christian Reformed Church in the colony in November 1905 (the first in Canada), the founding of a Dutch Reformed Church in August 1909, and the construction of three church buildings.[50] The Christmas celebration was the highlight of the church year.

Sixth, there were reports on new developments in the broader community that impacted the Dutch colony. The opening of each new country school was a welcome addition to the community. The town of Leavings (later Granum) was growing rapidly. There was excitement when two new railway lines were constructed near the Dutch settlers, and with these railroads arose the new towns of Pearce and Monarch in 1908 and Nobleford a year later. That meant supplies were closer at hand and grain did not need to be hauled as far. Only one Dutchman, a blacksmith, lived in Monarch;[51] another set up a general store on his farm to serve the Dutch community.[52] New developments in technology were also noted, such as the first automobiles and airplanes seen locally,[53] and rural telephone service.[54]

Seventh, there were the usual notices of marriages, births, and deaths in the community. An eighth topic of interest was accidents and disasters. For example, horses escaped from the back of a wagon just as a Wisconsin family was arriving in the colony; they were found only with great difficulty in the foot-deep winter snow.[55] A young Dutch farmer died after stepping on a nail while building his house.[56] A boy fell under a disk and was severely injured.[57] And in 1911 a major fire destroyed several businesses in the nearby town of Barons.[58]

Ninth, there were reports of house and farm improvements. When the settlers first arrived, they hastily built homestead shacks. In the summer of 1904 these shacks "sprang up like mushrooms out of the ground."[59] Five years later, after some good crop years, the settlers were beginning to build new homes and barns.

Finally, after the homesteaders became more settled, recreation became a topic of interest. Late in 1909 a group of men made a pleasure trip back to the Netherlands to visit relatives and to find wives.[60] By 1911 picnic outings were the order of the day, and the Dutch settlers were making excursions to see the Rocky Mountains.[61]

This overview of the content of the correspondent letters from the Granum-Monarch colony reveals that the correspondence section of these Dutch newspapers was not what Van Hinte disparagingly called "gossip" columns.[62] These letters offered real news from the many local Dutch communities, no matter how mundane it may seem. In the case of the southern Alberta colony, these letters portray the full spectrum of pioneer life. Though they tend to paint a rosy picture in order to attract new settlers, they offer detailed insight into the origin and development of a small Dutch colony.

Van Hinte notes that correspondence columns were not typical of newspapers in the Netherlands, but were a very American feature of the Dutch American newspapers.[63] This correspondence, to be sure, served to meet the needs of a unique North American situation as Dutch immigrants scattered across the expanding frontier.

The denominational networks of Reformed and Christian Reformed people were certainly a religious factor that helped bind the different Dutch colonies together. But it is clear that Dutch language newspapers, especially *De Grondwet* and *De Volksvriend,* were another key factor. By serving as information centers for news from the local colonies, they provided a major bond of cohesion that linked the scattered colonies into one large ethnic network. Thus, they helped maintain Dutch ethnic identity until the process of Americanization eroded it and English was more and more used.

One final point is worth noting. For the historian of local communities of Dutch heritage in North America, the correspondent letters in the Dutch American newspapers are an invaluable, though largely untapped, treasure of primary information. They provide information to document the founding of many communities, such as Vesper, Wisconsin, Prinsburg, Minnesota, or Manhattan, Montana, even to the point of identifying when individual settlers arrived. They document the ordinary details of everyday life and chart the development from primitive pioneer settlements to fully established communities.

Appendix

Agents of *De Grondwet*--Distribution by State

Year	MI*	WI	IL	IN	IA	SD**	ND	MN	NE	KS	WA	MT	OH	NJ	NY	MD	Total
1882	34	7	4		5	2			1	1				2	1		57
1885	36	9	6		7	3		1	3	1			1	2	3		72
1889	34	9	6		7	3		2	3	2			2	2	3		73
1893	35	11	8	1	15	6		4	3	2	1		2	3	3		94
1898	37	10	7	2	17	3	1	5	3	4	1		2	5	3		100
1906	40	8	6	1	13	2	1	6	4	2	2	1	2	2	2	1	93
1909	38	7	7	1	13	1	1	5	4	2	4	1	1	1	2	1	89
1913	29	6	6	1	12	1		3	1	1	3	1	1	1	3	1	70
1917	31	6	5		13	2		5	1	2	2	1	1	1	3		73
1925	25	7	4	2	10	4		3	1	2	1	1		1	1		62

* These are agents from Michigan Dutch communities outside of Holland MI
** North and South Dakota were Dakota Territory before 1889

Endnotes

1. Henry Lucas, *Netherlanders in America* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1989), 540.

2. Jacob Van Hinte, *Netherlanders in America* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1985), 445-457, 914-942; Lucas, *Netherlanders in America*, 529-541; Harry Boonstra, "Dutch-American Newspapers and Periodicals in Michigan, 1850-1925," Master's thesis, Graduate Library School, University of Chicago, 1967, 5-19; Conrad Bult, "Dutch American Newspapers: Their History and Role," in Robert Swierenga, ed. *The Dutch in America* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1985), 273-293; Linda Pegman Doezema, "The Dutch Press," in Sally Miller, ed. *The Ethnic Press in the United States* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1987), 71-84.

3. On Werkman's activities see Donald Van Reken's chapter in this volume.

4. *Pella's Weekblad*, published from 1860 to 1942, is available on microfilm at Central College in Pella and Calvin College, beginning in 1886. Only a few issues survive before that date. From 1893 on this paper had a "Correspondentie" section which initially included one to three letters, usually from other Iowa communities such as Otley and Orange City. From 1905 to 1942 the average was four to six letters; one or two of these were usually from centers outside Iowa; for example, Prairie View, Kansas, Harrison, South Dakota, Edgerton, Minnesota, and occasionally places farther afield such as Conrad, Montana, or Lynden, Washington.

5. *De Grondwet,* Nov. 18, 1907; cf. Doezema, "The Dutch Press," 77.

6. *De Grondwet* is available on microfilm in the Joint Archives of Holland at Hope College.

7. *De Grondwet*, March 25, 1872; Feb. 23, 1875; March 14, 1876.

8. *De Grondwet,* Feb. 18, 1879.

9. *De Grondwet*, Nov. 4, 1879.

10. *De Grondwet,* Sept. 22, 1885.

11. *De Grondwet,* Oct. 6, 1885.

12. For example, in the Nov. 22, 1904 issue the editor responded to a letter from Manhattan, Montana: "To P. P. v. D. of Manhattan, Mont. We sent your letter to the correspondent. Perhaps you will receive a report from him. If not, then we can be of no further service to you in this matter. The names of our correspondents are never given to anyone." Since *De Grondwet* often published letters from persons other than the regular correspondents, it may be that this letter was critical of the regular correspondent from Manhattan, and so the editor decided to refer this letter to him rather than publish it.

13. *De Grondwet,* Oct. 24, 1905.

14. *De Grondwet,* Jan. 11, 1910.

15. *De Grondwet,* Jan. 31, 1905.

16. The complete run of *De Volksvriend* is available on microfilm at Northwestern College in Orange City and at Calvin College in Grand Rapids.

17. *De Volksvriend,* Dec. 1, 1881; June 22, 1882.

18. *De Volksvriend,* May 28, 1891. These letters were from Pella, Sioux Center, Maurice, and Rock Valley IA, Edgerton and Prinsburg MN, and Harrison SD.

19. Lucas, *Netherlanders in America,* 536.

20. *De Volksvriend,* July 16, 1891.

21. *De Volksvriend,* July 23, 1891.

22. *De Volksvriend,* Dec. 27, 1894.

23. *De Volksvriend,* May 5, 1895.

24. *De Volksvriend,* July 4, 1895.

25. *De Volksvriend,* Jan. 2, 1896.

26. *De Volksvriend,* June 25, 1896.

27. *De Volksvriend,* July 2, 1896.

28. Lucas, *Netherlanders in America,* 536.

29. *De Volksvriend,* Jan. 4, 1923.

30. *De Volksvriend,* Dec. 27, 1951.

31. *De Volksvriend,* Feb. 16, 1911.

32. I am presently preparing a book of pioneer letters from the Granum-Monarch community, which I am translating from the Dutch. This is the community where I grew up.

33. For the land rush in Alberta, see Ted Byfield, ed. *Alberta in the Twentieth Century, Vol II: The Birth of the Province 1900-1910* (Edmonton: United Western Communications, 1992), 134-203. Tymen Hofman has told the story of the early years of the Dutch community at Monarch in *The Strength of Their Years* (St. Catharines: Knight Publishing, 1983).

34. *De Grondwet,* March 29, 1904. Dijkema wrote this letter on March 17.

35. The early Dutch settlers at first called their colony Nieuw Nijverdal since many of them had come from Nijverdal in the province of Overijssel. Because of distance they lived either on the West Side or the East Side of the colony. The nearest town to the West Side settlers was Leavings, which changed its name to Granum in 1907. The nearest town to the East Side settlers was Lethbridge until Monarch was established in 1908; a year later the neighboring town of Nobleford began.

36. Before he emigrated Aldus also wrote four letters to the *Twentsch Volksblad* about the plans to emigrate to Alberta. His first letter from Alberta was printed in the March 26, 1904 issue. The *Twentsch Volksblad* is available at the Overijsselse Bibliotheek Dienst in Nijverdal.

37. *De Volksvriend,* March 23, 1905.

38. *De Grondwet,* August 2, 1904; cf. Sept. 27, 1904; Jan. 24, 1905; March 14, 1905; Dec. 20, 1906; March 24, 1908.

39. *De Grondwet,* March 28, 1905.

40. *De Grondwet,* Feb. 21, 1905.

41. *De Grondwet,* March 23, 1905.

42. *De Grondwet,* Sept. 27, 1904.

43. *De Volksvriend,* Dec. 20, 1906.

44. *Alberta in the Twentieth Century*, II:230-33.

45. *De Volksvriend,* Jan. 26, 1911.

46. *De Grondwet,* May 31, 1904.

47. *De Volksvriend,* March 23, 1905.

48. *De Grondwet,* Dec. 4, 1906. Homesteads of people who abandoned their homesteads or did not meet the homestead requirements within three years were made available to others.

49. Most odd numbered sections in each township were owned by the Calgary and Edmonton Railway and were available for purchase by the homesteaders or new settlers.

50. In 1909 both the East and West Side of the Christian Reformed congregation built their own church buildings because of the distance. Two years later the original Nijverdal Christian Reformed Church divided into separate Granum and Monarch congregations. The Monarch Dutch Reformed Church (later Monarch Reformed Church) dedicated its building in 1911.

51. *De Volksvriend*, April 20, 1911.

52. *De Grondwet*, May 5, 1908.

53. *De Grondwet*, Dec. 4, 1906; Aug. 8, 1911.

54. *De Volksvriend*, Nov. 3, 1910.

55. *De Volksvriend,* Dec. 21, 1905.

56. *De Volksvriend*, April 13, 1911.

57. *De Grondwet,* April 30, 1912.

58. *De Volksvriend*, Aug. 3, 1911.

59. *De Volksvriend,* March 23, 1905.

60. *De Grondwet*, Dec. 14, 1909.

61. *De Grondwet,* August 8, 1911.

62. Van Hinte, *Netherlanders in America*, 922-24.

63. Van Hinte, *Netherlanders in America*, 928.